

2020

ANNUAL REPORT



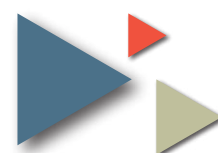
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ANNUAL REPORT 2020

Contents

Foreword	6
ZOiS	7
▶ The Impacts of Covid-19 on Research at ZOiS	8
▶ Research Management – A Bridge Between Academia and Administration	10
▶ New Research Cluster: Political Economy and Integration	11
▶ Cooperation Beyond Academia	12
▶ Staff	13
▶ The Mission Statement	16
▶ Structure and Finances	17
Research Cluster: Societies Between Stability and Change	18
▶ Public Initiatives and State Power Structures: A Post-Soviet Comparison Nadja Douglas	19
▶ Morality Instead of Peace. The Social and Ethical Discourse of the Russian Orthodox Church Between Theological Sovereignty and Political Adaptation Regina Elsner	20
▶ Literature and Power in the Post-Soviet Space Nina Frieß	21
▶ Beyond NGOs and Protest Movements: Everyday Activism in Serbia, Poland, and Hungary Piotr Goldstein	22
▶ Grassroot Public Spheres and Activism in Russian Federal Cities Tatiana Golova	23
▶ Languages of Conflict: Ideas of Europe in European Memory Félix Krawatzek	24
▶ Phantom Spaces and Borders – Continuities and Discontinuities of Past State and Imperial Structures Sabine von Löwis	26
▶ Political Change from Below? Local Politics in Ukraine Gwendolyn Sasse	27
▶ Russia ² Gwendolyn Sasse	28
Research Cluster: Conflict Dynamics and Border Regions	29
▶ Confidence-Building and Conflict Settlement: The Case of Transdnistria Nadja Douglas	30
▶ Orthodox Peace Ethics and Militarisation in the Post-Soviet Space Regina Elsner	31
▶ Every-day Life in Conflict – Scopes for Action and Coping Strategies in De Facto States Sabine von Löwis	32
▶ Engagement Without Recognition – Higher Education in De Facto States Sabine von Löwis	33
▶ Political Orientations and Identities in De Facto States Sabine von Löwis and Gwendolyn Sasse	34
▶ Identities in Times of Crisis: The Case of Ukraine Gwendolyn Sasse	35
Research Cluster: Migration and Diversity	36
▶ Georgian Migrants in Germany: The Impacts of Social Remittances on Forms of Inequality in the Country of Origin Diana Bogishvili	37
▶ Transformation of Urban Spaces and Religious Pluralisation in the South Caucasus Tsypylma Darieva	38
▶ Homeland Pilgrimage: Roots and Routes of Transnational Diasporic Engagement Tsypylma Darieva	39
▶ New Test Conditions in the ‘Laboratory of People’s Friendship’: The Situation of National Minorities in Kazakhstan Beate Eschment	40

▶ From Molotov Cocktails to Farewell Parties: Causes of Emigration for Participants of the 2013–14 Euromaidan Protests in Ukraine Kostiantyn Fedorenko	41
▶ Visualising the Invisible: Using Visual Ethnography to Explore Extra-Institutional Activism of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities Piotr Goldstein	42
▶ Post-Soviet Migrants and Transnational Public Spheres on Social Media Tatiana Golova	43
Research Cluster: Youth in Eastern Europe	44
▶ Youth as Political Actor and Social Imaginary Félix Krawatzek	45
▶ History for Young People: Historical Narratives and Perceptions Nina Frieß and Félix Krawatzek	46
▶ Attitudes, Political Engagement, and Transnational Linkages of Young People in Eastern Europe Félix Krawatzek and Gwendolyn Sasse	47
Research Cluster: Political Economy and Integration	48
▶ EU Integration Strategies and Room for Development in Europe’s Peripheries Julia Langbein	49
▶ Deep Free Trade with the EU and its Effects on Post-Soviet Regime Stability Julia Langbein	50
Externally Funded Projects	51
▶ Determinants of Mobilisation at Home and Abroad: Analysing the Micro-Foundations of Out-Migration & Mass Protest (MOBILISE) Gwendolyn Sasse, Piotr Goldstein and Kostiantyn Fedorenko	52
▶ The Liberal Script in Ukraine’s Contested Border Regions Sabine von Löwis, Rita Sanders and Gwendolyn Sasse	54
▶ Belarus at the Crossroads? Public Attitudes after the 2020 Election Nadja Douglas, Regina Elsner, Félix Krawatzek, Julia Langbein and Gwendolyn Sasse	55
▶ The Proliferation of Memory Laws and the Return of the Nation Félix Krawatzek	56
Researchers’ Activities	57
Supporting Young Researchers / Hosting Guest Academics	73
Research Communication	78
▶ Events	79
▶ Publications	85
▶ ZOIS in the Media	91
Publishing Details	95



Foreword

Dear friends of ZOiS,

2020 had plenty of surprises in store for us. It forced all of us to change our personal plans and modify our expectations, and here at ZOiS, to rethink many aspects of how our institution works. Flexibility has become the ‘new normal’ in working life. Since spring 2020, most of the team have been working from home, with all the day-to-day challenges that this entails. We were forced to reorganise and adopt new technology, resolve contractual uncertainties, develop new online communication formats, adapt our current research projects, address new research questions and try out new methods for collecting data. We now know that focused work in the virtual space can function effectively and that ZOiS works well as a team even under challenging conditions – although we also noticed how much we missed the daily interaction in the office and the meetings with you, ZOiS’s friends and supporters.

Some of the lessons learned from 2020 will continue to inform our work after the pandemic. Online events that are designed in an appealing way will enable us to reach a broader international audience and involve international researchers

and experts, including from our research area, more intensively and with greater visibility. Fostering these intensive online connections will thus become an integral part of our event repertoire.

In 2020, we established a fifth research cluster, *Political Economy and Integration*, in our institutional structure – one which is integral to the ZOiS ethos. In terms of our academic agenda, and despite all the challenges facing us in 2020, we took a major step towards stronger linkage between individual research interests and priorities and hence towards more interdisciplinarity. This fruitful dialogue, both internal and inter-institutional, culminated in several substantial funding applications. In research communication, we achieved new visibility in the public discourse, also beyond the sphere of regional studies, and we are keen to build on this in the new year. The pandemic has reinforced the importance of research communication, but it has also underscored the lack of media and public attention given to the social sciences. Through our regional focus, we are attempting to address this selective awareness.

We enter 2021 in a spirit of optimism and look forward to our continued cooperation. ◀

With all good wishes,



PROF. GWENDOLYN SASSE
Director

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Gwendolyn Sasse".



DR CHRISTIAN SCHAICH
Managing Director

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Christian Schaich".

ZOIS



The Impacts of Covid-19 on Research at ZOiS

At one of ZOiS's last in-person events in March 2020, the discussion turned to the issue of scenario analyses. Scenarios, according to one speaker, have value not because they provide detailed forecasts, but because the process itself compels us to think about and weigh unlikely eventualities. This evaluation process poses challenges, however, when it involves completely unforeseen events that happen out of the blue and whose scale and impact are impossible to predict. The global spread of the SARS-CoV-2 virus was one such event. The World Health Organization declared Covid-19 a pandemic the same day.

Restrictions on the research routine

As in every other area of personal and public life, research at ZOiS was dealt a bitter blow by the measures adopted to control the pandemic. Conferences were cancelled, most of the planned research visits were called off, and surveys and interviews were postponed or, where possible, conducted online. Office life gave way to working from home. For many of ZOiS's researchers, at least initially, this meant coping with a multiple burden of childcare and home schooling, which disrupted work schedules and project planning. 'It was still possible to deal with immediate enquiries and shorter texts, but there was no time to work on the longer writing projects that are such an important part of research,' political scientist Félix Krawatzek recalls.

Some research projects rely on direct observations in the field, and here, the travel restrictions hit particularly hard. As Beate Eschment explains, in her research on national minorities in Kazakhstan, there is almost no substitute for

in-person, in-country meetings. In many cases, the pandemic forced a rethink of project designs, and thus had feedback effects on the research topics themselves. But the fact that many events were now taking place online was not seen as a disadvantage by everyone. It enabled international networking to take place on a much broader scale than usual – and was a relatively climate-friendly meeting option.

Methods

Given the enormity of the crisis, topics such as international disarmament faded into the background to such an extent that research in these fields became obsolete, at least for a time. Very few projects at ZOiS were unaffected by the pandemic. The impacts on the *MOBILISE* project – which explores linkages between migration and protest – were extreme: a current interview series had to be suspended because most of the interviewees were almost entirely pre-occupied with coping with the pandemic. The crisis also put a question mark over the comparability of data collected before and during the pandemic. 'Naturally, the pandemic had a considerable influence on people's motives and thought processes behind their decisions whether to use their voice (protest) or exit (emigrate),' says ZOiS's director, Gwendolyn Sasse. From her perspective, the challenge is to integrate studies on the impacts of Covid-19 into current projects – but without viewing every aspect solely through the pandemic lens. And as Félix Krawatzek points out, alongside the direct impacts, the main aspect of academic relevance is which societal trends are likely to be transformed in the long term as a consequence of the pandemic; this in turn will require an analytical perspective.



The challenge is to integrate studies on the impacts of Covid-19 into current projects – but without viewing every aspect solely through the pandemic lens.

Gwendolyn Sasse



New methods and strategies, such as participatory online observation, videos and chats, will continue to evolve and could be used to enhance existing methodologies.

Tsypylma Darieva

For some projects, the pandemic turned the spotlight on certain pre-existing trends and cast them into sharp relief. ‘The Orthodox Churches’ ambivalent response to Covid-19 was very informative, but it also showed that the political context undoubtedly plays a role,’ says theologian Regina Elsner, whose research focuses on social ethics in the Orthodox Church. In some cases, it was noticeable that the pandemic was reinforcing existing trends. This was an observation made by political scientist Nadja Douglas, who studies civil society in Belarus. ‘The pandemic has led to an exponential increase in civil activism in Belarus and brought serious criticism of the current leadership out into the open,’ she commented back in May 2020. In August, this newly awakened self-confidence on the part of the public was clearly demonstrated when thousands of people throughout the country came out in protest against the rigged presidential election, mass arrests and police brutality.

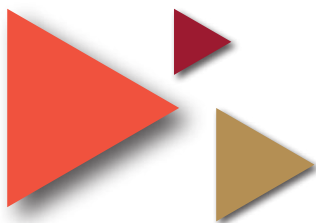
Outlook

Despite the changes, a degree of normality is likely to be restored in many areas of research once the pandemic is under control. In many Eastern European countries, however, the effects of the pandemic will be felt for years to come. The pandemic has had devastating economic and social impacts, particularly in countries with weaker economies, in the researchers’ unanimous view. In all probability, Covid-19 will not only worsen social inequality, for example in the Eastern Partnership countries, but will also put pressure on liberal aspirations. ‘Many negative trends

will intensify,’ comments Sabine von Löwis in relation to her own research area, the de facto states in Eastern Europe. ‘It means that out-migration is likely to increase as soon as this opportunity is restored.’

So what kind of changes are likely to affect research in the long term? The impacts of the pandemic on basic research methods should not be exaggerated, according to most of ZOIS’s researchers. Nevertheless, social anthropologist Tsypylma Darieva believes that the new methods and strategies that have formed part of the research community’s response to the crisis, such as participatory online observation, videos and chats, will continue to evolve and could be used to enhance existing methodologies after the pandemic.

The pandemic has underlined the need to adopt an interdisciplinary and even a transdisciplinary perspective in the research context in response to developments in a globalised world, says political economist Julia Langbein. And another observation: research needs to be able to cope with disruption, crises and unforeseen events and take more account of emotions such as uncertainty and fear. ‘The crisis has demonstrated that we can no longer regard natural disasters and pandemics as unlikely worst-case scenarios,’ says Nadja Douglas. In her view, the half-life of research results is steadily shrinking. How the process of conducting research and publishing the results will adapt to this ‘new normal’ without losing its objectivity and credibility is a question which is likely to continue to preoccupy social scientists in years to come. ◀



In my research, there is almost no substitute for in-person, in-country meetings.

Beate Eschment

Research Management – A Bridge Between Academia and Administration

Since late 2019, Katrin Hoffmann has been developing research management as a new field of work at ZOiS. It covers a broad area, from advising researchers on accessing external funding to managing the research information system, dealing with Open Access e-publishing, and research data management.



External funding

Research management is there to assist researchers at ZOiS in securing external funding for their projects. This involves keeping track of current funding programmes and the latest calls for proposals, discussing project ideas and advising researchers individually on their project applications in order to ensure compliance with funding criteria, deadlines, formalities and procedures. The initial outcomes have been positive: nine applications were submitted in 2020 – a substantial increase on previous years. Five of the applications were approved, while four are still undergoing appraisal.

Open Access e-publishing

As a publicly funded research institute, ZOiS is committed to the Open Access paradigm and aims to make research findings freely available. In September 2020, it signed the Berlin Declaration on Open Access to Knowledge in the Sciences and Humanities and adopted its own Open Access Policy. This document serves as the general recommended framework for Open Access publishing. In addition, the research management team advises researchers on implementing Open Access principles. In 2020, six academic papers were published on an Open Access basis, meaning that they are freely available to the public.

The VIVO research information management system

Academic institutions' public accountability has increased in recent years. In order to ensure it is properly equipped to meet these new requirements, ZOiS – led by the research management team – undertook a comparison of various reporting tools and opted for VIVO, an open source software system which uses the Linked Data model. VIVO was installed in 2020 and much of the archived data from 2016 to 2020 was entered into the system. From 2021, there will be continuous documenting of research activities. VIVO thus provides ZOiS with a structured database for reporting.

Research data management

The management of research data, from collection to archiving and publication, is a complex process involving numerous ethical, legal and technical aspects. The research management team has already organised and delivered preliminary workshops on dealing with social science research data and has produced a draft Research Data Policy. For 2021, Katrin Hoffmann will join a working group with colleagues from the research and management units at ZOiS to define the technical and organisational dimensions of research data management in line with good academic practice.

New Research Cluster: Political Economy and Integration

In January 2020, a fifth research cluster was established at ZOiS, strengthening its economic policy expertise. In this interview, political scientist Dr Julia Langbein, who coordinates the cluster, talks about its current focus of research, its integration into the Institute and future objectives.

To what extent is the research cluster a meaningful addition to ZOiS's existing research programme?

The Political Economy and Integration research cluster enhances ZOiS's research programme by addressing questions relating to the interaction between economic, political and social developments. It also looks at the global context, for example through analysis and comparison of the different economic integration strategies pursued by the EU, China and Russia and their impacts on Eastern Europe.

How many projects does the research cluster cover at present?

There are currently two projects under way in the research cluster. One of them examines the EU's economic integration strategies in relation to less developed economies both within and outside the Union. We are mainly interested in finding out about the impacts of these diverse integration strategies on the Southern and Eastern Member States and the EU's Eastern neighbours, particularly in terms of their scope for economic development. The second project explores how the agreements to create Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Areas (DCFTAs) between the EU and Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia affect economic and political competition. For example, we look at which economic actors have been able to benefit from trade liberalisation in the context of the DCFTAs and the consequences of this for dominant and often corrupt elites.

How important, from your perspective, is the cooperation with researchers from other clusters?

I see the cooperation with colleagues from other research clusters, many of whom have a different disciplinary background, as extremely enriching. We develop research questions that I would not have considered if I were working alone

and which I would not be able to address without this interdisciplinary approach. As an example, starting in autumn 2021, I will be working on a new research project in collaboration with my colleague, Sabine von Löwis, a social geographer who coordinates the Conflict Dynamics and Border Regions research cluster at ZOiS. We are keen to explore how small businesses in Ukraine and Moldova are reacting to the changed conditions created by the association agreements and DCFTAs with the EU, how these businesses are coping with the economic and social impacts and whether and how they are able to engage actively in shaping this process. And as another example, together with some of my colleagues from other research clusters, I have just submitted an application for a project in the area of peace and conflict research. I would certainly not have approached this field of research if I were working alone.



Julia Langbein is the coordinator of the new research cluster at ZOiS.

Are there already plans for the further development of the research cluster?

From April 2021, we plan to start a research project that examines China's role in Eastern Europe and Eurasia. We are especially interested in finding out how, through its Belt and Road Initiative, China influences national scope for economic development and when it complements or competes with the EU in this context. I am also planning to focus on economic development in Russia to a greater extent in future. ◀

Cooperation Beyond Academia

Cooperation and networking beyond academia are relevant to ZOiS in multiple ways: they reach and facilitate participation by key target groups, build skills and awareness of Eastern Europe, and promote young talent outside the research community. The synergies and impetus created in this way enrich institutions and individuals working in academic and non-academic settings in Germany and other countries.

ZOiS Caucasus Network

This Network was established by ZOiS in order to promote interinstitutional and interdisciplinary dialogue, both academic and practice-oriented, with a focus on the Caucasus region. It is led by social anthropologist Tsypylma Darieva and political scientist Nadja Douglas at ZOiS.

Core objectives

- ▶ To establish a contact point in Germany which brings together a range of regional and transnational actors in a flexible organisational framework.
- ▶ To facilitate continuous networking by academics and experts on topical issues relating to the Caucasus region (politics, society and culture).

The ZOiS Caucasus Network is open to representatives of the research community, politics and the media with a specialist interest in the Caucasus. Meetings are held twice a year. Regular newsletters keep Network members updated on current research, publications and events. Additional support is provided by student assistant Sina Gieseemann at ZOiS.

In June 2020, an online event was held in cooperation with the Bertelsmann Foundation. The focus of the meeting was on a lecture on anti-corruption measures in the South Caucasus by Silvia Stöber. An expert on the Caucasus, she presented her study *Fighting and Preventing Corruption in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia*, which was produced as part of the *Strategies for the EU Neighbourhood* project under the Bertelsmann Foundation's *Future of Europe* programme and reviews the three countries' anti-corruption efforts. The event was moderated by Miriam Kosmehl from the Bertelsmann Foundation.

A second online event, held in December 2020, focused on conflict dynamics, how the various actors perceive themselves and are perceived by others, and migration as a conflictual element. With Nadja Douglas moderating, three members of the Network gave brief inputs as a basis for discussion. Marit Cremer from Memorial Germany focused on migrants from Chechnya and their perceptions of self and others in the transnational space. David Leupold from the Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient described policy on place names and renaming in the context of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. And social geographer Sabine von Löwis from ZOiS offered insights into her research project on everyday life under conflict conditions in de facto states.

GLocalEAST

Since October 2020, ZOiS has participated as an Associate Partner in the GLocalEAST strategic partnership, which is funded by the European Union under Erasmus+. The three-year consortium aims to develop an innovative curriculum in Migration, Diaspora and Border Studies in East-Central Europe that would provide the students with practice-driven skills, facilitating their transition to the labour market. Participating institutions are engaged in the development and testing of innovative digital methods and pedagogies, aimed at elaborating attractive teaching methods, strengthening the staff professional profiles, filling gaps in specific teaching areas, and promoting internationalisation and networking. A further project aim is to establish a platform of experts from academic, NGOs and local governmental institutions which monitor migration and integration processes in East-Central Europe.

At ZOiS, researchers Tsypylma Darieva, Piotr Goldstein and Sabine von Löwis are involved in GLocalEAST. The organisational process and initial project objectives were agreed at a kickoff meeting, held online in October. As a basis for project development, several reports on national migration policies and dynamics were published for participating countries Lithuania, Germany, Serbia and Slovakia. Tsypylma Darieva was involved in an advisory capacity in the preparation of the report on Germany. ◀



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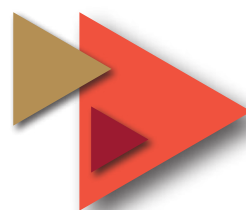
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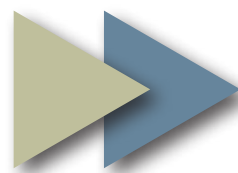
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FORMER STAFF

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The Mission Statement

The mission statement of ZOiS sets out the central functions, objectives, and values of the institute. It aims to serve as a basic framework for staff and give the public a clear overview of the most important elements of research and working life at ZOiS.

Basic research

ZOiS is a research institute that engages in social science basic research on Eastern Europe, the South Caucasus, and Central Asia. ZOiS is politically independent and determines its own research agenda, driven by academic curiosity and openness.

Academic best practice

The basis of all research activity is the honesty of the researchers towards themselves and others. In our work we are committed to the rules of academic best practice, as defined by the German Research Foundation (GRF), the Leibniz Association, and other research and research support organisations. To put these principles into practice, ZOiS issues its staff and guest researchers with concrete guidelines, which are aligned with those of the GRF.

Communication of research

ZOiS communicates the outcomes of its research to both a specialist audience and the wider public. We see it as our mission to raise interest in, and knowledge of, the region of Eastern Europe, the South Caucasus, and Central Asia and to foster societal discussion. Our approach is independent, objective, and apolitical.

Interdisciplinarity

Research at ZOiS is multi- and interdisciplinary and attaches great importance to the diversity and combination of research methods.

Support of young researchers

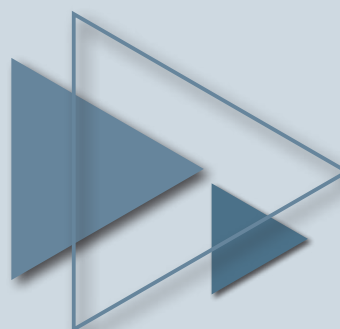
Support and the development of young researchers and interested youth is an essential element of the work of ZOiS. We see ourselves as an active part of the rich scientific landscape in the region of Berlin-Brandenburg and as an equal partner in national and international research on the region of Eastern Europe, the South Caucasus, and Central Asia.

Equal opportunities

ZOiS supports the careers of all members of staff and values the compatibility of family and career. We reject any form of discrimination on the basis of nationality, cultural background, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, age, disability, or religious conviction.

Team spirit

Cooperation and respect among staff and with external colleagues are fundamental requirements of our work. As a team we have a joint obligation to implement the elements of this mission statement. ◀



Structure and Finances

ZOiS was established in 2016 following a decision by the German Bundestag, with the Federal Foreign Office acting as the awarding authority. Additional funding is obtained in the form of research grants for third-party projects. The Centre is a not-for-profit limited company, which is supported by an independent foundation of the same name. The foundation's board is chaired by Professor Jan Kusber from Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz. An International Academic Advisory Board assists the Centre on research matters.

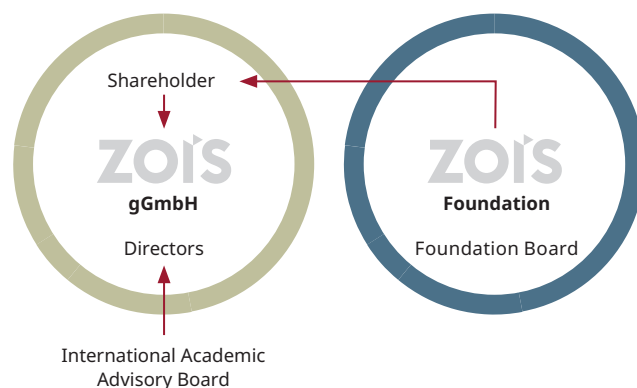
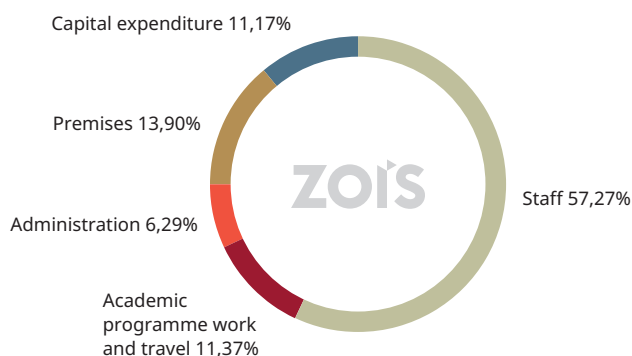
All researchers have sole responsibility for carrying out individual projects they have selected themselves. The Centre's research programme is drawn up by the management and approved by the Academic Advisory Board. The awarding authority has no influence on the research work or its findings.

The Academic Advisory Board currently consists of eleven respected academics. It has an international membership and represents an array of disciplines and research regions. It is chaired by Professor Timm Beichelt from Viadrina European University Frankfurt (Oder).

The Academic Advisory Board fosters a lively culture of debate, despite the geographical distance between members, and convenes two or three times a year. It is continuously involved in strategic development, staffing decisions, events, publications and the further expansion of the ZOiS network.

Academic Advisory Board members

- ▶ **Prof. Margarita M. Balmaceda**
Seton Hall University, USA
- ▶ **Prof. Timm Beichelt (Chair)**
European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder), Germany
- ▶ **Prof. Mark Beissinger**
Princeton University, USA
- ▶ **Prof. Katharina Bluhm**
Freie Universität Berlin, Germany
- ▶ **Prof. Irina Busygina**
Higher School of Economics, St Petersburg, Russia
- ▶ **Ivan Krastev**
Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia, Bulgaria
- ▶ **Prof. Sebastian Lentz**
Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography Leipzig, Germany
- ▶ **Prof. Mikhail Minakov (Deputy Chair)**
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- ▶ **Prof. Catherine Pujol**
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- ▶ **Prof. Ulrich Schmid**
University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
- ▶ **Prof. Silvia von Steinsdorff**
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany



The institutional expenses of ZOiS amounted to 2.94 million euros in 2020, which were distributed across five cost centres: staff, academic programme work and travel, administration, premises and capital expenditure. In addition, ZOiS was able to use third-party funds totalling 267,000 euros. Reduced ex-

penditure due to the coronavirus pandemic, for example on travel and events, was invested, among other things, in technical equipment for home office workstations as well as licences and technology for video conferences. ◀

Research Cluster

Societies Between Stability and Change

Coordinator: Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse

Concepts such as ‘democracy’ and ‘authoritarianism’ suggest clear defining criteria and boundaries, but they fall short of capturing the nature of political and social reality. Both concepts and the societies they seek to describe are in flux—in Eastern Europe and beyond. This research cluster focuses on the grey zones and overlaps between these often rigid classifications. The two concepts of stability and change highlight, on the one hand, the dynamics of social, political, economic, and cultural changes and, on the other hand, the processes that prevent or limit change. A range of local, national, and international actors are examined against a backdrop of societal and institutional structures. Centre stage are contested spaces—areas in which political, normative, and historical claims and expectations, as well as identities and memories, are disputed.

The projects in this research cluster are multidisciplinary and cover a wide range of political and cultural contexts that have been under-represented in academic and public debates. This research cluster also analyses, among other issues, the dynamics of social and political movements, the relations between state institutions and societal actors, local decision-making processes, values discourses at the interaction of religion, society and politics, memory and the politics of memory as well as the role of language and literature for cultural and political identities.

Public Initiatives and State Power Structures: A Post-Soviet Comparison

In one of ZOiS's first research projects, Nadja Douglas is exploring the dynamics and interactions between state and society, in particular between societal interests and the reactions of state power structures in the context of social protests. Against a backdrop of accelerated social and technological change, there are growing demands for more transparency, accountability, and legitimacy, especially from national executives and the law enforcement bodies in the post-Soviet region and elsewhere. While certain social groups are seeking greater freedom from the paternalism and dominance of the state, state institutions often continue to resort to traditional patterns of repression. This is manifested in crises or moments of tension when the state finds itself under pressure. Repression, in turn, leads to declining or stagnating trust in state institutions.

This project encompasses several comparative and individual case studies. It considers the highly diverse political and social changes that have taken place recently in Moldova, Armenia, and Belarus. In all three countries, social tensions have increased in recent years and notions of public order have diverged.

The theoretical framework of the project brings together concepts from social movement and protest research with

those from conflict and security research (security sector reform, protest policing, and surveillance). The project also brings in research on trust in, and legitimacy of, state institutions as well as recent surveys and statistical data.

Research activities in 2020

In 2020, Nadja Douglas focused mainly on the case study of Belarus, whose rigged presidential elections and subsequent revolutionary movement encapsulate and exemplify, in a very topical way, many of the questions already addressed in her project. Her ZOiS Report *Belarus: From the old social contract to a new social identity* analyses the events of 2020 and, in particular, identifies the socio-economic developments of recent years and their interaction with the expansion of the internal security system as key factors driving the

protest dynamics and the brutal response by state power structures. A further academic publication on this topic is planned. In addition, Nadja Douglas organised two online events, focusing on Covid-19 in Belarus and the August 2020 presidential elections. Over the course of the year, she also gave numerous radio, TV and press interviews on the situation in Belarus.

The following academic articles on *Police and Protest – Armenia and Moldova from a regional perspective* are currently in preparation:

- ▶ Police and protest in the digital age: Moldova and Armenia – a comparison
- ▶ Public order policing and the effects on the legitimacy of, and trust in, state institutions

Key questions

- ▶ How have internal security structures evolved in recent years?
- ▶ What were the key factors blocking security sector reform?
- ▶ With regard to the recent protest movements, how has the discrepancy between civic soft power and governmental hard power affected state-society relations in the countries concerned?
- ▶ How likely are future conflicts between emancipated and strengthened social forces, on the one hand, and power structures with weak legitimacy, on the other?

Morality Instead of Peace. The Social and Ethical Discourse of the Russian Orthodox Church Between Theological Sovereignty and Political Adaptation

This project investigates the dynamics of Russian Orthodox social ethics since the demise of the Soviet Union. Theologian Regina Elsner is analysing the interaction between the changing positions and priorities of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC), on the one hand, and socio-political developments in Russia and Ukraine, on the other.

The purpose of the research project is to conduct a systematic analysis of the dynamics of the ROC's social and ethical discourse since perestroika, focusing on both content and chronological development. Regina Elsner focuses, firstly, on the theological foundations of the ROC's current socio-political orientation, the development of its social and ethical positions, and alternative theological social and ethical concepts. Secondly, she aims to investigate and determine what parallels and ruptures may exist between the Church's social and ethical positions and socio-political developments, and what convergences and divergences there are between state and Church interests. With this approach, her intention is to draw more definitive conclusions concerning the question whether there is any evidence of the Russian Orthodox Church's social and ethical positions influencing socio-political dynamics with regard to internal and external conflicts.

Research activities in 2020

In March 2020, the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the USA released a foundational document on the social ethos of the Orthodox Church. Regina Elsner analysed the document's wider context in a num-

ber of short articles and an academic paper. A U.S. Department of State policy briefing on the relationship between the Orthodox Church and the Russian state offered an opportunity to discuss various aspects of the Russian Orthodox Church's social doctrine.

The challenges that the Covid-19 pandemic poses for the Orthodox Churches in Eastern Europe were explored by Regina Elsner in several short articles; she also prepared a longer academic paper on this topic. As an expert on the Orthodox response to the pandemic, she was invited to take part in round table discussions hosted by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation Ukraine, the Center for Liberal Modernity (LibMod) and ifa (Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen).

The protests before and after the presidential election in Belarus in August 2020 also had implications for the Orthodox Church. Regina Elsner responded to various press enquiries on the Orthodox Churches' reactions to the protests and authored articles for the Berkley Forum and the International Center for Law and Religion Studies. Together with some of her colleagues at ZOIS, she was involved

in developing a survey for Belarus, which will be evaluated in various formats in early 2021.

A cross-cutting theme which emerged in 2020 was the stance of the Churches in the post-Soviet space towards gender issues. In January, Regina Elsner made two video appearances in which she commented on the Orthodox Church's position on LGBTI* inclusion and their role in homophobic networks in Eastern Europe. She also analysed the discussions about domestic violence in a *ZOIS Spotlight* and a *ZOIS Roundtable Osteuropa* podcast. Her observations on conservative networks' lobbying on traditional values and Orthodox engagement on this issue in Eastern and Western Europe were presented at a panel discussion hosted by Volksbühne Berlin in cooperation with ZOIS at the POSTWEST transcultural festival in February 2020.

In cooperation with Tsypylma Darieva (ZOIS) and Jeanne Kormina (HSE St Petersburg / Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin), Regina Elsner organised a workshop on the concept of religious activism between theology and social anthropology in March 2020. ◀

Key questions

- ▶ What role does the Orthodox Church play in socio-political processes in the post-Soviet space?
- ▶ What are the main topics in the current social ethics discourse within Orthodoxy in the post-Soviet space, and which factors promote / impede this discourse?
- ▶ Which socio-political currents exist within the Orthodox Church in the post-Soviet space, and what form do the bargaining processes between these diverse actors take?

Literature and Power in the Post-Soviet Space

In her project, Nina Frieß – a scholar of Slavic literatures and cultures – is investigating the role of Russian and Russophone literature in the contemporary post-Soviet space. She starts from the premise that relevant discourses in society continue to be reflected in its literature. The question of which function these literatures perform today is of particular interest, bearing in mind that literature has lost its status as a key form of societal communication – a role which, it is hypothesised, would allow it, particularly in non-democratic regimes, certain freedoms which are absent in film, TV and, increasingly, the Internet.

Taking three countries – Kazakhstan, Latvia and Belarus – as examples, the project begins by taking stock. What literature exists? Who is writing? What are the circulation figures? This is followed by an analysis of the topics and functions of selected texts, based on more detailed study of their content and social dimension. The first of these processes is performed using text analysis; the second involves a study of the discourses around the texts and, for better categorisation, interviews with experts and writers. As there is very little research on Kazakhstan's Russophone literature, in contrast to Latvia and Belarus, Nina Frieß's project currently focuses on this Central Asian country.

Looking at the extant literary and cultural research on post-Soviet literatures, it is striking that it focuses primarily on developments in Russia. This Russia-centrism can be seen both in the theoretical discourses (e.g. on the topic of post-colonialism) and in the literature itself. Russian or Russophone literature produced outside Russia since the demise of the Soviet Union is rarely stud-

Key questions

- ▶ What role does Russophone literature play in the post-Soviet space?
- ▶ Which social discourses are reflected in the Russophone literatures emerging outside Russia?
- ▶ What is the relationship of Russophone literatures and authors to Russia?

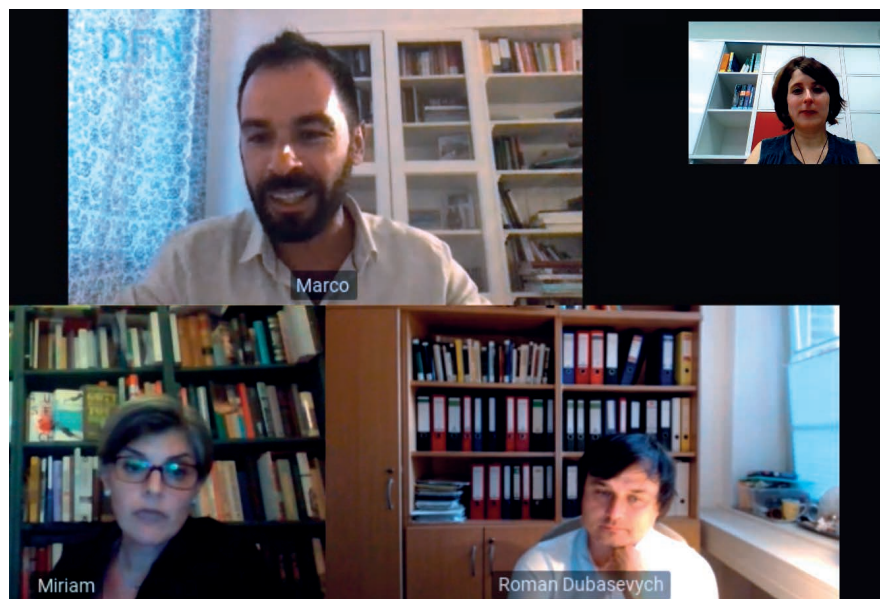
ied. By exploring this under-researched area, the project attempts to close this gap. As her own research can merely make a contribution to this process, Nina Frieß attaches great importance to international networking with other scholars working in this field.

Research activities in 2020

In spring 2020, Nina Frieß and Naomi Caffee (Reed College, Portland) submitted a special issue on Russophone literatures to *Russian Literature*, featuring articles by international authors.

Together with Naomi Caffee, Miriam Finkelstein (University of Graz), and Marco Puleri (University of Bologna), Nina Frieß initiated *Russophone Voices: The Worlds and Words of Russian-language Literature*, a series of online events which explore contemporary Russophone literatures and cultures and offer insights into related research. The launch event was held in September 2020; further events are planned for 2021.

Due to the coronavirus pandemic, the research visits to the Baltic and Belarus scheduled for 2020 had to be cancelled. ◀



In September 2020, Nina Frieß chaired the discussion on Marco Puleri's book 'Ukrainian, Russophone, (Other) Russian' with the author, Miriam Finkelstein, and Roman Dubasevych.

Beyond NGOs and Protest Movements: Everyday Activism in Serbia, Poland, and Hungary

Since the 1990s, civil society – understood in a myriad of ways, but usually researched through the study of NGOs – has been viewed as a major agent in the promotion of democracy, and civic engagement more broadly, in Eastern Europe. In recent years, the focus has shifted to protest movements, which are seen as new, more genuine spaces of activism and as agents of social change.

This project goes beyond these two focuses by looking at forms of activism that are hard to notice because they seek neither financial support, which distances them from NGOs, nor recognition, which separates them from social movements and popular protests.

The project builds on earlier research conducted by Piotr Goldstein during his British Academy fellowship at the Uni-

Key questions

- ▶ Are the same individuals involved in different forms of activism at the same time, or are different kinds of engagement the domain of different people?
- ▶ What are the legacies of everyday activism and other forms of activism? Does involvement in everyday activist practices leave a mark on the engaged individuals and their families?
- ▶ How inclusive is the concept of everyday activism? If the ability to participate in protest movements and work in charities / NGOs is a privilege, is everyday activism also a privilege?

versity of Manchester. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in Poland, Hungary and Serbia, the project scrutinises discreet, everyday acts of citizenship, which could be considered ‘infrapolitics’ or ‘micro-politics’. They are an alternative mode of participation in contexts where other forms of activism appear impossi-

ble or ineffective, or where activists decide on a less radical and a more long-term approach.

The focus of the project lies in determining to what extent, for the individuals concerned, these acts form a stage between – or, perhaps, beyond – engagement in NGOs and social movements. The project seeks to ascertain whether these acts are performed independently of such engagements, form a link between different types of activism, or catalyse such activism. The efforts studied have goals similar to those of NGOs and social movements but remain informal, unfinanced, and largely invisible. Examples include acts to oppose growing social inequalities, nationalism, and capitalist usurpations of public spaces.

The research for this project consists of a combination of long-term, multi-sited ethnography, interviews and visual ethnography. The project is methodologically challenging because it focuses on what is largely invisible, incidental and



Art as a statement against nationalism: the ‘Festival of Fire and Moving Arts’ in Serbia brings together informal groups from the former Yugoslav republics and beyond.

short-lived. Conducting fieldwork and data collection for this project has therefore been fraught with difficulties: in some instances, an initiative Piotr Goldstein wanted to study had ceased to exist by the time he arrived in the field or was discontinued while he was conducting his research. This was the case with several of the socially engaged bookshop-café in Serbia that went bankrupt or had to close for other reasons while he researched them. Nevertheless, the multiplicity of examples of short-lived endeavours, combined with a long-term focus on individuals engaged in these endeavours, allows Goldstein to draw an image of activist space, which transcends single organisations, events

and actions. It also gives us a better understanding of the life-long commitment of the engaged individuals.

Research activities in 2020

Due to the coronavirus pandemic, in 2020 the scope for carrying out research on this project, which is based on a range of hands-on methods, was severely limited. In response to this challenge, Piotr Goldstein focused his efforts on online ethnography, some findings of which were described in a *ZOiS Spotlight* titled *Poland's creative civil society in times of Covid-19*. Together with an intern from Moscow, Yana Strogonova, he also started developing a semi-quantitative online

tool to assess the scale and variety of forms of everyday activism and to understand the ways in which people engage in different activist endeavours over the course of their lives.

Meanwhile, Goldstein's findings have informed presentations at the *EASA Biennial Conference* in July, the *RAI Conference* in September, the *ASEEES Convention* in November and at *Platform East: What Is Activism, Anyway?*, a collaboration between ZOiS and Volksbühne Berlin. He also took part in an online panel on *Protest in Poland: Popular Opposition, Women's Rights, & PiS* organised by the CAPRN Network. ◀

Dr Tatiana Golova

Project start: October 2016

Grassroot Public Spheres and Activism in Russian Federal Cities

How are civic engagement and public mobilisations in large Russian cities structured by communication processes and collective interpretive frames that are embedded in everyday life? This question is relevant to a variety of mobilisations, from the explicitly pro-democratic or more pragmatic kinds focused on local and/or socio-economic grievances to conservative and loyalist networks. In her project, which began in October 2016, sociologist Tatiana Golova starts from the premise that the actions of these actors can be better understood by analysing how horizontally organised communication processes – beyond top-

down mobilisation via state-controlled mass media and co-optation – influence people's willingness to become engaged and speak out publicly.

The project focuses on large federal cities, which are significant as a periphery vis-à-vis Moscow and as regional power centres that concentrate human, finan-

Key questions

- ▶ Everyday life: Which collective interpretive frames are (re-)constructed in the day-to-day communications of members of different socio-cultural milieus?
- ▶ Mobilisation: How do mobilised public spheres, i.e. communication networks that are focused on collective action for specific causes, emerge? How do such networks relate to each other?
- ▶ Hybridisation: How are offline and online arenas for public communication and mobilisation connected?

cial and administrative resources. With a diverse population and a less complex local activist scene, they allow us to trace communication networks within and between the various activist milieus, both in their symbolic connections and in their practical interactions.

Of particular interest here are protest themes that are open to various interpretations and draw actors from different political camps as well as decidedly ‘apolitical’ activists. Empirical investigations of such protests reveal how a given problem can be subject to different interpretations, for example as social injustice, corruption, or a violation of human dignity. The respective interpretive frame can either increase or reduce sup-

port for protests. At the same time, the actors face the choice of competing or cooperating with each other, and each option entails risks for their own identity as activists. The project aims to explore the relationship between the pragmatic collaboration of diverse forces on the one hand and identity-based solidarity on the other.

Research activities in 2020

Tatiana Golova was on parental leave from January to August 2020.

After she returned to work, Golova worked on an article on political identities in protest coalitions, which is due to be submitted in 2021. She also pre-

pared the collection of social media data on the protests in Russia’s far eastern region of Khabarovsk, which were sparked by the arrest of the provincial governor Sergei Furgal in July 2020. Protestors saw this as a political manoeuvre against the politician, who won a surprise victory over the ruling party candidate in the 2018 election. Apart from this immediate trigger, the protests were also motivated by more global issues, not least the power imbalance between the centre and the periphery. In her analysis of online discussions and protest actions, Golova aims to show how the protests have been framed by local actors and reconstruct the dynamics of online-offline mobilisation. ◀

Dr Félix Krawatzek

Project start: July 2011
Based at ZOiS since September 2018

Languages of Conflict: Ideas of Europe in European Memory

in cooperation with Dr Gregor Feindt (Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz), Dr Friedemann Pestel (University of Freiburg) and Dr Rieke Trimçev (University of Greifswald)

The current crisis of the EU has fundamentally challenged how ‘Europe’ is being imagined. What citizens, politicians and scholars expect from Europe has shifted drastically with the refugee crisis, the ongoing economic and financial instability, Brexit, and the rise of populism. Yet there is little awareness of what ‘Europe’ has come to mean over time, to different actors, and within and across countries. This research project studies the ideas of Europe through the multi-faceted debates on ‘European Memory’ which have underpinned the

European project since the 1990s and provided a crucial normative background for political and economic integration. Today’s diagnoses of crisis as well as claims on Europe’s further development bring forward competing, and at times contradictory images of a European past in order to make predictions about Europe’s future.

This project employs a mixed-method approach of qualitative and quantitative discourse analysis to systematically investigate the languages which have sus-

tained and pressured the Europeanisation of national memory discourses over the last decade. Six major European countries (Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Poland, and the United Kingdom) serve as the main case studies.

Research activities in 2020

This year, work continued on sources and texts for a monograph planned together with the project partners. Based on a comparative discourse analysis across Europe, the book aims to enhance

our understanding of the political relevance of historical concepts of Europe in today's public sphere. The *European dis|integration* book project continued thanks to the kind support of the Genshagen Foundation, and the partners were able to hold two working meetings within the framework of the *Scholars in Residence* Programme. The empirical case studies were the main focus of work in 2020. In addition to the chapters on European conceptions of Russia and on memories of terror, produced in 2019, six further case studies were introduced on the following topics: Holocaust remembrance, the debate about Europe's early Christian roots, the post-authoritarian southern countries' integration

Key questions

- ▶ Which historical experiences are mobilised for the concept of Europe?
- ▶ What kinds of political demands do actors articulate by drawing on the concept of Europe?
- ▶ What logics constitute the languages of 'European Memory' across public spheres?
- ▶ How do the conflictive languages in 'European Memory' deconstruct normative conceptions in favour of multifaceted relations of cores and peripheries within 'Europe'?

into Europe, remembrance of the First World War, Turkey as part of Europe, and the Yugoslav wars. In parallel to working on the case studies, the group continued to systematise the conceptual

framework for the book. Moreover, an article mapping different understandings of Europe was published in the *Journal of Political Ideologies*. ◀



Solidarity rally for refugees in Hamburg in May 2020: referring to the historical term 'Fortress Europe', the participants protest against a Europe of isolation.

Phantom Spaces and Borders – Continuities and Discontinuities of Past State and Imperial Structures

Election results, architecture, birth statistics: these and many other social and political indicators bear witness to socio-spatial and political systems that existed in the past. Not least, the division of Germany and its legacies, that are visible in economic structures, availability of social amenities such as pre-schools, and in political attitudes and religious beliefs, are still a frequent topic of debate, even though – or perhaps because – 30 years have passed since the Berlin Wall came down.

This raises questions about the meaning and interpretation of these traces of the past, and not only in Germany. A similar situation can be found elsewhere, particularly in Eastern Europe, where – over the past 150 years – borders and territorial configurations have frequently changed and new states have evolved out of old countries and empires. One

Key questions

- ▶ How can contemporary socio-spatial phenomena that reveal a relationship to past territorial and social systems be analysed and explained?
- ▶ What meanings are attached by state and society to the socio-spatial and political systems that existed in the past?
- ▶ For what reason and purpose, and by whom, is the past consciously and / or sub-consciously evoked and / or revitalised in the present?

example is Poland, where past territorial changes have often made themselves felt in election results since 1989.

Based on the ‘phantom borders’ concept (Hirschhausen et al. 2014), the meanings of diverse traces of the past, such as the use and development of space, norms, institutions, cultural representations, and social and political behaviour, are analysed within the project framework

and explained in terms of spatial and social theory. As regards its methodology, the project critically examines frequent historical and territorial determinisms and looks for explanations mainly in current events, social developments and historical configurations.

Research activities in 2020

Sabine von Löwis submitted an article based on her presentation at the workshop on *Minorities, Migration and Memory in East European Borderlands (1945 – present)* at the German Historical Institute Warsaw (September 2019), which is part of the workshop’s anthology (forthcoming). She also worked on her post-doctoral study, due to be submitted in early 2021, which originated from empirical research conducted in Western Ukraine as part of the joint research project *Phantomgrenzen in Ostmitteleuropa* (Phantom borders in East and Eastern Central Europe), coordinated by the Centre Marc Bloch. The study is comprising an empirical and theoretical exploration of persistence, reformation or dissolution of social conditions and developments, with particular reference to two village communities in Western Ukraine that have experienced diverse political systems in the past. ◀



In November 1990, 140 trees were planted on the Hesse-Thuringia border. To this day, they are a visible evidence of the former German-German border.

Political Change from Below? Local Politics in Ukraine

This project seeks to analyse the political balance of power at the local level in Ukraine, tensions between local and national politics, and the effects of the decentralisation process on decisions and public trust in local politics. Based on regional case studies (Lviv, Dnipro, Kharkiv and Odesa), the project has examined the composition of local councils, which have been characterised by a higher degree of political diversity since the 2015 local elections. Patterns of cooperation or confrontation in decision-making at local and regional level have become particularly relevant in the context of the ongoing decentralisation reforms in Ukraine, but the poor data situation has meant that they have only been partially understood to date. The local elections in the autumn of 2020 were the first involving the local councils newly amalgamated as part of the decentralisation process. The project analyses the diversified local political scene that resulted from the elections

Key questions

- ▶ How is the local political landscape in Ukraine changing as a result of the decentralisation process?
- ▶ What effects are the political and economic incentives created by the reform of local government having on the relationships between the representatives of the different parties, mayors, interest groups, and the general population?
- ▶ How is public trust in local politics evolving in comparison with national politics?

and the expectations of the population in this regard. On a more conceptual level, it is concerned with the phenomenon of democratisation ‘from below’.

Research activities in 2020

In the year of the Ukrainian local elections, data on the budgets of the local and oblast councils was gathered in cooperation with local partners with a view to analysing the composition and voting

patterns (as far as possible) of the councils, as well as the priorities set in the enlarged local budgets. The data situation in relation to all of these questions continues to be poor. A comparison of the composition of local councils before and after the 2020 local elections is also envisaged.

This year, the ZOIS questions on local politics included in the annual representative Omnibus survey of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) were answered online. They were supplemented with further questions that arose in the context of the British Academy-funded project *Identities and Borders in Flux: The Case of Ukraine (IBiF)*, where Gwendolyn Sasse is Co-Investigator. The initial results of these surveys were presented at an event organised in cooperation with the Center for Liberal Modernity after the local elections and discussed in media articles. The statistical analysis of the effects of the pandemic on trust in local and national institutions and decisions has started. While public trust in national politics has been eroded, trust in local structures and actors continues to grow. ◀



Political diversity in Ukrainian local councils is increasing: voters take a look at the list of candidates in the 2020 local elections.

Russia²

Various opinion polls in Germany as well as comments by East German politicians have suggested that views about Russia differ significantly in East and West Germany. The public and politicians in East Germany appear to have a more positive view of Russia. They seem to want more cooperation between Germany and Russia, to favour rejecting or weakening the current EU sanctions, and to see Russia as less of a concrete security risk for Germany and the EU. Russia's political system and the Russian President Vladimir Putin also appear to meet with less criticism in East Germany than in the West. Public discourse is rife with speculations about the possible reasons for the affinity with Russia in East Germany, most of which centre on GDR socialisation and a diffuse feeling of shared legacies. However, in

Key questions

- ▶ Compared to other factors, how significant is place of birth / residence in East or West Germany as an explanation for attitudes to Russian domestic and foreign policy and to German-Russian relations?
- ▶ What role do personal contacts with Russia play in the formation of positive or negative opinions of Russia?
- ▶ What argumentation patterns are typical of positive attitudes to Russia?
- ▶ To what extent do assessments of Russia reflect something that is only tangentially related to Russia?

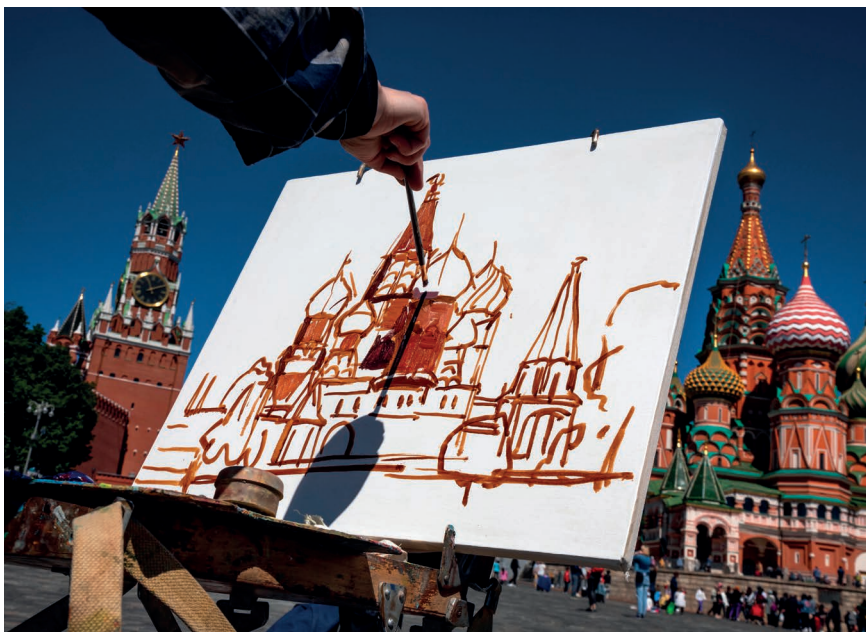
view of the diversity of experiences with 'Moscow' and 'the Russians' during and after the GDR period, such explanations seem to be inadequate.

In addition to differentiating between place of birth and place of residence, this project focuses on the significance

of personal contacts and examines how views of Russia correlate with assessments of German politics. It combines representative quantitative surveys among the population with focus group discussions in different locations in East and West Germany in order to gain insights into the argumentation patterns behind the affinities with Russia in East and West Germany.

Research activities in 2020

The data collected in surveys and focus group discussions at the end of 2019 were analysed during the year. This culminated in a ZOIS event to mark the thirtieth anniversary of German reunification and a *ZOIS Report*. The results of the report were discussed in the media, for example in guest commentaries and international blog posts, and in personal briefings in the political arena. The survey was repeated in November 2020, this time with the addition of further questions that emerged from the focus group discussions. This comparative data will be analysed from the beginning of 2021. ◀



Red Square in Moscow: the project examines attitudes to Russia in East and West Germany

Research Cluster

Conflict Dynamics and Border Regions

Coordinator: Dr Sabine von Löwis

The disintegration of the Soviet Union led to the creation of not only the fifteen successor states but also a series of de facto states. These changes fundamentally altered the way people lived together in the region. More recently, events in Ukraine show that the post-1991 territorial order in the post-Soviet space has proven less stable than previously assumed. For the region's inhabitants, as well as for regional, national, and international actors, new political realities have emerged.

This research cluster is dedicated to the study of local state and non-state actors and structures that are affected by, and influence the further development of, conflicts. These actors include refugees from conflict regions, populations of disputed areas, and local decision-makers. The research considers the many changing interactions between local and external actors and investigates the ways conflicts are caused and managed, social-spatial dynamics, the actions of affected populations, and the effectiveness of those actions.

Of particular interest are the quantitative and qualitative changes in borders. They include, for example, contested border demarcations, changes caused by entry into, or association with, economic and / or political organisations, or the effects of ongoing nation-building processes. Such shifts trigger uncertainties about individual and societal expectations of economic, social, and political futures and associated social and spatial mobility.



Confidence-Building and Conflict Settlement: The Case of Transdniestria

in cooperation with Prof. Stefan Wolff (University of Birmingham)

This project focuses on a review of the broad spectrum of confidence-building measures (CBMs) that were applied during past efforts to achieve a resolution to the conflict between the Republic of Moldova and Transdniestria.

The lack of progress towards a settlement of protracted conflicts on the territory of the former Soviet Union is variously attributed to local intransigence and geopolitical blockage. This has given rise to the idea that a meaningful settlement process needs to address both of these issues by building bridges across local divides in the protracted conflicts and across the deepening divide between Russia and the West.

In the context of this project, the dynamic between the international and local arenas is explored and testable hypotheses developed about the impact of the

Key questions

- ▶ How are confidence-building measures perceived by key conflict resolution stakeholders?
- ▶ How do measures adopted in the fields of security policy and military transparency, on the one hand, and the economy and trade, on the other, affect relations between the conflict parties?
- ▶ What can be done to make confidence-building measures more effective? Which types of measure look promising, and when?

former on the latter in the context of confidence-building. In the analysis of past CBMs, a particular focus is placed on economy and trade on the one hand and on security policy and military transparency on the other. Methodologically, the project is based on an extensive document analysis, CBM process tracing over two different periods (2010 to 2012/13 and 2013/14 to today), qualitative interviews with various stakehold-

ers involved in the negotiation process and co-variation of events at the local and international level.

Research activities in 2020

Due to the coronavirus pandemic, it was not possible to collect any further data in 2020. Instead, the focus shifted to the coding and analysis of existing transcripts of interviews conducted by two research assistants in Chişinău in 2019. The interviewees were persons who had been part of the conflict resolution process at a given time or who had insights into this process. The aim is to shed light on perceptions of the effectiveness of confidence-building measures as part of the longstanding negotiations. Within the project framework, the article *Withdrawal of Russian troops from the Republic of Moldova in the context of international confidence- and security-building efforts* was produced in collaboration with Simon Muschik, a research assistant at ZOIS. The article is scheduled for publication in 2021 in the edited work *Rückzüge. Der Abzug sowjetischer und russischer Truppen aus dem Machtbereich der (ehemaligen) UdSSR seit 1985*. ◀



The tank monument on the central square of the Transdniestrian capital Tiraspol commemorates the war with Moldova in 1992.

Orthodox Peace Ethics and Militarisation in the Post-Soviet Space

The topic of peace ethics is seldom addressed in academic studies on Orthodoxy, but the need for research on this issue is steadily increasing. Various current events in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus underline the continuing importance of peace ethics as an issue for the Orthodox Churches in these countries. Firstly, there is the continuing conflict between the two Orthodox Churches in Ukraine, which has various implications for the social debate on the war and questions of reconciliation. Secondly, there is the continuing militarisation in the Russian Orthodox Church, which can be observed, for example, in the construction of the 'Cathedral of the Armed Forces' near Moscow to mark the 75th anniversary of the victory in World War II. Finally, the position of the Orthodox Church in Belarus during the protests after the presidential elections in August 2020 shed light on other aspects of the Orthodox understanding of conflict, violence and reconciliation and on the negotiations between church leadership and faithful on these issues. In all three

Key questions

- ▶ Which theological understanding of peace, conflict and violence underpins the activities of the Orthodox Church in post-Soviet societies?
- ▶ How are Orthodox actors engaged in activities / initiatives for peace, reconciliation and conflict resolution and how does this tie in with the official position of the Church?
- ▶ Which factors prevent or promote Orthodox actors' constructive participation in peace and reconciliation processes?

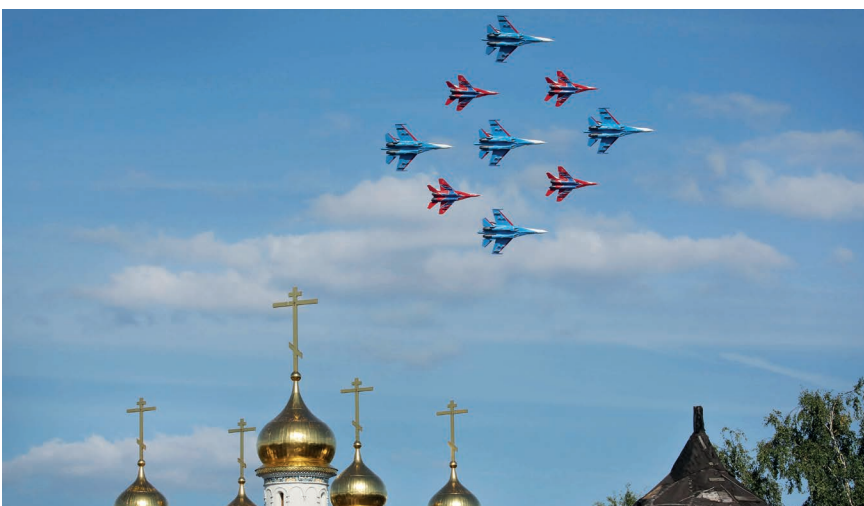
societies, initiatives at the local level, such as Ukrainian dialogue projects and the Russian 'national repentance' movement, point to an awareness of peace ethics among Orthodox believers, which contrasts with official statements.

The project undertakes a systematic review of basic texts and official statements on issues of peace ethics and conflict policy and analyses practical actions in relation to their theological underpinnings. The aim is to classify the political and social relevance of church posi-

tions and gain a better understanding of the interaction of church theology, church practice and socio-political developments. The combination of theological, ecclesiastical and practical faith-based perspectives is also necessary to raise public, political and academic awareness of the plurality of Orthodox positions in the sense of religious literacy. In this way, the options for involving Orthodox churches in peace and reconciliation processes in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus can be expanded in future.

Research activities in 2020

In March and November 2020, Regina Elsner led the meetings of *Healing of wounded memories: Reconciliation, repentance and forgiveness*, a working group established by the Pro Oriente Foundation (Vienna). In October 2020, she took part in an online networking meeting of the CivilM+ international civil society platform, which focused on the role of religious actors in reconciliation processes in Eastern Ukraine. In December 2020, she was invited by the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP) to discuss her latest project results at an expert meeting on *Religious Landscape Mapping in Ukraine*. ◀



The project is dedicated to the Orthodox churches' engagement with questions of peace ethics, which are persistently important given the current developments in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus.

Every-day Life in Conflict – Scopes for Action and Coping Strategies in De Facto States

In her project, social geographer Sabine von Löwis explores how conflicts in the post-Soviet space, which are mainly negotiated and monitored at the international level and in geopolitical discourse, are reflected in the everyday lives of affected communities and what role they play there. Her aim is to ascertain what scopes of action are available to individuals in their daily lives and what form they take. The project will identify selected coping strategies in the spheres of education, work, healthcare and culture in response to non-recognised statehood and how these strategies influence or even alter the conflict constellations.

The macro and meso perspectives form a key entry point and framework for understanding conflicts; however – and this is central to the approach adopted here – all levels are interactive. In order to improve our understanding of the geographical space and the people living there, it is important to consider and analyse their knowledge, experience and attitudes. This project therefore focuses on the micro level and analyses everyday life in conflicts.

The project will explore the perspective of the communities that are confronted with and live within the political conflict constellations. These communities' norms, values and practices will be a key focus of Sabine von Löwis's study, with an emphasis on the different generations' experience and how they interact and are transformed as a result of changing constellations of governance, both

Key questions

- ▶ What role do long-lasting conflicts play in the everyday lives of affected communities?
- ▶ How is everyday life, with its social, cultural and economic dimensions, organised under the constraints created by de facto statehood? Which loyalties are formed as a result?
- ▶ How does de facto statehood affect socio-spatial relations and practices, on the one hand, and, on the other, people's capacity to develop a sense of belonging?

formal and de facto. She will also seek to identify the frameworks that these governance structures establish for everyday life. Guiding the research is the question whether and how the findings will change attitudes towards these conflicts and contribute to their resolution.

Based on an empirical approach, Sabine von Löwis is planning to collect data in case study regions in the south-western post-Soviet space. This will involve spending longer periods in-country for the purpose of conducting participatory observation, qualitative interviews, open discussions, expert interviews and source research.

Research activities in 2020

Due to the travel restrictions imposed in response to the Covid-19 pandemic, Sabine von Löwis prioritised the analysis of data from interviews and discussions conducted during her 2019 fieldwork. Demographic development was a particular focus of interest: de facto

states are regions with drastic population decline due to out-migration and falling birth rates. Together with a Transdnestrian colleague, Sabine von Löwis analysed demographic trends in Transdnestria and prepared an academic paper for submission to a specialist journal. Further analyses will be presented in a paper on everyday life in conflict.

2020 offered an opportunity to submit a proposal, together with ZOIS colleague Beate Eschment, for an edited work for the *Routledge Borderlands Studies* series, entitled *Post-Soviet Borders: A Kaleidoscope of Shifting Lives and Lands*. The proposal was well-received by reviewers and was accepted by Routledge. The articles in this collected work focus on topics such as everyday life in contested border regions; examples are the Crimean border since its annexation by Russia, the border between Transdnestria and the Republic of Moldova, and the conflict-prone borders in Central Asia. ◀

Engagement Without Recognition – Higher Education in De Facto States

in cooperation with Thomas de Waal (Carnegie Europe)

The project analyses the situation of universities in de facto states and how they network with international partners. It focuses on people's basic right to education and training, regardless of whether or not their state and its institutions are internationally recognised. In de facto states, universities, students and researchers have limited opportunities to participate in international programmes or to benefit from cross-border mobility. There are multiple reasons for this, relating to de facto statehood itself, the willingness of universities in de facto states to engage with external partners, and the restrictions on international university cooperation with institutions in de facto states.

A key question explored by the project is to what extent it is possible and desirable to advocate from an international perspective for stronger links with universities in de facto states and for their closer integration into the European university landscape in order to create new opportunities for researchers and students. The project thus contributes to a better understanding of dynamics in de facto states.

The project's main focus is to examine international relations of universities in various de facto states (Northern Cyprus, Abkhazia and Transdniestria), particularly research links, opportunities for

student exchange, participation in international research funding programmes and language learning. It seeks to ascertain which methodologies are being adopted in the various contexts and pinpoint areas where there is scope for development. The project identifies internal and external barriers, compares good practices and creates scope for potential engagement.

Research activities in 2020

Based on research and interviews conducted in 2019, Thomas de Waal and Sabine von Löwis produced ZOiS Report 2/2020 *Higher Education in Europe's Unrecognised Territories: Challenges and Opportunities*. The report describes the higher education landscapes of Abkhazia, Transdniestria and Northern Cyprus

and their regional and international relations, and draws conclusions about their future development.

While producing the report, Sabine von Löwis and Thomas de Waal organised the workshop *Supporting Higher Education in Europe's Unrecognised Territories: Challenges and Opportunities*, which took place at ZOiS in March 2020. Participants from Transdniestria, Abkhazia, Northern Cyprus, the Republic of Moldova, Georgia and Turkey came together with experts from academic and government to discuss developments in the regions and exchange ideas about challenges and promising solutions. The results were then presented and discussed with the general public at a further event the following day. ◀

Key questions

- ▶ Which barriers stand in the way of external and internal actors wishing to access the international academic and university landscape?
- ▶ Which diverse approaches can be observed in the regional contexts?
- ▶ How does the development of academic and university networking with de facto states tie in with the discussion on 'engagement without recognition' or 'non-recognition and engagement'?
- ▶ Which conclusions can be drawn for the theoretical and political development of this strategy for other areas, such as medical care and business?

Political Orientations and Identities in De Facto States

This study is part of an interdisciplinary project led by John O'Loughlin (University of Colorado Boulder) with Gerard Toal (Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University), Kristin Bakke (University College London) and Marlene Laruelle (George Washington University). It is funded jointly by the USA's National Science Foundation, the UK's Economic and Social Research Council and ZOiS.

The project explores political attitudes, geopolitical orientations and identities arising from diverse social, economic, cultural and/or political networks, practices and interests of the populations of de facto states. The aim is to gain a better understanding of societal and sociospatial practices under the specific conditions of international non-recognition.

For the project, ZOiS is working with an interdisciplinary research group which, over the past 10 years, has conducted quantitative public opinion surveys on political orientations in de facto states in the post-Soviet space and in Eastern Ukraine's conflict region across a variety of scales.[1] Within the research group, ZOiS is involved in developing the surveys planned for Crimea, the post-Soviet de facto states of Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh and Transdniestria and the 'Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics' in Eastern Ukraine. ZOiS can set priorities and has the opportunity to use data from previous surveys

Key questions

- ▶ How are economic, political and social factors changing in the de facto states, and how is this change perceived by their populations?
- ▶ How do these factors interact with developments in the de facto states?

for its own studies. This allows comparative analysis of various social, political and economic developments in 2010, 2014 and 2019/20 within and across the de facto states and conflict regions. The study thus links in with Sabine von Löwis's project *Everyday Life in Conflict – Scopes for Action and Coping Strategies in De Facto States* and Gwendolyn Sasse's project on *Identities in Times of Crisis: The Case of Ukraine*.

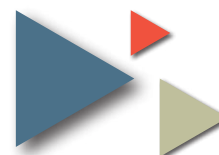
Research activities in 2020

Efforts to conduct the surveys in the de facto states were the main focus of attention in 2020. The surveys consist of standardised and semi-standardised questions on demographic, social, economic, cultural and political issues, including language use, financial status and religious affiliation. Some questions aim to elicit information about political identities, satisfaction with economic and social developments, and experiences of migration. The purpose of these representative surveys is to obtain an impression of public opinion from a

cross-section of the population. Data from the surveys in Eastern Ukraine and Nagorno-Karabakh are available and are currently being analysed. The findings of the completed surveys in Transdniestria have been available since late 2020. Due to political conditions and then the Covid-19 pandemic, the surveys in Abkhazia and South Ossetia have been postponed until spring 2021. ◀

[1] John O'Loughlin/Gerard Toal (5/2014-5/2016): *RAPID: Attitudes and Beliefs in Russian-Supported 'de facto' States and Eastern Ukraine in the Wake of the Crimean Annexation. (Surveys were conducted in Crimea, Transdniestria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh and South-Eastern Ukraine [outside the conflict zone]).*

Gerard Toal/John O'Loughlin/Michael D. Ward Gerard Toal: *The Dynamics of Secessionist Regions: Eurasian Unrecognized Quasi-States after Kosovo's Independence (2008–2014). (Surveys were conducted in Abkhazia, Transdniestria, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh and Kosovo.)*



Identities in Times of Crisis: The Case of Ukraine

Wars mark turning points whose dynamics may lead to far-reaching social and political changes. In the social sciences the causes of wars have received considerably more attention than their effects. While prominent hypotheses have been put forward on the polarising effects and the loss of trust resulting from wars, on the whole the empirical data relating to these questions is sparse. As well as generating data on those directly affected by the war – the population of the Donbas region and the people fleeing the war zone – this project investigates the overall mood in Ukraine (excluding the war zone and the Crimea).

ZOiS surveys carried out in 2016 were a first attempt to analyse the day-to-day lives, political attitudes, and identities of the population in the Donbas, including the territories not currently controlled by Kyiv. The surveys were repeated in 2019. Contrary to the prevailing assumption of polarisation through war, the results of both rounds of surveys highlight the consistently strong or even strengthened presence of mixed ethnic and bilingual identities, as well as the limited appeal of separatist ideas. A further survey conducted by ZOiS in 2016 is one of the few attempts to date to compile a demographic and political profile of those displaced by the war (the total number of internally displaced persons and people who have fled to Russia is estimated to be in the region of 2.5 million).

Even beyond the war zone, the war is having an impact on attitudes and identities across Ukraine. The project has been charting these developments since 2017 through a set of questions

included every year in the representative Omnibus surveys of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS). This data points to the persistence or strengthening of a state-centred identity. Gwendolyn Sasse is also involved in the thematically related project *Identities and Borders in Flux: The case of Ukraine (IBiF)*. A representative face-to-face panel survey in Ukraine is planned as part of this British Academy-funded project in cooperation with the University of Manchester, the George Washington University, and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

Research activities in 2020

The surveys of displaced persons provided the impetus for this year's special issue on *War and Displacement: the case of Ukraine* in *Europe-Asia Studies*, which was edited by Gwendolyn Sasse. The analysis of the Donbas data continued and was expanded in cooperation with partners from the US (University of Colorado and Virginia Polytechnic Institute) and the UK (University College London) to include a new telephone survey in the areas not currently controlled by the government.

An edited volume on *Post-Soviet Secessionism: Nation-Building and State-Failure after Communism* (eds Mikhail Minakov, Gwendolyn Sasse and Daria Isachenko) was produced over the course of the year and will be published by ibidem press / Columbia University Press in 2021. It contains an article by Gwendolyn Sasse and Alice Lackner on the strengthening of a state-centred Ukrainian identity.

The ZOiS questions regularly included in the KIIS Omnibus survey were repeated in late summer. Due to the coronavirus pandemic, this round of the survey took place online.

Since the face-to-face surveys planned as part of the IBiF project had to be postponed due to the pandemic, the project team turned its attention to two smaller representative online surveys in cooperation with KIIS, which, thanks to an experimental design, show the effects of Covid-19 on identities and public trust in political elites. A first paper on the results of these surveys was submitted and two further conference papers were prepared and presented online at the 2020 APSA and ASEES conferences. ◀

Key questions

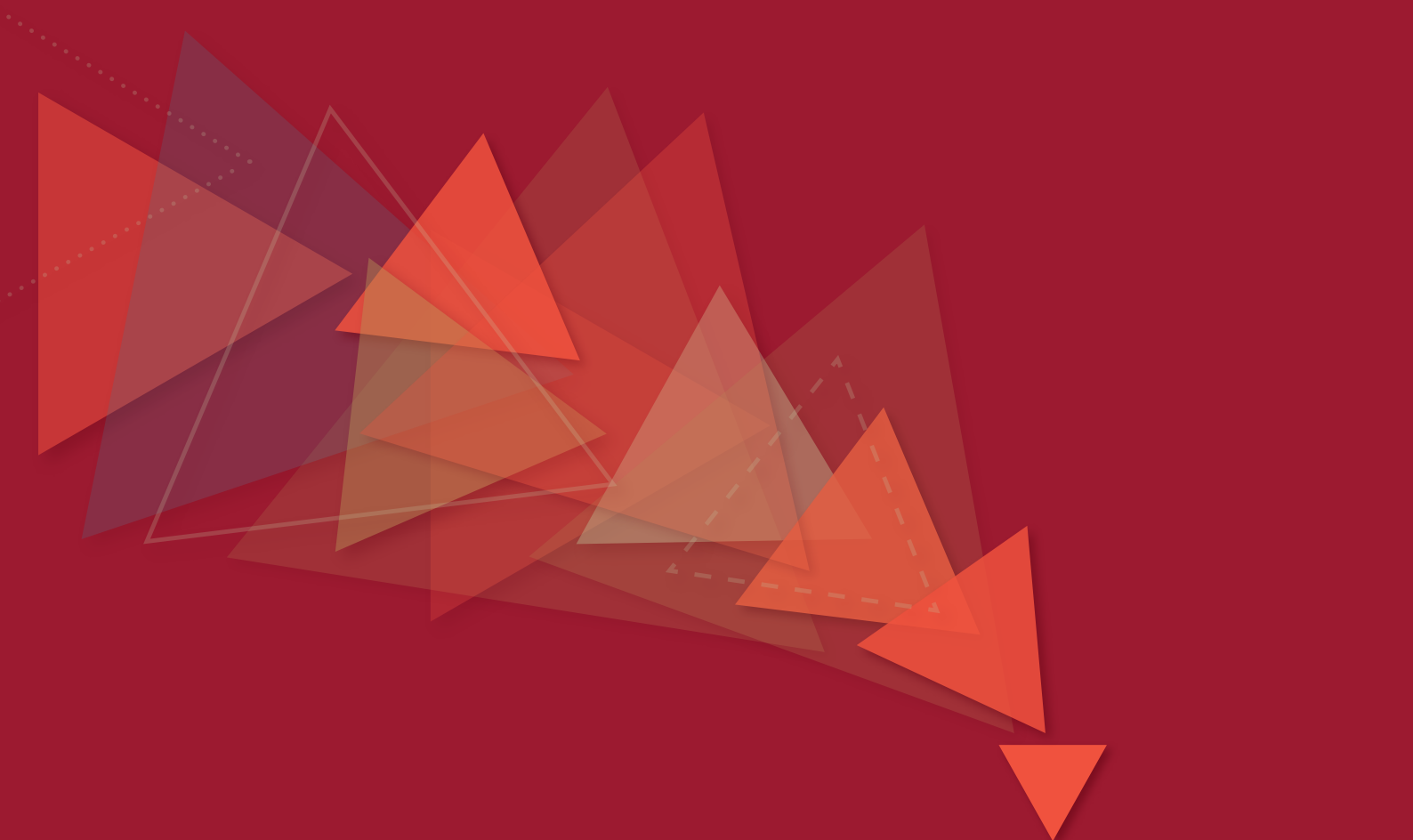
- ▶ What effects is the war having on the identities of those directly involved and on the entire population of Ukraine?
- ▶ How is the significance of ethnic or state-centred identities changing in Ukraine over a prolonged period shaped by crises?
- ▶ What methodological challenges does public opinion research in crisis situations present?

Research Cluster

Migration and Diversity

Coordinator: Dr Tsypylma Darieva

Migration and diversity are closely connected issues, but the extent and forms of transnational life and cultural diversity in East European and Eurasian societies are yet understudied. This research cluster considers the simultaneity and complexity of personal identities, networks, and the mobilisation of social and political engagement in transnational fields. It focuses, on the one hand, on migrants in Germany with an East European background and, on the other hand, on migratory processes and their effects on societies within and outside Eastern Europe. The internal diversity of so-called migrant groups, different conditions and forms of living together in spaces shaped by migration, non-linear integration and identification processes over longer periods of time, and mutual dynamics of transnational relations are important issues in this regard. This research cluster also examines questions of religious and ethnic diversity, drawing on the examples of East European and Eurasian cities.



Georgian Migrants in Germany: The Impacts of Social Remittances on Forms of Inequality in the Country of Origin

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union and Georgia's declaration of independence in 1991, the country experienced numerous political crises. This had devastating impacts on the economy and society and was one of the drivers of migration of large numbers of Georgians to other countries. However, the economy was not the only factor: social and individual circumstances also play a role in the decision to migrate. Georgia simultaneously became part of a globalisation process in which international exchange relationships gained in importance and the social order of the nation-state was transformed. The new transboundary socio-spatial relations that have emerged as a result have visible economic, political, and socio-cultural impacts, inter alia on migrants and their families.

The effects of migrants' financial transfers, known as remittances, on societies in the countries of origin have been a subject of discussion for some time. So-

cial remittances, by contrast, are an under-researched topic at present, and there is a consequent lack of information on how the ideas, practices, attitudes, values, norms, and beliefs which Georgian migrants encounter abroad are transferred to the home country. These social remittances, which may be made consciously or subconsciously, should be analysed with reference to migrants' individual and collective traits, taking into account the social relations in the country of origin. An accurate insight into social remittances enhances our understanding of how they influence and, in some cases, hinder social change in the country of origin.

This transnational project involves parallel research in Germany and Georgia. Based on a comparative approach, similarities, contrasts, and connections between the two localities can be identified. The aim is to reveal tensions, conflicts, and bargaining processes that point to

changes in social relationships. Diana Bogishvili's data collection is based on biographical interviews with Georgian migrants in Berlin and migrants' families in Georgia.

The project is registered as a PhD thesis at Humboldt-Universität's Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences and is supervised by Professor Magdalena Nowicka (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) and Professor Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS).

Research activities in 2020

In 2020, Diana Bogishvili began her empirical data-gathering. Before the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic in Germany, she conducted a number of biographical/narrative interviews with Georgian education migrants in Berlin, which focused on their experiences before and after migration. The measures taken to control the pandemic restricted Diana Bogishvili's access to the field and required her to adapt her research in response to the present circumstances. The planned field visit to Georgia was cancelled, the research questions were expanded to include new questions on daily life during the Covid-19 pandemic, and previous interviewees were contacted again and asked to answer additional questions on this topic. The survey methods were also adjusted, with interviews being conducted online. ◀

Key questions

- ▶ How does long-term absence affect migrants themselves and their families in the country of origin?
- ▶ Which types of social remittances are generated by migrants' long-term absence?
- ▶ How are social remittances exchanged transnationally, and what is their significance?

Transformation of Urban Spaces and Religious Pluralisation in the South Caucasus

This project intensifies the focus on urban spaces in Eastern Europe and aims to develop a new research perspective at the intersection of urban, diversity and religious studies. The complex inter-connections between religious diversity and post-socialist cities remain largely unexplored. Urban spaces in the South Caucasus are a specific laboratory of cultural diversity, where the resurgence of visible religiosity and atheist lifestyles is felt to a similar degree in politics and everyday life. In the context of ethno-political conflicts, however, growing religious diversity and its manifestations pose a challenge to local administrations and everyday concepts of coexistence.

Based on selected case studies (the cities of Baku in Azerbaijan and Batumi in Georgia), the project seeks to investigate and compare patterns of religious pluralisation in the South Caucasus. Over the last two decades, new religious movements and practices – including charismatic churches and new ‘purist’ Muslim communities – have been observed alongside the established churches and mosques. In both countries, debates are emerging about the design, use and meaning of urban sacred spaces, which are experienced as contested spaces to varying degrees of intensity.

Different institutional parameters are indicative of the different values that guide the two countries in this area. Azerbaijan is in the process of replacing its moderate religious policy with a more

Key questions

- ▶ How do local authorities regulate growing religious diversity in the cities of the South Caucasus in spatial and institutional terms?
- ▶ Under what conditions do urban spaces become sites of religious conflict?
- ▶ How do state restrictions affect religious activism and what new strategies and tactics are religious minorities developing to secure greater recognition?

restrictive approach, particularly towards Islam, and is pursuing a policy of multiculturalism as a top-down administrative tool. A different situation prevails in Georgia, where state elites share their power with the institutionally privileged Orthodox Church. The project investigates the development of new state-sponsored places of worship while also exploring informal, alternative religious practices and the appropriation of urban spaces. The main objective is to find out how the state regulates religion and religious diversity in terms of legal parameters and urban spatial structures in the conflict region South Caucasus, and to assess the extent to which religious practices and actors contribute to the transformation of urban spaces and the concepts of solidarity.

Research activities in 2020

Together with Regina Elsner (ZOiS) and Jeanne Kormina (Higher School of Economics, St Petersburg / Wissenschaftskolleg Berlin), Tsypylma Darieva organ-

ised a workshop on *Religious Activism. Mobilizing and Mediating the Religious in Eastern Europe and in the Caucasus* at the Wissenschaftskolleg Berlin in March 2020. In the course of the workshop, international experts developed a trans-regional perspective on the significance of religious social activities outside institutionalised Churches and mosques. A special issue of the journal *Religion, State and Society* that builds on their discussions is currently being prepared.

In July 2020, Tsypylma Darieva published the results of qualitative interviews she conducted with state representatives, experts, researchers and religious leaders during research stays in Azerbaijan in 2018 and 2019 in the ZOiS Report *Faith and state: Governing Religious Plurality in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan*. She also prepared a special issue on *Religious Plurality and the City Questions in post-Soviet Caucasus and Central Asia* for the journal *New Diversities*, which is due to be published in autumn 2021. ◀

Homeland Pilgrimage: Roots and Routes of Transnational Diasporic Engagement

Drawing on long-term ethnographic fieldwork in Armenia and the United States, this habilitation project focuses on mobility and transnational activities that generate new emotional and social links between a diaspora and its ancestral homeland. Similar to other Eastern European countries, Armenia – generally recognised as a country of outflow migration – has recently become attractive for post-migrant roots mobility. Social anthropologist Tsypylma Darieva examines the changing nature of transnational migratory flows and the reconfiguration of diasporic ties to the homeland, whose implications go far beyond homeland tourism.

Transnational flows of money, people and ideas from industrial nations to a post-socialist ‘developing’ country are driven by a new generation of diasporic

organisations. With the help of non-state and international organisations, they employ a variety of ‘soft tools’ of engagement, such as trips to the homeland, volunteering, and philanthropy, which foster ties to Armenia, creating a new social field in the process. A new pattern of global mobility for migrants’ descendants has emerged in this context. With ‘*homeland pilgrimage*’, Darieva has formulated a concept that understands diasporic mobility not in terms of unidirectional return migration (counter-diasporic movements), but more as an assemblage of ethnic agencies, international organisations, and state initiatives that shapes transnational post-migrant life projects and visions of the future.

This book project seeks to contribute to social science research on diasporic roots mobility at the intersection of mi-

gration, diasporic activism and pilgrimage studies. The aim is to develop an ethnographic account and theory of social imaginaries, the political claims of diaspora communities, and emerging infrastructures of a ‘sacred’ journey that transcend classical pilgrimage studies.

Research activities in 2020

Following an evaluation process, the manuscript was accepted as a habilitation thesis at the Faculty of Cultural Studies and Social and Educational Sciences of the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin in December 2020.

In November, Tsypylma Darieva presented key results of her study at the 2020 *ASEEES Annual Convention in Washington DC* during a panel on *Mobility, Identity, and Performance in the Southern Caucasus*. She also wrote the article *Giving Back. Constructing Bonds to the Homeland among global Armenians*, which is undergoing peer review in the journal *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. In December 2020, Darieva discussed the role of diaspora communities in the development of their countries of origin during the workshop *Mobility Trajectory of Young Lives: Transnational Youth in Global South and North (MO-TRAYL)* at the University of Maastricht. ◀

Key questions

- ▶ How and why do the descendants of migrants maintain their attachment to the ancestral homeland?
- ▶ What reconfigurations does the term ‘homeland’ undergo for post-migrant young people of Armenian descent in a transnational time?
- ▶ What are the reasons for transnational engagement by second and later generations of migrants and members of ethnic diasporic communities?
- ▶ What political significance does the mythical-abstract concept of ‘homeland’ acquire when it becomes a real place that is experienced at first hand?

New Test Conditions in the ‘Laboratory of People’s Friendship’: The Situation of National Minorities in Kazakhstan

The Republic of Kazakhstan is a multi-ethnic state. Around 30 per cent of the population is made up of non-Kazakh minority nationalities – of which there are more than 100 – which, apart from occasional localised, everyday conflicts, coexist peacefully. With reference to selected nationalities, in this project Central Asia expert Beate Eschment examines the effects of the government’s nationalities policy on their situation in the past and the present and explores how they view Kazakhstan today. She also analyses the role national interest groups



Model of the ethnic groups of Kazakhstan in the House of Friendship in Almaty.

Key questions

- ▶ Do the citizens of Kazakhstan see themselves as members of a particular ethnic group or as Kazakhstani?
- ▶ What role does the ‘historical homeland’ play in the life and identity of the national minorities?
- ▶ What factors have a bearing on the peaceful coexistence of the different ethnic groups and their decision to stay in Kazakhstan?

play in promoting peaceful interethnic relations while also serving as a focal point for identity formation (as members of an ethnic group or as Kazakhstani). The project applies a combination of methods, including interviews with experts and representatives of various nationalities, discourse analysis of their publications and speeches, and participant observation. An opinion poll conducted among members of the investigated nationalities in the autumn of 2019 sought to gauge the success of the Kazakhstani identity concept propagated by the government as well as the level of identification with one’s own ethnic group.

The project’s overall objective is to assess the prospects for continued interethnic stability in Kazakhstan.

Research activities in 2020

Beate Eschment organised the workshop *30 years of Kazakhstan’s nationalities policy on small ethnic groups: current situation and prospects*, which took place at ZOiS in February 2020 with the participation of eminent researchers from

Kazakhstan and Western Europe. Further planned presentations had to be cancelled due to the Covid-19 travel restrictions. An online presentation at a conference in April on the ethno-political situation in Kazakhstan organised by the Center for Interethnic and Interconfessional Relations in Nur-Sultan was the only other opportunity to engage with researchers on the subject. The year was otherwise devoted to the analysis of an opinion poll conducted in 2019 and material collected on previous research trips to Kazakhstan. The first results of this research were published in September in the ZOiS Report *Kazakh and/or Kazakhstani? The National Identity of the Republic of Kazakhstan and its Citizens*. Since it was impossible to clarify outstanding questions on the data on-site this year, the thematic focus of other publication projects had to be modified. An article on the Chechen and Kurdish minorities in Kazakhstan was completed and will appear in a special issue of the journal *Central Asian Affairs* on *Multi-ethnicity and multi-ethnic legacies in present-day Kazakhstan* (edited by Beate Eschment and Bruno De Cordier) in 2021. ◀

From Molotov Cocktails to Farewell Parties: Causes of Emigration for Participants of the 2013–14 Euromaidan Protests in Ukraine

In late 2013 and early 2014, Ukrainians held mass protests against their government. These protests carried immediate risks for the protesters, as law enforcement used excessive and, at times, lethal force against them. The regime was toppled in February 2014, and the protesters hoped for a better future. Five years later, Ukraine had survived a devastating military conflict in its eastern Donbas region, recovered from an economic downturn in 2014–15, and generally stabilised. Yet, despite these achievements, many former participants of the Euromaidan protests decided to leave the country—and more may follow.

This situation presents a research question: why do people who have previously risked their lives in anti-government protests that ended in success decide to emigrate several years later? Personal motivations are obviously diverse; yet, this project aims to systematise them and identify the main factors that contribute to such decisions. Understanding these causes is especially relevant because Ukraine is now experiencing a brain drain of its educated youth.

This study will involve a survey and subsequent interviews with former participants of the Euromaidan protests to evaluate their attitudes to the idea of emigrating and the social, economic, security, and political factors that might have influenced their decision. Respondents will be recruited via respondent-driven sampling. The study will test the statistical relationship between respondents' dissatisfaction with these factors

Key questions

- ▶ Why do many former activists in Ukraine's Euromaidan protests choose to emigrate?
- ▶ What backgrounds are conducive to the migration of activists?
- ▶ What migration plans do activists have, and when did they form?

and how likely they are to emigrate. The working hypothesis is that dissatisfaction with post-2014 political developments in Ukraine is the main factor behind a willingness to emigrate. Other hypotheses will consider the issues that motivate protesters most likely to emigrate as well as their migration plans.

The study expects to contribute to migration theory, as within this field, the issue of politically motivated migration without an immediate threat is under-researched. Furthermore, the study will address the lack of literature in social movement studies on what happens to activists after mobilisation.

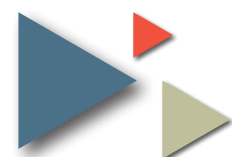
The project is being prepared as a dissertation at the Berlin Graduate School for Social Sciences at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. The supervisors are Prof. Silvia von Steinsdorff (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) and Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOIS).

Research activities in 2020

In 2020, research focused on preparing the literature review, which was concluded by the end of the year. In early 2020, Kostiantyn Fedorenko attended

methodological study courses at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

Five strands of literature were reviewed: migration theory, social movements and mobilisation, disillusionment in socio-political developments, empirical studies of the Euromaidan protests, and studies about emigration from Ukraine. It was established that there are currently no studies on the relationship between participation in Euromaidan and emigration from Ukraine. Furthermore, there is a general lack of studies on Euromaidan participants, and no studies on their post-protest attitudes. This mirrors a broader lack of literature on what happens to activists after mobilisation. In addition, the available literature seldom focuses on political reasons for emigrating, unless the literature relates to refugees who find themselves in immediate danger, a situation not experienced by most Ukrainians. ◀



Visualising the Invisible: Using Visual Ethnography to Explore Extra-Institutional Activism of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities

When members of ethnic minorities or migrants are approached by the media or academia, contact is usually made through institutions. For the study of Polish migrants, Polish parishes and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are typical entry points; for Jewish research subjects, synagogues and Jewish community centres are popular; and for gaining access to the Hungarian diaspora, Hungarian cultural centres play a key role.

Such approaches create the image of minority or migrant activism that is self-centred and focuses primarily on subjects' own communities. This image does little to break down the stereotype of migrants and members of ethnic minorities as a burden on society – a view perpetuated by contemporary populism across European countries.

This project focuses on the activism of migrants and members of ethnic minorities that happens outside key minority or migrant institutions and therefore remains invisible to the media and academic research. It builds on Piotr Goldstein's previous research, which has resulted in the production of *Active (citizen)*, a thirty-minute ethnographic documentary co-authored by him and Jan Lorenz of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland. Goldstein is working on further outputs to explore the overlooked contributions of this minority and migrant activism and highlight their value to the general public.

Key questions

- ▶ How do migrants and ethnic minorities practise activism beyond their own community structures?
- ▶ What are the best ways of studying migrant and minority groups that are barely visible, and what is the value of studying such groups rather than those attached to formal community structures?

One of the main goals of this project is to explore the activism of refugees, migrants and ethnic minorities beyond their engagement in social movements and NGOs. The project seeks to highlight this, otherwise invisible, activism, and, using visual material (mostly short videos), bring it into public discourse.

The project is based on a combination of long-term multi-sited ethnography, visual ethnography and interviews. Film footage has already been recorded at several locations with a view to making a series of short films or a multi-screen video installation. One of the aims here is to make the findings of this research available to a broader public and make a social impact through what is often termed activist anthropology.

Research activities in 2020

In January 2020, Piotr Goldstein visited Manchester, UK, where he conducted interviews and shot new footage for the project, filming the work of a Manchester-based cooperative run by Polish migrants. Later in the year, a team of film

editors was contracted and the material, together with additional footage shot in December 2020, is currently being transformed into 25-minute-long ethnographic documentary. Piotr Goldstein also started working on a shorter documentary about the activism of a Vietnamese migrant in Poland.

Meanwhile, the earlier output of the project, the film *Active (citizen)*, has been screened in community venues in Manchester, UK, and Madrid, Spain, and was selected for, and screened at, the *Festival of Romani Film* in Berlin. ◀



QR code to the trailer of Piotr Goldstein's new documentary film 'Spółdzielnia' ('Cooperative') about the invisible activism of migrants and ethnic minorities.

Post-Soviet Migrants and Transnational Public Spheres on Social Media

This project looks at media usage among Russian-speaking migrants through an analysis of communication on the Russian social networking site VK.com, which is viewed in the context of Russia's soft power in Europe. Sociologist Tatiana Golova is studying how open groups and public pages associated with Russian-speaking migrants in Germany interact with other collective resources in Germany, Russia and the rest of the post-Soviet space. Particularly in light of the 2017 Bundestag elections and the attempted mobilisation of ethnic Germans from Russia (*Russlanddeutsche*) by the populist far right, the project's guiding question on how politicised communication networks between Germany and Russia evolve and are fostered by post-Soviet migrants living in Germany has become relevant.

To answer this question, networks of open groups and the public pages of post-Soviet migrants and other actors with a connection to Germany are reconstructed on the basis of reposts, i.e. the recognisable borrowing of content from other accounts. This has allowed Golova to map information flows between 'East' and 'West' as well as the links between politicised post-Soviet migrant groups and the German far right that give rise to transnational illiberal publics. The positions of political subnetworks are generally consistent with official Russian discourses, for example, in relation to the conservative and illiberal critique of

the 'West', Euroscepticism, and the separatist mobilisations and pseudostates supported by the Russian state in eastern Ukraine.

Golova argues that where social networks are concerned, the soft power of authoritarian states is not solely or primarily a matter of state-directed infiltration of another national cyberspace. The transnational expansion of Russian social networks is due rather to the actions of various actors, including members of the post-Soviet diaspora, which result in the creation of complex communication spaces. By enabling the spread of hegemonic discourses and popular narratives beyond the territory of the Russian Federation via a digital medium regulated by the Russian state, these spaces also serve as resources for Russian soft power. Rather than examining Russian influence on the basis of targeted disinformation campaigns or

political doctrines, such as the 'Russian world' concept aimed at popularising Russian culture abroad and influencing diasporas, the project focuses on the reconstruction of the transnational flow of information. An analysis of the horizontal construction of communication spaces, and thus of soft power resources, takes centre stage. As the project shows, the flow of information can extend in multiple directions as 'native' and 'transnational' publics intermingle in different arenas.

Research activities in 2020

Tatiana Golova was on parental leave from January to August 2020.

Golova's article on *Post-Soviet migrants in Germany, transnational public spheres and Russian soft power* was published in the *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* in April 2020. ◀

Key questions

- ▶ How is the transnational flow of information between the post-Soviet space and Germany organised on social networking sites and what social media publics arise in the process?
- ▶ What types of groups, subnetworks and issues can be identified on VK.com in connection with post-Soviet migrants and the transnational Russian-German nexus?
- ▶ How transnational are these communication forums in terms of their repost sources and the membership structure of different groups?
- ▶ Where can politicised subnetworks be located in relation to official Russian discourses and different German political actors?

Research Cluster

Youth in Eastern Europe

Coordinator: Dr Félix Krawatzek

Youth plays a key role in the constant changes that politics and society undergo. On the one hand, young people may become politically active, on the other hand, youth provides a highly contested imaginary of a country's experiences and expectations. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, young people across Eastern Europe have experienced radical changes in their living conditions including the educational system, economic opportunities, and political conditions. These changes have implications for the relationship between young and old and the role young people play in Eastern Europe today as agents for change or stability. This research cluster aims to study not only political activism and generational change but also cultural practices, the identities of young people, their economic status as well as government initiated youth policies. The individual projects draw on different methods, such as surveys, interviews, focus groups, discourse and text analysis, and network analysis.



Youth as Political Actor and Social Imaginary

In today's Russia, young people frequently take to the streets, either to put pressure on the existing regime or to express their support for it. Beyond that, young people campaign for supposedly apolitical issues, such as environmental protection or animal rights, and are active in neighbourhood initiatives. As a symbol, youth is very visible in Russia, and both the media and politicians actively draw on it when referring to the past, the present, or expectations for the country's future.

This research project studies the political activism of young people and compares developments in contemporary Russia with the situation in Poland and Belarus. A database of pro- and anti-regime mobilisations is being compiled in order to understand young people's protest behaviour, the drivers of and obstacles to their political engagement, and the relationship between those taking to the streets and the current Russian regime. In reaction to last year's developments in Belarus, the mobilisation of young people there was also systematically investigated. In addition, focus group interviews are being carried out with young people in Poland and Russia in order to put their political behaviour in a historical and cultural context and un-



In front of the Belarusian embassy in Moscow, a young woman demonstrates solidarity with the opposition movement in Belarus after the rigged 2020 presidential election.

derstand their perceptions of social mobilisation. This project seeks to map the different and contradictory forms of engagement of young people, while also querying how they themselves understand the political space they inhabit.

Research activities in 2020

Data collection on the mobilisation of young people in Russia was completed this year. The aim is now to use this data

to map youth activism in order to gain a better understanding of the visibility of youth in the public sphere. To shed light on the contradictions inherent in young people's engagement, pro- and anti-regime activities were considered, with a geographic focus on Ekaterinburg and St Petersburg. The size of individual events, the slogans used, the response of security forces, the age profile of the participants, and any public or political reactions are all systematically recorded in the database. Over the course of the year, details on the protests in Belarus were also registered, particularly with regard to generational dynamics. In addition, a series of focus group interviews on the attitudes and political participation of young people was carried out in Poland in the autumn. These interviews are currently being analysed. ◀

Key questions

- ▶ What political and social objectives do young people champion and how do they perceive their engagement?
- ▶ How do political regimes respond to the challenges emanating from youth mobilisation?
- ▶ When do young people take to the streets to challenge or support the existing political regime?

History for Young People: Historical Narratives and Perceptions

Historical narratives are probably the most important resource for the formation of collective identities. How a group – a family, a region or a nation – tells its own story helps to shape that group’s self-perceptions and plays a part in determining which political and social actions it considers appropriate. Authority figures in politics and society therefore have an interest in conveying images of history that prompt the ‘right’ reactions. Children and teenagers are a key target group, as their attitudes and values are still believed to be malleable.

In this interdisciplinary project, we identify and explore the historical narratives to which young people in Russia are exposed. The focus is on the representation of twentieth-century Russian/Soviet history. We study how the Russian past is narrated in recent history books, literature and films, which events are foregrounded, and which are left out. We also carry out representative surveys and focus group interviews to investigate young people’s real-world perceptions of history.

A joined-up approach linking cultural studies and the social sciences is often called for but rarely implemented. That is something that we aim to change with this project. We hope to gain new insights into the logic underlying the production of historical narratives and how

they take effect. Furthermore, by applying a comparative approach to categorise developments in Russia, our aim is to deepen our understanding of the impacts of the history policy measures that have been widely adopted.

Research activities in 2020

In the first year of this research project, Nina Frieß and Félix Krawatzek worked together on a ZOiS Report titled *World War II for Young Russians: the Production and Reception of History*. This was an opportunity to put the interdisciplinary mix of approaches from literary studies and the social sciences into practice. Focusing on the memory of World War II in Russia, the report analysed the historical narratives conveyed in focus group interviews with young people and various cultural products. This research was

also the basis for a first journal article, which is currently undergoing peer review. To mark the 75th anniversary of the end of World War II on 8/9 May, Frieß and Krawatzek presented some of their research findings to interested members of the public in an online event and the ZOiS podcast *Roundtable Osteuropa*. To put their research in a comparative European perspective, they organised the workshop *Memory as a Dialogue? History for Young People* and shared their experiences on the challenges of holding a workshop in the midst of a pandemic in a Twitter interview. The workshop report was published online on H-Soz-Kult. With a further publication based on the results of the workshop (in preparation), the researchers hope to make a significant contribution to interdisciplinary memory studies. ◀

Key questions

- ▶ How do young people position themselves vis-à-vis the historical narratives to which they are exposed in Russian culture, society and politics?
- ▶ Under what circumstances do young people question these narratives and when do they assimilate them?
- ▶ How are young people’s perceptions of history influenced by cultural artefacts?
- ▶ In what ways do cultural memory narratives coincide or conflict with young people’s perceptions of history?

Attitudes, Political Engagement, and Transnational Linkages of Young People in Eastern Europe

Based on a number of online surveys conducted across Eastern Europe (Russia, Belarus, Poland, and Latvia), this project taps into the attitudes, behaviour, and transnational linkages of a generation that has not yet been empirically studied. These surveys allow us to detect larger patterns in the way young people perceive the political and social worlds they inhabit, how they identify with their countries' pasts, and what aspirations they have for their own futures.

An initial series of surveys was conducted among people aged 16 to 34 in fifteen regional capitals across the Russian Federation. Youth plays an important role in the official discourse of the Russian government. Young people have been shown to be loyal to the regime and to identify with conservative values, but they have also been very visible in the anti-corruption protest movement around Alexei Navalny and in local protests. This contradiction within the young generation is not unique to Russia.

Through further surveys in Belarus, Poland, and Latvia, this project gains a deeper understanding of the reasons for the diversity of views among the young in rapidly changing societies. We probe a range of issues, such as the level of political interest, knowledge, and public engagement of young people, their sources of information, personal networks, expectations, trust, and values. The online questionnaires combine novel survey techniques, including factual and picture quizzes as well as vignette and list experiments.

Research activities in 2020

A further online survey of the political views of young people in Russia, Belarus and Poland was conducted in the spring of 2020. In comparison with the previous surveys in 2018 and 2019, it was expanded to take account of young people from outside the major cities. In addition, a survey on political attitudes carried out shortly before the presidential elections

in Belarus in summer 2020 provided a rare insight into the rapidly changing popular mood, before the protests became a mass phenomenon. The results of the surveys in Russia and Belarus were promptly disseminated in a series of blog posts and media articles, and proved useful as a basis for interpreting recent events in discussions with the media and politicians.

A paper on the significance of international contacts for young people's political views, which was presented at a ZOIS workshop and international conferences in 2019, was submitted as part of a special issue edited by Félix Krawatzek and is currently undergoing peer review. Krawatzek also published an article on young people's historical perceptions in the journal *Problems of Post-Communism*. In connection with a cooperative project he initiated with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Krawatzek carried out a comparative analysis of different surveys of young people undertaken separately by ZOIS and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. The results of this study (in English and Russian) were presented to an audience of interested experts in December. Gwendolyn Sasse also began her analysis of the importance of gender factors in young people's political attitudes and behaviour in Russia and Belarus. ◀

Key questions


- ▶ What political views, social values and expectations are typical of the young generation in Eastern Europe?
- ▶ What factors influence the attitudes of young people in Eastern Europe? What role do their international contacts play, for example?




Research Cluster

Political Economy and Integration

Coordinator: Dr Julia Langbein



After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the fifteen successor states and the Central and East European countries that belonged to the former socialist bloc had to re-integrate their economies into transnational markets. They also had to reorganise their domestic political and economic relations. Against this background, this research cluster focuses on two interlinked processes. Firstly, the cluster's projects investigate how varieties of domestic political and economic relations shape the way East European economies manage economic integration and dis-integration. They also explore the extent to which these economies benefit from being integrated into transnational markets and value chains. Secondly, this research cluster examines different strategies of transnational market integration pursued, for example, by the EU, China, or Russia in Eastern Europe. How do these strategies shape the domestic policy space for development in East European economies? To what extent do these strategies cause economic dis-integration, and how do they affect regime stability? Relatedly, the research cluster assesses when and how the economic integration strategies of these external actors compete with or complement each other.



EU Integration Strategies and Room for Development in Europe's Peripheries

in cooperation with Prof. László Bruszt (Central European University)

According to the dominant perspective in the literature, transnational market integration has the uniform effect of reducing the room for development in peripheral economies. Challenging this perspective, this research examines the integration strategies used by the European Union (EU) in its three peripheries: the Southern member states, the Eastern member states, and neighbouring countries outside the EU.

How do these strategies shape the capacities of states in these three peripheries to successfully integrate their economies into the regional market and upgrade their industries in European value chains? What other factors are responsible for variation in developmental state capacities? Why does the EU apply different integration strategies towards its peripheries in the first place, and why do these strategies sometimes change over time?

This research project aims to develop an analytical framework to compare various economic integration strategies and their capacity to help states in peripheral economies to play by, and benefit from, the shared rules of an integrated market. It also seeks to explore the domestic political factors that hinder or encourage the creation of developmental institutions in peripheral economies.

By exploring the effects of various EU strategies on developmental state capacities, the project will produce important lessons for other parts of the world on how to expand integration regimes among countries at different levels of development.

Research activities in 2020

A special issue of the journal *Review of International Political Economy* edited by László Bruszt and Julia Langbein was published in June 2020. In it, the authors examine the differences in the economic integration strategies the EU is pursuing in Southern and Eastern member states and in its Eastern neighbouring countries, and the effects these strategies are having on their scope for domestic economic development. To coincide with the publication of the special issue, Langbein and her co-authors László

Bruszt and Vera Scépanovic (Leiden University) recorded a podcast for the ZOiS series *Roundtable Osteuropa*, in which they discussed the main findings of their research and their relevance for future EU economic governance. Further events to present these findings to both experts and the general public are planned for the near future. In addition, Langbein is working with László Bruszt on an article that asks why the EU, in the context of its pre-accession strategy for eastward enlargement, developed strategies and approaches to overcome the economic disparities between old and new member states that were quite successful, but has largely abandoned them since accession. The article also points to the lessons we can learn from this for overcoming continuing economic disparities both within the EU and between the EU and its Eastern neighbouring countries. ◀

Key questions

- ▶ What economic integration strategies is the EU pursuing in peripheral economies within and outside the Union and why do these strategies differ?
- ▶ How do the strategies affect the scope for economic development within peripheral economies?
- ▶ What lessons can be learned for future EU economic governance and for other integration regimes among countries at different levels of development?

Deep Free Trade with the EU and its Effects on Post-Soviet Regime Stability

This project examines how EU agreements to create Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Areas (DCFTAs) affect regime stability in Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine. In all three countries, the regimes are conceptualised as social orders where elites exploit their privileged access to political and economic resources for the sake of private gains, albeit to different degrees.

DCFTAs are not only based on comprehensive trade liberalisation. The EU has also committed to providing its three Eastern neighbours with financial assistance to support their compliance with EU market rules and improve the competitiveness of their domestic industries. Against this background, DCFTAs are likely to enable more economic actors to access economic resources such as trade and entrepreneurial activities. As a result, they may demand more political participation and accountability from the state.

Based on an in-depth analysis of sectors that are key for the Georgian, Moldovan, and Ukrainian economies in terms of their share of GDP and total exports, this project poses the following questions: Have more economic actors, such as small and medium-sized enterprises, been able to access economic resources, or have elites with access to economic resources at least diversified in the context of the DCFTAs? Or have trade liberalisation and financial assistance simply

helped to create new winners, without broadening the group of actors with access to economic resources?

The project aims to reveal the partly unintended consequences of economic integration with the EU for the social orders in the three Eastern neighbours. The results will provide important insights into how to bring about economic and political competition, rather than stabilise existing regimes that limit access to political and economic resources to the benefit of the dominant elite.

Research activities in 2020

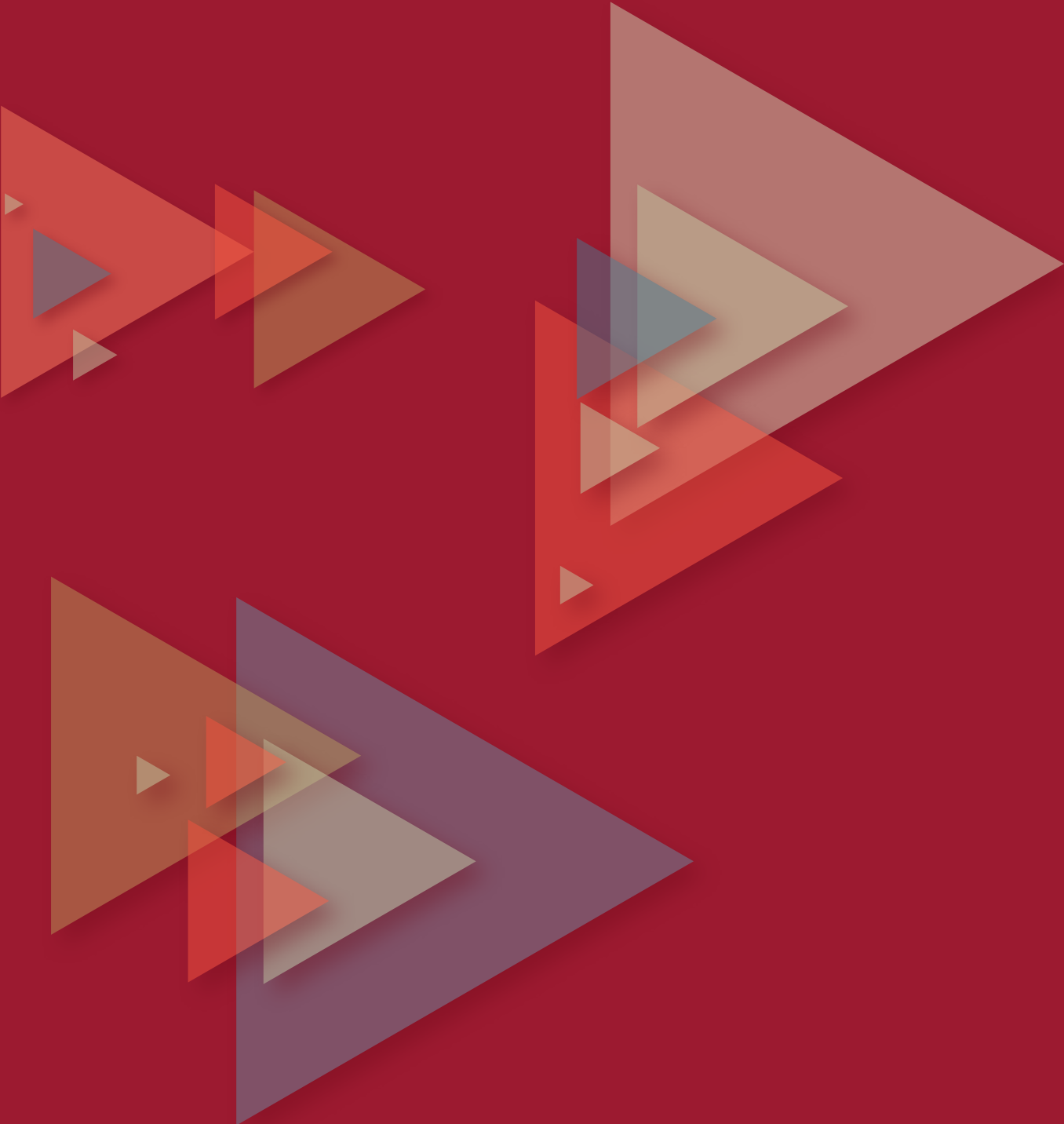
An article by Julia Langbein, Ildar Gazizullin and Dmytro Naumenko was published in the journal *East European Politics* in January 2020. It shows how trade liberalisation between the EU and Ukraine has mainly benefitted those sectors dominated by the holdings of Ukrainian oligarchs. Thus trade liberalisation between the EU and Ukraine

has had the unintentional consequence of bolstering the power positions of corrupt elites. Based on her research and discussions with experts from Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia, Langbein wrote a paper for the Center for Liberal Modernity in August 2020, in which she outlines a strategy for future economic cooperation between the EU and the three associated Eastern neighbours. The aim is to enable the three countries to exploit the advantages of the DCFTAs more effectively for their economic development. This strategy paper was also the basis for discussions with representatives of the German Federal Foreign Office, members of the German Parliament, MEPs, and European Commission officials. In addition, together with Georgian researcher Irina Guruli (Economic Policy Research Center) and Moldovan researcher Denis Cenusă (Universität Gießen / Expert-Grup), Langbein has begun to investigate the effects of the DCFTAs on regime stability in Georgia and Moldova. ◀

Key questions

- ▶ Under what conditions do the DCFTAs reinforce the existing social orders in Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova, which restrict access to political and economic resources to the benefit of elites?
- ▶ How do the three countries differ in this regard and what are the reasons for these differences?
- ▶ How can the EU use the DCFTAs more effectively to promote greater political and economic competition?

Externally Funded Projects



Determinants of Mobilisation at Home and Abroad: Analysing the Micro-Foundations of Out-Migration & Mass Protest (MOBILISE)

MOBILISE is an international joint project funded by Open Research Area (ORA) in which ZOiS is participating with its Director Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse as a Principal Investigator. The other Principal and Co-Investigators are Dr Olga Onuch (University of Manchester), Prof. Jacquélien van Stekelenburg (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam), Dr Sorana Toma (ENSAE Paris), Dr David Doyle (University of Oxford) and Dr Evelyn Ersanilli (University of Amsterdam). On the German side, the project is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). Working on this project at ZOiS are Dr Piotr Goldstein as a postdoctoral researcher and PhD student Kostiantyn Fedorenko.

While the relationship between protest and migration has been theorised at the macro-level it is rarely studied at the individual level. This is remarkable given that the theoretical expectations as to what drives both migration and protest overlap significantly. This project studies protest and migration concurrently and comparatively across space and time, in origin as well as destination countries. The main question is: When there is discontent, why do some people protest while others cross borders?

MOBILISE employs a multi-method (nationally representative face-to-face panel surveys, online migrant surveys, protest participant surveys, focus groups, in-depth interviews, social media analy-

sis) and a multi-sited research design. It covers Ukraine, Poland, Morocco and Argentina – four countries which have recently witnessed both large-scale emigration and mass protests. It follows migrants from these countries to Germany, the United Kingdom and Spain.

The project offers four key innovations:

- ▶ It combines protest and migration.
- ▶ It captures all the relevant groups for a comparative study (protesters, migrants, migrant protesters and people who have not engaged in migration or protest).
- ▶ It tracks individuals over time by employing a panel survey.
- ▶ It includes the use of social media data providing real time information on the role of networks and political remittances.

These features allow the project to generate a large amount of empirical data on the issues at stake, to make a major contribution to theory development in

both migration and protest studies, and to offer key insights to policy makers that are of central importance for political and economic stability.

Research at ZOiS

The team at ZOiS headed by Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse is principally engaged in the collection of quantitative and qualitative data in Poland and Ukraine as well as data collections on Polish and Ukrainian migrants in Germany, the United Kingdom and Spain. Together with international partners this data will be compared with data relating to Latin America and North Africa collected by the partner institutions. Postdoc Piotr Goldstein coordinates the qualitative data collection in the four countries of origin, Ukraine, Poland, Morocco and Argentina, as well as the qualitative data collection among Polish, Ukrainian, Argentinian and Moroccan migrants in Germany, Britain and Spain.

Key questions

- ▶ Are there similar factors that drive the choice to migrate and / or protest at the individual level?
- ▶ How does the political, social and economic context affect this mobilisation?
- ▶ Are these choices independent of each other or mutually reinforcing / undermining?

Research activities in 2020

In 2020, the *MOBILISE* team at ZOIS focused on collecting quantitative data from protest participants in Belarus and Poland, co-creating the second wave survey for migrants and contributing to the broader team's effort to trace protest-related hashtags in social media.

In January and February 2020, the team conducted focus group interviews as well as individual interviews with migrants from Poland and Ukraine living in Berlin. Following that, Kostiantyn Fedorenko and Piotr Goldstein conducted all planned focus groups and individual interviews with Poles and Ukrainians living in Madrid. Piotr Goldstein also coordinated the preparation of all the necessary documents (interview scripts, consent forms, etc.) for individual and group interviews with Ukrainian migrants in London, some of which continued into March 2020. Following the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic, all further face-to-face focus groups and interviews were cancelled. In the final months of 2020, Goldstein and Karolina Lebek, a sociologist from Warsaw and the project's new research assistant, explored various possibilities to continue interviews and focus groups online and, in January 2021, the team conducted the first online focus group to provide a unique insight into migrant protests. This data will be combined with visual ethnographic material recorded by Piotr Goldstein during Polish LGBT solidarity and Polish abortion ban protests in Berlin in August, October and December. Parts of the interview and visual data was presented in two *ZOIS Spotlights* written by Piotr Goldstein in 2020.

In August, together with the British partner, the ZOIS team prepared and launched a survey of participants of anti-regime protests in Belarus. Promoted mostly through social media, the survey ran until January 2021 and received over 48,000 responses, of which around 32 per cent were complete. The results were presented in several academic and media contributions by Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse and Dr Olga Onuch.

Karolina Lebek has been assisting in a broad range of tasks relating to both quantitative and qualitative data collection. In December, Montassir Sakhi, a new research assistant based in France, joined the *MOBILISE* team. He will conduct individual interviews with Moroccan migrants in Berlin, London and Madrid. His work is supervised by Dr Sorana Toma and coordinated by Piotr

Goldstein to ensure coherence of data collected for the *MOBILISE* project across different migrant groups and locations.

In December, the ZOIS team, together with the partners in the UK and the Netherlands, prepared and launched an online survey in Poland which compiled responses from a social media driven sample of the general population, protesters, and Polish migrants in Germany, UK, and Spain. The survey collected over 12,000 responses, of which 44 per cent were complete.

Finally, the *MOBILISE* team at ZOIS was involved in collecting social media hashtags that are followed and analysed within the project. In 2020, over 500 hashtags were gathered, mostly relating to the protests against the new abortion law in Poland. ◀



Protest against the tightening of the abortion law in Poland: the rally was organised in Berlin in October 2020 by *Dziewuchy*, an informal collective of Polish women and their supporters.

The Liberal Script in Ukraine's Contested Border Regions

This project is part of the Cluster of Excellence *Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)*

In addition to the applicant Freie Universität Berlin, six other research institutions are participating in the Cluster of Excellence SCRIPTS: the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW), the German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA), the Hertie School of Governance, the Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient and the WZB Berlin Social Science Center. Professor Gwendolyn Sasse, as Principal Investigator, is a member of the Research Unit 'Borders'. At ZOiS, the project is part of the 'Conflict Dynamics and Border Regions research cluster', which is coordinated by Dr Sabine von Löwis. Dr Rita Sanders joined the project as a Postdoctoral Researcher in October 2020.

The liberal script, defined as ideas and institutional prescriptions about the organisation of politics and society based on the core principle of individual self-determination, is under pressure. Some of the greatest challenges facing liberal democracies today emanate from authoritarian states and non-state violent actors that reject liberal values. Taking Ukraine as a case study, the project examines to what extent the liberal script inspires ideas and guides action; it also seeks to identify the alternative concepts that explain and enforce official, social and cultural borders, with a particular focus on issues of sovereignty, mobility and individual vs. group rights.

Key questions

- ▶ What is the significance and relevance of cultural, political and economic borderlines in the everyday lives of border residents and their perceptions of a liberal script?
- ▶ Which local actors (businesses, government institutions at the local level, other networks, initiatives, etc.) have an impact in building confidence or identity and/or strengthening social relations?
- ▶ How do individual perceptions and border practices interrelate with regional and national dynamics, and how are core aspects of the liberal script negotiated in this context?

This project, located between geography, political science and anthropology, involves an in-depth and comparative analysis of four different border regions, including two border regions with a highly uncertain territorial and legal status: the Ukrainian-Russian border, the Ukrainian-Moldovan border, the Ukrainian-Hungarian border, and the Ukrainian-Polish border. The contested sovereignty of borders in Ukraine's conflict regions influences other Ukrainian border regions as well and creates new challenges. There is a particular focus on the impacts of cross-border mobility and the major restrictions towards the East, on the one hand, and the opening towards the West, on the other, which influence not only trade relations and border economies but also communication and exchange processes in the daily lives of border residents.

Research activities in 2020

In winter 2019/20, ZOiS conducted a pilot study in selected border regions of Ukraine (contact line to the conflict region in the Donbas, Ukrainian-Russian and Ukrainian-Transdnistrian border regions). In cooperation with local researchers, border residents were asked about their everyday border practices, social and economic relations and attitudes towards people living on the other side. The local researchers presented their initial results at a workshop hosted by ZOiS in February 2020. In November 2020, Gwendolyn Sasse and Sabine von Löwis presented the study and gave a lecture on *Border Regimes in Flux: The Case of the "Contact Line" in Ukraine* at the Workshop *Borders as Places of Control: Fixing, shifting and reinventing state borders*, which was organised by Steffen

Mau, Fabian Gülzau and Kristina Korte (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin).

Postdoc Rita Sanders has been coordinating data-gathering in the four border regions since October 2020. Due to the restrictions imposed to control the cor-

onavirus pandemic, interviews with representatives of local institutions are initially being conducted online. In addition, local actors' internet presence is being investigated in terms of their depictions of regional and national identities, the historical embeddedness of

these identities, and their relevance to the drawing of borders. Using selected locations along the four borders, data are also being collected on the results of the autumn local elections and the different interpretations of these results. ◀

Dr Nadja Douglas, Dr Regina Elsner, Dr Félix Krawatzek, Dr Julia Langbein and Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse

Project start: November 2020

Belarus at the Crossroads? Public Attitudes after the 2020 Election

The project is funded by the German Federal Foreign Office.

After the presidential elections in August 2020, Belarus experienced an unprecedented wave of political mobilisation involving broad sectors of society throughout the country. The ongoing protests are creating new challenges for leader Aliaksandr Lukashenka, but also for the European Union, Russia and other regional actors. In Belarus, domestic and foreign opinion researchers have faced

numerous difficulties in conducting representative surveys in the past. As a result, deeper insights into what is happening in Belarus are rare. In the interests of political and academic discourse, it is crucial to obtain a more accurate and detailed picture of the mood within Belarusian society at the present time.

As the first stage of this project, a representative online survey will be carried out in Belarus (target age group: 16–64 years). The survey will cover attitudes

towards the government, trust in other people and institutions, opinions on politics, democracy and civil society, participation in and perceptions of protests, media use, and views on foreign policy.

Research activities in 2020

The first survey was conducted in December 2020, with 2,000 respondents. Based on this unique dataset, several papers and articles for policy-makers and the general public are planned in a variety of formats. They will include papers for academic conferences and publications, a *ZOiS Report* and various blog and media articles. The project team also plans to offer just-in-time briefings for representatives of political institutions and foundations. ◀

Key questions

- ▶ Which socio-demographic or other factors explain societal attitudes in Belarus after the August 2020 presidential elections?
- ▶ Which political and economic expectations and social divisions can be identified in Belarus?

The Proliferation of Memory Laws and the Return of the Nation

in cooperation with Dr George Soroka (Harvard University)

This project receives funding from the Daimler and Benz Foundation Scholarship Programme. It is part of the ZOiS research cluster 'Societies Between Stability and Change'.

The legal dimension of how one can speak publicly about historical events has tended to be the preserve of historians and legal experts, with social scientists generally steering clear of this topic. This is surprising given the undeniable political and social relevance of legislating how the past can be recalled. In recent years, many Central and East European countries have adopted legislation that seeks to regulate the work of historians and public discourse about history. World War II plays a critical role in these attempts to legislate memory. Such legislation is indicative of attempts at nation-building by means of state-crafted historical narratives that try to establish norms about how to view the past. They also illustrate the difficult nation-building projects that have characterised many East European countries since the fall of the Soviet Union.

Contemporary Russia, for example, uses memory laws for nation-building purposes. A 2014 law is frequently used to punish statements about the country's history that deviate from the official position. But such laws are not unique to Russia, nor are they an exclusive feature of authoritarian regimes. Instead, countries as varied as Poland, Ukraine,

France, Spain, Germany, Chile and a number of states in the US have legal provisions that determine what can be said in public about a country's past.

This project explores the political dynamics behind this presence of history and its wider societal implications. With research funding from the Daimler and Benz Foundation, a database has been compiled on memory legislation in Europe and North and South America, which considers the important political dynamics of such laws. This research has also generated new survey data in Russia, Ukraine and Germany. New approaches to survey research were used to evaluate the societal effects of the memory initiatives of political elites. The project employs both qualitative and quantitative methods. While the analysis of the political dynamics of memory laws is mainly qualitative, the surveys are assessed using statistical techniques. These these methods make it possible to understand the production and reception of memory in different political contexts.

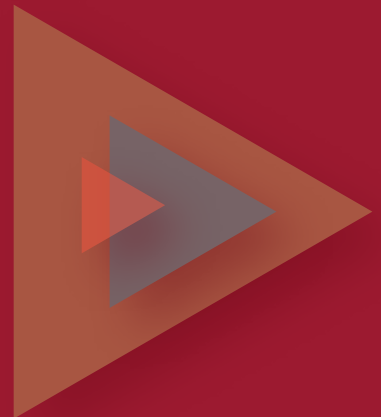
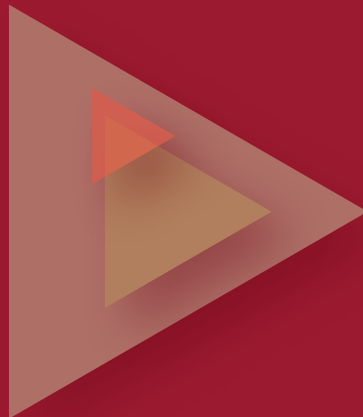
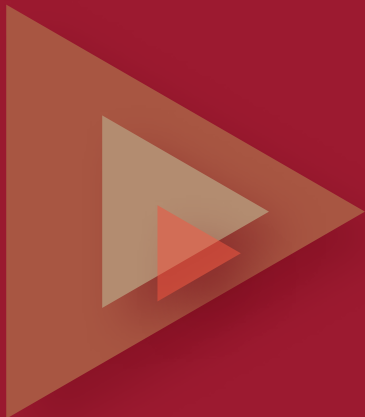
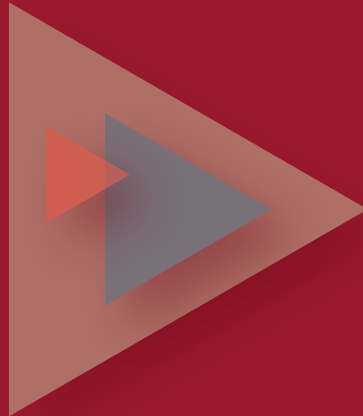
Research activities in 2020

Due to restrictions related to the pandemic, plans to carry out a face-to-face survey in Russia on historical perception had to be abandoned. The survey was eventually redesigned as an online survey, which was challenging given the sensitive nature and complexity of the topic. However, the lower costs of an online survey meant that it could be carried out not only in Russia, but also in Ukraine and Germany. In each country, 2,000 people were surveyed, making it possible to gain detailed insights into the correlation between views on politics and history. This new data provided a representative overview of historical perception in all three countries. The main themes in the three parallel surveys are the memory of World War II, the socialist period and its collapse, and attitudes to freedom of speech with regard to historical issues. 2021 will be devoted to analysing this new data and working on the first publications. ◀

Key questions

- ▶ What kinds of memory laws exist and what are their domestic and foreign policy implications?
- ▶ What is the societal relevance of the memory narratives of political and cultural elites?
- ▶ How do political views correlate with historical perceptions?

Researchers' Activities



Researchers' Activities

Diana Bogishvili

PUBLICATIONS

ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ 'Divided lifeworlds of Georgian migrants during the pandemic'. ZOiS Spotlight 28 / 2020 (15 July 2020)
- ▶ 'Georgia on the way to proportional representation'. ZOiS Spotlight 39 / 2020 (28 October 2020)

Dr Tsypylma Darieva

PUBLICATIONS

Academic

- ▶ *Urban Activism in Eastern Europe and Eurasia. Strategies and Practices*, co-edited with Carola Neugebauer, Berlin: DOM Publishers, 2020.
- ▶ 'Exploring Contemporary Buddhist Pilgrimage among the Mongolian-Speaking Peoples in Russia', with Elzabair Guchinova. In: *Ethnographic Review*, no. 2: pp. 5–1, 2020 (Russian).
- ▶ 'Introduction. Exploring Buddhist Pilgrimage in Russia'. In: *Ethnograficheskoe Obozrenie*, no. 2: pp. 4–13, 2020 (Russian).
- ▶ 'Azerbaijan'. In: *The World Christian Encyclopedia*, ed. by Todd M. Johnson and Gina A. Zurlo. Edinburgh University Press, 3rd edition, 2020.
- ▶ 'Armenia'. In: *The World Christian Encyclopedia*, ed. by Todd M. Johnson and Gina A. Zurlo. Edinburgh University Press, 3rd edition, 2020.

ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ 'Urbaner Aktivismus und sozialer Protest in post-sovietischen Städten'. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 15 / 2020 with Nadja Douglas and Carola Neugebauer (14 May 2020)
- ▶ 'Religion and State in the South Caucasus during the Covid-19 pandemic.'. ZOiS Spotlight 20 / 2020 (20 May 2020)
- ▶ 'Faith and state: Governing Religious Plurality in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan'. ZOiS Report 3 / 2020 (July 2020)
- ▶ 'Religious diversity as a challenge on Georgia's path to Europe?'. ZOiS Spotlight 44 / 2020 (2 December 2020)

EVENTS

Academic

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies and Wissenschaftskolleg Berlin (Berlin, 3 / 2020)**
Co-organisation of the workshop *Religious Activism. Mobilizing and Mediating the Religious in Eastern Europe and in the Caucasus*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2020)**
Organisation and chair of the event *Anti-corruption measures in the South Caucasus* of the ZOiS Caucasus Network in cooperation with Bertelsmann Stiftung
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 10 / 2020)**
Kick-off meeting of the programme *GLocalEAST* with the participation of ZOiS
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 11 / 2020)**
Organisation and chair of the discussion *Living together before and after the Karabakh war?*
- ▶ **Association for Slavic, East European, & Eurasian Studies (online, 11 / 2020)**
2020 Annual Convention
Lecture *On the Move: Diasporic Homeland Pilgrimage in the Caucasus*
- ▶ **Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient (online, 11 / 2020)**
Conference *Contested Religious Spaces – Narratives as Evidence: de-centering and re-authenticating pasts for the future*
Presentation *Claiming the City: Faith-based Activism and Narratives of Plurality in Post-Socialist Batumi (Georgia)*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 12 / 2020)**
Co-organisation of a discussion of the ZOiS Caucasus Network on *Konfliktdynamiken, Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung der jeweiligen Akteure und über Migration als konfliktreiches Bewegungselement*
- ▶ **Maastricht University (online, 12 / 2020)**
Panellist at the workshop *Mobility Trajectory of Young Lives: Transnational Youth in Global South and North (MO-TRAYL)*

Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies and Volksbühne (Berlin, 1 / 2020)**
Organisation and chair of the panel discussion *Urban Activism in Eastern Europe* in the series *Platform East*
- ▶ **Diakonisches Werk Schleswig-Holstein (online, 9 / 2020)**
Symposium *Arbeitsinhalte und Handlungsmöglichkeiten der unabhängigen freiwilligen Perspektiv- und Rückkehrberatung am Beispiel Armeniens*
Lecture on *Emigration und Remigration am Beispiel Armeniens*
- ▶ **Red Square Festival (online, 10 / 2020)**
Participant of the Live-X3 podcast *Russlanddeutsche und Mapping Russian Berlin*
Panellist at the workshop *Mapping Russkij Berlin*
- ▶ **3Sat Kulturdoku (online, 11 / 2020)**
Counselling for the film *100 Jahre Berlinograd. Der russische Mythos an der Spree*

IN DEN MEDIEN

- ▶ *Der Krieg um Berg-Karabach*
Assessments for the X3 podcast (3 November 2020)
- ▶ *Krieg in Berg-Karabach*
Assessments for Kulturzeit on 3sat (13 November 2020)

SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ *Seminar Kaukasusstudien aus sozial- und kultur-anthropologischer Perspektive* (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, winter semester 2019 / 20)
- ▶ Two seminars within the Summer School *Viadrinicum Transectorial Lab – (Post)Migration. (Dis)-integrative Encounters* (European University Viadrina, online, 8 / 2020)
- ▶ Co-supervision of a doctoral thesis at the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena as well as a master's thesis at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ Contact partner for ZOiS guest researcher Nina Lutterjohann (5–9 / 2020)
- ▶ Approval of the postdoctoral thesis *Homeland Pilgrimage: Roots and Routes of Transnational Engagement* at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (12 / 2020)
- ▶ Supervision of the programme *GLOalEAsT*, a strategic partnership with the participation of ZOiS
- ▶ Member of the scientific advisory board of the BMBF research project *Resilienz im Südkaukasus: Perspektiven und Herausforderungen des neuen EU-Außenpolitik-ansatzes* an der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena (2021–2024)

PUBLICATIONS

Academic

- ▶ *'Fault Lines between East and West: Which Levers Can Rebuild Confidence?'* In: *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament*, vol. 3 no. 2: pp. 398–409, 2020.

ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ *'Belarus's increased vulnerability in times of crisis'*. ZOiS Spotlight 13 / 2020 (1 April 2020)
- ▶ *'Urbaner Aktivismus und sozialer Protest in post-sowjetischen Städten'*. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 15 / 2020 with Carola Neugebauer and Tsypylma Darieva (14 May 2020)
- ▶ *'Belarus in Turmoil'*. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 18 / 2020 with Félix Krawatzek and Stefanie Orphal (21 August 2020)
- ▶ *'Escalation of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict'*. ZOiS Spotlight 36 / 2020 (7 October 2020)
- ▶ *'Moldova's presidential election: little trust in the political class'*. ZOiS Spotlight 40 / 2020 (4 November 2020)
- ▶ *'Belarus: From the old social contract to a new social identity'*. ZOiS Report 6 / 2020 (November 2020)

Other publications

- ▶ *'Digital Natives versus Security Hardliners'*, with Félix Krawatzek. *Berlin Policy Journal* (14 August 2020)
- ▶ *'Die Loyalität des belarussischen Sicherheitsapparats bröckelt (noch) nicht'*. In: *Belarus-Analysen* no. 53, pp. 12–15 (21 December 2020)

EVENTS

Academic

- ▶ **Zentrum Liberale Moderne and Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 2 / 2020)**
Workshop *Östliche Partnerschaft 2.0*
Presentation on *Justiz- und Polizeireform in den Ländern der Östlichen Partnerschaft*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 4 / 2020)**
Chair of the discussion *Covid-19 in Belarus and the regional context*
- ▶ **European Platform for Democratic Elections (EPDE) and Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 7 / 2020)**
Participation in the discussion *Belarus ahead of the presidential elections*
Presentation on *Protestdynamiken und Reaktionen der Polizei*

Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Bertelsmann Stiftung and Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2020)**
Chair of the meeting of the ZOiS Caucasus Network
- ▶ **Volksbühne Berlin and Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2020)**
Event *Platform East: Activism 1.01* in the framework of the POSTWEST Festival
Participation in the workshop *Gewalt und Unterdrückung* and in the discussion of the closing panel *Platform East: What is Activism, anyway?*
- ▶ **Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen (online, 8 / 2020)**
Conference of the working group Eastern Europe / Russia of the Federal Working Group on Peace and International Affairs
Presentation on *Stärkung der OSZE*
- ▶ **CLB Berlin and Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 10 / 2020)**
Panellist at the ZOiS Forum *Zoom auf Osteuropa. Visuelle Recherchen in der Republik Moldau und Kaliningrad*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 12 / 2020)**
Chair of the meeting of the ZOiS Caucasus Network
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 12 / 2020)**
Participation in the ZOiS Forum *The power of images and mass mobilisation in Belarus*

IN THE MEDIA

- ▶ *Dr. Nadja Douglas zur Pandemie, Konflikten und Krisen im Südkaukasus*
Interview for Caucasus Watch (9 July 2020)
- ▶ *Belarus – Europas letzte Diktatur*
Interview for ARD-Alpha (13 July 2020)
- ▶ *Belarus: Was kann Lukaschenko von Russland fordern?*
Radio interview for mdr (7 September 2020)
- ▶ *Wie weiter in Belarus?*
Radio interview for mdr (19 September 2020)
- ▶ *Konflikt zwischen Armenien und Aserbaidschan*
Interview for SWR2 aktuell (28 September 2020)
- ▶ *Белорусский «план Маршалла»: как Тихановская обсуждала с Меркель поддержку для оппозиции*
Interview for RTVi (7 October 2020)
- ▶ *Aktuelle Lage in Belarus nach Ablauf des Ultimatums*
Interview for Bayerischer Rundfunk (26 October 2020)
- ▶ *Deshalb steht der Sicherheitsapparat fest hinter dem Diktator*
Assessments for the Tagesspiegel (30 October 2020)
- ▶ *How Belarusians lost their faith in the authorities*
Article for New Europe (20 November 2020)
- ▶ *Sicherheitsstrukturen in Belarus*
Interview for ARD Hörfunkstudio (25 November 2020)
- ▶ *Proteste in Belarus gegen Machthaber Lukashenko*
Interview for Deutschlandfunk (30 November 2020)

SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ Lecture *Sicherheitspolitische Entwicklungen in Osteuropa* at the Freie Universität Berlin (winter semester 2019 / 20)
- ▶ Supervision and review of a master's thesis at the Freie Universität Berlin
- ▶ Online lecture *OSZE – Unterschätzter Friedensgarant zwischen Ost und West* at the Academic Association for Security Studies (30 June 2020)
- ▶ *Schule@ZOiS* (online) on the topic *Strukturvergleich von Revolutionsbewegungen in der Ukraine und in Belarus* with a class of the Jüdisches Gymnasium Berlin (15 September 2020)
- ▶ Mentor in the mentoring programme 2020 / 21 of the Young German Association for East European Studies

Dr Regina Elsner

PUBLICATIONS

Academic

- ▶ *'20 Jahre nach der Veröffentlichung der „Sozialkonzeption“ der Russischen Orthodoxen Kirche: Bleibende Leerstelle zwischen Moral und Politik'*. Jahrbuch für Christliche Sozialwissenschaften, 61 / 2020, pp. 213–234.

ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ *'Domestic violence in Russia: The tough battle for protection'*. ZOiS Spotlight 8 / 2020 (26 February 2020)
- ▶ *'Kampf um Frauenrechte in Osteuropa: Nicht nur am 8. März'*. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 13 / 2020 with Erica Zingher and Maria Kireenko (20 March 2020)
- ▶ *'The churches and the coronavirus crisis in Eastern Europe: Is faith the only protection?'* ZOiS Spotlight 12 / 2020 (25 March 2020)

Other publications

- ▶ *'Verbunden durch den Traditionalismus. Die Ukraine-Politik Vladimir Putins hat die Harmonie von Staat und Kirche in Russland belastet'*. Zeitzeichen 1 / 2020, pp. 27–29.
- ▶ *'Ein Jahr danach: Wie der Tomos die orthodoxe Welt und die Ukraine verändert hat'*. Analysis for Ukraine Verstehen (30 January 2020)
- ▶ *'Is There a "Frozen Conflict" in Orthodoxy? And If So, What Can We Do About It?'* In: Public Orthodoxy. Orthodox Christian Studies Center, Fordham University (18 February 2020)
- ▶ *'Neue Impulse für eine orthodoxe Sozialethik'*. Background to the document: 'For the Life of the World. Towards a Social Ethos of the Orthodox Church', Nachrichtendienst Östliche Kirchen (16 April 2020)
- ▶ *'The Russian Orthodox Church and Coronavirus. Rethinking the Question of "Relevance to the System"'*. In: Public Orthodoxy. Orthodox Christian Studies Center, Fordham University (12 May 2020)

- ▶ ‘Ein “eingefrorener Konflikt”? Ein Konzept mit Problemen und Chancen’. Ökumenische Rundschau 69 (3 / 2020), pp. 407–412.
- ▶ ‘Digitalizing the Church? Different Contexts, Similar Theological Challenges in the Catholic and Orthodox Churches’. Blog Talk About: Law and Religion (7 / 2020)
- ▶ ‘Religion and Civil Disobedience: The Orthodox Church and Political Protests in Belarus’. Blog Talk About: Law and Religion (8 / 2020)
- ▶ ‘“The Church is Always with the People”: An Orthodox Paradigm in Political Turmoil’. Berkley Forum (4 September 2020)
- ▶ ‘Weiterer Schritt auf dem Weg zu einer orthodoxen Sozialethik’. Introduced: For the Life of the World. Towards a Social Ethos of the Orthodox Church. Dokument des Ökumenischen Patriarchats. Amosinternational – Internationale Zeitschrift für christliche Sozialethik 14 (2020), Heft 3, pp. 42–45.
- ▶ ‘Kontextuelle und essentielle Unterschiede orthodoxer Sozialethik’. RGOW 11 / 2020, pp. 15–18.
- ▶ **US Department of State Policy Briefing (online, 6 / 2020)**
Presentation *Russian Orthodox Church and Putin: Overlapping or Diverging Agendas?*
- ▶ **Uspenskie Chtenia Kyiv (online, 10 / 2020)**
Panellist at *Deklaration über die Menschenwürde überall für jeden „Punta-del-Este“*
Participation in the roundtable *Menschenwürde in Zeiten der Pandemie*
- ▶ **Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (online, 10 / 2020)**
Presentation *Kirchen und COVID-19 in Ost und West* at the German-Ukrainian Religious Dialogue
- ▶ **CivilM+ (online, 10 / 2020)**
Workshop *Religion im Konflikt im Donbass*
Input on *Orthodoxie und Friedenskonzepte*
- ▶ **German Embassy Kyiv (online, 10 / 2020)**
Panellist at *Gespaltene Gesellschaften in der Perspektive der Menschenwürde* as part of *Deutsche Woche*
Input on *Religionen, 30 Jahre deutscher Wiedervereinigung und Populismus*
- ▶ **U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP) (online, 12 / 2020)**
Panellist at the expert meeting *Ukraine’s Religious Landscape Mapping*
- ▶ **Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (online, 12 / 2020)**
Roundtable *The Role of Religious Groups during the Covid-19 pandemic*
Input on *Orthodoxie und COVID19*
- ▶ Interview with the Moskauer Deutsche Zeitung on the Orthodox Church and the politics of memory (5 / 2020)

EVENTS

Academic

- ▶ **Catholic Academy in Bavaria (Munich, 2 / 2020)**
Conference *Ukraine: Die Orthodoxe Kirche vor einem Schisma?*
Roundtable presentation *Die Kirchenkrise als “Eingefrorener Konflikt”?*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies and Wissenschaftskolleg Berlin (Berlin, 3 / 2020)**
Co-organisation of the workshop *Religious Activism between Politics and Everyday Life: Mobilizing and Mediating the Religious in Eastern Europe and in the Caucasus*
Lecture *Who is ‘the Church’? –Negotiating the social role of Orthodoxy in Russia*
Chair of the panel *Politics and Counter-politics*

Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Polis180 (Berlin, 1 / 2020)**
Panellist at the film screening “*And Then We Danced*”: *Being LGBTQI in Eastern Europe*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 2 / 2020)**
Panellist at the ZOIS Forum *Transfiguration: Gender-Revolution durch Migration?*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies and Volksbühne Berlin (Berlin, 2 / 2020)**
Panellist at “*Christian Values*” and *Anti-Gender Politics in Central and Eastern Europe* within the series *Platform East*
- ▶ **Zentrum Liberale Moderne – Ukraine Verstehen (online, 4 / 2020)**
Panellist at *COVID 19: Role of the Church*

IN THE MEDIA

- ▶ *Den Löffel aufgeben? Die Orthodoxen Kirchen und Corona: eine gefährliche Verbindung*
Assessments for the FAZ (7 April 2020)
- ▶ *Protestbewegung in der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche – Ein Brief und seine Folgen*
Assessments for Deutschlandfunk (8 April 2020)
- ▶ *Der Putinismus ist für sie das „Regime Satans“*
Assessments for Die Welt (21 June 2020)
- ▶ *Kollektive Vermittler? In der Krise in Belarus hoffen manche auf die Kirchen*
Assessments for the FAZ (29 August 2020)
- ▶ *На грани пола: священник стал женщиной*
Comment for WDR (26 September 2020)
- ▶ *Belarus: Kirchen im Spannungsfeld der Macht*
Assessments for Katholischer Nachrichtendienst (7 October 2020)
- ▶ *Die Superspreader-Events der serbisch-orthodoxen Kirche*
Assessments for the NZZ (25 November 2020)
- ▶ *Регіна Ельснер: «Коли церкви мовчать щодо нагальних суспільних проблем, але претендують на авторитет в інших питаннях, — це глибока проблема»*
Interview for The Ukrainian Week (25 November 2020)

SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ Seminar *Die Orthodoxe Kirche vor der Herausforderung der Menschenrechte* at the Faculty of Theology of Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (winter semester 2019/2020) and review of two seminar papers
- ▶ **Zentrum für historische Forschung Berlin der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Herder Institute for Historical Research on East Central Europe, Institute for Lithuanian History, Nordost-Institut and Centre for European and International Studies (online, 10 / 2020)**
Co-organisation of the workshop for young researchers *Family and Women in Eastern Europe: Current Research on Family and Women since the Middle Ages until present times*
Roundtable input *COVID-19 und Gender*
Chair of the keynote

Dr Beate Eschment

PUBLICATIONS

Academic

- ▶ *‘Zentralasiatische Nachfolgestaaten der Sowjetunion (Kasachstan, Kirgistan, Tadschikistan, Turkmenistan, Usbekistan)’*, with Maksat Kachkeev. In: *Handbuch der europäischen Verfassungsgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert, Institutionen und Rechtspraxis im gesellschaftlichen Wandel*, Band 5: seit 1989, ed. by Arthur Benz, Stephan Bröckler, Hans-Joachim Lauth, Bonn 2020, pp. 1669–1708.
- ▶ *Soprijazhenie integracionnykh processov v Evrope i Azii*, In: *Mir peremen*, 2020 / 2, pp. 131–148 (here pp. 134–136).

ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ *‘New Uzbekistan, new elections?’*. ZOiS Spotlight 1 / 2020 (8 January 2020)
- ▶ *‘Kazakh and/or Kazakhstani? The National Identity of the Republic of Kazakhstan and its Citizens’*. ZOiS Report 4 / 2020 (September 2020). Also published in *Central Asia’s Affairs*, 3 / 2020; pp. 30–45.

Other publications

- ▶ *‘Studying Border Regions in the Post-Soviet Space. Different Methods, Scales and Areas’*, with Sabine von Löwis. Conference report on H-Soz-Kult (21 April 2020)
- ▶ *‘Zentralasien: Regionale Zusammenarbeit als Perspektive für die Zukunft’*. In: *Ost-West. Europäische Perspektiven*, 2020 / 4, pp. 243–252.
- ▶ ESKA 2020. Escalation potential analysis Kazakhstan for the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)
- ▶ ESKA 2020. Escalation potential analysis Tajikistan for the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)

- ▶ Supervision of the Country Information Portal (LIP) Kazakhstan of the German Society for International Cooperation (GIZ)

EVENTS

Academic

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 2 / 2020)**
Organisation of the workshop *30 years of Kazakhstan’s nationalities policy on small ethnic groups: current situation and prospects*
Presentation *The Kurds = Super-Kazakhstani?*
- ▶ **Institute Ekonomiki of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow, Russia, 2 / 2020)**
Conference *Integration processes in Europe and Asia*
Presentation *Does the Eurasian Economic Union have a future?*
- ▶ **Zentr po izucheniyu mezhetnicheskich i mezhkonnessional’nykh otnoshenii (online, 4 / 2020)**
Conference *Current problems of the nationality policy (Russian)*
Presentation *What identity do the citizens of Kazakhstan have. Reflections on a survey from autumn 2019 (Russian)*

Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 1 / 2020)**
Chair of the ZOiS Forum *Osteuropa und Chinas Neue Seidenstraße*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 2 / 2020)**
Chair of the event *In conversation with Eldor Tulyakov, Umid Abidkhodjaev and Bakhtiyor Mustafayev: Three years of reforms in Uzbekistan. Results and further tasks*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 4 / 2020)**
Chair of the discussion *Covid-19 in Zentralasien – Eine Bestandsaufnahme*
- ▶ **Uzbek Embassy (online, 9 / 2020)**
Recording of an interview for a documentary by the Uzbek state television
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 10 / 2020)**
Panellist at *Im Gespräch mit Beate Eschment: Zwischenethnisches Zusammenleben in Kasachstan*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies and German Association for East European Studies (DGO) (online, 12 / 2020)**
Panellist at *Kirgisistan nach dem erneuten Umsturz*

IN THE MEDIA

- ▶ *11 лет тюрьмы для экс-президента: как Атамбаев провалил операцию “Премник”*
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (25 June 2020)

- ▶ *Выборы в Таджикистане пройдут на месяц раньше. Почему это важно Рахмону*
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (8 August 2020)
- ▶ *Что нужно знать о парламентских выборах-2020 в Киргизии*
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (4 October 2020)
- ▶ *Covid-19 in Kirgisistan: Coronawelle überrollt das Land*
Deutschlandfunk Kultur: Podcast Weltzeit (7 October 2020)
- ▶ *Таджикистан и “его превосходительство” Рахмон*
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (12 October 2020)
- ▶ *Tadschikistans ewiger Herrscher Rachmon*
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (12 October 2020)
- ▶ *Кризис в Киргизии: главные игроки на политическом поле*
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (13 October 2020)
- ▶ *Жапаров и другие кандидаты: кто хочет стать президентом Кыргызстана*
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (14 December 2020)

SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ Participation in the panel discussion *Central Asian Neighbors – friends, foes or aliens?* in the framework of the *International Student Conference* at the Central Asia Seminar of the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (1 / 2020)
- ▶ Guest lecture *Die Wiederherstellung Zentralasiens als eigene Weltregion* within the lecture *Osteuropäisch-eurasische Gegenwart* at the Historical Seminar of Leibniz University Hannover (6 / 2020)
- ▶ Supervision of six and review of three master’s theses at the Central Asia Seminar of the Institute of Asian and African Studies of the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ National analysis of Kyrgyzstan online on behalf of the German Society for International Cooperation (GIZ) for the new advisor for economic cooperation at the German embassy in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan (7 / 2020)
- ▶ National analysis Kyrgyzstan online on behalf of the German Society for International Cooperation (GIZ) for a project manager (9 / 2020)

Kostiantyn Fedorenko

PUBLICATIONS

Academic

- ▶ *‘The Two Movements: Liberals and Nationalists During Euromaidan’*. In: *Ideology after Union: Political Doctrines, Discourses, and Debates in Post-Soviet Societies*, ed. by Alexander Etkind and Mikhail Minakov, pp. 53–91, Stuttgart: ibidem Press, 2020.

- ▶ *‘Between Front and Parliament: Links Among Ukrainian Political Parties and Irregular Armed Groups in 2014–2019’*, with Andreas Umland. In: *Ideology and Politics Journal*, 2(16), 2020.

ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ *‘Belarus and Russia: turbulent relations’*. ZOiS Spotlight 4 / 2020 (29 January 2020)

Other publications

- ▶ *‘Спорные моря’*. Article for Zerkalo Nedeli (31 July 2020)
- ▶ *‘Как поссорились Эммануэль Фредерикович с Реджепом Тайиповичем’*. Article for Zerkalo Nedeli (29 October 2020)

IN THE MEDIA

- ▶ *Эксперт рассказал, как провал протестов в Беларуси повлияет на молодежь*
Commentary for RIA Novosti (12 August 2020)

Dr Nina Frieß

PUBLICATIONS

ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ *‘World War II for Young Russians: the Production and Reception of History’*. ZOiS Report 1 / 2020 with Félix Krawatzek (April 2020)
- ▶ *‘Russlands Jugend und der Tag des Sieges: Im Krieg vereint?’* Online article (29 April 2020)
- ▶ *‘May in Russia: Memory (politics) of World War II’*. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 14 / 2020 with Félix Krawatzek and George Soroka (6 May 2020)
- ▶ *‘Russia’s other history’*. ZOiS Spotlight 32 / 2020 (9 September 2020)

Other publications

- ▶ *‘Russlands Jugend und der Zweite Weltkrieg’*, with Félix Krawatzek. Online article for Dekoder (7 May 2020)
- ▶ *‘Cancelling VE Day: What are the potential obstacles and opportunities for states using historical memory as soft power in the Covid-19 era?’*. Contribution for the Centre for Geopolitics (5 / 2020)
- ▶ *‘Gulag-Literatur’*. Online article for Dekoder (9 June 2020)

EVENTS

Academic

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 9 / 2020)**
Organisation of the workshop *Memory as a Dialogue? History for Young People*

Presentation *Towards an Alternative Patriotism? Other Historical Narratives in Contemporary Russian Children's and Young Adults' Literature*

► **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 9 / 2020)**

Chair of the book presentation *Ukrainian, Russophone, (Other) Russian: Hybrid Identities and Narratives in Post-Soviet Culture and Politics* (kick-off event of the series *Russophone Voices. The Words and Worlds of Russian-language Literature*)

Knowledge transfer

► **Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 1 / 2020)**

Panellist at the book presentation „*Geister der Vergangenheit*“ (yearbook dekoder#1)

► **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 5 / 2020)**

Panellist at *Russlands Erinnerung an den 9. Mai 1945*

IN THE MEDIA

► *Was Putin neben Stalin in einer Monumentalkathedrale verloren hat*

Assessments for the Kurier (3 May 2020)

► *Die russische Deutung der Geschichte: Im vergangenen Sieg leuchtet die Gegenwart*

Assessments for the NZZ (9 May 2020)

► *Russia's youth is tired of lavish military parades. Could digital culture change the country's wartime pageantry for good?*

Assessments for the Calvert Journal (9 May 2020)

SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

► Second supervisor and reviewer of Bachelor and Master theses at University of Potsdam and Freie Universität Berlin

► Mentor in the mentoring programme of the Young German Association for East European Studies (DGO)

Dr Piotr Goldstein

PUBLICATIONS

ZOiS knowledge transfer

► *'Poland's creative civil society in times of Covid-19'*. ZOIS Spotlight 22 / 2020 (3 June 2020)

► *'Three keywords to better understand the Polish abortion protests'*. ZOIS Spotlight 41 / 2020 with Marianna Szczygielska (11 November 2020)

EVENTS

Academic

► **University of Lisbon (online, 7 / 2020)**

16th European Association of Social Anthropologists Biennial Conference

Presentation *Repertoires of Activism in a Post-Multi-Ethnic City: First steps*

► **Royal Anthropological Institute (online, 9 / 2020)**

Annual conference *Anthropology and Geography: Dialogues Past, Present and Future*

Presentation *Active (citizen) – Using visual ethnography to re-define activism*

► **Association for Slavic, East European, & Eurasian Studies (online, 11 / 2020)**

ASEEES 52nd Annual Convention *Anxiety and Rebellion*

Presentation *Repertoires of Activism in a Post-Multi-Ethnic City: Step One-Legacy of a Revolution*

Knowledge transfer

► **Coffee Cranks Café (Manchester, UK, 1 / 2020)**

Public screening of the film *Active (citizen)* followed by a Q&A discussion

► **Sin Tarima Libros (Madrid, Spain, 3 / 2020)**

Public screening of the film *Active (citizen)* followed by a Q&A discussion

► **Volksbühne Berlin and Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2020)**

Speaker at the event *Platform East: Activism 1.01* in the framework of the POSTWEST Festival

► **The Comparative Authoritarianism Protest Research Network (CAPRN) (online, 11 / 2020)**

Panellist at *Protest in Poland: Popular Opposition, Women's Rights, & PiS*

► **RomaTrial e.V. (Berlin / online, 11 / 2020)**

AKE DIKHEA? Festival of Romani Film

Public screening of the film *Active (citizen)* followed by a Q&A discussion

MISCELLANEOUS

► Elected co-convenor of the EASA Anthropology and Social Movements network

Dr Tatiana Golova

(On parental leave from January to August 2020)

PUBLICATIONS

Academic

► *'Post-Soviet migrants in Germany, transnational public spheres and Russian soft power'*. In: *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 17:3 / 2020, pp. 249–267.

EVENTS

Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **DEKODER (online, 11 / 2020)**
Participation in the expert discussion on the current result of the project dekoeder.org/ru

IN THE MEDIA

- ▶ *Auswirkungen der Vergiftung Nawalnys auf die Regionalwahlen in Russland*
Interview with mdr aktuell (11 September 2020)

SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ Contact person for ZOiS guest researcher Kseniia Semykina and supervision of her project *Contesting hegemonic neotraditionalist gender discourse in Russia: radical feminist articulations in the online space* (from 1 October 2020)

Dr Félix Krawatzek

PUBLICATIONS

Academic

- ▶ *'Legitimate Political Demands? How Young Russians of Different Political Orientation Assess Protests'*. In: *Youth and Globalization* 2 / 2020, pp. 137–162.
- ▶ *'Collective Memory'*. *Oxford Bibliographies in Political Science*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- ▶ *'Which History Matters? Surveying Russian Youth and Their Understanding of the Past'*. In: *Problems of Post-Communism* (online first), 2020.
- ▶ *'Europe's Europes: Mapping the Conflicts of European Memory'*, with Rieke Trimçev, Gregor Feindt and Friedemann Pestel. In: *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 25:1 / 2020, pp. 51–77.

ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ *'Artistic Tastes and Socio-Political Values of Young Russians'*. ZOiS Spotlight 9 / 2020 (4 March 2020)
- ▶ *'World War II for Young Russians: The Production and Reception of History'*. ZOiS Report 1 / 2020 with Nina Frieß (April 2020)
- ▶ *'Poland's Viral Election'*. Spotlight 18 / 2020 (6 May 2020)
- ▶ *'9 May in Russia: Memory (Politics) of World War II'*. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 14 / 2020 with Nina Frieß and George Soroka (6 May 2020)
- ▶ *'Belarus's Presidential Election: An Appetite for Change'*. ZOiS Spotlight 30 / 2020 with Maryia Rohava (29 July 2020)
- ▶ *'Belarus in Turmoil'*. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 18 / 2020 with Nadja Douglas and Stefanie Orphal (21 August 2020)

- ▶ *'Hosting academic events in pandemic times'*. Background interview on the workshop *Memory as a Dialogue? History for Young People* (17 September 2020)

Other publications

- ▶ *'Thinking Ahead: Russia Beyond 2024'* (contributing author). Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Vienna and Centre for East European and International Studies (14 February 2020)
- ▶ *'Russlands Jugend und der Zweite Weltkrieg'*, with Nina Frieß. Online article for Dekoder (7 May 2020)
- ▶ *'Cancelling VE Day: What are the potential obstacles and opportunities for states using historical memory as soft power in the Covid-19 era?'*. Contribution for the Centre for Geopolitics (5 / 2020)
- ▶ *'Ahead of Constitutional Reform Vote, Two-Thirds of Young Russians Think Vladimir Putin Should Step Back from Power'*, with Gwendolyn Sasse. *The Conversation* (24 June 2020)
- ▶ *'Belarus Votes on Sunday. Our New Survey Shows What Young Voters Are Thinking'*. *The Washington Post – Monkey Cage* (7 August 2020)
- ▶ *'Digital Natives versus Security Hardliners'*, with Nadja Douglas. *Berlin Policy Journal* (14 August 2020)
- ▶ *'Young Belarusians Are Turning Away from Russia and Looking Towards Europe'*. *The Conversation* (3 September 2020)
- ▶ *'Young Worlds? Political and social views of young people in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus'*. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (12 / 2020)

EVENTS

Academic

- ▶ **University of Helsinki (Helsinki, Finland, 1 / 2020)**
Workshop *Words and Actions. Political text mining*
Presentation *Tracing Shifting Meanings of Youth through Discourse Network Analysis*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 9 / 2020)**
Co-organisation of the workshop *Memory as a Dialogue? History for Young People*
Presentation *Without Roots? The Historical Realm of Young Belarusians*

Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 3 / 2020)**
In conversation with Reinhard Krumm (FES), Gwendolyn Sasse und Félix Krawatzek on the scenario analysis *Thinking Ahead: Russia Beyond 2024*
- ▶ **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (online, 4 / 2020)**
Panellist at the presentation of the youth study *Generation Putin oder Protestjugend? Zwischen Anpassung und Rebellion*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 5 / 2020)**
Panellist at *Russlands Erinnerung an den 9. Mai 1945*

- ▶ **Volksbühne Berlin and Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2020)**
Event *Platform East: Activism 1.01* in the framework of the POSTWEST festival
Input *Generation in-between? Social and Political Views of Young People*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 7 / 2020)**
Panellist at *Belarus ahead of the presidential elections 2020*
- ▶ **Young German Association for East European Studies (online, 8 / 2020)**
Event *Networking Belarus – possibilities of political, civil and academic cooperation*
Lecture on *Youth Research in Belarus*
- ▶ **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Bucharest (online, 11 / 2020)**
Presentation of the scenario analysis *Thinking Ahead: Russia Beyond 2024*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 12 / 2020)**
Panellist at the ZOiS Forum *Dramatising History – Online Panel for Close Up WWII*
- ▶ **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (online, 12 / 2020)**
Panellist at the presentation of the youth study *Generation Putin oder Protestjugend? Zwischen Anpassung und Rebellion*
- ▶ Briefings and discussion rounds with representatives of the French embassy and government, the planning staff of the Federal Foreign Office, the Zentrum Operative Kommunikation of the Federal Armed Forces and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- ▶ *In Weissrussland kämpft ein Frauentrio gegen den Diktator*
Article from the NZZ with references to the ZOiS Spotlight 30 / 2020 (5 August 2020)
- ▶ *Belarus Votes on Sunday. Our New Survey Shows What Young Voters Are Thinking*
Blog entry on Monkey Cage (7 August 2020)
- ▶ *Belarus: Wie glaubwürdig ist das Wahlergebnis?*
Article on Tagesschau.de with references to the ZOiS Spotlight 30 / 2020 (10 August 2020)
- ▶ *Belarusian opposition leader leaves the country*
Comments for The Day (DW News) (11 August 2020)
- ▶ *¿Por qué protesta la gente en Bielorrusia?*
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (18 August 2020)
- ▶ *Blumiger Protest von Belarus: Worum es geht*
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (19 August 2020)
- ▶ *Vor einem Jahr noch schien in Weissrussland die Vorstellung irrwitzig, Menschen könnten laut nach Wandel rufen. Trotzdem: Die Unzufriedenheit mit Lukaschenko kommt nicht aus dem Nichts*
Assessments for the NZZ (20 August 2020)
- ▶ *Der Aufstand gegen Lukaschenko in Belarus, verständlich erklärt*
Article from Krautreporter with references to the ZOiS Spotlight 30 / 2020 (21 August 2020)
- ▶ *Neue Protest-Aufrufe aus Belarus*
Interview for Deutschlandfunk (23 August 2020)
- ▶ *Kollektive Vermittler? In der Krise in Belarus hoffen manche auf die Kirchen*
Assessments for the FAZ (29 August 2020)
- ▶ *Der überraschende Widerstand der weißrussischen Jugend*
Assessments for Die Welt (9 September 2020)

IN THE MEDIA

- ▶ *Präsident oder Hardliner? Vier Szenarien für Russland*
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (21 February 2020)
- ▶ *Abwanderung: Putin gehen die Russen aus*
Interview for the Kurier (23 February 2020)
- ▶ *Was Putin neben Stalin in einer Monumentalkathedrale verloren hat*
Assessments for the Kurier (3 May 2020)
- ▶ *Die russische Deutung der Geschichte: Im vergangenen Sieg leuchtet die Gegenwart*
Assessments for the NZZ (9 May 2020)
- ▶ *Russia's youth is tired of lavish military parades. Could digital culture change the country's wartime pageantry for good?*
Assessments for the Calvert Journal (9 May 2020)
- ▶ *Ahead of constitutional reform vote, two-thirds of young Russians think Vladimir Putin should step back from power*
Article for The Conversation (24 June 2020)
- ▶ *Election présidentielle en Pologne: la jeunesse en position d'arbitre*
Interview for Libération (8 July 2020)

SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 1 / 2020)**
Research insight *Zentrum für Politische Analyse und Informationssicherheit* for young students from Russia
- ▶ **Viadrinum (online, 8 / 2020)**
Summer School *Transsectoral Lab on (Post-)Migration. (Dis-)Integrative Encounters: What happens after migration*
Presentation *Focus Groups and Qualitative Data Analysis in Social Sciences*
Consultation Session on methodological questions for doctoral students
- ▶ **Deutsche Gesellschaft (Berlin, 8 / 2020)**
Autumn Academy *Erinnerung gestaltet Zukunft* for students and doctoral students
Presentation *1989 / 90 – eine europäische Erinnerung?*
- ▶ Mentor in the mentoring programme of the German Association for East European Studies
- ▶ Supervision of intern Taylor Whitsell as part of the ZOiS cooperation with Harvard University (6–8 / 2020)

MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ Evaluation for a project application from the National Science Centre Poland and for two articles for *Nations and Nationalism* und *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*

Dr Julia Langbein

PUBLICATIONS

Academic

- ▶ 'Manufacturing development: how transnational market integration shapes opportunities and capacities for development in Europe's three peripheries', with László Bruszt. In: *Review of International Political Economy*, 27:5 / 2020, pp. 996–1019.
- ▶ 'Trade liberalisation and opening in post-soviet limited access orders', with Ildar Gazizullin and Dmytro Naumenko. In: *East European Politics* (online first), 2020.
- ▶ 'Market integration and room for development in the peripheries', with László Bruszt. Special Issue: *Review of International Political Economy* (online first), 2020.
- ▶ 'Economic cooperation between the EU and the associated countries: Making the most of development opportunities under the DCFTA'. *LibMod Policy Paper*, Zentrum Liberale Moderne, August 2020.

ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ 'Market integration and room for development in Europe's peripheries: Constraint or opportunity?' Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 15 / 2020 with László Bruszt and Vera Šćepanović (12 June 2020)
- ▶ 'The Eastern Partnership at risk of falling into oblivion'. *ZOiS Spotlight* 25 / 2020 (24 June 2020)

EVENTS

Academic

- ▶ **German Association for East European Studies (online, 10 / 2020)**
Conference *Economic inequality in Eastern Europe and its consequences for social, political and economic developments*
Chair of the discussion *Inequality and political stability in Eastern Europe*
- ▶ **Arbeitskreis Europäische Integration e. V. (online, 11 / 2020)**
Lecture *Tiefe Integration in den Binnenmarkt und nationale Handlungsspielräume für periphere Ökonomien: Einsichten aus den DCFTAs* as part of the annual colloquium
- ▶ **Österreichische Vereinigung für Politikwissenschaft (online, 11 / 2020)**
Conference *Tag der Politikwissenschaft*
Presentation *Trade liberalisation and opening in post-Soviet Limited Access Orders*

Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Zentrum Liberale Moderne (online, 5 / 2020)**
Panellist at the workshop *Eastern Partnership 2.0, Prospects for economic cooperation between the EU and the associated countries*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 5 / 2020)**
Keynote lecture and panellist at the event *Turning Association Agreements into a Tool for Development*
- ▶ **Zentrum Liberale Moderne (online, 10 / 2020)**
Lecture and panellist at the event *Stand und Perspektiven der Östlichen Partnerschaft*
- ▶ **Zentrum Liberale Moderne (online, 11 / 2020)**
Keynote lecture and panellist at the briefing *Eastern Partnership 2.0 – Economic cooperation between the EU and the associated countries* with Johann Saathoff, MdB and coordinator for inter-societal cooperation with Russia, Central Asia and the Eastern Partnership countries
- ▶ **Ostausschuss der Deutschen Wirtschaft (online, 12 / 2020)**
Eastern Partnership Business Days
Participation in the discussion *Integrating Eastern Partnership countries into European value chains*
- ▶ Expert discussions with members of the European Parliament and the German Federal Parliament on the Eastern Partnership

IN THE MEDIA

- ▶ *Auswirkungen der Neuen Seidenstraße auf Osteuropa* Assessments for Marktreport (4 May 2020)

SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ Review of theses and co-supervision of doctoral theses at the Freie Universität Berlin

MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ Review of academic articles for *Review of International Political Economy*, *Journal of European Public Policy* and *Democratization*

Dr Sabine von Löwis

PUBLICATIONS

Academic

- ▶ 'Hybride Raumproduktionen. Phantomgrenzen als Konzept zur Erklärung ambivalenter Identifikationsräume in der Ukraine'. In: *Gefühle im Krieg. Imaginäre und affektive Dimensionen des Ukraine-Konflikts*, ed. by S. Cwiklinski, R. Dubasevych and M. Schwartz, pp. 307–327. Berlin: Kadmos-Verlag, 2020.

- ▶ ‘*Symbole sozialräumlicher Differenz und ihrer Aufhebung in der Westukraine / Символи соціально-просторової диференціації та її зняття в Західній Україні*’. In: *Grenzüberschreitungen in der Literatur und Kultur des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts / Переступи кордонів у літературі та культурі ХХ–ХХІ ст.*, ed. by Almut Hille, Peter Rychlo, Ievgeniia Voloshchuk and Alexander Chertenko, pp. 180–208. Dmytro Burago Verlag: Kyiv, 2020.

ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ ‘*Contested post-Soviet borders: Ukraine as a case in point*’. ZOiS Spotlight 2 / 2020 (15 January 2020)
- ▶ ‘*Migrations- und Asylpolitik im postsowjetischen Raum*’. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 12 / 2020 with Olga Gulina and Irina Mützelburg (17 January 2020)
- ▶ ‘*Higher Education in Europe’s Unrecognised Territories: Challenges and Opportunities*’. ZOiS Report 2 / 2020 with Thomas de Waal (April 2020)
- ▶ ‘*Krieg, Alltag, Literatur: Lesung und Gespräch mit Yevgenia Belorusets*’. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 19 / 2020 with Yevgenia Belorusets and Alexander Chertenko (27 October 2020)

Other publications

- ▶ ‘*Welche Perspektiven hat die Jugend? Hochschullandschaft in Transnistrien*’. In: *Deutsch-Rumänische Hefte*, Jahrgang XXIII, Heft 2, winter 2020, pp. 7–9.
- ▶ ‘*Introduction: Zooming in on Eastern Europe: Visual Research in Moldova and Kaliningrad*’, with Rita Sanders. In: *Zooming in on Eastern Europe. Visual Research in Moldova and Kaliningrad*, co-ed. by R. Sanders and V. Kreidler, 2020.
- ▶ ‘*Taxonomy Moldova*’. In: *Zooming in on Eastern Europe. Visual Research in Moldova and Kaliningrad*, published, co-ed. by R. Sanders and V. Kreidler, 2020.

EVENTS

Academic

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 2 / 2020)**
Organisation and chair of the meeting with local researchers for the pilot study *Contestations of the Liberal Script in Ukraine’s Border Regions*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 3 / 2020)**
Organisation and chair of the workshop *Supporting Higher Education in Europe’s Unrecognised Territories: Challenges and Opportunities* with Thomas de Waal
- ▶ **Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (online, 11 / 2020)**
Workshop *Borders as Places of Control: Fixing, shifting and reinventing state borders*
Presentation *Border Regimes in Flux: The Case of the „Contact Line“ in Ukraine* with Gwendolyn Sasse

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 12 / 2020)**

Discussion of the ZOiS Caucasus Network on *Konflikt-dynamiken, Selbst- und Fremdwahrnehmung der jeweiligen Akteure und Migration als konfliktreiches Bewegungselement*
Presentation *Alltag im Konflikt erforschen?*
Kooperationsprojekt zur Erhebung sozioökonomischer Daten in de-facto Staaten

Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 3 / 2020)**
Organisation and chair of the event *Supporting Higher Education in Europe’s Unrecognised Territories: Challenges and Opportunities*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 10 / 2020)**
Organisation of the ZOiS Forum *Zoom auf Osteuropa. Visuelle Recherchen in der Republik Moldau und Kaliningrad*
- ▶ **CLB Berlin (Berlin, 10 / 2020)**
Co-organisation of the exhibition *TAXONOMIE MOLDAU | MIGRANTS KALININGRAD*, with Rita Sanders, Volker Kreidler and Alexander Matveev

MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ Approval of the externally funded project *Zwischenräume leben: Individuelle Anpassungsstrategien und Erwartungshorizonte in der Ukraine und Moldau* at the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) and the Agence nationale de la recherche (ANR) (grant almost 800,000 euros)
- ▶ Approval of the externally funded project *The Liberal Script in Ukraine’s Contested Border Regions* as part of the Cluster of Excellence *Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)* of the Freie Universität Berlin (grant almost 290,000 euros)
- ▶ Contact partner for ZOiS guest researcher Vladimir Kolosov (2–3 / 2020)
- ▶ Contact partner for ZOiS guest researcher Ilona Grabmeier (2–4 / 2020)
- ▶ Participation in the programme *GLocalEast*

Dr Rita Sanders

Rita Sanders has been a researcher at ZOiS since October 2020.

PUBLICATIONS

ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ ‘*Zooming in on Eastern Europe. Visual Research in Moldova and Kaliningrad*’, co-ed. with V. Kreidler, 2020.

- ▶ 'Introduction: Zooming in on Eastern Europe', with S. von Löwis. In: *Zooming in on Eastern Europe. Visual Research in Moldova and Kaliningrad*, co-ed. with V. Kreidler, 2020.
- ▶ 'In Search of the Past and with Plans for the Future. How Migrants Resonate with Kaliningrad'. In: *Zooming in on Eastern Europe. Visual Research in Moldova and Kaliningrad*, co-ed. with V. Kreidler, 2020.

EVENTS

Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **CLB Berlin (Berlin, 10 / 2020)**
Organisation of the exhibition *TAXONOMIE MOLDAU | MIGRANTS KALININGRAD*, with Volker Kreidler (photography) and Alexander Matveev (photography)
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 10 / 2020)**
Chair of the ZOiS Forum *Zoom auf Osteuropa. Visuelle Recherchen in der Republik Moldau und Kaliningrad*

Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse

PUBLICATIONS

Academic

- ▶ 'Introduction: War and Displacement – The Case of Ukraine'. In: *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 72, no. 3: pp. 347–355, 2020.
- ▶ 'The Displaced as "Ordinary Citizens": Exploring Variation in the Political Attitudes of the Displaced from Donbas', with Alice Lackner. In: *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 72, no. 3: pp. 354–382, 2020.
- ▶ 'War and Displacement: The Case of Ukraine'. Special Issue guest-edited by Gwendolyn Sasse, *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 72, no. 3, 2020.

ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ 'Russia: constitutional reform as both safeguard and risk'. ZOiS Spotlight 10 / 2020 (11 March 2020)
- ▶ 'Covid-19 buys time for the Ukrainian president'. ZOiS Spotlight 21 / 2020 (27 May 2020)
- ▶ 'Die Verfassungsreform in Russland'. ZOiS Roundtable Osteuropa 17 / 2020 with Caroline von Gall and Christian Schaich (29 June 2020)
- ▶ 'Russland?: Russlandbilder in Ost- und Westdeutschland'. ZOiS Report 5 / 2020 (October 2020)
- ▶ 'Local elections in Ukraine: one step closer to decentralisation'. ZOiS Spotlight 43 / 2020 (25 November 2020)

Other publications

- ▶ 'President Zelenskiy Gambles with Government Reset'. Carnegie Europe (10 March 2020)
- ▶ 'The uneven first year of Zelensky's presidency'. Carnegie Europe (19 May 2020)
- ▶ 'Identity and Borders in Flux: The Case of Ukraine'. Monkey Cage (22 May 2020)
- ▶ 'Lukashenko's Cynical (or Desperate) Overtures to Belarus's Opposition'. Carnegie Europe (13 October 2020)
- ▶ 'Belarus's Optimistic Protesters and Putin's Intentions'. Carnegie Europe (3 December 2020)

EVENTS

Academic

- ▶ **Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN) (online, 5 / 2020)**
Panellist at the Virtual ASN Symposium *Nationalism and the Pandemic*
- ▶ **Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia (PONARS Eurasia) (online, 9 / 2020)**
Panellist at *PONARS Eurasia Friday: How Has COVID-19 Impacted Regime Legitimacy in Eurasia?*
- ▶ **American Political Science Association (APSA) (online, 9 / 2020)**
APSA Annual Meeting
Presentation *Migration Intention: Push Factors of Voice and Exit*
- ▶ **Leibniz ScienceCampus EEGA, British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies, German Association for East European Studies and Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 9 / 2020)**
Panellist at *Research under the Covid-19 condition – Eastern Europe as a Global Area*
- ▶ **Norwegian Institute of International Affairs and Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 11 / 2020)**
Co-organisation of the kick-off workshop for the project *When every act is war: Post-Crimea conflict dynamics and Russian foreign policy*
- ▶ **Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEES) (online, 11 / 2020)**
Annual Convention
Participation in the keynote discussion *Anxiety and Rebellion in the Post-communist World*
Presentation *Exit, Voice, an Loyalty: Protest Readiness an Migration Aspirations* (with Olga Onuch)
- ▶ **Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (online, 11 / 2020)**
Workshop *Borders as Places of Control*
Presentation *Border Regimes in Flux: The Case of the "Contact Line" in Ukraine* (with Sabine von Löwis)

Knowledge transfer

► **Center for International Studies (CERI) / Sciences Po (Paris, 1 / 2020)**

Panellist at *Blended Conflict in Eastern Ukraine: Evolutions, Effects and Prospects*

► **Munich Security Conference (Munich, 2 / 2020)**

56th Munich Security Conference
Presentation and discussion of the ZOIS-FES scenario analysis *Thinking Ahead: Russia Beyond 2024* (with Reinhard Krumm and others)

► **Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 2 / 2020)**

Chair of the event *In conversation with Sergiy Solodkyi and Georg Milbradt on Decentralisation reforms in Ukraine: taking stock and looking ahead*

► **Kennan Institute (online, 5 / 2020)**

Panellist at *Zelensky's First Year in Office: Successes, Failures, and Outlook for the Future*

► **British Royal United Services Institute (online, 6 / 2020)**

Presentation and discussion of the ZOIS-FES scenario analysis *Thinking Ahead: Russia Beyond 2024* (with Reinhard Krumm and others)

► **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (online, 6 / 2020)**

Chair of the launch event *Zur Politischen Kultur im Osten: Ostdeutschland und Europa* of the series *#30Transformation!*

► **Volksbühne Berlin and Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2020)**

Chair of the discussion *Platform East: Crisis Managers Wanted Authoritarian vs. Democratic Systems in Times of Instability*

► **Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and University of Bonn (online, 9 / 2020)**

Panellist at *Die Wiederkehr nationaler Fragen in Europa*

► **EU-LISTCO und Carnegie Europe (online, 9 / 2020)**

EU-LISTCO Regional Forum East
Participation in the roundtable *Is Donbas Lost?*

► **Wissenschaft im Dialog (online, 10 / 2020)**

Forum Wissenschaftskommunikation
Participation in the ZOIS panel *Daten, Kurven, Interpretationen: Numerical literacy als Ziel von Wissenschaftskommunikation*

► **Volkswagen Foundation and Federal Foreign Office (online, 10 / 2020)**

Input lecture at the workshop *Area Studies – Regionalwissen mit breiter Relevanz*

► **Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 10 / 2020)**

Presentation of a ZOIS survey at the discussion *Russland² – Wie blicken Ost- und Westdeutsche auf Russland?* (with Silvia Stöber and Steffen Mau)

► **Center for Slavic, Eurasian and East European Studies at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, Competitive Authoritarian Protest Research Network (CAPRN) and Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 10 / 2020)**

Participation in the roundtable *Belarus: the Domestic and International Politics of Democratic Revolution*

► **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Bucharest (online, 11 / 2020)**

Presentation and discussion of the ZOIS-FES scenario analysis *Thinking Ahead: Russia Beyond 2024* (with Reinhard Krumm and Félix Krawatzek)

► **Zentrum Liberale Moderne and Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 11 / 2020)**

Panellist at *Ausgang und Bedeutung der Lokalwahlen in der Ukraine*

► **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 12 / 2020)**

Panellist at the ZOIS Forum *Die Macht der Bilder und die Massenmobilisierung in Belarus*

► **European Parliament | Liaison Office in Germany (online, 12 / 2020)**

Panellist at *Online-Debatte Zur Lage in Belarus* for the awarding of the Sakharov Prize

► Briefings and roundtables with the Federal President, representatives of the Federal Foreign Office and the Chancellery, members of the Bundestag, international diplomats and members of the European Parliament

IN THE MEDIA

► **Präsident oder Hardliner? Vier Szenarien für Russland**

Article from Deutsche Welle based on the publication *Thinking Ahead: Russia Beyond 2024* with the participation of Gwendolyn Sasse (21 February 2020)

► **Russische Wandlung als Nicht-Wandlung**

Podcast from Foreign Times (7 March 2020)

► **Gwendolyn Sasse, Zentrum für Osteuropa- und internationale Studien, zu den Folgen einer möglichen Verfassungsänderung in Russland**

Interview for tagesschau.de (10 March 2020)

► **President Zelenskiy Gambles with Government Reset**

Article for the Kyiv Post (10 March 2020)

► **Macht und Machtlosigkeit. Covid-19 macht Putin einen Strich durch die plebiszitäre Rechnung.**

Article for the Hauptstadtbrief (19 April 2020)

► **Lage in der Ostukraine: Corona macht alles noch schlimmer**

Interview for Deutschlandfunk Kultur (30 April 2020)

► **Вибір у часи пандемії: що громадяни пропонують робити державі**

Article from Dzerkalo Tizhnia with reference to the project *Identities and Borders in Flux* with the participation of Gwendolyn Sasse (9 May 2020)

- ▶ *Gwendolyn Sasse: The uneven first year of Zelensky's presidency*
Article for the Kyiv Post (19 May 2020)
 - ▶ *Ein Fernsehkomiker mit komplexen Problemen: Der ukrainische Präsident Selenskji ist ein Jahr im Amt*
Interview for SWR2 (20 May 2020)
 - ▶ *Identity and Borders in Flux: The Case of Ukraine*
Blog entry for Monkey Cage / Washington Post (22 May 2020)
 - ▶ *Will the protesters return? Civil disobedience in the time of Covid-19*
Guest article for Political Violence at a Glance (26 May 2020)
 - ▶ *Ahead of constitutional reform vote, two-thirds of young Russians think Vladimir Putin should step back from power*
Article for The Conversation (24 June 2020)
 - ▶ *Wie sich Putin die Macht für die kommenden Jahrzehnte sichert*
Article on Web.de with quotes from the ZOiS Spotlight 10 / 2020 by Gwendolyn Sasse (1 July 2020)
 - ▶ *Das russische Verfassungsvotum: Vorhang zu und viele Fragen offen*
Article for the Hauptstadtbrief (4 July 2020)
 - ▶ *Russische Verhältnisse*
Podcast from Foreign Times (10 July 2020)
 - ▶ *Proteste: "Brisante Lage in Weißrussland"*
Interview for ZDF-Morgenmagazin (13 August 2020)
 - ▶ *Aufstand gegen Wahlfälscher*
Article for the Hauptstadtbrief (16 August 2020)
 - ▶ *Gwendolyn Sasse über den Umbruch in Weissrussland*
Interview for SRF (17 August 2020)
 - ▶ *Wie wahrscheinlich ist ein militärisches Eingreifen Russlands in Belarus?*
Assessments for the Tagesspiegel (19 August 2020)
 - ▶ *Helfen ohne zu eskalieren – EU-Balanceakt in Belarus*
Assessments for Reuters (19 August 2020)
 - ▶ *Die Zeit läuft gegen die Opposition*
Assessments for tagesschau.de (19 August 2020)
 - ▶ *Judy Asks: What Is Europe's Best Way Forward for Belarus?*
Commentary for Carnegie Europe (20 August 2020)
 - ▶ *Nur über seine Leiche?*
Article for the Hauptstadtbrief (22 August 2020)
 - ▶ *Belarus: Demonstrieren für den Wandel*
Assessments for ARD Weltspiegel (23 August 2020)
 - ▶ *Gwendolyn Sasse, Zentrum für Osteuropa- und Internationale Studien, zur Lage in Belarus*
Interview for tagesschau.de (24 August 2020)
 - ▶ *Moskau will sich in Belarus alle Optionen offenhalten*
Assessments for the Tagesspiegel (24 August 2020)
 - ▶ *Opposition ruft zu neuen Streiks auf*
Assessments for tagesschau.de (24 August 2020)
 - ▶ *Schlüsselfigur ohne Festlegungen*
Interview for tagesschau.de (25 August 2020)
 - ▶ *Europajournal – Sommergespräch: Gwendolyn Sasse zur Lage in Osteuropa*
Interview for Europa-Journal Ö1 (28 August 2020)
 - ▶ *Bielorrusia enfrenta sus horas más cruciales*
Assessments for El Universal (30 August 2020)
 - ▶ *Zur Lage in Belarus*
Interview for Deutschlandfunk (10 September 2020)
 - ▶ *Ablenkungsmanöver und Anschuldigungen*
Article for the Hauptstadtbrief (12 September 2020)
 - ▶ *Wie umgehen mit Putins Russland?*
ARD-Podcast Weltspiegel (12 September 2020)
 - ▶ *Belarus-Proteste: Lukaschenko wirbt bei Putin um Unterstützung*
Interview for SWR2 aktuell (14 September 2020)
 - ▶ *Putin will das System Lukaschenko stützen*
Interview for WDR5 Morgenecho (15 September 2020)
 - ▶ *Russland: Wie weiter mit Nawalny?*
Assessments for ARTE Journal (25 September 2020)
 - ▶ *Projektionsfläche Putin*
Article for the Hauptstadtbrief (4 October 2020)
 - ▶ *The Globalist Tuesday 6 October*
Interview for Monocle 24 (6 October 2020)
 - ▶ *A consistent focus on domestic reforms is the most direct way to strengthen Ukraine*
Interview for UAinFocus (12 October 2020)
 - ▶ *Турботу про економіку та національну безпеку українці ставлять вище за боротьбу з пандемією*
Article from Ukrainska Prawda with reference to a project with the participation of Gwendolyn Sasse (28 October 2020)
 - ▶ *Asymmetrisches Gleichgewicht*
Article for the Hauptstadtbrief (7 November 2020)
 - ▶ *"Конституційний надзвичайний стан": як у Берліні оцінюють конфлікт Зеленського та КСУ*
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (9 November 2020)
 - ▶ *Darum finden Ostdeutsche Putin gut*
Article in the Lausitzer Rundschau with reference to the ZOiS Report 5 / 2020 by Gwendolyn Sasse (9 November 2020)
 - ▶ *Studie: Putin-Versteher gibt es nicht nur im Osten*
Article from Freie Presse with reference to the ZOiS Report 5 / 2020 by Gwendolyn Sasse (25 November 2020)
 - ▶ *Russland nach Putin*
Interview for Bayern2 / radioWelt (2 December 2020)
 - ▶ *Belarus's Optimistic Protesters and Putin's Intentions*
Article for the Kyiv Post (5 December 2020)
- SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS**
- ▶ **European University Viadrina and Centre for European and International Studies (online, 8 / 2020)**
Viadrinum Summer School 2020
Chair of the discussion *The Normal to Return to? Learning (from) Migration in Times of the Pandemic*

- ▶ **Zentrum für historische Forschung Berlin der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Herder Institute for Historical Research on East Central Europe, Institute for Lithuanian History, Nordost-Institut and Centre for European and International Studies (online, 10 / 2020)**

Co-organisation of the workshop for young researchers *Family and Women in Eastern Europe: Current Research on Family and Women since the Middle Ages until present times*

Chair of the discussion *The Covid-19 Crisis and Women*

- ▶ **Young German Association for East European Studies (online, 10 / 2020)**

Workshop *Zukunft Osteuropa*

Panellist at *Die Qual der Wahl: Akademische oder außerakademische Karriere*

- ▶ Organisation of the monthly ZOIS Research Colloquium in cooperation with the Freie Universität Berlin, the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and the European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder)
- ▶ Supervisor of PhD theses at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and the University of Oxford as well as second supervisor of a bachelor's thesis at the Freie Universität zu Berlin
- ▶ Mentor in the mentoring programmes of the German Association for East European Studies and the Leibniz Association

MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ Principal Investigator in the DFG funded Cluster of Excellence *Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)* of the Freie Universität Berlin and cooperation partners
- ▶ Principal Investigator in the DFG funded (among others) international joint project *Determinants of Mobilisation at Home & Abroad: Analysing the Micro-Foundations of Out-Migration & Mass Protest (MOBILISE)*
- ▶ Co-Investigator of the British Academy funded project *Identity and Borders in Flux: The Case of Ukraine (IBiF)*
- ▶ Member of the Advisory Board of the Ukrainian Research Network in Switzerland (URIS) (since 2020)
- ▶ Member of the friends' association of the Berlin Wall Memorial (since 2019)
- ▶ Member of the Executive Board of the German Association for East European Studies (since 2019, elected by the members)
- ▶ Member of the Academic Advisory Board of the Institute for European Politics (IEP) (since 2019)
- ▶ Member of the Academic Advisory Board of the GCRF funded project *Comprehensive Capacity Building in the Eastern Neighbourhood and Central Asia: research integration, impact governance and sustainable communities* (since 2018)
- ▶ Member of the Advisory Board of the Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Vienna (since 2018)

- ▶ Member of the expert council of the Center for Eastern European Studies (CEES) at the University of Zürich (since 2018)
- ▶ Chair of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Leibniz ScienceCampus "Eastern Europe – Global Area" (EEGA) (since 2017)
- ▶ Nonresident Senior Fellow at Carnegie Europe (since 2014)
- ▶ Member of the International Advisory Council of the European Centre for Minority Issues in Flensburg (since 2010)

Dr Christian Schaiach

PUBLICATIONS

Academic

- ▶ *Änderungen in der Justiz sowie im Zugang zu Präsidentenamt und anderen (höheren) Staatsämtern*. In: *Die Reform der russischen Verfassung*, ed. by Rainer Wedde, pp. 87–101, Berlin 2020.

EVENTS

Academic

- ▶ **IRZ Foundation and Law Academy of the Ministry of Justice for the Russian Federation (online, 9 / 2020)**
Conference *Aktuelle Probleme der Juristenausbildung und der Rechtswissenschaft in Russland und Deutschland*
Lecture *Juristenausbildung und juristische Forschung in Deutschland*
- ▶ **IRZ Foundation and Law Academy of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Kazakhstan (online, 11 / 2020)**
Seminar *Besonderheiten bei Verfahren im Zivilrecht, Strafrecht und Verwaltungsrecht in Deutschland und Kasachstan*
Lecture *Rechtsstaatliche Grundsätze des Verwaltungsverfahrens*

SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ Mentor in the mentoring programme of the German Association for East European Studies

MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ Continuation of the roundtable for cyber security for the pre-political space together with the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, the Mercator Institute for China Studies, the Goethe-Institut, the Institute for Foreign Relations and the German Academic Exchange Service (online 6 / 2020 and 11 / 2020)

Supporting Young Researchers / Hosting Guest Academics



Supporting Young Researchers / Hosting Guest Academics

At ZOiS, young people wishing to enter a career in research or research communication gain access to leading professional networks in the field of East European studies, as well as the opportunity to acquire and develop the required skills. Our researchers take part in mentoring programmes for young researchers, contribute to events for students, teach at universities and supervise theses. Thanks to our cooperation with the Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, two PhD students are now attached to ZOiS. What's more, since January 2020, two Master's students have taken over as editors of Zentralasien-Analysen at ZOiS. *ZOiS Spotlight*, our weekly publication, regularly features articles by young researchers, giving them an opportunity to write for a broad readership in an established format. Due to the coronavirus pandemic in 2020, there were limited opportunities for ZOiS to host residencies for international scholars. We hope that in future, ZOiS will again become a forum for in-person encounters among researchers working in the field of East European studies. Not least, visiting academics enrich ZOiS's own research with their diverse topics and perspectives.

Internal and external research colloquia

In 2020 – its fourth year – ZOiS's external research colloquium, which is organised in cooperation with Freie Universität Berlin, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder), faced a new set of challenges due to the coronavirus pandemic. After the cancellation of the colloquium in the summer semester, it was resumed online in the winter semester. This proved beneficial in some respects, as it opened up the event to participants from outside the Berlin-Brandenburg region. The colloquium takes place every second Wednesday of the month during the semester and serves as a forum for discussion of work in progress by PhD students, postdocs and established academics engaged in social science research on Eastern Europe.

Another key element of ZOiS's efforts to support young talent is the internal colloquium for its researchers and guest academics. The colloquium takes place once a month and offers an opportunity for internal discussion of work in progress from a multidisciplinary perspective. The aim is to foster an interdisciplinary approach and offer authors feedback and new ideas for further work on their texts.

The research colloquia, both internal and external, aim to give young researchers an opportunity to engage in dialogue with more experienced colleagues and support their professional development.

Schule@ZOiS

The *Schule@ZOiS* programme is intended to spark young people's interest in social science research and Eastern Europe and thus also strengthen knowledge transfer from ZOiS. To that end, ZOiS invites students and teachers to take part in discussions with researchers on a variety of issues connected with the post-Soviet space. The events are aimed at students from the ninth grade onwards, particularly those studying history, politics and Russian. The format consists of a presentation about a selected topic and work being undertaken at ZOiS, followed by a discussion and interactive exercises on that topic. In addition, students have an opportunity to work in small groups in order to explore specific topics or aspects that particularly interest them.

The restrictions imposed to control the pandemic proved to be a considerable hindrance to the schools programme, making class visits to ZOiS impossible. In September 2020, Gwendolyn Sasse and Nadja Douglas hosted a discussion with ninth graders at the Jüdisches Gymnasium Moses Mendelssohn in Berlin. The conversation, which focused on the revolutionary movements in Ukraine and Belarus, was held online. However, it became clear that an online format is not ideal for this particular programme.

Interns and research assistants

In 2020, ZOiS's scope to offer internships was limited as a result of the pandemic. The focus therefore shifted to our partner programmes and compulsory work placements. Martina Urbanti from the University of Bologna was initially placed at ZOiS in March 2020, but had to cut short her compulsory work placement, which was funded by Erasmus+, due to the Covid-19 pandemic. In July and August, she then restarted her placement with ZOiS from her home in Italy, mainly working on Gwendolyn Sasse's projects. Among other things, she was responsible for researching literature on refugees and on local politics in Ukraine; she also provided support for PR activities



Several of ZOiS's research clusters are a very good fit for my own research interests, which meant that during my residency, I benefited particularly from its in-house expertise, the lectures on local politics and the decentralisation process in Ukraine, and also the outstanding working environment. The dialogue with colleagues who were working on similar regional issues and themes was especially helpful for my analysis of historical and current developments in Ukraine.

Ilona Grabmeier (University of Vienna)
Guest researcher

and assisted Gwendolyn Sasse with the Introduction to a Special Issue of *Europe-Asia Studies* on War and Displacement. As part of ZOiS's cooperation with the Higher School of Economics in Moscow, Yana Strogonova completed an internship at ZOiS from November 2020 to January 2021, assisting Piotr Goldstein with a project on the influence of associations, NGOs and informal coalitions on trust-building and members' activism in Serbia. As part of ZOiS's cooperation with Harvard University, Taylor Whitsell worked with Félix Krawatzek from June to August 2020. Due to the pandemic, this internship was conducted online. It mainly involved processing survey data on young people's political views and researching literature. Taylor Whitsell thus had the opportunity to broaden his statistical skills and gain additional experience in processing and communicating scientific data.

Several posts for research assistants to work in ZOiS's research clusters were also advertised and filled. The research assistants are tasked with carrying out literature and background research, data collection, processing and evaluation, and editing. Student assistants are also placed with the Communications team, where their tasks include conducting interviews for *Meet the Author*, website editing, research, and editorial duties. In 2020, student assistant Maria Kireenko organised and moderated an episode of the *Roundtable Osteuropa* podcast on women's rights in Eastern Europe, entitled *Kampf um Frauenrechte in Osteuropa: Nicht nur am 8. März*.

Editing of Zentralasien-Analysen

In January 2020, Rostam Onsori and Richard Schmidt took over as editors of *Zentralasien-Analysen*, which is based at ZOiS. Both are currently studying on the Master's degree programme in Central Asian Studies at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and have deepened their expertise by making numerous visits to the region. Editing *Zentralasien-Analysen* allows them to utilise

their specialist knowledge of the region and develop their editorial skills. *Zentralasien-Analysen* is part of the *Länder-Analysen* series, which ZOiS co-edits in collaboration with the German Association for East European Studies (DGO), the German Institute for Polish Studies (DPI), the University of Bremen's Research Centre for East European Studies (FSO), Leibniz Institute of Agricultural Development in Transition Economies (IAMO) and Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (IOS).

Cooperation with the Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences

The cooperation with the Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences (BGSS) at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin aims to provide intensive training for postgraduate students from all disciplines with a focus on Eastern Europe. The doctoral candidates who are selected for this methodology training programme work in one of ZOiS's research clusters in parallel to working on their dissertations. They also participate in events and contribute to publications. Since January 2019, BGSS doctoral candidate Diana Bogishvili has been based at ZOiS, where she is working on her dissertation, entitled *Georgian Migrants in Germany: The Impacts of Social Remittances on Forms of Inequality in the Country of Origin*. In 2020, she authored two issues of *ZOiS Spotlight: Divided lifeworlds of Georgian migrants during the pandemic* in July 2020 and *Georgia on the way to proportional representation* in October 2020. In November 2019, Kostiantyn Fedorenko became the second BGSS doctoral candidate to join ZOiS. His PhD thesis *From Molotov Cocktails to Farewell Parties: Causes of Emigration for Participants of the 2013–14 Euromaidan Protests in Ukraine* is part of the *Migration and Diversity* research cluster. In January 2020, he authored a *ZOiS Spotlight* on relations between Belarus and Russia.

Teaching

ZOiS researchers regularly make use of the opportunity to teach courses or give lectures at universities in the Berlin-Brandenburg region. Nadja Douglas taught the course *Security policy developments in Eastern Europe* at Freie Universität Berlin in the 2019/20 winter semester. Regina Elsner led a workshop on *The Orthodox Church and the challenge of human rights* at the Theological Faculty of Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (winter semester 2019/20). Also in the winter semester, Tsypylma Darieva gave the seminar *Caucasus Studies from a social and anthropological perspective* for Master's degree students at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. In June 2020, Beate Eschment delivered a guest lecture on *The restoration of Central Asia as a separate world region* as part of the *Eastern Europe–Eurasian Present* lecture series in the History Department at Hanover's Leibniz University.

Mentoring and dissertation supervision

Mentoring students and supervising dissertations are other important methods for supporting young researchers at ZOiS. Nadja Douglas co-supervised and appraised a Master's thesis at Freie Universität Berlin. Regina Elsner appraised two seminar papers at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Nina Frieß was a co-supervisor and appraiser of Bachelor's and Master's theses at the University of Potsdam and Freie Universität Berlin. She was also a mentor for the Young German Association for East European Studies (DGO) mentoring programme. Tatiana Golova supervised the ZOiS guest researcher Kseniia Semykina and provided support for her project *Contesting hegemonic neotraditionalist gender discourse in Russia: radical feminist articulations in the online space*. Julia Langbein acted as appraiser of final year projects and co-supervised PhD theses at Freie Universität Berlin. Tsypylma Darieva co-supervised a PhD thesis at Friedrich Schiller University Jena and supervised a Master's thesis at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. She was also the designated contact person at ZOiS for guest researcher Nina Lutterjohann and supported her DFG application for *Values in Flux? Russian, Georgian and Turkish youth migrant communities in Germany*, which was submitted in October 2020. Gwendolyn Sasse, Nadja Douglas, Félix Krawatzek and Nina Frieß were mentors for the Young DGO mentoring programme. Gwendolyn Sasse was also a mentor for the Leibniz Association mentoring programme, supervised PhD students at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and the University of Oxford and co-supervised a Bachelor's thesis at Freie Universität

Berlin. Beate Eschment supervised six and appraised three Master's theses at the Central Asian Seminar of the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin's Institute for Asian and African Studies.

Other activities to support young researchers

In June 2020, Nadja Douglas gave an online lecture to attendees at the security policy seminar (*Sicherheitspolitische Grundakademie*) organised by the Academic Association for Security Studies; her lecture was entitled *The OSCE – An Underrated Peace Guarantor between East and West*. In January 2020, Félix Krawatzek provided an insight into research for young students from the Center for Political Analysis and Information Security in Russia during their visit to ZOiS. In August 2020, he gave a lecture to students and postgraduates at the Herbstakademie *Erinnerung gestaltet Zukunft* (Autumn Academy: Memory Shapes the Future) held by the Deutsche Gesellschaft e.V.; his topic was *1989/90 – A European Memory?* At the Viadrinum Summer School, an online event hosted by the European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder) on *Transsectoral Lab on (Post-)Migration. (Dis-)Integrative Encounters: What happens after migration* in August 2020, he gave a lecture entitled *Focus Groups and Qualitative Data Analysis in Social Sciences* and ran a consultation session on methodological issues for postgraduates. Tsypylma Darieva also led two seminars at the Viadrinum. In January 2020, Beate Eschment took part in the panel discussion *Central Asian Neighbors – friends, foes or aliens?*, which was held during the *International Student Conference* at the Central Asian Seminar, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. In October 2020, Gwendolyn Sasse chaired the online panel discussion *The Covid-19 Crisis and Women* at the workshop *Family and Women in Eastern Europe: Current Research on Family and Women since the Middle Ages until Present Times*, which ZOiS organised jointly with partner institutions and which was aimed specifically at young researchers. She also took part in the panel on academic vs. non-academic careers (*Die Qual der Wahl: Akademische oder außerakademische Karriere*) at the *Future of Eastern Europe* workshop (*Zukunft Osteuropa*) organised by the Young DGO.

Guest researchers

With their diverse research topics and perspectives, guest scholars enrich the work undertaken at ZOiS and enhance interdisciplinary dialogue. These research visits by academics from other countries also play a key role in raising ZOiS's international profile. As a rule, the guest scholars spend a

two- to nine-month residency at ZOiS. During this period, they receive support with their research projects and are invited to participate in all ZOiS events and to contribute to its various publications.

Dr Elkhan Nuriyev, a political scientist from Azerbaijan and a Humboldt Senior Fellow, was a guest academic at ZOiS from July 2019 to March 2020. In his research study on *The EU, Russia and the Countries of the Eastern Partnership: Realities, Challenges and Perspectives in the Trilateral Relationship*, he examines the prospects for conflict resolution strategies in the Eastern neighbourhood and national energy strategies in the region around the Black Sea and Caspian Sea, with reference to EU and Russian foreign policy. In March 2020, he convened a colloquium on his book project and worked on a report entitled *Caucasus Science Map*.

From February to early March 2020, Vladimir Kolosov from the Institute of Geography of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow was a guest researcher at ZOiS within the framework of the *Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)* Cluster of Excellence. Due to the pandemic, he had to break off his two-month residency at ZOiS prematurely, but plans to return in 2021. Together with Rita Sanders and Sabine von Löwis, he worked on a funding application to the German Research Foundation (DFG) for the project *Reconfiguring borders to the geopolitical shifts in Central and Eastern Europe (a comparative analysis)*. He also took part in the international *SCRIPTS* conference *Contestation of the Liberal Script*, which was held in Berlin in early February, and participated in working meetings with local researchers on the pilot study *Contestations of the Liberal Script in Ukraine's Border Regions*.

Iлона Grabmaier from the Institute for Cultural and Social Anthropology at the University of Vienna was a guest researcher at ZOiS from the start of February to the end of April 2020. During this time, she worked on her dissertation *Stayed at home: Reconfiguring care of / for men, children and senior citizens in rural Ukraine*. Her residency at ZOiS was made possible by a Marietta Blau Grant from the Austrian Exchange Service (OeAD) and a Leopold Kretzenbacher Scholarship from the Schroubek Fund Eastern Europe. During her time at ZOiS, she also authored a *ZOiS Spotlight* entitled *Living alone in old age: challenges posed by Covid-19 in rural Ukraine*.

Dr Nina Lutterjohann, who was a Research Associate at the Institute of Middle East, Central Asia and Caucasus Studies of the School of International Relations, University of St Andrews in 2020, was a guest researcher at ZOiS from May to September. During her residency, she prepared a project application, which she presented at the internal colloquium. In this project, she aims to investigate value perceptions with reference to the interactions and attitudes of teenage and young adults with a migration background from Russia, Georgia, and Turkey. She also authored a *ZOiS Spotlight* on the border situations in Transdnistria and Abkhazia during the pandemic.

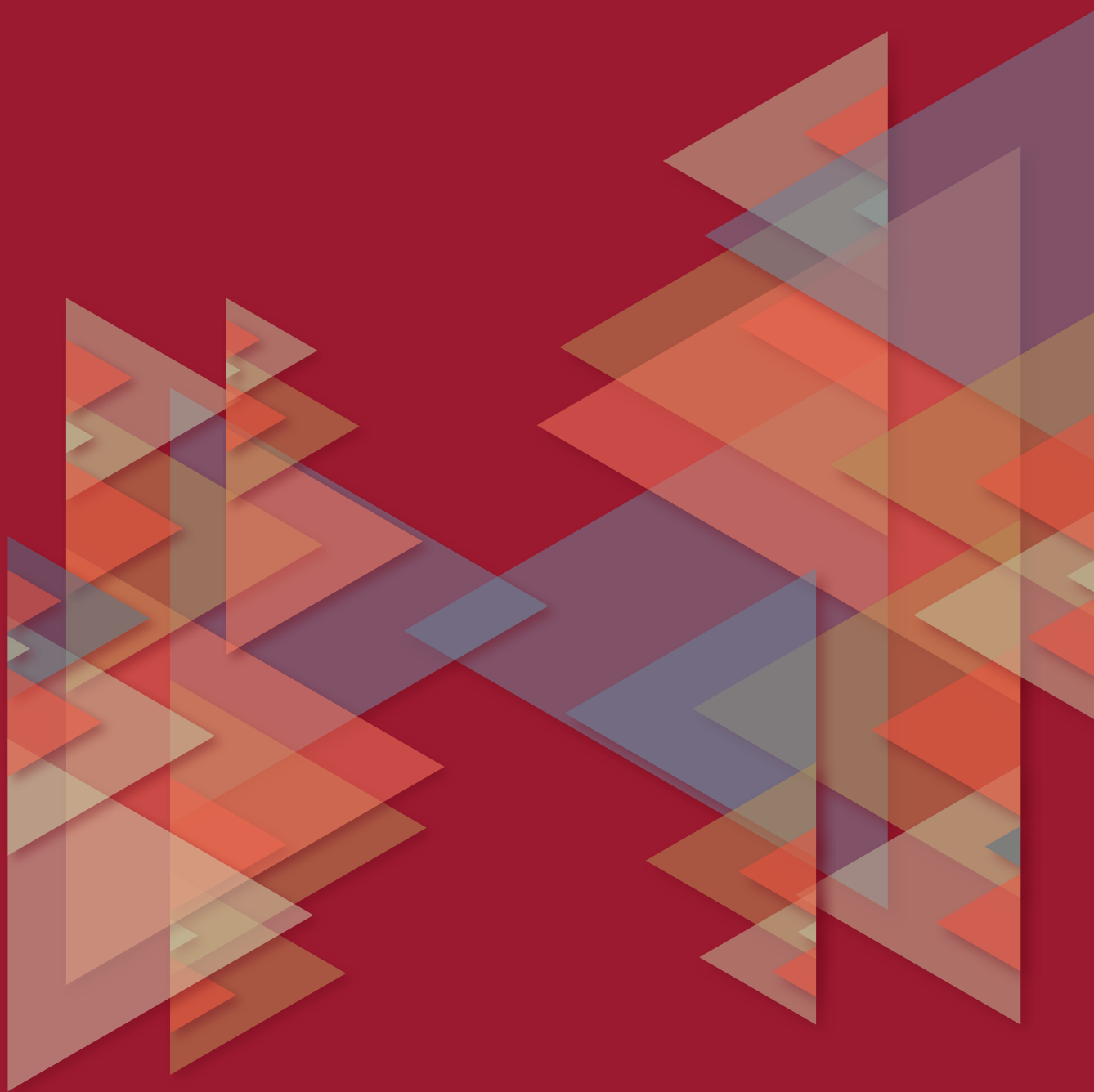
Kseniia Semykina joined ZOiS as a guest researcher in October 2020. Her residency is funded by a scholarship from the Berlin House of Representatives Grant Programme. Her project focuses on discursive construction of radical feminist identities in the online environment in Russia. She was previously a lecturer at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow and a research assistant at the Laboratory for Studies in Economic Sociology, also at the HSE. ◀



My residency at ZOiS helped me to progress both professionally and personally. The Institute stands out for its combination of foundational research and work on current issues and trends, and I benefited greatly from that. It was a real pleasure to work in this dynamic environment, also because the themes being addressed often had contemporary relevance and were presented in creative formats so that they were of interest not only to an expert audience but also to the public. I received constructive feedback on my own project proposal, so I am hopeful that the funding will be granted. My residency has inspired me to base my project at ZOiS and become part of the team.

Dr Nina Lutterjohann (Columbia University)
Guest researcher

Research Communication



Events

As the coronavirus pandemic – which had seemed so far away just a few weeks earlier – began to spread in Germany in the first few months of 2020, ZOiS was midway through planning its annual conference. In March, however, the country finally faced up to reality and sweeping restrictions were imposed on public life. Like every other institution, ZOiS stopped hosting in-house events and attempted to come to grips with the ‘new normal’. The annual conference was postponed until the following year, but other event formats were resumed in the virtual space from mid-April onwards. This was not without its advantages: although the opportunity to network on the margins of online events was limited, participation now opened up to people all over the world. Many of the online events were also recorded and made permanently available on the ZOiS website and YouTube channel.

ACADEMIC EVENTS

Workshops and conferences

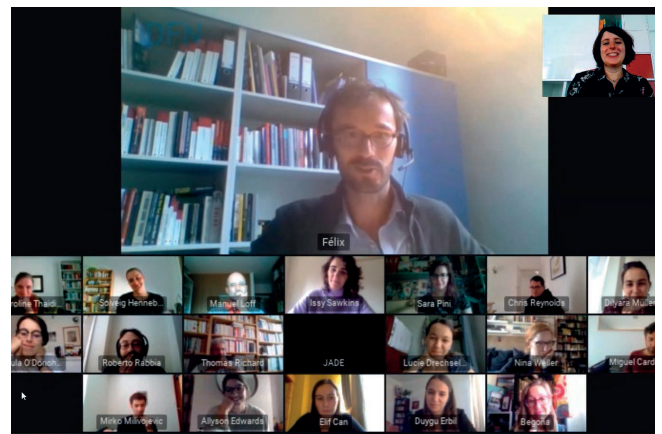
As part of her project on Kazakhstan as the ‘Laboratory of Peoples’ Friendship’, Beate Eschment hosted a workshop, entitled *30 Years of Kazakhstan’s Nationalities Policy on Small Ethnic Groups: Current Situation and Prospects*, in February. It brought together Kazakhstani and Western European scholars who were working on the successes and challenges of nationalities policy, based on analysis of Kazakhstani opinion polls or studies of specific ethnic groups. The scholars attending the workshop particularly appreciated the opportunity for focused academic exchange in their specialist field of research.

In March, social geographer Sabine von Löwis and Thomas de Waal from Carnegie Europe organised a workshop entitled *Supporting Higher Education in Europe’s Unrecognised Territories: Challenges and Opportunities* at ZOiS to discuss the prospects for international exchange involving universities in the de facto states of Transdnistria, northern Cyprus, and Abkhazia. The regional experts concluded that international cooperation and local support for these institutions can have positive impacts on the broader conflict situation.

A two-day workshop on *Religious Activism between Politics and Everyday Life: Mobilizing and Mediating the Religious in Eastern Europe and in the Caucasus* also took place in early March. It was convened by social anthropologist Tsypylma Darieva and theologian Regina Elsner from ZOiS in cooperation with Jeanne Kormina from Wissenschaftskolleg Berlin, where the event took place. Researchers from various disciplines explored the question of how diverse faith-based activities are mobilised and mediated among citizens by religious institutions and in-

formal believers. The workshop looked at various faiths and practices that have emerged or have been revitalised in the formerly largely atheist countries in the past 30 years.

Slavist Nina Frieß and political scientist Félix Krawatzek organised an online workshop, entitled *Memory as a Dialogue? History for Young People*, and invited colleagues to explore the significance of historical narratives for the construction of collective identities and hence for young people’s political and social attitudes. The broad range of countries and regions discussed – from Belarus to Spain, Algeria and the former Yugoslavia – meant that the historical themes addressed and young people’s resulting imaginaries and narratives were also highly diverse. This proved fruitful for analysing key aspects of young people’s relationship with their history from a diversity of perspectives.



The workshop ‘Memory as a Dialogue? History for Young People’, organised by Nina Frieß and Félix Krawatzek, took place online due to the Corona pandemic.

In cooperation with the German-Russian Association of Lawyers, ZOiS hosted a conference in September on the Russian constitutional reform, which was held at the Representation of Hamburg to the Federation and was also livestreamed. Speakers from Russia, Austria, and Germany put forward their views on the amendments to the Russian constitution pushed through by President Vladimir Putin in summer 2020, which would enable him, inter alia, to remain in office until 2036.

ZOiS director Gwendolyn Sasse and theologian Regina Elsner were co-organisers of the online workshop *Family and Women in Eastern Europe: Current Research on Family and Women since the Middle Ages until present times*, which took place in October. Other institutions involved were the Center for Historical Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Berlin, the Herder Institute for Historical Research on East



The ZOiS Forum 'Eastern Europe and China's New Silk Road' was broadcast by Inforadio rbb.



At the ZOiS Forum 'Transfiguration: Gender Revolution through Migration?', Stephan Ganoff showed his very personal film about coming to terms with his identity and family in Bulgaria.

Central Europe, the Institute for Lithuanian History and the Northeast Institute – Institute for Culture and History of the Germans in North-Eastern Europe. The two-day online event was specifically aimed at junior researchers in order to promote young talent. Covering a broad range of historical periods and topics, the workshop explored the overarching theme of family and women in Eastern Europe from various disciplinary perspectives.

KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER

ZOiS Forum

With its *ZOiS Forum* events series, ZOiS aims to build a bridge between the arts and academia and make research content accessible to a wider audience. One way of achieving this is through a diverse combination of media and event formats.

Demonstrating that its horizons extend beyond Eastern Europe, ZOiS hosted a panel discussion in January entitled *Eastern Europe and China's New Silk Road*. The co-organisers were the Mercator Institute for China Studies (meric) and Inforadio rbb, which also provided a broadcast of the event. The political implications of this Chinese infrastructural project in the region, particularly in Central Asia, were discussed by Central Asia expert Beate Eschment (ZOiS), Thomas Eders (meric), China correspondent Felix Lee (taz) and Germany's former Ambassador to China, Michael Schaefer. Dietmar Ringel (Inforadio rbb) moderated the event.

The situation of queer people in Eastern Europe, especially those who have migrated to other countries due to increasing repression, was the theme of another *ZOiS Forum*. Elke Renate Steiner presented her comic book *Love Migration*, a personal account of a long-distance relationship between Russia and Germany and finally her wife's migration to Germany. She was joined by theologian Regina Elsner (ZOiS) and political scientist Richard Mole (University College London) to discuss the situation of the LGBTQI* diaspora.

In December, the *Dramatising History – Online Panel for Close Up WWII* was held as a joint event with Cottbus Film Festival. Political scientist Félix Krawatzek from ZOiS talked to filmmakers Gints Grube, Ilka Matika and Marcel Maïga, and with Bernd Buder, programme director of Cottbus Film Festival, about how and in which context certain historical events have taken centre stage in recent cinematography while others have drifted to the margins of our collective consciousness.

An event in December, entitled *The Power of Images and Mass Mobilisation in Belarus*, focused on a highly topical issue. ZOiS director Gwendolyn Sasse and political scientist Nadja Douglas were joined by Volha Shukaila and Maxim Sarychau, both photographers from Belarus, to explore how images have influenced the protests, and how they have shaped the self-conception of the protesters and international responses.

In conversation with ...

The *In conversation with ...* series also continued in 2020; established in 2017, it is aimed at a specialist audience from political institutions, think tanks, and foundations.

In February, a conversation with Sergiy Solodkyy from the New Europe Center, former special representative for Ukraine and Ukraine expert Georg Milbradt, and Gwendolyn Sasse from ZOiS explored the topic of *Decentralisation Reforms in Ukraine: Taking Stock and Looking Ahead*. The discussion referenced a study conducted by the New Europe Center in cooperation with ZOiS and reviewed the progress of the reforms and how external partners can contribute to their success.

The report *Thinking Ahead: Russia Beyond 2024*, co-authored by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe and ZOiS, was the topic of one of the last in-person events held at ZOiS in 2020. Félix Krawatzek, Gwendolyn Sasse (both ZOiS) and Reinhard Krumm (FES) presented possible scenarios for political developments after the 2024 presidential election in Russia. At this point, the Russian



The discussion with Sergiy Solodkyy (centre) and Georg Milbradt focused on the current status of the decentralisation process in Ukraine.



Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS) and Reinhard Krumm (Friedrich Ebert Foundation) presented the jointly developed scenario analysis 'Thinking Ahead: Russia Beyond 2024' at a side event of the Munich Security Conference.

constitutional amendment adopted later in the year, with its implications for an extension of Vladimir Putin's presidency, had not been addressed in the scenarios. The scenario analysis was presented at a number of other events, including a side event at Munich Security Conference.

Coronavirus, which was now affecting all areas of life, was itself the theme of several events. In ZOiS's first online panel discussion in April, entitled *Covid-19 in Central Asia – Taking Stock*, Central Asia expert Beate Eschment was joined by the two editors of *Zentralasien-Analysen*, Rostam Onsoni and Richard Schmidt, to review the Central Asian countries' diverse responses to the pandemic. Also in April, Nadja Douglas (ZOiS), Olga Dryndova (University of Bremen) and Andrei Yeliseyev (EAST Center) took part in an online panel discussion on *Covid-19 in Belarus and the Regional Context*, which looked at the country's strategies for handling the pandemic and how they are viewed by the public in Belarus.

Other events

ZOiS's successful cooperation with Volksbühne Berlin continued, with a total of five events in 2020. Three panel discussions in the *Platform East* series took place in January and February. The topics ranged from the rise in anti-gender politics in Eastern Europe to urban activism and the future of Belarusian literature. In summer, the cooperation then continued in the framework of the POSTWEST Festival. Once again, activism featured centre stage in the discussions with campaigners, academics, and experts. A further event, moderated by ZOiS director Gwendolyn Sasse, focused on *Authoritarian vs. Democratic Systems in Times of Instability*.

In June, the ZOiS Caucasus Network, founded in autumn 2019, met for an inter-institute online event with the Bertelsmann Foundation on anti-corruption measures in the South Caucasus. Journalist Silvia Stöber's presentation of her study of this topic was followed by a discussion with ZOiS researchers Tsypylma Darieva and Nadja Douglas, moderated by Miriam

Kosmehl from the Bertelsmann Foundation, which focused on successful practices to tackle everyday corruption in the South Caucasus and the limits to such reforms.

In cooperation with BASEES, DGO, and ZOiS, the Leibniz ScienceCampus "Eastern Europe – Global Area" (EEGA) organised a hybrid event, entitled *Research under the Covid-19 condition – Eastern Europe as a Global Area*, in place of the BASEES conference, which was cancelled due to the pandemic. Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS), Judith Pallot (BASEES), Matthias Middell (EEGA), Gabriele Freitag (DGO), and Stefan Rohdewald (Leipzig University) discussed the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic on research. Journalist Gemma Pörzgen chaired the discussion.

The dissemination of research results, not only to other academics but also to policy-makers, the media, and the general public, is a key aspect of ZOiS's work. A highly topical issue, particularly in the context of the pandemic, is the communication of statistics and data and how the public responds to them. At the *Forum Wissenschaftskommunikation* conference for science communication, ZOiS director Gwendolyn Sasse and head of communications Stefanie Orphal came together with Andrew Dilnot (Nuffield College Oxford) and Harald Wilkoszewski (Berlin Social Science Center) for a discussion of *Data, Curves, Interpretations: "Numerical literacy" as an Aim of Science Communication*. The panel, which was convened by ZOiS, considered how statistics and data can be presented most effectively and identified opportunities and challenges relating to data visualisation.

To mark the 30th anniversary of German reunification, ZOiS hosted an online panel discussion on *Russia² – East and West German Attitudes towards Russia* in October. Director Gwendolyn Sasse and journalist Silvia Stöber presented the findings of a ZOiS survey, focus groups, and interviews on the differences between East and West German views on Russia and Russian-German relations. Sociologist Steffen Mau also shared his expertise on the topic. ◀

ZOiS Events 2020

ACADEMIC EVENTS

► Public lectures and panel discussions

- *Whose Nation is it Anyway? Identities and Nation-Building in Kazakhstan (13 February 2020)*
Lecture by Rico Isaacs (University of Lincoln).
Chair: Beate Eschment (ZOiS)
- *Ukrainian, Russophone, (Other) Russian: Hybrid Identities and Narratives in Post-Soviet Culture and Politics (14 September 2020)*
Book presentation by Marco Puleri (University of Bologna) with Roman Dubasevych (University of Greifswald), Miriam Finkelstein (University of Graz).
Chair: Nina Frieß (ZOiS)

► Workshops and conferences

- *30 Years of Kazakhstan's Nationalities Policy on Small Ethnic Groups: Current Situation and Prospects (13–14 February 2020)*
Workshop organised by Beate Eschment (ZOiS)
- *Supporting Higher Education in Europe's Unrecognised Territories: Challenges and Opportunities (2 March 2020)*
Workshop organised by Sabine von Löwis (ZOiS) and Thomas de Waal (Carnegie Europe)
- *Religious Activism between Politics and Everyday Life: Mobilizing and Mediating the Religious in Eastern Europe and in the Caucasus (12–13 March 2020)*
Workshop in cooperation with Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, Co-organised by Tsypylma Darieva (ZOiS), Regina Elsner (ZOiS) and Jeanne Kormina (HSE St Petersburg / Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin)
- *Memory as a Dialogue? History for Young People (09–11 September 2020)*
Workshop organised by Nina Frieß and Félix Krawatzek (both ZOiS)
- *Die Reform der Russischen Verfassung (18 September 2020)*
Conference in cooperation with the Deutsch-Russische Juristenvereinigung e. V.
- *Family and Women in Eastern Europe: Current Research on Family and Women since the Middle Ages until present times (12–14 October 2020)*
Workshop in cooperation with the Zentrum für Historische Forschung Berlin der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin), Herder Institute for Historical Research on East Central Europe (Marburg), the Institute for Lithuanian History (Vilnius), and the Nordost-Institut (Lüneburg)

► ZOiS Research Colloquium

- *Georgians in Germany. Transnational Money and Social Transfers and the Transformation of Social Inequalities in Georgia (8 January 2020)*
Diana Bogishvili (ZOiS)
- *Social Responsibility in Russian Enterprises (12 February 2020)*
Stanislav Klimovich and Ulla Pape (both Freie Universität Berlin)
- *Trajectories of State Capitalism in Post-Socialist States (11 November 2020)*
Misook Choi (University of Groningen)
- *Negotiating 'Labour Migration': Competing Political Projects of Post-Socialist Development (9 December 2020)*
Julia Glathe (Freie Universität Berlin)

ZOiS KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER

► ZOiS Forum

- *Eastern Europe and China's New Silk Road (21 January 2020)*
In cooperation with the Mercator Institute for China Studies (meric) and Inforadio rbb
Thomas Eder (meric), Beate Eschment (ZOiS), Felix Lee (taz) and Michael Schaefer (BMW Foundation Herbert Quandt). Chair: Dietmar Ringel (Inforadio rbb)
- *Transfiguration: Gender Revolution through Migration? (11 February 2020)*
In cooperation with Deutsches Zentrum für Integrations- und Migrationsforschung (DeZIM)
Stephan Ganoff (director), Petja Dimitrova (artist / activist) and Regina Elsner (ZOiS).
Chair: Magdalena Nowicka (DeZIM)
- *Love Migration – Queere Migration aus Osteuropa (9 July 2020)*
Elke Renate Steiner (artist and illustrator) and Richard Mole (University College London).
Chair: Regina Elsner (ZOiS)
- *Zoom auf Osteuropa. Visuelle Recherchen in der Republik Moldau und Kaliningrad (17 October 2020)*
In cooperation with CLB Berlin
Volker Kreidler (photographer), Alexandre Matveev (photographer), Olga Sezneva (Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research) and Nadja Douglas (ZOiS).
Chair: Rita Sanders (ZOiS)

- ▶ *Dramatising History – Online-Panel zu Close-Up WWII (11 December 2020)*
In cooperation with FilmFestival Cottbus
Gints Grube (filmmaker), Illka Matika (filmmaker), Marcel Maiga (curator) and Félix Krawatzek (ZOiS).
Chair: Bernd Buder (FilmFestival Cottbus)
- ▶ *The Power of Images and Mass Mobilisation in Belarus (15 December 2020)*
Volha Shukaila (photo journalist), Maxim Sarychau (photographer) and Nadja Douglas (ZOiS).
Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)
- ▶ **In conversation with...**
 - ▶ *Decentralisation reforms in Ukraine: taking stock and looking ahead (19 February 2020)*
Sergiy Solodkyy (New Europe Center), Georg Milbradt (former special representative for Ukraine) and Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)
 - ▶ *Three years of reforms in Uzbekistan. Results and further tasks (25 February 2020)*
Eldor Tulyakov (Development Strategy Center), Umid Abidkhodjaev (Center for Economic Research), Bakhtiyor Mustafayev (Institute of Strategic and Regional Studies) and Beate Eschment (ZOiS)
 - ▶ *Supporting higher education in Europe's unrecognised territories: challenges and opportunities (3 March 2020)*
Thomas de Waal (Carnegie Europe) and Sabine von Löwis (ZOiS)
 - ▶ *Thinking Ahead: Russia Beyond 2024 (11 March 2020)*
Reinhard Krumm (Friedrich Ebert Foundation), Félix Krawatzek (ZOiS) and Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)
 - ▶ *Covid-19 in Zentralasien – eine Bestandsaufnahme (16 April 2020)*
Beate Eschment (ZOiS), Rostam Onsori and Richard Schmidt (editors of Zentralasien-Analysen)
 - ▶ *Turning Association Agreements into a Tool for Development (14 May 2020)*
Klaudijus Maniokas (Vilnius University), Julia Langbein (ZOiS) and Tanja Börzel (Freie Universität Berlin)
 - ▶ *Zwischenethnisches Zusammenleben in Kasachstan – Anspruch und Wirklichkeit (1 October 2020)* Beate Eschment (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Other events**
 - ▶ *„Geister der Vergangenheit“ (16 January 2020)*
Panel discussion and presentation of the year book dekoder #1 with Tamina Kutscher and Friederike Meltendorf (dekoder), Sergej Lebedew (author) and Nina Frieß (ZOiS). Chair: Gemma Pörzgen (freelance journalist)
 - ▶ *Urban Activism in Eastern Europe (28 January 2020)*
In cooperation with Volksbühne Berlin as part of the series of events *Platform East*
Panel discussion with Alexander Formosov (Dekabristen e. V.), Zuzanna Hertzberg (artist and activist),

Sasha Kurmaz (artist) and Lela Rekviashevili (Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography).
Chair: Tsypylma Darieva (ZOiS)

- ▶ *Der Weg aus der Nische? Belarussische Literatur und ihre Zukunft (18 February 2020)*
In cooperation with Volksbühne Berlin as part of the series of events *Platform East*
Panel discussion with Julia Cimafiejeva (poet and translator), Andrej Januškevič (historian and publisher). Chair: Alexander Chertenko
- ▶ *An unholy alliance? “Christian values” and Anti-Gender politics in Central and Eastern Europe (26 February 2020)*
In cooperation with Volksbühne Berlin as part of the series of events *Platform East*
Panel discussion with Regina Elsner (ZOiS), Elżbieta Korolczuk (Södertörn University Stockholm) and Radoslav Stoyanov (activist). Chair: Patricia Hecht (taz)
- ▶ *Covid-19 in Belarus and the regional context (22 April 2020)*
Discussion with Olga Dryndova (editor of Belarus-Analysen) and Andrei Yeliseyeu (EAST Center).
Chair: Nadja Douglas (ZOiS)



The photo exhibition 'Taxonomy Moldova | Migrants Kaliningrad' at CLB Berlin was co-organised by Rita Sanders and Sabine von Löwis from ZOiS and discussed in a ZOiS Forum event.

- ▶ *Russlands Erinnerung an den 9. Mai 1945 (8 May 2020)*
Discussion with Sandra Dahlke (German Historical Institute Moscow), Nina Frieß and Félix Krawatzek (both ZOiS). Chair: Jörg Morré (German-Russian Museum Berlin-Karlshorst)
- ▶ *Antikorruptionsmaßnahmen im Südkaukasus (24 June 2020)*
ZOiS Caucasus Network event in cooperation with the Bertelsmann Stiftung
Lecture by Silvia Stöber (freelance journalist), followed by a discussion with Tsypylma Darieva and Nadja Douglas (both ZOiS). Chair: Miriam Kosmehl (Bertelsmann Stiftung)
- ▶ *Platform East: Crisis Managers Wanted. Authoritarian vs. Democratic Systems in Times of Instability (24 June 2020)*
In cooperation with Volksbühne Berlin in the framework of the POSTWEST Festival

- Discussion with Oliver Bilger (Tagesspiegel), Silvia von Steinsdorff (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) and Vlad Troitskyi (Center of Contemporary Art DAKH, Kyiv). Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)
- ▶ *Platform East: Activism 1.01 (26 June 2020)*
In cooperation with Volksbühne Berlin in the framework of the POSTWEST Festival
Conversations with activists, experts, and academics
 - ▶ *Belarus ahead of the presidential elections 2020 (15 July 2020)*
In cooperation with European Platform of Election Observation (EPDE)
Discussion with Uladzimir Labkovich (Human Rights Center “Viasna”), Michael Georg Link (member of the German Parliament), Nadja Douglas and Félix Krawatzek (both ZOiS).
Chair: Stefanie Schiffer (EPDE)
 - ▶ *Research under the Covid-19 condition – Eastern Europe as a Global Area (16 September 2020)*
In cooperation with the Leibniz ScienceCampus “Eastern Europe – Global Area” (EEGA), the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (BASEES) and the German Association for East European Studies (DGO)
Two-part discussion with Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS), Judith Pallot (BASEES), Matthias Middell (EEGA), Gabriele Freitag (DGO) and Stefan Rohdewald (Leipzig University). Chair: Gemma Pörzgen (freelance journalist)
 - ▶ *Russland? – Wie blicken Ost- und Westdeutsche auf Russland? (1 October 2020)*
Discussion with Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS), Silvia Stöber (freelance journalist) and Steffen Mau (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin). Chair: Anja Krüger (ZOiS)
 - ▶ *Daten, Kurven, Interpretationen: „Numerical literacy“ als Ziel von Wissenschaftskommunikation (7 October 2020)*
In the framework of the *Forum Wissenschaftskommunikation*
Discussion with Andrew Dilnot (Nuffield College Oxford), Harald Wilkoszewski (Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin) and Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS).
Chair: Stefanie Orphal (ZOiS)
 - ▶ *Inequality and political stability in Eastern Europe (7 October 2020)*
In cooperation with the Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies, the German Association for East European Studies and the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München
Discussion with Christopher Hartwell (Bournemouth University), Elisabeth Schimpfoessl (Aston University), Tobias Tunkel (Foreign Federal Office).
Chair: Julia Langbein (ZOiS)

- ▶ *Ausgang und Bedeutung der Lokalwahlen in der Ukraine (11 November 2020)*
In cooperation with the Center for Liberal Modernity (LibMod)
Discussion with Kristina Berdinskykh (journalist), Yevhen Popov (International Renaissance Foundation), Marieluse Beck (LibMod) and Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS).
Chair: Mattia Nelles (LibMod)
- ▶ *Living together before and after the Karabakh war? (12 November 2020)*
Discussion with Sevil Huseynova (CISR Berlin) and Vadim Romashov (University of Tampere).
Chair: Tsypylma Darieva (ZOiS)



The event ‘Urban Activism in Eastern Europe’ took place at the Volksbühne Berlin in cooperation with ZOiS as part of the series ‘Platform East’.

- ▶ *Kirgistan nach dem erneuten Umsturz (1 December 2020)*
Cooperation with the German Association for East European Studies (DGO)
Discussion with Beate Eschment (ZOiS) and Kishimjan Osmonova (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin).
Chair: Gabriele Freitag (DGO)
- ▶ *Meeting of the ZOiS Caucasus Network (10 December 2020)*
Event of the ZOiS Caucasus Network with Tsypylma Darieva (ZOiS), Marit Cremer (Memorial), David Leupold (Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient) and Sabine von Löwis (ZOiS). Chair: Nadja Douglas (ZOiS)

SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ **Schule@ZOiS**
- ▶ *Ereignisse in der Ukraine und Belarus (15 September 2020)*
Nadja Douglas and Gwendolyn Sasse spoke with students of the Jüdisches Gymnasium Moses Mendelssohn

Publications

ZOiS produces a range of publications which present the outcomes of its research, analysis of current events and background. *ZOiS Report*, available in print and online, presents current data from our research projects. *ZOiS Spotlight* is a short weekly publication, produced in English and German, which covers a wide range of topics relating to Eastern Europe. The *Meet the Author* series consists of interviews with authors about their latest publications, and the regular *Roundtable Osteuropa* podcast features discussions between ZOiS researchers and guest experts.

► ZOiS Report

ZOiS Report is aimed at an expert readership from politics, administration, the education sector, and the media. Produced in medium-length format in English or German, it presents current data from ZOiS studies and surveys through graphics, as well as short explanatory texts and the latest results of projects conducted by ZOiS researchers. It is available in print and on the ZOiS website. Six *ZOiS Reports* were published in 2020.

Under Russian president Vladimir Putin, historical narratives have become a central component of the Kremlin's attempts to shape the identities of Russians at home and abroad. In *ZOiS Report 1/2020*, Nina Frieß and Félix Krawatzek investigated what World War II means for young Russians and how the conflict is represented for them. Their analysis was based on two sets of sources: a series of online surveys and focus group interviews, and depictions of World War II in literature and films.

In *ZOiS Report 2/2020*, Sabine von Löwis and Thomas de Waal examined the opportunities and impacts of academic exchange for universities in de facto states. In the regions studied – Abkhazia, Transnistria, and northern Cyprus – the opportunities for universities and colleges to integrate into the international landscape of higher education are extremely limited. The authors noted that international academic cooperation can contribute to conflict resolution in de facto states and called for policies of de-isolation.

In *ZOiS Report 3/2020* Tsypylma Darieva examined the Azerbaijani state's policies towards its various religious groups. She considered three main questions: To what extent has the Azerbaijani state's stance on religion changed over

the last two decades? What are the main factors shaping this transformation? And how is the Azerbaijani state responding to growing religious plurality? Based on statistical data and interviews, she concluded that Azerbaijan's authorities currently employ three strategies for regulating religious diversity at the national level.

In *ZOiS Report 4/2020*, Beate Eschment considered whether the Republic of Kazakhstan views itself in ethnic terms as the state of the Kazakh people, and/or in civic terms as a state of all citizens irrespective of ethnicity — or both simultaneously, in line with the nationalities policy pursued by President Nursultan Nazarbaev from the early 1990s until 2019. While the results of a ZOiS survey reveal a high level of civic Kazakhstani self-identification among respondents, Beate Eschment expressed doubts as to whether this is evidence of a united nation of Kazakhs and non-Kazakhs. She provided examples showing that the two groups attach very different meanings to the concept of a Kazakhstani identity.

Thirty years after German reunification, Gwendolyn Sasse presented the findings of a survey on the differences in East and West German attitudes towards Russia in *ZOiS Report 5/2020*, which reveal that place of residence is more important than place of birth. There is also an obvious 'capital city' effect: Berliners not only have more personal connections to Russia but are also more aware of repression in Russia. Age, gender, and education are other significant factors. Focus group discussions were helpful in revealing the logic underlying more positive attitudes towards Russia, including intra-German gratitude for the role played by 'Moscow' in support of reunification.

In *ZOiS Report 6/2020*, Nadja Douglas examined the protests that followed the presidential election in Belarus in August 2020 in the context of state-society relations and their development. Over the years, the widening gap between a new generation of an emancipated citizenry and a regime stuck in predominantly paternalistic power structures has become increasingly evident. The presidential elections and the mishandling of the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic have proved to be the catalyst that brought these fragile relations to a complete breakdown. Douglas traced the effects of this development using document analysis, public opinion polls, statistical data, and problem-centred interviews.

► ZOIS Spotlight

ZOIS Spotlight is a weekly publication featuring analyses, insights, and background information on current developments in Eastern Europe by ZOIS researchers and guest contributors. It is published on the ZOIS website each Wednesday in English and German and is shared on Twitter and Facebook. Here are some of the highlights from 2020:

The Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 influenced not only the work being carried out at ZOIS but also developments in Eastern Europe. The impacts of the pandemic were therefore examined in a number of *ZOIS Spotlights*. Tsypylma Darieva (ZOIS) compared the responses of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, with a particular focus on the religious institutions. Jeanne Kormina (Higher School of Economics, St Petersburg) explored the role of the Orthodox Church in the pandemic response in the context of decentralisation in Russia. Regina Elsner (ZOIS) also analysed the Eastern European churches' response to the pandemic and outlined the reasons for their failure to comply with the measures to contain the pandemic. Olga Gulina (RUSMPI UG – Institute on Migration Policy) explained how coronavirus jeopardised the legal status of foreign nationals in Russia, while Diana Bogishvili (ZOIS) offered insights into the changed lifeworlds of Georgian migrants in Germany. ZOIS guest academic Iona Grabmeier described the situation of the elderly in rural Ukraine during the pandemic. Also focusing on Ukraine, Gwendolyn Sasse drew on the findings of a survey conducted with input from ZOIS, which showed that in spring, most Ukrainians approved of President Volodymyr Zelenskiy's handling of the pandemic, resulting in some improvement in his falling approval ratings, if only temporarily. Piotr Goldstein (ZOIS) investigated Polish civil society's creative forms of protest during the pandemic.

Several *Spotlights* focused on developments in Poland. Elżbieta Korolczuk (Södertörn University, Stockholm) reported on the establishment of so-called LGBT-free zones and showed that they are part of a global anti-gender movement and an increase in right-wing populism. The tightening of the abortion law in Poland, which sparked a wave of protest across the country, is another sign of a surge in ultra-conservative values and was analysed in a *Spotlight* by Piotr Goldstein (ZOIS) and Marianna Szczygielska (Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin). The far-right turn, particularly among younger Poles, was examined by Tom Junes (European University Institute, Florence). Ahead of the presidential election in Poland, Félix Krawatzek presented ZOIS survey data on young people's voting intentions and political views and, in a further *Spotlight* co-authored

with Maryia Rohava, analysed a survey of young voters ahead of the presidential election in Belarus. The voting intentions of young Poles covered the entire political spectrum. The most popular candidate was the incumbent, Andrzej Duda. In Belarus, by contrast, only 10 per cent of respondents in the 18–34 age group said that they intended to vote for President Aliaksandr Lukashenka; the majority expressed a preference for opposition candidates. After the rigged elections, an unprecedented wave of mass protests swept Belarus. In her *Spotlight*, Anna Litvinenko (Freie Universität Berlin) described the role played by the messaging service Telegram in mobilising citizens. At the end of the year, after four months of protest, Olga Onuch (University of Manchester) conducted an interim review of the protest movement and presented data from a survey of Belarusian protesters conducted by the *MOBILISE* project with input from ZOIS.

In late September 2020, there was an escalation of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Political scientist Nadja Douglas (ZOIS) shed light on the latest domestic and foreign policy developments in the two countries that had caused them to resort to military action. She also examined the international context, particularly the lack of leverage of international conflict mediators such as the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) when the dominant actors in the region today are Russia and Turkey.

► Meet the Author

For *Meet the Author*, the Communications team conducts short interviews with authors about their latest publications. Our aim is to provide an insight into the current academic and cultural debate and show how it relates to topical political and social issues. The interviews are published in German and English on the ZOIS website.

In March, we spoke with Samuel A. Greene about his book *Putin v. the People: The Perilous Politics of a Divided Russia*, which he co-authored with Graeme B. Robertson. The authors shed some light on the relationship between the Russian people and their president, with a focus on public perceptions of Putin, and attempt to explain why support for him is still so strong.

In *Ukraine and Russia: From Civilized Divorce to Uncivil War*, Paul D'Anieri examines the foreign and security policy of the Russia-Ukraine conflict and the role of the spread of democracy in the post-Soviet space in order to explain why the conflict between Russia and Ukraine has escalated.

In his book *Ukrainian, Russophone, (Other) Russian: Hybrid Identities and Narratives in Post-Soviet Culture and Politics*, Marco Puleri examines Russophone culture and identity. In the interview, he unpacked his term ‘Other Russian’, deconstructing the binary categories of ‘Ukrainian’ and ‘Russian’ speakers and what they mean for the self-identification of Russian speakers in the context of the Ukraine crisis.

In *The Things of Life: Materiality in Late Soviet Russia*, Alexey Golubev examines objects and places of everyday life, cultural goods and symbols to revisit the late socialist era. In the interview, Golubev pointed out the benefits of a ‘materialist’ approach for studying the making of Soviet citizenship.

► Podcast: Roundtable Osteuropa

Soon after the podcast’s first anniversary in March 2020, *Roundtable Osteuropa 13/2020* turned the spotlight on the women’s movement in Eastern Europe. Regina Elsner, Maria Kireenko (both ZOIS), and Erica Zingher (taz) looked back to the start of celebrations of International Women’s Day on 8 March in the Soviet Union and assessed its significance today. They also discussed women’s policy developments in the region, such as #ЯНеБоюсьСказать (= I’m not afraid to speak out) against the taboos around sexual violence, and the recent tightening of the abortion law in Poland.

Covid-19 forced the postponement of the military parade in Moscow on 9 May marking the 75th anniversary of the end of the ‘Great Patriotic War’. The memory of World War II has become a controversial topic in international politics, but it plays a central role in national identity politics in Russia. In *Roundtable Osteuropa 14/2020*, Félix Krawatzek, Nina Frieß (both ZOIS), and George Soroka (Harvard University) discussed the importance of Victory Day for Russia, its relevance abroad and what young people make of the victory today.

In their book *Urban Activism in Eastern Europe and Eurasia*, editors Tsypylma Darieva (ZOIS) and Carola Neugebauer (RWTH Aachen) present numerous examples of civil society activism. In *Roundtable Osteuropa 15/2020*, they talked to Nadja Douglas (ZOIS) about cities as spaces for mobilisation and arenas for activism and also looked at alternative forms of protest that have emerged as a result of Covid-19.

Roundtable Osteuropa 16/2020 examined the integration of the southern and eastern peripheries in the European market. The developmental consequences of this integration have not always been positive, which is why this process is

increasingly being challenged. Julia Langbein (ZOIS), László Bruszt (Central European University), and Vera Šćepanović (Leiden University) argued that the European Union can use a variety of strategies to manage the developmental consequences of market integration on its peripheries.

The podcast also addressed current events in 2020, including the constitutional reform in Russia and the presidential election in Belarus. In *Roundtable Osteuropa 17/2020*, Caroline von Gall (University of Cologne), Christian Schaich, and Gwendolyn Sasse (both ZOIS) discussed what purpose is served by the constitutional reform for the Putin regime and why he attaches importance to securing public legitimacy for the project. In their conversation with their ZOIS colleague Stefanie Orphal in *Roundtable Osteuropa 18/2020*, Nadja Douglas and Félix Krawatzek analysed the protests that followed the presidential election in Belarus. They looked at the causes, the international implications and the challenges facing the protest movement.

At the end of the year, *Roundtable Osteuropa 19/2020* explored how the war in Eastern Ukraine is depicted in Ukrainian literature and how everyday life in conflict could find its place there. The discussion was based on *Glückliche Fälle (=Fortunate Cases)*, a series of conversations and encounters by Yevgenia Belorusets. After a reading of excerpts by the author, she was joined by Sabine von Löwis (ZOIS) and literary studies expert Alexander Chertenko.

JOINT PUBLICATIONS

Zentralasien-Analysen

Zentralasien-Analysen – part of the Länder-Analysen journal series – consists of monthly analyses of political, economic, social and cultural developments in the five Central Asian countries (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan) by international researchers and experts. Since 1 January 2018, the Länder-Analysen series has been co-edited by the following institutions: the German Association for East European Studies (DGO), the German Institute for Polish Studies (DPI), the University of Bremen’s Research Centre for East European Studies (FSO), Leibniz Institute of Agricultural Development in Transition Economies (IAMO), Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (IOS) and the Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOIS). In 2020, the Zentralasien-Analysen series was edited by Rostam Onsori and Richard Schmidt at ZOIS.

ZOiS Publications 2020

► ZOiS Report

- *World War II for Young Russians: the Production and Reception of History*
ZOiS Report 1 / 2020 by Nina Frieß and Félix Krawatzek (April 2020)
- *Higher Education in Europe's Unrecognised Territories: Challenges and Opportunities*
ZOiS Report 2 / 2020 by Thomas de Waal and Sabine von Löwis (April 2020)
- *Faith and state: Governing Religious Plurality in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan*
ZOiS Report 3 / 2020 by Tsypylma Darieva (July 2020)
- *Kazakh and/or Kazakhstani? The National Identity of the Republic of Kazakhstan and its Citizens*
ZOiS Report 4 / 2020 by Beate Eschment (September 2020)
- *Russland²: Russlandbilder in Ost- und Westdeutschland*
ZOiS Report 5 / 2020 by Gwendolyn Sasse (October 2020)
- *Belarus: From the old social contract to a new social identity*
ZOiS Report 6 / 2020 by Nadja Douglas (November 2020)

► ZOiS Spotlight

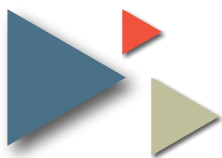
- *"New Uzbekistan, new elections"?*
ZOiS Spotlight 1 / 2020 by Beate Eschment (8 January 2020)
- *Contested post-Soviet borders: Ukraine as a case in point*
ZOiS Spotlight 2 / 2020 by Sabine von Löwis (15 January 2020)
- *Russia in German public opinion*
ZOiS Spotlight 3 / 2020 by Liana Fix (22 January 2020)
- *Belarus and Russia: turbulent relations*
ZOiS Spotlight 4 / 2020 by Kostiantyn Fedorenko (29 January 2020)
- *Q-pop: a cultural phenomenon in Kazakhstan*
ZOiS Spotlight 5 / 2020 by Merey Otan (5 February 2019)
- *Polish youth, nationalism, and the far right*
ZOiS Spotlight 6 / 2020 by Tom Junes (12 February 2020)
- *A snap parliamentary election in Azerbaijan*
ZOiS Spotlight 7 / 2020 by Altay Goyushov (19 February 2020)
- *Domestic violence in Russia: The tough battle for protection*
ZOiS Spotlight 8 / 2020 by Regina Elsner (26 February 2020)
- *Artistic tastes and socio-political values of young Russians*
ZOiS Spotlight 9 / 2020 by Félix Krawatzek (4 March 2020)

- *Russia: constitutional reform as both safeguard and risk*
ZOiS Spotlight 10 / 2020 by Gwendolyn Sasse (11 March 2020)
- *Ukraine's decentralisation at a critical stage*
ZOiS Spotlight 11 / 2020 by Sergiy Solodkyy (18 March 2020)
- *The churches and the coronavirus crisis in Eastern Europe: Is faith the only protection?*
ZOiS Spotlight 12 / 2020 by Regina Elsner (25 March 2020)
- *Belarus's increased vulnerability in times of crisis*
ZOiS Spotlight 13 / 2020 by Nadja Douglas (1 April 2020)
- *Poland's LGBT-free zones and global anti-gender campaigns*
ZOiS Spotlight 14 / 2020 by Elżbieta Korolczuk (8 April 2020)
- *Hungary's rule by decree again defies the EU*
ZOiS Spotlight 15 / 2020 by Mihai Varga (15 April 2020)
- *A tactical partnership: Russia and Iran*
ZOiS Spotlight 16 / 2020 by Ann-Sophie Gast (22 April 2020)
- *9 May: Contested remembrance of the war's end*
ZOiS Spotlight 17 / 2020 by Sandra Dahlke (29 April 2020)
- *Poland's viral election*
ZOiS Spotlight 18 / 2020 by Félix Krawatzek (6 May 2020)
- *The coronavirus causes difficulties for foreigners in Russia*
ZOiS Spotlight 19 / 2020 by Olga Gulina (13 May 2020)
- *Religion and State in the South Caucasus during the Covid-19 pandemic*
ZOiS Spotlight 20 / 2020 by Tsypylma Darieva (20 May 2020)
- *Covid-19 buys time for the Ukrainian president*
ZOiS Spotlight 21 / 2020 by Gwendolyn Sasse (27 May 2020)
- *Poland's creative civil society in times of Covid-19*
ZOiS Spotlight 22 / 2020 by Piotr Goldstein (3 June 2020)
- *In search of Russia's middle class*
ZOiS Spotlight 23 / 2020 by Bernhard Braun (10 June 2020)
- *Living alone in old age: challenges posed by Covid-19 in rural Ukraine*
ZOiS Spotlight 24 / 2020 by Ilona Grabmaier (17 June 2020)
- *The Eastern Partnership at risk of falling into oblivion*
ZOiS Spotlight 25 / 2020 by Julia Langbein (24 June 2020)
- *Holocaust education in Russia*
ZOiS Spotlight 26 / 2020 by Issy Sawkins (1 July 2020)

- ▶ *Smekalka, the perpetual solution to any problem*
ZOiS Spotlight 27 / 2020 by Renata Gußmann
(8 July 2020)
- ▶ *Divided lifeworlds of Georgian migrants during the pandemic*
ZOiS Spotlight 28 / 2020 by Diana Bogishvili
(15 July 2020)
- ▶ *Religion and decentralisation in Russia in times of Covid-19*
ZOiS Spotlight 29 / 2020 by Jeanne Kormina
(22 July 2020)
- ▶ *Belarus's presidential election: an appetite for change*
ZOiS Spotlight 30 / 2020 by Félix Krawatzek and Maryia Rohava (29 July 2020)
- ▶ *Russia's compatriots abroad: a resource or lost potential?*
ZOiS Spotlight 31 / 2020 by Alina Jašina-Schäfer
(2 September 2020)
- ▶ *Russia's other history*
ZOiS Spotlight 32 / 2020 by Nina Frieß
(9 September 2020)
- ▶ *Russian state-sponsored media and disinformation on Twitter*
ZOiS Spotlight 33 / 2020 by Karina Shyrokykh
(16 September 2020)
- ▶ *Will the revolution be Telegrammed?*
ZOiS Spotlight 34 / 2020 by Anna Litvinenko
(23 September 2020)
- ▶ *Traditionalists versus Orthodox Christians in North Ossetia-Alania*
ZOiS Spotlight 35 / 2020 by Sergei Shtyrkov
(30 September 2020)
- ▶ *Escalation of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict*
ZOiS Spotlight 36 / 2020 by Nadja Douglas
(7 October 2020)
- ▶ *Autarky instead of solidarity? The border situations in Transnistria and Abkhazia*
ZOiS Spotlight 37 / 2020 by Nina Lutterjohann
(14 October 2020)
- ▶ *Engaging young Russians in military history*
ZOiS Spotlight 38 / 2020 by Jade McGlynn
(21 October 2020)
- ▶ *Georgia on the way to proportional representation*
ZOiS Spotlight 39 / 2020 by Diana Bogishvili
(28 October 2020)
- ▶ *Moldova's presidential election: little trust in the political class*
ZOiS Spotlight 40 / 2020 by Nadja Douglas
(4 November 2020)



- ▶ *Three keywords to better understand the Polish abortion protests*
ZOiS Spotlight 41 / 2020 by Marianna Szczygielska and Piotr Goldstein (11 November 2020)
- ▶ *Young feminists in Azerbaijan find a voice*
ZOiS Spotlight 42 / 2020 by Yuliya Aliyeva
(18 November 2020)
- ▶ *Local elections in Ukraine: one step closer to decentralisation*
ZOiS Spotlight 43 / 2020 by Gwendolyn Sasse
(25 November 2020)
- ▶ *Religious diversity as a challenge on Georgia's path to Europe?*
ZOiS Spotlight 44 / 2020 by Tsypylma Darieva
(2 December 2020)



- ▶ *Shifting attitudes towards the Catholic Church in Poland*
ZOiS Spotlight 45 / 2020 by Agnieszka Halemba
(9 December 2020)
- ▶ *Belarus rises: four months and counting*
ZOiS Spotlight 46 / 2020 by Olga Onuch
(16 December 2020)
- ▶ **Meet the Author**
 - ▶ *“Support for Putin has more to do with Russian’s social lives than with politics”*
Meet the Author with Samuel A. Greene
(26 March 2020)
 - ▶ *“The Russian intentions towards Ukraine were established long before these events”*
Meet the Author with Paul D’Anieri (12 May 2020)
 - ▶ *“The identity of Russian speakers in Ukraine was subject of social and political appropriation”*
Meet the Author with Marco Puleri
(3 September 2020)
 - ▶ *“The past is always richer than the way we write our history about it”*
Meet the Author with Alexej Golubev
(10 December 2020)
- ▶ **Podcast: Roundtable Osteuropa**
 - ▶ *Migrations- und Asylpolitik im postsowjetischen Raum*
Roundtable Osteuropa 12 / 2020 (17 January 2020)
With Olga Gulina and Irina Mützelburg.
Chair: Sabine von Löwis
 - ▶ *Kampf um Frauenrechte in Osteuropa: Nicht nur am 8. März*
Roundtable Osteuropa 13 / 2020 (20 March 2020)
With Regina Elsner and Erica Zingher.
Chair: Maria Kireenko
 - ▶ *9 May in Russia: Memory (politics) of World War II*
Roundtable Osteuropa 14 / 2020 (6 May 2020)
With Nina Frieß and George Soroka.
Chair: Félix Krawatzek
 - ▶ *Urbaner Aktivismus und sozialer Protest in postsowjetischen Städten*
Roundtable Osteuropa 15 / 2020 (14 May 2020)
With Nadja Douglas and Carola Neugebauer.
Chair: Tsypylma Darieva
- ▶ *Market integration and room for development in Europe’s peripheries: Constraint or opportunity?*
Roundtable Osteuropa 16 / 2020 (12 June 2020)
With László Bruszt and Vera Šćepanović.
Chair: Julia Langbein
- ▶ *Die Verfassungsreform in Russland*
Roundtable Osteuropa 17 / 2020 (29 June 2020)
With Caroline von Gall and Christian Schaich.
Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Belarus in Turmoil*
Roundtable Osteuropa 18 / 2020 (21 August 2020)
With Nadja Douglas and Félix Krawatzek.
Chair: Stefanie Orphal
- ▶ *Krieg, Alltag, Literatur: Lesung und Gespräch mit Yevgenia Belorusets*
Roundtable Osteuropa 19 / 2020 (27 October 2020)
With Yevgenia Belorusets and Alexander Chertenko.
Chair: Sabine von Löwis
- ▶ **Zentralasien-Analysen**
 - ▶ *Identitäten und soziale Stellung von Juden in Zentralasien / Parlamentswahlen in Usbekistan*
Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 139 with a contribution by Bruno De Cordier (31 January 2020)
 - ▶ *Dunganen in Kasachstan / Parlamentswahlen in Tadschikistan / Covid-19 in Zentralasien*
Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 140 with a contribution by Aigul Sadvokassova, Botagoz Rakischewa, Kalamkas Yesimowa und Ainur Maschitowa (4 April 2020)
 - ▶ *Blick aus dem Pamirgebirge auf die Corona-Pandemie / Stimmen zur Corona-Pandemie aus Zentralasien*
Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 141 with a contribution by Suzy Blondin (31 May 2020)
 - ▶ *Usbekistans potenzielle Mitgliedschaft in der Eurasischen Wirtschaftsunion*
Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 142 with a contribution by Jamshid Normatov (15 July 2020)
 - ▶ *Bildung und soziale Ungleichheit in Kirgistan / Nahrungsmittelunsicherheit und Armut in Turkmenistan*
Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 143 with a contribution by Aigoul Abdoubaetova and Luca Anceschi (30 September 2020)
 - ▶ *Die Landwirtschaft Kasachstans im Klimawandel / Aktuelle Entwicklungen in Kirgistan / Präsidentschaftswahl in Tadschikistan*
Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 144 with a contribution by Martin Petrick (4 December 2020)

ZOiS in the Media

- ▶ *Verbunden durch den Traditionalismus*
Magazin Zeitzeichen (2 January 2020)
Article by Regina Elsner (German)
- ▶ *Präsident oder Hardliner? Vier Szenarien für Russland*
Deutsche Welle (21 February 2020)
Article based on *Thinking Ahead: Russia Beyond 2024* with the collaboration of Gwendolyn Sasse and Félix Krawatzek (German)
- ▶ *Abwanderung: Putin gehen die Russen aus*
Österreichische Tageszeitung Kurier (23 February 2020)
Interview with Félix Krawatzek (German)
- ▶ *Russische Wandlung als Nicht-Wandlung*
Foreign Times (7 March 2020)
Podcast with Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Gwendolyn Sasse, Zentrum für Osteuropa- und internationale Studien, zu den Folgen einer möglichen Verfassungsänderung in Russland*
tagesschau.de (10 March 2020)
Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *President Zelenskiy Gambles with Government Reset*
Carnegie Europe / Kyiv Post (10 March 2020)
Article by Gwendolyn Sasse (English)
- ▶ *Protestbewegung in der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche – Ein Brief und seine Folgen*
Deutschlandfunk (8 April 2020)
Radio report with comments by Regina Elsner (German)
- ▶ *Macht und Machtlosigkeit. Covid-19 macht Putin einen Strich durch die plebiszitäre Rechnung.*
Der Hauptstadtbrief (19 April 2020)
Article by Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Lage in der Ostukraine: Corona macht alles noch schlimmer*
Deutschlandfunk Kultur (30 April 2020)
Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Was Putin neben Stalin in einer Monumentalkathedrale verloren hat*
Kurier (3 May 2020)
Article with assessments by Félix Krawatzek and quotes from his ZOIS Report 1 / 2020 authored together with Nina Frieß (German)
- ▶ *Auswirkungen der Neuen Seidenstraße auf Osteuropa*
Marktreport (4 May 2020)
Article with quotes from Julia Langbein (German)
- ▶ *Die russische Deutung der Geschichte: Im vergangenen Sieg leuchtet die Gegenwart*
Neue Zürcher Zeitung (9 May 2020)
Article with quotes from the ZOIS Report 1 / 2020 by Nina Frieß and Félix Krawatzek (German)
- ▶ *Russia's youth is tired of lavish military parades. Could digital culture change the country's wartime pageantry for good?*
Calvert Journal (9 May 2020)
Article with reference to the ZOIS Report 1 / 2020 by Nina Frieß and Félix Krawatzek (English)
- ▶ *Вибір у часи пандемії: що громадяни пропонують роботі державі*
Dzerkalo Tizhnia (9 May 2020)
Article with reference to the project *Identities and Borders in Flux* with the participation of Gwendolyn Sasse (Ukrainian / Russian)
- ▶ *Gwendolyn Sasse: The uneven first year of Zelensky's presidency*
Carnegie Europe / Kyiv Post (19 May 2020)
Article by Gwendolyn Sasse (English)
- ▶ *Ein Fernsehkomiker mit komplexen Problemen: Der ukrainische Präsident Selenskji ist ein Jahr im Amt*
SWR2 (20 May 2020)
Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Identity and Borders in Flux: The Case of Ukraine*
Monkey Cage / Washington Post (22 May 2020)
Blog entry by Gwendolyn Sasse (English)
- ▶ *Will the protesters return? Civil disobedience in the time of Covid-19*
Political Violence at a Glance (26 May 2020)
Guest contribution with the collaboration of Gwendolyn Sasse (English)
- ▶ *Der Putinismus ist für sie das „Regime Satans“*
Die Welt (21 June 2020)
Article with quotes from Regina Elsner (German)
- ▶ *Ahead of constitutional reform vote, two-thirds of young Russians think Vladimir Putin should step back from power*
The Conversation (24 June 2020)
Article by Gwendolyn Sasse and Félix Krawatzek (English)
- ▶ *11 лет тюрьмы для экс-президента: как Атамбаев провалил операцию “Преемник”*
Deutsche Welle (25 June 2020)
Article with assessments by Beate Eschment (Russian)

- ▶ *Wie sich Putin die Macht für die kommenden Jahrzehnte sichert*
Web.de (1 July 2020)
Article with quotes from the Spotlight 10 / 2020 by Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Das russische Verfassungsvotum: Vorhang zu und viele Fragen offen*
Der Hauptstadtbrief (4 July 2020)
Article by Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Election présidentielle en Pologne: la jeunesse en position d'arbitre*
Libération (8 July 2020)
Article with quotes by Félix Krawatzek (French)
- ▶ *Dr. Nadja Douglas zur Pandemie, Konflikten und Krisen im Südkaukasus*
Caucasus Watch (9 July 2020)
Interview with Nadja Douglas (German)
- ▶ *Russische Verhältnisse*
Foreign Times (10 July 2020)
Podcast with Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Belarus – Europas letzte Diktatur*
ARD-Alpha (13 July 2020)
Interview with Nadja Douglas (German)
- ▶ *Wahlen in Belarus*
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (16 July 2020)
Article with reference to a ZOiS survey in Belarus (German)
- ▶ *In Weissrussland kämpft ein Frauentrio gegen den Diktator*
Neue Zürcher Zeitung (5 August 2020)
Article with reference to the Spotlight 30 / 2020 by Félix Krawatzek and Maryia Rohava (German)
- ▶ *Belarus Votes on Sunday. Our New Survey Shows What Young Voters Are Thinking*
Monkey Cage / Washington Post (7 August 2020)
Blog entry by Félix Krawatzek (German)
- ▶ *Выборы в Таджикистане пройдут на месяц раньше. Почему это важно Рахмону*
Deutsche Welle (8 August 2020)
Article with assessments by Beate Eschment (Russian)
- ▶ *Belarus: Wie glaubwürdig ist das Wahlergebnis?*
Tagesschau.de (10 August 2020)
Article with reference to the ZOiS Spotlight 30 / 2020 by Félix Krawatzek and Maryia Rohava (German)
- ▶ *Belarusian opposition leader leaves the country*
The Day (DW News) (11 August 2020)
Report with comments from Félix Krawatzek (English)
- ▶ *Proteste: "Brisante Lage in Weißrussland"*
ZDF Morgenmagazin (13 August 2020)
Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Aufstand gegen Wahlfälscher*
Der Hauptstadtbrief (16 August 2020)
Article by Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Gwendolyn Sasse über den Umbruch in Weissrussland*
SRF (17 August 2020)
Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *¿Por qué protesta la gente en Bielorrusia?*
Deutsche Welle (18 August 2020)
Article with quotes from Félix Krawatzek (Spanish)
- ▶ *Wie wahrscheinlich ist ein militärisches Eingreifen Russlands in Belarus?*
Tagesspiegel (19 August 2020)
Article with quotes from Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Helfen ohne zu eskalieren – EU-Balanceakt in Belarus*
Reuters (19 August 2020)
Article with quotes from Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Blumiger Protest von Belarus: Worum es geht*
Deutsche Welle (19 August 2020)
Article with assessments by Félix Krawatzek (German)
- ▶ *Vor einem Jahr noch schien in Weissrussland die Vorstellung irrwitzig, Menschen könnten laut nach Wandel rufen. Trotzdem: Die Unzufriedenheit mit Lukaschenko kommt nicht aus dem Nichts*
Neue Zürcher Zeitung (20 August 2020)
Article with assessments by Félix Krawatzek (German)
- ▶ *Judy Asks: What Is Europe's Best Way Forward for Belarus?*
Carnegie Europe (20 August 2020)
Article with a contribution by Gwendolyn Sasse (English)
- ▶ *Der Aufstand gegen Lukaschenko in Belarus, verständlich erklärt*
Krautreporter (21 August 2020)
Article with reference to the Spotlight 30 / 2020 by Félix Krawatzek and Maryia Rohava (German)
- ▶ *Nur über seine Leiche?*
Der Hauptstadtbrief (22 August 2020)
Article by Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Neue Protest-Aufrufe aus Belarus*
Deutschlandfunk (23 August 2020)
Interview with Félix Krawatzek (German)
- ▶ *Belarus: Demonstrieren für den Wandel*
ARD Weltspiegel (23 August 2020)
Video with comments by Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Gwendolyn Sasse, Zentrum für Osteuropa- und Internationale Studien, zur Lage in Belarus*
Tagesschau.de (24 August 2020)
Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Moskau will sich in Belarus alle Optionen offenhalten*
Tagesspiegel (24 August 2020)
Article with assessments by Gwendolyn Sasse (German)

- ▶ *Opposition ruft zu neuen Streiks auf*
Tagesschau.de (24 August 2020)
Article with quotes from Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Religion and Civil Disobedience: The Orthodox Church and Political Protests in Belarus*
ICLRS (24 August 2020)
Article by Regina Elsner (English)
- ▶ *Schlüsselfigur ohne Festlegungen*
Tagesschau.de (25 August 2020)
Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Europajournal – Sommergespräch: Gwendolyn Sasse zur Lage in Osteuropa*
Europa-Journal Ö1 (28 August 2020)
Talk with Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Kollektive Vermittler? In der Krise in Belarus hoffen manche auf die Kirchen*
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (29 August 2020)
Article with quotes from Regina Elsner and reference to the ZOiS Spotlight 30 / 2020 by Félix Krawatzek and Maryia Rohava (German)
- ▶ *Bielorrusia enfrenta sus horas más cruciales*
El Universal (30 August 2020)
Article with quotes from Gwendolyn Sasse (Spanish)
- ▶ *Опрос ZOiS: молодые белорусы отворачиваются от России и смотрят в сторону Европы*
Ekspress-Novosti (4 September 2020)
Article relating to the ZOiS Report 5 / 2019 and the ZOiS Spotlight 30 / 2020 by Félix Krawatzek
- ▶ *Belarus: Was kann Lukaschenko von Russland fordern?*
mdr aktuell (7 September 2020)
Interview with Nadja Douglas (German)
- ▶ *Der überraschende Widerstand der weißrussischen Jugend*
Welt (9 September 2020)
Article with quotes from Félix Krawatzek (German)
- ▶ *Zur Lage in Belarus*
Deutschlandfunk (10 September 2020)
Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Auswirkungen der Vergiftung Nawalnys auf die Regionalwahlen in Russland*
mdr aktuell (11 September 2020)
Interview with Tatiana Golova (German)
- ▶ *Ablenkungsmanöver und Anschuldigungen*
Der Hauptstadtbrief (12 September 2020)
Article by Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Wie umgehen mit Putins Russland?*
Weltspiegel-Podcast (12 September 2020)
Podcast with Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Belarus-Proteste: Lukaschenko wirbt bei Putin um Unterstützung*
SWR 2 aktuell (14 September 2020)
Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
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WDR5 Morgenecho (15 September 2020)
Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Wie weiter in Belarus?*
mdr (19 September 2020)
Interview with Nadja Douglas (German)
- ▶ *Russland: Wie weiter mit Nawalny?*
ARTE Journal (25 September 2020)
TV report with assessments by Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Konflikt zwischen Armenien und Aserbaidshan*
SWR2 aktuell (28 September 2020)
Interview with Nadja Douglas (German)
- ▶ *Die Dankbarkeit ist ungleich verteilt*
ZEIT ONLINE (2 October 2020)
Column with reference to ZOiS research results (German)
- ▶ *Einstellungen zu Russland: Eher geeint als gespalten*
Tagesschau.de (2 October 2020)
Article with reference to ZOiS research results (German)
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Deutsche Welle (4 October 2020)
Article with quotes from Beate Eschment (Russian)
- ▶ *Projektionsfläche Putin*
Der Hauptstadtbrief (4 October 2020)
Article by Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *The Globalist Tuesday 6 October*
Monocle 24 (6 October 2020)
Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse (English)
- ▶ *Белорусский «план Маршалла»: как Тихановская обсуждала с Меркель поддержку для оппозиции*
RTVi (7 October 2020)
Interview with Nadja Douglas (Russian)
- ▶ *Covid-19 in Kirgisistan: Coronawelle überrollt das Land*
Deutschlandfunk Kultur: Podcast Weltzeit (7 October 2020)
Interview with Beate Eschment (German)
- ▶ *Таджикистан и “его превосходительство” Рахмон*
Deutsche Welle (12 October 2020)
Article with assessments by Beate Eschment (Russian)
- ▶ *Tadschikistans ewiger Herrscher Rachmon*
Deutsche Welle (12 October 2020)
Article with assessments by Beate Eschment (German)

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UAinFocus (12 October 2020)
Article with assessments by Gwendolyn Sasse (English)
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Carnegie Europe (13 October 2020)
Blog entry by Gwendolyn Sasse (English)
- ▶ *Кризис в Киргизии: главные игроки на политическом поле*
Deutsche Welle (13 October 2020)
Article with quotes from Beate Eschment (Russian)
- ▶ *Aktuelle Lage in Belarus nach Ablauf des Ultimatums*
Bayerischer Rundfunk (26 October 2020)
Podcast with Nadja Douglas (German)
- ▶ *Турботу про економіку та національну безпеку українці ставлять вище за боротьбу з пандемією*
Ukrainska Prawda (28 October 2020)
Article with reference to a project with the collaboration of Gwendolyn Sasse (Ukrainian)
- ▶ *Deshalb steht der Sicherheitsapparat fest hinter dem Diktator*
Tagesspiegel (30 October 2020)
Article with comments by Nadja Douglas (German)
- ▶ *Asymmetrisches Gleichgewicht*
Hauptstadtbrief (7 November 2020)
Article by Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *“Конституційний надзвичайний стан”: як у Берліні оцінюють конфлікт Зеленського та КСУ*
Deutsche Welle (9 November 2020)
Article with quotes from Gwendolyn Sasse (Ukrainian)
- ▶ *Кыргызстан перед выбором: кто бросит вызов “трем друзьям”*
Deutsche Welle (9 November 2020)
Article with assessments by Beate Eschment (Russian)
- ▶ *Darum finden Ostdeutsche Putin gut*
Lausitzer Rundschau (9 November 2020)
Article relating to the ZOIS Report 5 / 2020 by Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Krieg in Berg-Karabach*
3sat / Kulturzeit (13 November 2020)
TV report with assessments by Tsyppylma Darieva (German)
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New Europe (20 November 2020)
Article by Nadja Douglas (English)
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Moskauer Deutsche Zeitung (25 November 2020)
Article relating to the ZOIS Report 5 / 2020 by Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Die Superspreader-Events der serbisch-orthodoxen Kirche*
Neue Zürcher Zeitung (25 November 2020)
Article with quotes from Regina Elsner (German)
- ▶ *Studie: Putin-Versteher gibt es nicht nur im Osten*
Freie Presse (25 November 2020)
Article relating to the ZOIS Report 5 / 2020 by Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Регіна Ельснер: «Коли церкви мовчать щодо нагальних суспільних проблем, але претендують на авторитет в інших питаннях, — це глибока проблема»*
The Ukrainian Week (25 November 2020)
Interview with Regina Elsner (Ukrainian)
- ▶ *Proteste in Belarus gegen Machthaber Lukashenko*
Deutschlandfunk (30 November 2020)
Interview with Nadja Douglas (German)
- ▶ *Russland nach Putin*
Bayern2 / radioWelt (2 December 2020)
Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse (German)
- ▶ *Belarus's Optimistic Protesters and Putin's Intentions*
Carnegie Europe (3 December 2020), also published by Kyiv Post (5 December 2020)
Article by Gwendolyn Sasse (English)
- ▶ *Жапаров и другие кандидаты: кто хочет стать президентом Кыргызстана*
Deutsche Welle (14 December 2020)
Article with assessments by Beate Eschment (Russian)

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