



# 2021

ANNUAL REPORT



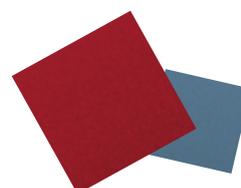
# ZOIS

**A N N U A L R E P O R T 2 0 2 1**

# Contents

<b>Foreword</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>ZOiS</b>	<b>7</b>
▶ The Mission Statement	8
▶ What Stood Out in 2021? ZOiS Researchers Take a Look Back	9
▶ Theme for the Year: #30PostSovietYears	13
▶ Cooperation Beyond Academia	15
▶ Staff	16
▶ Guest Researchers	20
▶ Structure and Finances	21
▶ ZOiS in Numbers	22
<b>Research Cluster: Societies between Stability and Change</b>	<b>23</b>
▶ Public Initiatives and State Power Structures: A Post-Soviet Comparison   Nadja Douglas	24
▶ Morality Instead of Peace. The Social and Ethical Discourse of the Russian Orthodox Church Between Theological Sovereignty and Political Adaptation   Regina Elsner	25
▶ Literature and Power in the Post-Soviet Space   Nina Frieß	26
▶ Beyond NGOs and Protest Movements: Everyday Activism in Serbia, Poland, and Hungary   Piotr Goldstein	27
▶ Grassroot Public Spheres and Activism in Russian Federal Cities   Tatiana Golova	28
▶ Regional Protests on Russian Social Media   Tatiana Golova	29
▶ Languages of Conflict: Ideas of Europe in European Memory   Félix Krawatzek	30
▶ Phantom Spaces and Borders – Continuities and Discontinuities of Past State and Imperial Structures   Sabine von Löwis	31
▶ Political Change from Below? Local Politics in Ukraine   Gwendolyn Sasse	32
▶ Russia <sup>2</sup>   Gwendolyn Sasse	33
▶ Belarus at The Crossroads? Public Attitudes after the 2020 Election   Nadja Douglas, Regina Elsner, Félix Krawatzek, Julia Langbein and Gwendolyn Sasse	34
<b>Research Cluster: Conflict Dynamics and Border Regions</b>	<b>35</b>
▶ Confidence-Building and Conflict Settlement: The Case of Transnistria   Nadja Douglas	36
▶ Orthodox Peace Ethics and Militarisation in the Post-Soviet Space   Regina Elsner	37
▶ Everyday Life in Conflict – Scopes for Action and Coping Strategies in De Facto States   Sabine von Löwis	38
▶ Political Orientations and Identities in De Facto States   Sabine von Löwis and Gwendolyn Sasse	39
▶ Identities in Wartime: The Case of Ukraine   Gwendolyn Sasse	40
<b>Research Cluster: Migration and Diversity</b>	<b>41</b>
▶ Migration and Transformation in Metaphors: The Transnational Lifeworlds of Georgian Educational Migrants in Germany and their Families in Georgia   Diana Bogishvili	42
▶ Religious Pluralisation and the Transformation of Urban Spaces in the South Caucasus   Tsypylma Darieva	43
▶ Homeland Pilgrimage: Roots and Routes of Transnational Diasporic Engagement   Tsypylma Darieva	44
▶ ‘Unity in Diversity?’: The Situation of National Minorities in Kazakhstan   Beate Eschment	45
▶ From Molotov Cocktails to Farewell Parties: Causes of Emigration for Participants of the 2013–14 Euromaidan Protests in Ukraine   Kostiantyn Fedorenko	46
▶ Visualising the Invisible: Using Visual Ethnography to Explore Extra-Institutional Activism of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities   Piotr Goldstein	47

<b>Research Cluster: Youth in Eastern Europe</b>	<b>48</b>
▶ Youth as Political Actor and Social Imaginary   Félix Krawatzek	49
▶ History for Young People: Historical Narratives and Perceptions   Félix Krawatzek and Nina Frieß	50
▶ Attitudes, Political Engagement, and Transnational Linkages of Young People in Eastern Europe   Félix Krawatzek and Gwendolyn Sasse	51
<b>Research Cluster: Political Economy and Integration</b>	<b>52</b>
▶ EU Integration Strategies and Room for Development in Europe's Peripheries   Julia Langbein	53
▶ Economic Integration with the EU and its Effects on Post-Soviet Regime Stability   Julia Langbein	54
<b>Externally Funded Projects</b>	<b>55</b>
▶ Determinants of Mobilisation at Home and Abroad: Analysing the Micro-Foundations of Out-Migration & Mass Protest (MOBILISE)   Piotr Goldstein, Kostiantyn Fedorenko and Gwendolyn Sasse	56
▶ The Liberal Script in Ukraine's Contested Border Regions   Sabine von Löwis, Rita Sanders, Gwendolyn Sasse and Tatiana Zhurzhenko	58
▶ China, the EU and Economic Development in Eastern Europe and Eurasia   Julia Langbein and Valentin Krüsmann	59
▶ When Every Act is War: Post-Crimea Conflict Dynamics and Russian Foreign Policy (WARU)   Félix Krawatzek and Gwendolyn Sasse	61
▶ Living with Uncertainty. Strategies of Adaptation and Horizons of Expectation in Ukraine and Moldova (LimSpaces)   Claudia Eggart, Julia Langbein, Sabine von Löwis and Irina Mützelburg	62
▶ Project to Initiate Research and Cooperation between EU and Eastern Partnership Countries (RemitEU)   Diana Bogishvili, Tsypylma Darieva and Gwendolyn Sasse	65
▶ The Proliferation of Memory Laws and the Return of the Nation   Félix Krawatzek	66
▶ Identity and Borders in Flux: The Case of Ukraine (IBiF)   Gwendolyn Sasse	67
<b>Researchers' Activities</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>Supporting Young Researchers</b>	<b>98</b>
<b>Research Communication</b>	<b>102</b>
▶ The First Traineeship at ZOiS	103
▶ Events	104
▶ Publications	109
▶ ZOiS in the Media	114
<b>Publishing Details</b>	<b>118</b>



# Foreword

Dear friends of ZOiS,

Our final editing of the 2021 Annual Report has been overshadowed by Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine. It is difficult to conduct a review of this past year when our thoughts and day-to-day activities are focused on the war. We are also conscious that the invasion and its impacts will leave their mark on ZOiS's own work and structures. Social science research on Ukraine has been one of our priorities since ZOiS was established in 2016. We will continue to expand this research in cooperation with Ukrainian scholars and will, at the same time, attempt to make a contribution to the empirical documentation of the war. For research on Eastern Europe as a whole, too, the conflict is likely to be a turning point whose contours we are only gradually discerning. But we are also committed to maintaining our links with persecuted and vulnerable researchers in Belarus and Russia, including longstanding partners whose work we will continue to support.



We hope that despite everything, you will find time to browse this Annual Report and gain some insights into our work. 2021 was, once again, a year in which we faced many coronavirus-related restrictions and challenges, which we overcame successfully as a team. Although many of our projects had to be adapted accordingly, our researchers were able to collect new data and analyse existing information, produce academic publications for an international readership, and participate in political and public debates. Not only were we able to continue to communicate our research through our

regular formats; we also adopted #30PostSovietYears as our thematic focus for the year, working with partner institutions to host an ambitious and wide-ranging programme to mark the 30th anniversary of the collapse of the Soviet Union. As part of this diverse programme, we explored new avenues and adopted an interesting and original approach with unconventional formats such as the video glossary, produced with expert input from ZOiS in cooperation with the Federal Agency for Civil Education, and a multimedia zine, developed in a series of online workshops in cooperation with the Körber Foundation and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation Moscow (FES), in which young people explored how the past still affects the lives of the youth generation today.

ZOiS's expansion also continued in 2021, with new members of staff joining the team and an increase in the number and diversity of our research projects. This was achieved mainly through new externally funded research posts, guest academics, new research assistants, the expansion of the research management team, and a traineeship in the communications department. In 2021, we were extremely successful in applying for external funding, with two projects funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) starting this year. And in late 2021, the BMBF notified us that it had approved our funding application for a major research network on Conflict and Cooperation in Eastern Europe, which will be coordinated by ZOiS. We also received approval for a highly competitive EU-funded Starting Grant from the European Research Council.

Our first evaluation as an institution is due to take place in 2022. This will undoubtedly require considerable effort on our part, but we see it as an important source of guidance for our future work and as an opportunity for ZOiS's further consolidation. Our planned fifth anniversary celebration had to be postponed due to the pandemic, but we are now very much hoping to celebrate our sixth anniversary with all the team and friends of ZOiS during our Conference in autumn 2022.

Thank you for your interest in and support for our work. We hope you find much that will interest you in the pages of this Annual Report.

PROF. GWENDOLYN SASSE  
*Director*

DR CHRISTIAN SCHAICH  
*Managing Director*



ZOIS

# 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

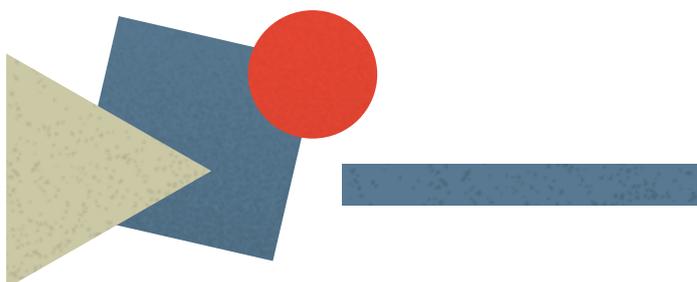
Support and the development of young researchers and interested youth is an essential element of the work of ZOiS. We see ourselves as an active part of the rich scientific landscape in the region of Berlin-Brandenburg and as an equal partner in national and international research on the region of Eastern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



# What Stood Out in 2021?

## ZOiS Researchers Take a Look Back

While our view of 2021 is now coloured by the war in Ukraine, this edition of the Annual Report records our activities up to the end of 2021.

### Diana Bogishvili

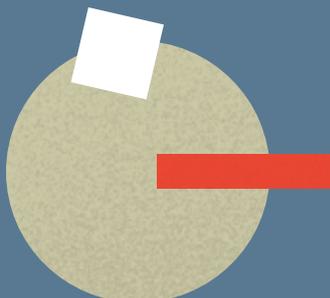
A particular highlight for me was my research trip to Georgia, my country of origin. After an absence of two years, I became aware of a new reality evident in many fascinating societal changes. In observing those recent developments, I found myself in a double role: on the one hand, as a researcher and, on the other, as somebody who, on a personal level, felt estranged from this society because the social changes ‘hurt’. This dual perspective gave me many new insights into my research.

### Tsypylma Darieva

The year started with my public habilitation lecture at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin – a milestone in my academic career. With the project *Homeland Pilgrimage. Roots and Routes of Transnational Engagement*, I was awarded the authority to teach Central Asia studies at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. A further highlight was a conference I co-organised with the W. Michael Blumenthal Academy at the Jewish Museum Berlin, which focused on the under-researched experience of Jewish migration from the post-Soviet South Caucasus and Central Asia.

### Nadja Douglas

The ongoing pandemic meant that working from home remained the norm this year. Developments in Belarus continued to overshadow most other research topics, and the results of the ZOiS Belarus survey prompted several briefings, interviews and events. But I was also preoccupied with the aftermath of the 44-Day War over Nagorno-Karabakh in 2020, in particular its impact on domestic politics in Armenia. This was also a focus of the ZOiS Caucasus Network I co-founded, which attracted growing interest in 2021. Finally, there was a change of government in the Republic of Moldova, which will have a significant influence on my future research in the country and surrounding region.



## Claudia Eggart

My work centred on the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic in my research field – small and wholesale markets, particularly in Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan. In interviews and conversations, I encountered a lot of scepticism regarding health policies and the broader economic context, which one could also describe as conspiracy theories. At the same time, the entrepreneurial spirit of many traders took me by surprise. Despite – or even because of – the crisis, they opened up new sales markets and began to trade on online platforms and with locally produced goods – in many cases a high-risk venture.

## Regina Elsner

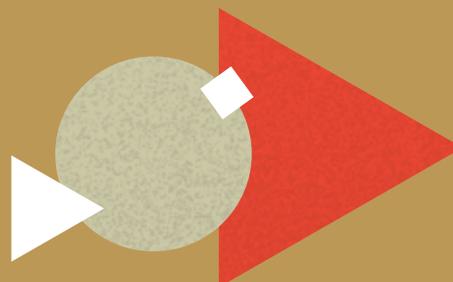
Particularly in the first half of the year, the protests in Belarus and the positions of the various churches on the massive human rights violations that accompanied them dominated my work. This also touched on very personal relationships and concerns about the role of women in the churches, society and academia, and the possibilities and limits of academic, theological work in the midst of social crises.

## Beate Eschment

My work in 2021 continued to be overshadowed by the Covid-19 pandemic. Since it was impossible to travel to Kazakhstan, I was unable to clarify new questions in connection with my research and get a first-hand impression of recent developments. Given the huge media and political interest in its possible implications for neighbouring Central Asian states, the Taliban takeover in Afghanistan pre-occupied me to an unexpectedly large degree.

## Kostiantyn Fedorenko

The dynamic political developments in Ukraine – the drop in popular support for the governing party and President Zelenskyi and a number of large-scale protests involving some former Euromaidan actors – have made my dissertation project even more relevant. The protests in Belarus introduced another element to the MOBILISE project – a protester survey – where extremely valuable data was gathered.





## Nina Frieß

The threatened closure of Memorial in Russia reminded me of the lengths to which the Russian leadership is prepared to go to install a single, official historical narrative. In offering alternative narratives to this heroised version of history, the literary voices I study seem all the more important in this context.

## Piotr Goldstein

While most of our research had to stay online, there were also tiny windows of opportunity to conduct some of it in ‘real world’. Moving the research online certainly comes with many benefits, but also many limitations. Even when sensory ethnography is not our main method in a given moment, it is a completely different experience when we can feel, smell and fully experience the site of our research.

## Tatiana Golova

Where my work is concerned, 2021 was interesting from the point of view of being a long election year in Russia, which already got going in late 2020 with legal preparations to further purge the political and pre-political spheres and later descended into intensified repression of concrete individuals and organisations. In spite of all that, new and exciting activist initiatives emerged, some of which now have a transnational character and thus touch on my second field of research: migration.

## Félix Krawatzek

This year saw the continued expansion of the research cluster Youth in Eastern Europe. The securing of an ERC Starting Grant in December 2021 was a milestone that will make it possible to significantly extend the activities of the cluster in the coming years. In addition to that, research data gathered in the different projects – be it on current societal developments in Belarus, the relevance of historical perceptions for political attitudes, or the political views of young people in Eastern Europe – was processed for academic publications and media reports.

## Valentin Krüsmann

In 2021, I was able to concentrate on a subject that has preoccupied me for a long time: China’s economic and political relations with other countries, particularly in Eastern Europe and Eurasia. Here, I focused on the relationship between capital-intensive infrastructure projects, economic development, and China’s often very political motives.

## Julia Langbein

Where my work is concerned, 2021 was shaped by many new research topics – from Belarus and China to the conflicts in Eastern Europe – that were and will continue to be an opportunity for exchange with policymakers and the public. The successful funding application for the research network on *Conflict and Cooperation in Eastern Europe* was a huge joint effort on the part of ZOiS and its German partners. One thing is certain: there's no chance of boredom setting in at ZOiS!

## Sabine von Löwis

2021 saw the successful completion of my habilitation thesis and an edited volume on post-Soviet borders with Beate Eschment. Another important milestone was the successful funding application for a major joint research project on *Conflict and Cooperation in Eastern Europe*, submitted together with Gwendolyn Sasse, Julia Langbein and many other colleagues at ZOiS.

## Irina Mützelburg

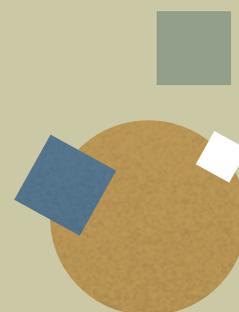
'Levels' were a particular preoccupation of mine in 2021. These are socially produced and vertically differentiated spaces where power relations are negotiated. I was especially interested in the way different actors, in the process of championing their cause, change the relationships between levels. For example, NGOs influence the relationship between international and national levels when they appeal to the European Court of Human Rights to challenge state administrative practices.

## Gwendolyn Sasse

For me, the most important and methodologically challenging research topics were the mass mobilisation in Belarus and authoritarian upholding of the system as well as the war in Donbas. The pandemic continued to affect all work processes at ZOiS, limited field research, extended the reach of our research communication, and didn't stop us from putting in ambitious third-party funding applications.

## Tatiana Zhurzhenko

I have been working on the subject of 'borders' for a long time. My new position at ZOiS, which I took up in July 2021, allows me to develop this research further in a new context. In September, I carried out research on the Polish-Ukrainian border. I think it's important that the voices of the local population are heard, particularly in border regions.



# Theme for the Year: #30PostSovietYears

## 30 years since the collapse of the Soviet Union

2021 marked the 30th anniversary of the end of the Soviet Union. Taking #30PostSovietYears as its thematic focus for the year, the Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS), in cooperation with the Körber Foundation, the German Association for East European Studies (DGO), the German Historical Institute Moscow, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Russia and Memorial International, hosted a series of formats that examined the legacies of the Soviet era and looked at the dynamics, impacts and traces of that watershed year. In this interview with Gwendolyn Sasse, we look back on the theme for the year and talk about topical reference points and the prospects for research.

**A landmark anniversary is always a moment for looking back at past anniversaries. Was this a different process of retrospection in 2021 compared with the other major anniversaries marking the end of the Soviet Union?**

**Gwendolyn Sasse:** The 10th, 20th and now the 30th anniversary all took up more space, comparatively speaking, in the academic and public debate. Of course, as the disintegration of the Soviet Union recedes further into the distance, our view of that period changes as well. A more conscious effort is needed to recall the details of the events, which came thick and fast in the period leading up to 1991, and it is easy to be sidetracked by selected key incidents such as the Baltic states' declarations of independence, the August coup and the Ukrainian independence referendum. More than three decades on, this moment in history – the end of the Soviet Union – can now be placed in its broader historical context. The demise of the socialist system and the Soviet Union itself began long before the years 1989–91; the imperial legacy still resonates today. The significance of the moment itself, which came at the end of 1991, is therefore increasingly being viewed in relative terms. Conceptually, the definition of the Soviet Union as an empire has gained traction and fits into post-colonial discourses. Nevertheless, Russia's war against Ukraine shows us that the term 'post-colonialism' falls short of the mark. Russia's imperial claims are still echoing today – and the same applies to Western patterns of thinking about the region. The only possible conclusion is that there is a need for decolonisation in the academic, political and public discourse.

**Has the thematic focus on the anniversary provided any impetus for current research?**

The topic reminded all of us to be more conscious of the medium- and long-term effects of the socialist system and the structural and psychological legacies left by the Soviet Union. As a social science category, legacies are certainly not easy to capture empirically, and tracing their causal significance is challenging. Legacies have to be activated in a specific context in order to take effect. They are relevant in many of ZOiS's projects – in relation to territorial boundaries and associated political claims, for example, and to the question of which borders are open or closed on a day-to-day basis, and for whom and under which conditions. To give another example, there are economic linkages which, to some extent, still relate to Soviet-era infrastructure and dependencies but are now overlaid by new transregional structures and stakeholders.

The interactive formats that we chose for the year's thematic focus also strengthened our research communication and our interest in working and communicating at the interface between research and the arts. We are now thinking about how we can take the institutional partnerships forward – with the Federal Agency for Civil Education, the Körber Foundation, the German Historical Institute Moscow and the German Association for East European Studies.

**Some post-Soviet states no longer wish to be viewed through the 'post-Soviet' lens. 2021 ended with Russian troops gathering on the Ukrainian border, and Russia is now waging a brutal war against its neighbour. Under these circumstances, is it realistic to talk about the end of the post-Soviet era?**

'Post-Soviet' is a very loose and generalised term. It implies both a close spatial and temporal connection between these countries and an overarching significance of the legacies of the period before 1991. It overlooks the historical, political, economic and social differences that already existed between the Soviet republics before 1991, and it also ignores the divergent transition pathways followed since 1991. Terminological constructs such as 'post-post-Soviet' or the 'Global East' also have limitations as potential alternatives. As a minimum requirement, the term 'post-Soviet' should not be



used as a spatial category; it should only be applied if specific legacies are being discussed. In the current context of war, imperial Russian and Soviet ways of thinking and claims continue to resonate and should be identified as such.

**The generations born after 1991, who did not experience the Soviet Union themselves, reached adulthood some time ago. Is there such a thing as a ‘post-Soviet generation’?**

The youth project that we organised with the Körber Foundation as part of #30PostSovietYears involved members of that generation, who have no memory of the time before 1991. We invited them to participate in a multimedia dia-

logue and share their views on the past. The results – video and audio productions – were diverse, creative and situation- and location-specific. I would not apply the adjective ‘post-Soviet’ to this generation as a whole; their socialisation processes, their perceptions and identities, political positions and lifestyles are too diverse for that and defy categorisation by region or country. In terms of the research, I would tend to proceed from the assumption that in principle, this generation is no different from its counterparts in Western Europe or elsewhere, and then I would try to ascertain whether there are discernible patterns in relation to specific attitudes or political conduct and what the determining factors might be.

▶ **ZOiS Forum**

Generational renewal, religion, economic integration, migration, diversity and memory: each event in the *ZOiS Forum* series in 2021 focused on a specific aspect of the post-Soviet era. Speakers included academic experts and guests from the arts and culture, such as Andrey Kurkov, Lana Bastašić, Olga Grjasnowa and Viktoria Lomasko.

▶ **ZOiS podcast**

In four special episodes of our podcast *Roundtable Osteuropa*, we shed light on memory politics in Russia, the withdrawal of Soviet troops, post-Soviet economic policy and Ukrainian independence. Guests included Irina Sherbakova, co-founder of the human rights organisation Memorial, and the Ukrainian historian Serhii Plokhii.

▶ **Video glossary**

In cooperation with the Federal Agency for Civil Education (bpb), a video series of 15 three-minute clips was produced in which researchers from ZOiS explain a term relating to the disintegration of the Soviet Union and its aftermath. We celebrated the completion of the series with an online pub quiz hosted by the writer Wladimir Kaminer.

▶ **Youth project**

At a series of workshops organised by the Körber Foundation, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Moscow and ZOiS, young people from 13 countries explored historical narratives and uncovered traces of the Soviet Union in their own lifeworlds. They then created a multimedia zine incorporating their findings.

▶ **Joint events**

Together with the German Historical Institute Moscow, the German Association for East European Studies (DGO) and other partners, ZOiS hosted academic panel discussions and workshops on the cultural, economic and security policy dimensions of #30PostSovietYears.

# 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 knowledge of Eastern Europe, and promote young talent outside academic circles. 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

The ZOiS Caucasus Network, established in autumn 2019, aims to promote inter-institutional 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. Sina Gieseemann is a research assistant on the project.

### Core objectives

- ▶ To establish a contact point which brings together a range of regional and transnational actors in a flexible organisational framework.
- ▶ To facilitate continuous networking by academics and experts wishing to engage in dialogue on issues relating to the Caucasus region (politics, society and culture).
- ▶ To promote young talent and support junior researchers specialising in the Caucasus region.

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.

### Events in 2021

*Between Distance and Proximity and the Concept of Neighbourhood in the Caucasus (online, 25/03/2021)*

With Diana Forker, Bidzina Lebanidze and Veronika Pfeilschifter (all Friedrich Schiller University Jena), Heather D. DeHaan (Binghamton University) and Richard Giragosian (Regional Studies Center, Yerevan). Chair: Nadja Douglas and Tsypylma Darieva (both ZOiS).

*Recovery, Risk and Resilience: Re-thinking the Future of EU-South Caucasus Relations (online, 25/11/2021)*

With Leila Alieva (Oxford School of Global and Area Studies), Shushanik Minasyan (University of Bonn and John Hopkins University), Maia Panjikidze (Caucasus University, Tbilisi; former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia) and Sonja Schiffers (Heinrich Böll Foundation, Tbilisi Office). Chair: Stefan Meister (German Council on Foreign Relations).

## Berlin Research 50 (BR 50)

In 2020, ZOiS became a member of the Berlin Research 50 (BR 50) network, which includes almost all non-university institutes and centres in the Berlin metropolitan area. BR 50 provides a platform for the participating institutions to engage in dialogue, both at governance level and in the interest groups on various cross-cutting topics. There is also regular contact between the institutions' communications professionals, who have formed working groups to support the media and PR activities undertaken by the BR 50 Office. Within this framework, ZOiS was involved in planning and developing the BR 50 podcast *Berlin Research – Forschung in Berlin* in 2021.

## dekoder: decoding Belarus

With the *Decoding Belarus* project, the dekoder.org online platform aims to track the far-reaching social transformation under way in Belarus and share its findings with the German public. dekoder therefore translates selected texts from the independent media and publishes background articles, known as 'gnoses', on topical political, cultural and economic issues in Belarus. These texts are written by academics and then edited so that their style is suitable for a wide readership. Having provided funding for the project in its early stages, ZOiS now offers ongoing academic support. ZOiS researchers attend regular meetings with the 'gnoses' editors and share their expertise to support dekoder formats. The cooperation also includes joint events and intensive dialogue on communications activities.

# Staff

## MANAGEMENT



**PROF. GWENDOLYN SASSE**  
Director  
Political Scientist  
Einstein Professor for the  
Comparative Study of Democracy  
and Authoritarianism at  
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin



**DR CHRISTIAN SCHAICH**  
Managing Director

## SENIOR RESEARCHERS AND RESEARCHERS



**DIANA BOGISHVILI**  
Researcher  
Sociologist



**PD DR TSYPYLMA DARIEVA**  
Senior Researcher  
Social Anthropologist  
Head: Research Cluster  
*Migration and Diversity*



**DR NADJA DOUGLAS**  
Researcher  
Political Scientist



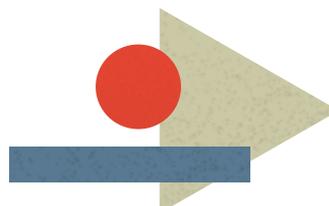
**CLAUDIA EGGART**  
Researcher  
Social Anthropologist



**DR REGINA ELSNER**  
Researcher  
Theologist



**DR BEATE ESCHMENT**  
Researcher  
Central Asia Expert





**KOSTIANTYN FEDORENKO**  
Researcher  
Social Scientist



**DR NINA FRIESS**  
Researcher  
Scholar of Slavic and  
Literature Studies



**DR PIOTR GOLDSTEIN**  
Researcher  
Social Scientist



**DR TATIANA GOLOVA**  
Researcher  
Sociologist



**DR FÉLIX KRAWATZEK**  
Senior Researcher  
Political Scientist  
Head: Research Cluster  
*Youth in Eastern Europe*



**VALENTIN KRÜSMANN**  
Researcher  
Development Economist



**DR JULIA LANGBEIN**  
Senior Researcher  
Political Scientist  
Head: Research Cluster  
*Political Economy and Integration*



**DR SABINE VON LÖWIS**  
Senior Researcher  
Social Geographer  
Head: Research Cluster  
*Conflict Dynamics and Border Regions*



**DR IRINA MÜTZELBURG**  
Researcher  
Political Scientist

**RESEARCH MANAGEMENT**



**DR TATIANA ZHURZHENKO**  
Researcher  
Political Scientist



**KATRIN HOFFMANN**  
External Funding and Research  
Management

## COMMUNICATIONS



**DR STEFANIE ORPHAL**  
Communications Director  
Media Relations and Publications



**STEPHANIE ALBERDING**  
Communications Coordinator  
Social Media



**ANNE BODEN**  
English-Language Publications  
Editor



**ANJA KRÜGER**  
Communications Coordinator  
Events



**YVONNE TROLL**  
Communications Coordinator  
Editor



**ELENA GOERTTLER-RECK**  
Trainee

## ADMINISTRATION



**THOMAS BERTHOLD**  
Head of Finance



**THOMAS JUNGE**  
Chief Information Officer



**TONI FRITZSCHE**  
IT System / Network Administrator



**EMILY KLEINE**  
Office Management



**CLAUDIA SCHMIDT**  
Administrator

## EDITORIAL OFFICE ZENTRALASIEN-ANALYSEN



**ROSTAM ONSORI**  
Editor



**RICHARD SCHMIDT**  
Editor

### GUEST RESEARCHERS

Dr Adrián del Río  
Viktor Savinok  
Dr Christos Varvantakis

### RESEARCH AND STUDENT ASSISTANTS

Katalin Bayer  
Kseniia Cherniak  
Anna Costante  
Giorgi Davidian  
Sina Giesemann  
Anna Guryanova

Varvara Ilyina  
Valentin Jandt-Ilgenstein  
Martha Jurowski  
Henri Koblichke  
Alice Lackner  
Verena de Lange  
Karolina Lebek  
Nikol Levova  
Anastasiia Magazova  
Nafisakhon Mirzoramshedzoda  
Simon Muschik  
Alexandra Nowicky  
Vanessa Prus  
Daniela Schaffert  
Pamela Schmidt

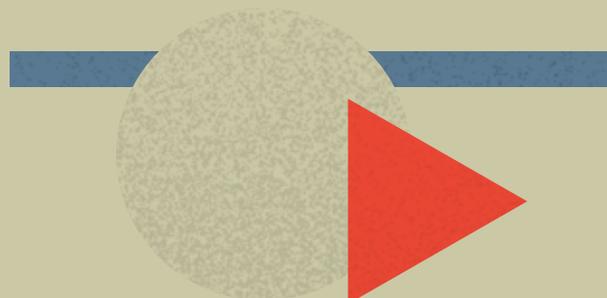
Alessandro Sciacchitano  
Willi Stieger  
Alena Surina

### INTERNS

Anna Sinelnikova  
Yana Strogonova

### FORMER STAFF

Dr Rita Sanders – Researcher



# Guest Researchers

In 2021, ZOiS hosted several guest researchers who, once again, greatly enhanced our interdisciplinary and international dialogue. During their two-month to one-year residencies, our guest scholars receive support with their research projects and are invited to participate in ZOiS's events and contribute articles to our ZOiS Spotlight series.

## ► Dr Adrián del Río

Adrián del Río is a Humboldt Postdoctoral Fellow at ZOiS; his residency began in October 2021 and will continue until January 2023. His main project is a book manuscript on divisions within the ruling elite in electoral autocracies – dictatorships that hold multi-party elections. Using new data and theories, he explains why tensions and divisions arise within authoritarian governments and how elite defectors play a role in regime change. He is also part of research groups from the Universities of Oslo and Glasgow on two projects on regime-led indoctrination, funded by the European Research Council. These projects aim to generate the first comprehensive global dataset on education policy and legislation since the French Revolution.

## ► Viktor Savinok

Viktor Savinok, who joined ZOiS as a guest researcher in July 2021, is currently working on his PhD thesis on *Continuity and Changes in Germany's Foreign Policy towards Russia*; his residency will continue until July 2022. He has been a PhD student in the field of Political Sciences and Public Administration at the Doctoral School of Social Sciences of Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin (Poland) since October 2019. His

research is supported by a DAAD short-term scholarship for PhD students (until September 2021) and a scholarship from the Berlin House of Representatives (from October 2021). At ZOiS, his project is supervised by Sabine von Löwis, with whom he is preparing interviews on Germany's foreign policy towards Russia, to be conducted with experts and decision-makers from the Merkel era. He gave a presentation on his research topic to the ZOiS Research Colloquium in mid-September 2021 and is currently planning a paper on the views of the far-right party Alternative for Germany (Alternative für Deutschland – AfD) on policy towards Russia, also for presentation to the ZOiS Research Colloquium.

## ► Dr Christos Varvantakis

Sociologist and social anthropologist Christos Varvantakis from Goldsmiths, University of London, was a guest researcher at ZOiS from September 2021 to February 2022, working with Piotr Goldstein on a new research project on life-long activism. He was also involved in the project *Defining the Nation: Young Poles and their Sense of Identity* with Piotr Goldstein and Félix Krawatzek. In November, he authored a *ZOiS Spotlight* entitled *The Systemic Discrimination Facing Greece's Roma*. A planned workshop with Piotr Goldstein on *Multimodal Ethnographical Research and Publication* had to be cancelled initially due to the pandemic but will now take place in autumn 2022. In addition to his work at ZOiS, Christos Varvantakis is Co-Investigator of the *Children's Photography Archive*, funded by the European Research Council. His research explores the intersections between childhood, politics, urban cultures and archives and uses qualitative, visual and multimodal methodologies.



*I really appreciated the collegial atmosphere and the work ethos at ZOiS, as well as the ways in which it is connecting rigorous and timely social research with research communication.*

*Christos Varvantakis*

# 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.

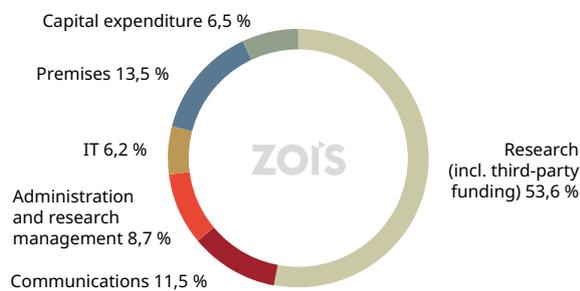
The Academic Advisory Board has an international membership and represents an array of disciplines and re-

search regions. It fosters a lively culture of debate, despite the geographical distance between members, and currently convenes once or twice a year by video conference. It is continuously involved in strategic development, staffing decisions, events, publications and the further expansion of the ZOiS network.

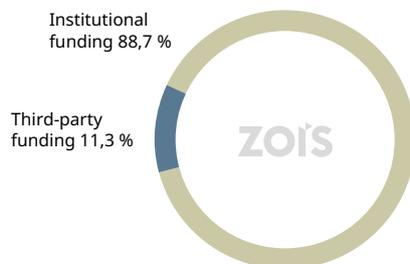
## Academic Advisory Board members

- ▶ **Prof. Margarita M. Balmaceda**  
Seton Hall University, South Orange, 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)**  
Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C., USA
- ▶ **Prof. Catherine Poujol**  
National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations (INALCO), Paris, France
- ▶ **Prof. Ulrich Schmid**  
University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
- ▶ **Prof. Silvia von Steinsdorff**  
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany

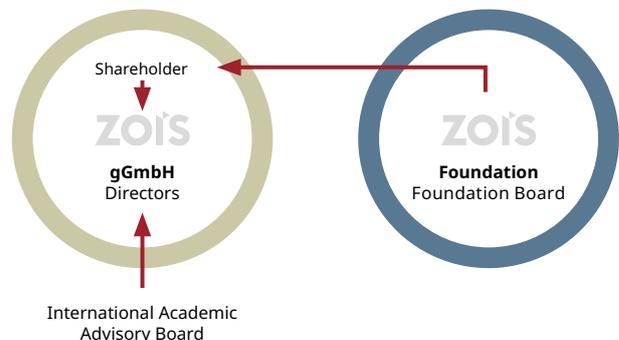
## Distribution of ZOiS funds



## Ratio of institutional funding to third-party funding at ZOiS

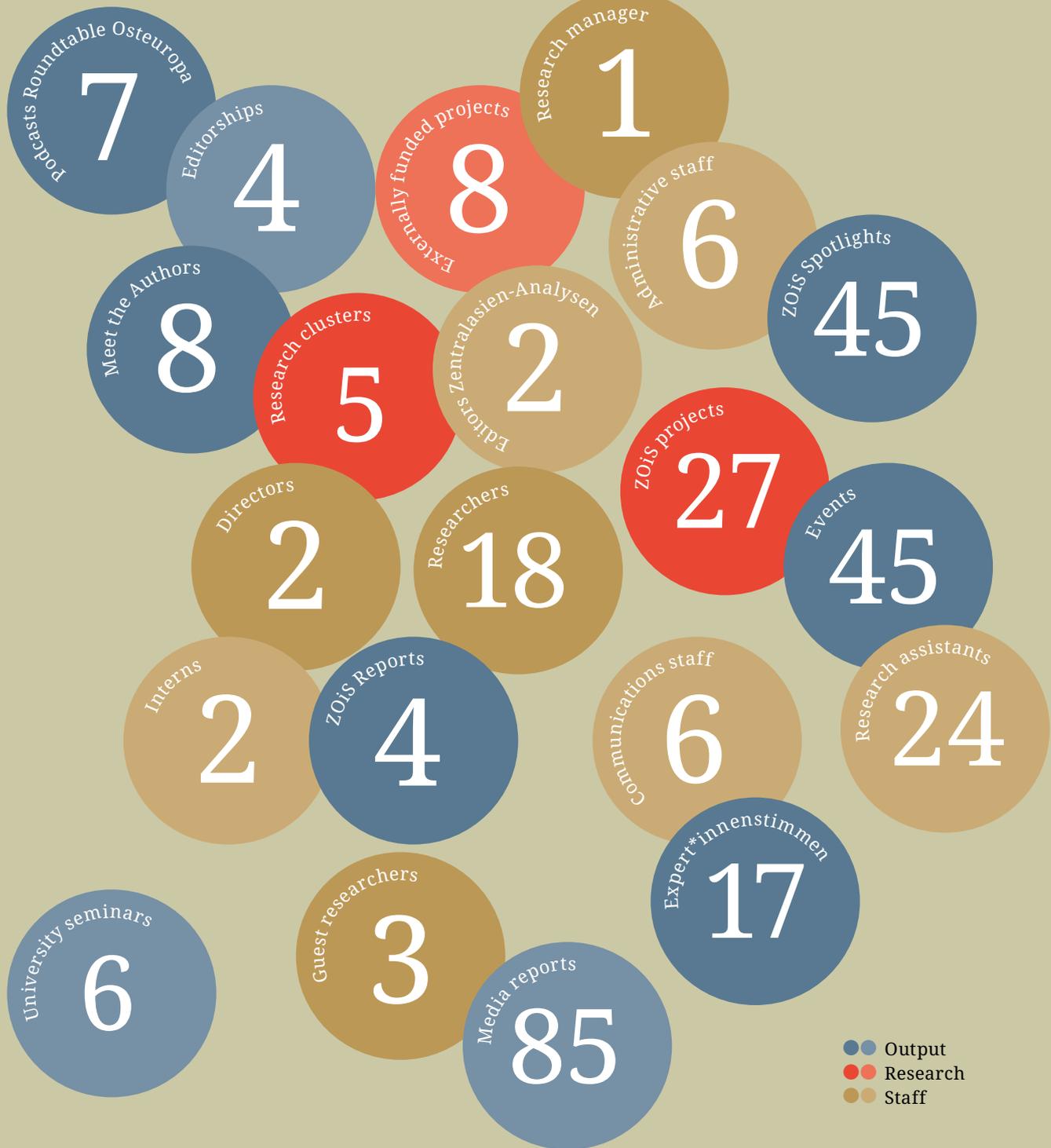


ZOiS's total funding for the year 2021 amounted to EUR 3.39 million.



# ZOIS in Numbers

External academic publications  
27



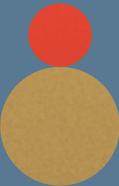


Research Cluster

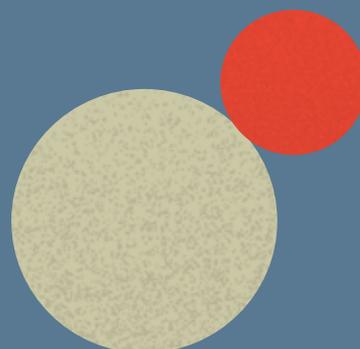
# Societies between Stability and Change

Head: 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 as in other regions. 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

**Head of project:**  
**Term:**

Dr Nadja Douglas  
since 2016

## Project description

In this project, political scientist 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. 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.

This research project encompasses one comparative and several case studies in the Republic of 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 the legitimacy of, state institutions as well as recent surveys and statistical data.

## Research in 2021

Nadja Douglas was on parental leave from June to December 2021.

In the first half of 2021, Douglas continued work on a comparative study on public order policing in Armenia and the Republic of Moldova, which was, however, overshadowed by the protests after the rigged presidential elections in Belarus. In response to these developments, she gave papers on the mobilisation of state and society in Belarus at the ZOIS Annual Conference and at the BASEES/EEGA Regional Conference. She also presented a paper on the securitisation of Belarusian power politics in the context of state-society relations at the ASN World Convention. This led to an article for the ASN-published journal *Nationalities Papers*. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Qualitative interpretative analysis of interview data
- ▶ Structured content analysis of primary documents
- ▶ Comparative surveys and descriptive statistics

## 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

**Head of project:**  
**Term:**

Dr Regina Elsner  
since 2017

## Project description

This project investigates the dynamics of Russian Orthodox social ethics since the demise of the Soviet Union. Theologian Regina Elsner is analysing the interplay 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.

This research project aims to undertake a systematic analysis of the dynamics of the ROC's social and ethical discourse since perestroika, focusing on the development of the Church's thinking over time. 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. She aims, secondly, 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 on the question of whether and how the Russian

Orthodox Church's social and ethical positions influence socio-political dynamics in light of internal and external conflicts.

## Research in 2021

An analysis of the position of the Russian Orthodox Church with regard to recent social processes in Russia, Belarus and Ukraine was the focus of Elsner's research in 2021. A paper on Orthodox social and ethical discourse in Ukraine is due to be published in a

special issue of the journal *Eastern Christian Studies*. Another article on the Orthodox understanding of 'religious activism' at the interface of theology and anthropology will appear in the journal *Religion, State & Society*. Smaller contributions and papers revolved around the dynamics of the state-church relationship in Russia, religious freedom in Russia, the gender discourse in Ukraine, and socio-ethical differences between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Patriarchy of Constantinople. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Discourse analysis
- ▶ Interviews with experts

## 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

**Head of project:**  
**Term:**

Dr Nina Frieß  
since 2016

## Project description

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 what 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 that are absent in other media.

Focussing on selected countries, the project begins by taking stock of the existing Russophone literatures. This is followed by an analysis of the content and social dimension of specific texts. The main focus of Frieß's project is currently Kazakhstan.

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 and in the literature itself. Russian or Russophone literature produced outside Russia since the demise of the Soviet Union is

rarely studied. By exploring this under-researched area, the project attempts to close this gap.

## Research in 2021

Nina Frieß was on parental leave from January to May 2021 and from August to December 2021.

As her own research can merely make a contribution to exploring the breadth of Russophone literature, Nina Frieß attaches great importance to international networking with other colleagues working in this field. This year two online events were organised by the *Russophone Voices* network Frieß founded in 2020 together with Naomi

Caffee (Reed College), Miriam Finkelstein (University of Graz) and Marco Puleri (University of Bologna). The network aims to discuss questions in relation to Russophone literatures and make them more accessible to an interested public. Its work is an important aspect of the project *Literature and Power in the Post-Soviet Space*. In 2021, the network also organised a round table on *Institutionalizing, Researching, and Teaching Russophone Literature* at the congress of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies. In addition, a special issue on Russophone literatures, edited by Nina Frieß and Naomi Caffee, was accepted by the journal *Russian Literature* and pre-published. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Qualitative textual analysis
- ▶ Discourse analysis
- ▶ Interviews with experts

## 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?

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

**Head of project:**

Dr Piotr Goldstein

**Term:**

since 2015, at ZOiS since 2019

## Project description

Since the 1990s, civil society – understood in a myriad of ways, but usually researched through the study of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) – has been viewed as a major agent in the promotion of democracy and civic engagement in Eastern Europe. In recent years, the focus has shifted to protest movements 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 distinguishes them from NGOs, nor recognition, which distinguishes them from social movements and popular protests.

The project builds on earlier research conducted by Piotr Goldstein during his British Academy fellowship at the University 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 impossible or ineffective, or where activists opt for a less radical, more long-term approach.

The focus of the project lies in determining to what extent, for the individ-

uals 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.

## Research in 2021

In 2021, Piotr Goldstein conducted interviews with activists in Poland and Serbia, including some people he interviewed ten years ago. He also recorded video interviews in the Polish city of Lodz, to complement footage he record-

ed earlier. In the second half of the year, he designed an online survey for members of associations, NGOs and informal groups in Serbia, which was then conducted towards the end of the year. The survey had two language versions – Serbian and Hungarian – and included questions aimed at assessing respondents’ social engagement in different periods of their lives.

The project’s findings were presented at the ASEES Annual Convention in New Orleans, the Council for European Studies Conference in Reykjavik (online), and the ASN World Convention (online). ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Long-term multi-sited ethnography
- ▶ Interviews
- ▶ Visual and sensory ethnography
- ▶ Online surveys

## 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 for less privileged people?

# Grassroot Public Spheres and Activism in Russian Federal Cities

**Head of project:**

Dr Tatiana Golova

**Term:**

since 2016

## Project description

Sociologist Tatiana Golova is investigating how network communication among activists shapes their willingness to become engaged and speak out publicly. 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 support for a campaign.

Willingness to cooperate is also influenced by collective interpretations of a given problem or, more generally, of

the social world and the relevant actors. The latter are faced with the choice of competing or cooperating with each

other, and the risks each option entails for their own identity or reputation. The project looks at how activists from different camps create temporary publics, both discursively and in practical terms, in a blend of pragmatism and solidarity.



*In Yekaterinburg, citizens are protesting against a draft law that would require them to have a QR code indicating their Covid-19 vaccination status in order to access public places and transport.*

## Methodology

- ▶ Interviews with activists
- ▶ Reconstruction of social media networks
- ▶ Framing analysis of speeches and speech acts during protests

## Key questions

- ▶ Mobilisation: How do mobilised public spheres, i.e. communication networks that are oriented to collective action for specific causes, emerge?
- ▶ Hybridity: How are different offline and online arenas for public communication and mobilisation connected?
- ▶ Cooperation: How do actors who self-identify as political and apolitical open up discursive and practical avenues for cooperation?

## Research in 2021

Tatiana Golova worked on a research article on protest coalitions, focussing among other things on the tension between pragmatic cooperation for the purposes of achieving concrete protest goals and the activists' desire to preserve their distinct political identity. In addition, she developed a new research project on regional protests on social media, which is linked to this project (see p. 29). ◀

# Regional Protests on Russian Social Media

**Head of project:**

Dr Tatiana Golova

**Term:**

since 2021

## Project description

Russia's regions are the scene of recurring protests that rally people around different causes. In her project, sociologist Tatiana Golova focuses on protest campaigns where a regional or local identity plays a central role in combination with other (ecological, electoral, etc.) issues. These mobilising (or demobilising) interpretations of events and actors arise in a hybrid online-offline space, with social media being hugely important given the closure of other public platforms and despite digital repression. This project investigates discursive mobilisation on social media in the context of concrete protests and looks at the frames (shared interpretations) users construct and how contentious issues are 'regionalised'. The first case study to be examined are the protests in the Khabarovsk Krai triggered by the arrest in July 2020 of the Governor Sergey Furgal – the surprise victor of the 2018 gubernatorial election – which lasted several months.

## Research in 2021

In late 2020 and early 2021, Tatiana Golova designed and tested the methodology used in her study. Data gathered on the protests in Khabarovsk in 2020 were analysed using computer models and the results regarding the role of various frames in mobilisation processes were interpreted both quantitatively and qualitatively. Golova published the initial findings of the project in the ZOiS Report 4 / 2021 *Mobilising for Regional Protests on Russian Social Media: The Case of Khabarovsk* and in a contribution to the *Russland-*

## Methodology

- ▶ Combination of quantitative and qualitative methods
- ▶ Analysis of large corpora of social media contributions on concrete protests using natural language processing methods
- ▶ Qualitative analysis of selected texts that are representative of specific clusters
- ▶ Reconstruction of shared interpretative frames

## Key questions

- ▶ How are social media used in concrete protest campaigns in Russia's regions?
- ▶ What long-term dynamics of social media contributions can be identified and what is their relationship to specific protest events?
- ▶ What main lines of interpretation are constructed on social media and harnessed for mobilisation?
- ▶ To what extent do local and nationwide discourses on the same regional protest campaigns diverge?

Analysen No. 407, which looked at the social media discourse surrounding the 2021 elections in the 'protest re-

gion' of Khabarovsk. In addition, she worked on a paper, which was submitted in early 2022. ◀



A man protests against the arrest of the governor of Khabarovsk with a sign reading 'I am / we are Sergey Furgal'.

# Languages of Conflict: Ideas of Europe in European Memory

**Head of project:** Dr Félix Krawatzek  
**Cooperation partners:** Dr Gregor Feindt (Leibniz Institute of European History, Mainz),  
Dr Friedemann Pestel (University of Freiburg),  
Dr Rieke Trimçev (University of Greifswald)  
**Term:** since 2011, at ZOIS since 2018

## Project description

The non-ratification of the EU Constitutional Treaty, the financial and economic crisis, migration, Brexit, a multitude of new nationalisms fuelled by the current wave of populism, and, since 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic have all posed major challenges to the European project. What political space can be carved out to keep the centrifugal forces of these processes in check? The answer to this question also depends on how 'Europe' is publicly represented vis-à-vis EU citizens. Yet there is little awareness of what 'Europe' has come to mean over time, to different actors, and within and across countries.

This project studies the ideas of Europe through the multi-faceted debates on 'European Memory'. These debates provide a crucial normative background for political and economic integration and draw on competing, and at times contradictory images of a European past.

## Research in 2021

Thanks to the support of the Genshaugen Foundation, in 2021 the project team managed to hold three meetings in compliance with Covid-19 hygiene rules. Here, the focus was on their joint

book project, which they continued to plan and edit, as well as discussing the case studies from the six countries. Of the thirteen empirical chapters, ten have now been drafted and the three remaining chapters are still being prepared. In addition, the team worked intensively on a summary of the book's questions, theses, structure and line of argumentation, which will be a basis for publicity work by the publisher. In December 2021, the authors discussed the book online with three renowned scholars of history and political sci-

ence. Their useful feedback, together with the feedback obtained at a project presentation at the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies in May 2021, will be integrated in the revision phase.

Following the publication of an article in the *Journal of Political Ideologies*, the team was invited to write a short version for the *Ideology Theory Practice* blog. In addition, Félix Krawatzek published a book review of *Beyond Memory: Can We Really Learn From the Past?* in the journal *Memory Studies*. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Qualitative discourse analysis
- ▶ Comparative analysis of corpora on European memory from six European countries (Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Poland, and the United Kingdom)

## Key questions

- ▶ Which historical experiences are mobilised for the concept of Europe?
- ▶ What kinds of political demands are articulated by actors who draw on the concept of Europe?
- ▶ What logics govern 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'?

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

Head of project:

Dr Sabine von Löwis

Term:

since 2018

## Project description

The division of Germany and its legacies, visible in economic structures, availability of social amenities such as preschools, 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. A similar phenomenon can be observed in Eastern Europe, where – over the past 150 years – borders and territorial configurations have frequently changed and



*'Phantom border' between East and West Germany: proportion of second votes of Bündnis 90/Die Grünen in the 2021 federal elections by constituency.*

## Methodology

- ▶ Study of the relevant literature
- ▶ Qualitative interviews
- ▶ Non-participant observation

## 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 subconsciously evoked and / or revitalised in the present?
- ▶ What expectations for the future are associated with attempts to evoke previous political orders and societal structures?

new states have evolved out of old countries and empires. Based on the 'phantom borders' concept (Hirschhausen et al. 2014), the meanings of diverse traces of the past, as expressed in the use and development of space, norms and 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 some common historical and territorial determinisms and seeks to explain them not only with reference to current events, social developments

and historical configurations, but also to the expectations for the future that underpin them.

## Research in 2021

In 2021, Sabine von Löwis completed and submitted her habilitation thesis. The project and the ideas that informed it were discussed with participants of the workshop *#30PostSovietYears | Phantom Pasts or Everyday Present*, which took place over several weeks and was organised by the Körber Foundation in cooperation with ZOiS and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. ◀

# Political Change from Below? Local Politics in Ukraine

**Head of project:**  
**Term:**

Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse  
since 2016

## Project description

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 local case studies (Lviv, Dnipro, Kharkiv and Odesa), the project has examined the composition of local councils, which particularly since the 2015 local elections have been characterised by a higher degree of political diversity. Patterns of cooperation or confrontation in decision-making at local level have become especially 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 autumn 2020 were the first involving the local coun-

cils newly amalgamated as part of the decentralisation process. On a more conceptual level, the project is concerned

with the phenomenon of democratisation 'from below'. The Covid-19 pandemic has been an additional test for the new structures and the societal expectations they have raised.



*Candidate lists in a polling station during the 2020 local elections in Kharkiv.*

## Methodology

- ▶ Mapping local councils over several municipal election cycles
- ▶ Case studies on voting behaviour in local councils and decision-making processes
- ▶ Representative surveys on societal perceptions of local politics and the expectations associated with it

## 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 decision-making processes at local level?
- ▶ In comparison with national politics, how is public trust in local politics evolving under 'normal' circumstances and in times of crisis?

## Research in 2021

The mapping of local councils and the case studies on local decision-making processes were continued on the basis of the local elections of autumn 2020. New survey data was collected on Ukrainians' trust in their local institutions and leaders. ◀

# Russia<sup>2</sup>

**Head of project:**  
**Term:**

Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse  
since 2019

## Project description

This project asks whether the general population and politicians in East and West Germany differ systematically in their attitudes to Russia. Some opinion polls have suggested that this is the case, and public discourse is rife with conflicting speculations about the possible reasons for an assumed affinity with Russia in East Germany.

This project combines representative quantitative surveys of the whole population with focus group discussions in different towns and cities in East and West Germany. The surveys allow us to home in on specific factors that can have a bearing on views on Russia, such as the respondents' place of birth and place of residence, their age, personal ties to Russia, and political leanings. Using a discussion guide and interactive and associative elements, the focus group discussions expand the focus to provide insights into the argumentation patterns behind positive and negative views of Russia in East and West Germany.

## Research in 2021

In autumn 2021, Gwendolyn Sasse designed new focus group discussions in East and West Germany. Having initially focussed on patterns of affinities with Russia, the aim is now to bring participants who define themselves either as sympathetic to or critical of Rus-

## Methodology

- ▶ Multiple surveys on attitudes to Russia in Germany
- ▶ Focus group discussions in Erfurt, Leipzig, Rostock, Essen and Munich

## 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 ties to Russia play in the formation of positive or negative opinions of Russia?
- ▶ What argumentation patterns are typical of positive and negative attitudes to Russia?

sia face to face. The new focus group discussions are due to take place in early 2022. They will be accompanied by a panel survey, also developed at the end

of 2021, in which the same people will participate twice in 2022 in order to capture possible changes in attitudes over a longer period of time. ◀



*The Embassy of Russia in Berlin.*

# Belarus at the Crossroads? Public Attitudes after the 2020 Election

## Project team:

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

## Term:

2020–2022 (with funding from the Federal Foreign Office in 2020)

## Project description

After the presidential elections in August 2020, Belarus experienced an unprecedented wave of political mobilisation involving broad sectors of society throughout the country. In the ensuing violent suppression of protests and targeted persecution of political dissidents, Aliaksandr Lukashenka was able to secure his hold on power for the time being. This situation has created new challenges for the European Union, Russia and other regional actors. Opinion research is difficult in Belarus, and is likely to remain so. As a result, deeper insights into what is happening in the country 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 part of this project, an online panel survey was carried out (December 2020 and July 2021). The survey covers 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 in 2021

In March, the research team published a joint *ZOiS Report* entitled *Belarus at a Crossroads: Attitudes on Social and Political Change* on the results of the

first survey in December 2020. This was followed by the second round of the panel survey in June 2021. The results of both surveys were made available in a series of briefings and short publications (The Conversation, The Monkey Cage, ZOiS Spotlight, dekoder, Nachrichtendienst Östliche Kirchen) targeted at policymakers, experts and the wider public. In addition, a cooperation with dekoder was established (see p. 15).

Gwendolyn Sasse (together with Olga Onuch) is editing two special issues on Belarus: the first will be published in the journal *Post-Soviet Affairs* in early 2022, the second in *Nationalities Papers* in mid-2022. ZOiS survey data will feed into several articles in these special issues: Julia Langbein and Félix Krawatzek analyse attitudes to the market economy and the understanding of democracy in Belarus (*Post-Soviet Affairs*); Regina Elsner examines the role and attitudes of religious actors in the protests (*Nationalities Papers*); and Nadja Douglas writes about the securitisation of Belarusian power politics in the context of state-society relations (*Nationalities Papers*). Another article by Regina Elsner with reference to the ZOiS data was published in the journal *Digital Icons*. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Online representative panel survey of the Belarusian population aged 16–64 living in places with a population of over 20,000

## 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?



Research Cluster

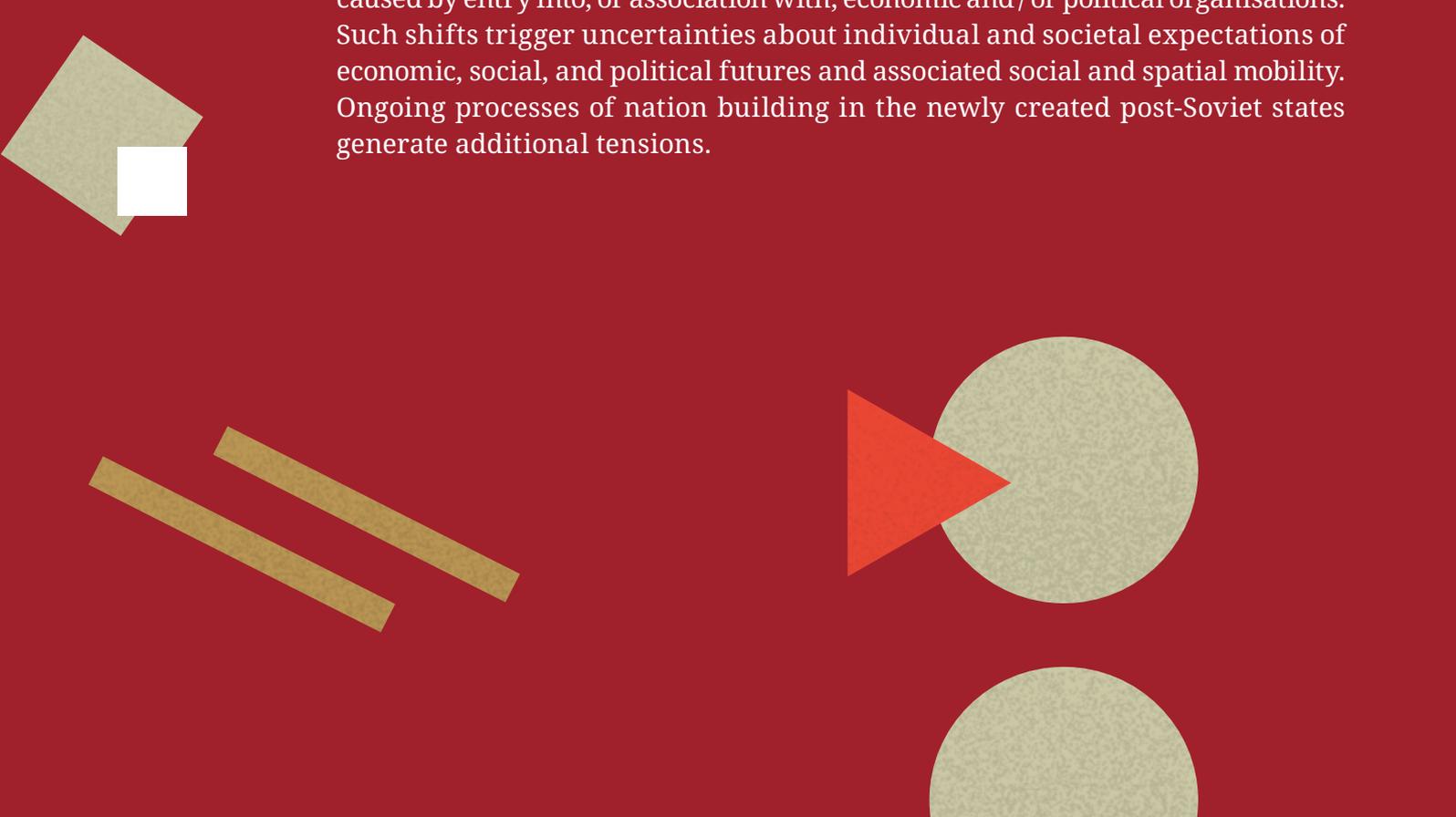
# Conflict Dynamics and Border Regions

Head: 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. At the same time, the relatively permeable borders between the Soviet republics became international frontiers. 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 many new and old territorial orders connected with changes in borders. These range from contested border demarcations to changes caused by entry into, or association with, economic and / or political organisations. Such shifts trigger uncertainties about individual and societal expectations of economic, social, and political futures and associated social and spatial mobility. Ongoing processes of nation building in the newly created post-Soviet states generate additional tensions.



# Confidence-Building and Conflict Settlement: The Case of Transdniestria

**Head of project:**

Dr Nadja Douglas

**Cooperation partner:**

Prof. Stefan Wolff (University of Birmingham)

**Term:**

since 2017

## Project description

In this project, political scientist Nadja Douglas focuses, together with Stefan Wolff, on a review of the broad spectrum of confidence-building measures (CBMs) that were applied in the context of 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 are developed about the impact of the 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.

## Research in 2021

Nadja Douglas was on parental leave from June to December 2021.

The first half of 2021 was devoted to the collection of follow-up data in further interviews on the security situa-

## Methodology

- ▶ Document analysis and CBM process tracing over two different periods (2010 to 2012/13 and 2013/14 to today)
- ▶ Qualitative interviews with various stakeholders involved in the negotiation process
- ▶ Analysis of co-variation of events at local and international level

## 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 measures look promising, and when?

tion with interlocutors on the Moldovan and Transdniestrian sides. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, these interviews were conducted via email. In addition, the computer-assisted analy-

sis of qualitative data was also evaluated using Atlas.ti. The results of this research will be incorporated into an article written by Stefan Wolff and Nadja Douglas (as co-authors). ◀



Street sign in Tiraspol with the official name of the de facto state: Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic.

# Orthodox Peace Ethics and Militarisation in the Post-Soviet Space

**Head of project:**

Dr Regina Elsner

**Term:**

since 2020

## Project description

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, the continuing militarisation in the Russian Orthodox Church and the position of the Belarusian Orthodox Church during the protests after the presidential elections in August 2020 shed light on other aspects of the Orthodox understanding of conflict, violence and reconciliation.

The project will undertake a systematic review of basic texts and official statements on issues of peace ethics as well as analysing practical actions. The aim is to ascertain the political and social relevance of church positions and gain a better understanding of the interaction of church theology, church practice and socio-political developments. In this way, the options for involving Orthodox churches in peace and reconciliation processes can also be expanded in future.

## Research in 2021

Given the ongoing difficulties of conducting field research in the target countries, Regina Elsner's work was limited to conducting background research, studying the relevant literature and monitoring the statements and activities of the respective churches. The social position of the Belarusian churches was a particular focus, as was the study of two different reconciliation initiatives in Ukraine. As a mem-

## Methodology

- ▶ Discourse analysis
- ▶ Interviews with experts

## 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?

ber of the consultative process *Religion, Diplomatie, Frieden* (Religion, Diplomacy, Peace), Regina Elsner investigated the Orthodox underpinnings of peace ethics positions.

In cooperation with colleagues from the Higher School of Economics in Mos-

cow and the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy (IFSH) in Hamburg, she also launched a network for the study of understandings and practices of peace in the post-socialist space at a workshop she co-organised at ZOIS in November 2021. ◀



Belarusian soldiers during a Christmas liturgy in Minsk.

# Everyday Life in Conflict – Scopes for Action and Coping Strategies in De Facto States

**Head of project:**

Dr Sabine von Löwis

**Term:**

since 2017

## Project description

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, the workplace, healthcare, culture, etc. in response to non-recognised statehood and show how these strategies influence or, indeed, 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.

## Research in 2021

Due to the ongoing pandemic, it was not possible to undertake field research

in 2021. Instead, work focussed on the analysis of interviews conducted in Transnistria in 2019 for a planned publication. A *ZOiS Spotlight* on demographic developments in Transnistria titled *Shrinking Transnistria – Older, More Monotone, More Dependent* was published at the beginning of the year, and towards the end of the year, the article *Shrinking Transnistria. Trends and Effects of Demographic Decline in a De Facto State* was submitted. It will be published in March 2022 in the journal *Comparative Southeast European Studies (COMPSEES)*.

Together with Beate Eschment, Sabine von Löwis prepared an edited volume

on a subject closely related to this project. The book, *Post-Soviet Borders. A Kaleidoscope of Shifting Lives and Lands*, is due to be published in the Routledge Borderlands Studies series in 2022. As co-editor, Sabine von Löwis carried out an extensive review of the articles and coordinated communications with the English-language editors and 13 authors, as well as contributing two of her own articles to the volume. Many articles in the edited volume examine the everyday life of people in border regions affected by conflict, including the cases of Transnistria and Moldova, Ukraine and Crimea, and borders in Central Asia. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Interpretative analysis of interviews conducted in 2019
- ▶ Analysis of documents
- ▶ Research and analysis of secondary literature

## 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?

# Political Orientations and Identities in De Facto States

---

**Head of project:**

Dr Sabine von Löwis, Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse

**Cooperation partners:**

Prof. John O'Loughlin (University of Colorado Boulder), Prof. Gerard Toal (Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University), Prof. Kristin Bakke (University College London), Prof. Marlene Laruelle (Washington University)

**Term:**

since 2019

---

## Project description

This 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 socio-spatial practices under the specific conditions of international non-recognition.

Over the past 10 years, the research team has conducted quantitative surveys in de facto states in the post-Soviet space and in the conflict region in eastern Ukraine. 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* (see p. 38) and Gwendolyn Sasse's project on *Identities in Times of Crisis: The Case of Ukraine* (see p. 40).

## Research in 2021

In 2021, Sabine von Löwis began analysing the data for the de facto states Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh and Transnistria. The Transnistrian data from different years were compared with regard to language use, nationality, citizenship, attitudes and assessments of everyday life, well-being, income, migration behaviour and religion. Here, the focus was on how each of these aspects have developed since the first survey conducted in 2010 and

how changes fit into and can be explained by the wider context.

Gwendolyn Sasse worked with John O' Loughlin (University of Colorado), Gerard Toal (Virginia Tech) and Kristin Bakke (University College London) to compare earlier ZOIS data from both parts of the Donbas (2016 / 2019) with new data from 2020. Their findings were published in short publications in 2021 (e.g. Monkey Cage and Global Voices) and presented at various conferences and workshops. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Collection and statistical analysis of survey data
- ▶ Contextual research on political, economic and societal developments
- ▶ Ethnographic field research on the 'line of contact' in Donbas

## Key questions

- ▶ How are economic, political and social conditions changing in the de facto states?
- ▶ How are these changes perceived by their populations and integrated into everyday life?
- ▶ What factors shape the identities of the people who live in de facto states?

# Identities in Wartime: The Case of Ukraine

---

<b>Head of project:</b>	Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse
<b>Cooperation partners:</b>	Prof. John O'Loughlin (University of Colorado Boulder), Prof. Gerard Toal (Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University), Prof. Kristin Bakke (University College London), Prof. Marlene Laruelle (Washington University)
<b>Term:</b>	since 2016

---

## Project description

In the social sciences the causes of wars are better researched than their dynamics and effects. This is partly due to a scarcity of empirical data. This project generates data on those directly affected by the war – the population of the Donbas region and the people fleeing the war zone – and on Ukrainian society as a whole.

ZOiS surveys carried out in 2016 and 2019 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. 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 in-

cluded each year in the representative Omnibus surveys of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS). This data points to the strengthening of a state-centred identity.

## Research in 2021

In 2021, the results of the Donbas surveys informed a number of briefings with policymakers and public events. In this context, data from 2019 were compared with the data gathered by

John O'Loughlin, Gerard Toal and Kristin Bakke in both parts of the Donbas in 2020. This gave rise to several short publications (e.g. for the Washington Post's Monkey Cage blog and Global Voices). A further survey wave was prepared together with John O'Loughlin and Gerard Toal at the end of 2021. This is due to be carried out simultaneously by three agencies in early 2022 in order to test the possible effects of Ukrainian, Russian and international agencies on the results. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Opinion polls in both parts of the Donbas
- ▶ Surveys of refugees from the Donbas in Ukraine and Russia
- ▶ Representative survey in Ukraine (excluding Crimea and the territories not controlled by Kyiv in the Donbas)

## Key questions

- ▶ What effects is the war having on the attitudes and 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

Head: Dr Tsypylma Darieva

Migration and diversity are closely connected issues, but the extent and forms of migration, 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. Important issues in this regard are the internal diversity of so-called migrant groups, different conditions and forms of living together in societies shaped by migration, non-linear integration and identification processes of migrants and minorities as actors of change over longer periods of time, and mutual dynamics of transnational relations. This research cluster also examines questions of religious and ethnic diversity, drawing on the examples of East European and Eurasian cities. Special attention is given to the infrastructure of transnational ties between diasporas and home countries as well as migrant activism.

# Migration and Transformation in Metaphors: The Transnational Lifeworlds of Georgian Educational Migrants in Germany and their Families in Georgia

**Head of project:**

Diana Bogishvili

**Term:**

since 2019

## Project description

Sociologist Diana Bogishvili is carrying out her transnational research project in Germany and Georgia. She aims to show the transformative character of migration by determining its socio-cultural effects on migrants and their relatives. Bogishvili seeks to identify the metaphors in spoken language that reflect the cognitive and emotional feelings of her interviewees. Language connects people with the same cultural identity by virtue of the bond forged by a shared linguistic heritage. The values integral to one's own understanding of the world can therefore be influenced by the conceptual metaphors people unconsciously absorb and use to visualise their world. Metaphors are carriers of cognitive and emotional structures that also shape people's actions.

This study shows how the 'metaphorical thought patterns' inherent in figures of speech build an imaginary bridge between the interviewed migrants and their family members in the country of origin, thus connecting them in their multi-local space. Biographical interviews with Georgian educational migrants in Berlin and their family members in Georgia form the bulk of the data collected.

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

## Methodology

- ▶ Biographical-narrative interviews
- ▶ Multi-sited ethnography
- ▶ Metaphor analysis

## Key questions

- ▶ How do migrants' lived reality and space of experience compare with those of their relatives in the country of origin?
- ▶ Which of the activities that characterise the transnational reality are particularly important for actors operating across borders?
- ▶ What kinds of transformations are induced by migration and how far-reaching are they?

## Research in 2021

Despite the continuing pandemic, Diana Bogishvili managed to undertake a research trip to Georgia this year. During her one-month stay, she conducted interviews with the family members of the educational migrants interviewed

in Germany about their everyday life as well as writing observation protocols. She was particularly interested in identifying the possible influence that migrants have on their family members in Georgia, as expressed in values, attitudes or beliefs. ◀



*The Georgian capital Tbilisi: Diana Bogishvili conducted interviews with migrants' relatives in Georgia in 2021.*

# Religious Pluralisation and the Transformation of Urban Spaces in the South Caucasus

**Head of project:**

Dr Tsypylma Darieva

**Term:**

since 2017

## Project description

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 in public spaces pose a challenge to local administrations and everyday concepts of coexistence.

Based on selected case studies (the cities of Baku and Batumi), social anthropologist Tsypylma Darieva seeks to investigate and compare patterns of religious pluralisation in Azerbaijan and Georgia. In both countries, debates are emerging about the redesign, use and meaning of contested sacred spaces in cities.

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 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. The main objective is to find out how

religious diversity is regulated in the conflict region South Caucasus, and to assess the extent to which diverse religious actors contribute to cooperation and conflict.

## Research in 2021

Urban negotiation processes and adaptation strategies in the case of less institutionalised religious communities were a particular focus of Darieva's comparative analysis this year. Together with Yulia Aliyeva (ADA University, Baku) and Boris Komakhidze (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University), she studied interactions between local authorities and religious actors as well

as the visible and less visible spheres of action of religious minorities in Batumi and Baku. In spite of uncertainties and limited access to economic and political resources, the members of religious minorities developed various tactics and strategies: 1) invisibility and retreat into the private sphere as well as the use of temporary spaces; 2) loyalty and adaptation to the national discourse; and 3) visible religious activism by seeking to cooperate with civil society actors. The results of this research were published in a special issue of the journal *New Diversities* titled *Urban Religious Pluralization: Challenges and Opportunities in the post-Soviet Caucasus* in December 2021. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Semi-structured interviews with religious leaders and experts from the spheres of politics, local government and urban planning
- ▶ Ethnographic case studies and observations on the ground, informal conversations with visitors to shrines and places of worship
- ▶ Media research (local online media)
- ▶ Comparative analysis

## Key questions

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

# Homeland Pilgrimage: Roots and Routes of Transnational Diasporic Engagement

**Head of project:**

Dr Tsypylma Darieva

**Term:**

2010–2021

## Project description

This habilitation thesis focuses on the Armenian diaspora and its complex ties to the homeland. Based on long-term ethnographic fieldwork in Armenia and the United States, it looks in particular at transnational activities and a dynamic culture of trips to the homeland. In so doing, it analyses a broad spectrum of diaspora engagement, new infrastructures for trips to the homeland, and strategies of ‘doing diaspora’.

To what extent do affective and material ties to a mythical homeland influence the transnational behaviour and loyalties of second and later generations of Armenian diaspora communities when the mythical homeland becomes a real place? Social anthropologist Tsypylma Darieva investigates the motivations, imaginaries and identities of young diaspora Armenians in the context of globalisation. In the process, ‘homeland’ emerges as an ambivalent category.

Tsypylma Darieva shows how the descendants of migrants generate transnational symbolic capital in the context of locally and globally circulating narratives about development, human rights, and the environment. The aim of her research is to systematically identify not just new forms of connectivity but also ruptures between the diaspora and the homeland.

## Research in 2021

A focus on emotional and material links between the diaspora and the homeland would appear to be particularly rewarding for the study of transregional mobility in Eurasia. With this in mind, a comparative perspective on mobilising factors and the transformative nature of trips to the homeland for the second and later generations became more relevant.

A panel on *Second Generation Transnationalism* organised by Tsypylma Darieva in October 2021 and the round table on *Social Remittances in Eastern Europe and Eurasia* at the *Aleksanteri*

*Conference on Eurasia and Global Migration* gave new impetus to this comparative perspective. The discussions centred on anthropological and sociological perspectives on the categories of generation and gender as well as the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic on mobility in Europe and Eurasia.

The habilitation process came to a successful conclusion following Tsypylma Darieva’s public lecture at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin in January 2021. The monograph *Homeland Pilgrimage. Roots and Routes of Transnational Engagement* is due to be published in October 2022 in the *Global Studies* series of the transcript Verlag. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Multi-sited ethnography
- ▶ Participant observation in Armenia and the USA
- ▶ Biographical and semi-structured interviews with activists
- ▶ Group discussions

## Key questions

- ▶ How and why do the descendants of migrants maintain their attachment to the ancestral homeland?
- ▶ What role do emotions and memories of the past play in the establishment of new infrastructural links to the homeland?
- ▶ What political significance does the mythical-abstract concept of ‘homeland’ acquire when it becomes a real place that is experienced at first hand?

# ‘Unity in Diversity?’: The Situation of National Minorities in Kazakhstan

**Head of project:**

Dr Beate Eschment

**Term:**

since 2018

## Project description

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 play in promoting peaceful interethnic relations while also serving as a focal point for identity formation (as members of an ethnic group or as Kazakhstanis). The project’s overall objective is to assess the prospects for continued interethnic stability in Kazakhstan.

## Research in 2021

In 2021, Beate Eschment continued to evaluate the results of an opinion poll conducted among 1,500 people of different nationalities in Almaty in autumn 2019. She analysed statements by representatives of small ethnic groups on their ethnic and national identity as well as their current and anticipated future situation in Kazakhstan in greater detail and presented her findings in a research article with the working title ‘Unity in Diversity?’ *Reflections on the National Identity of Small Ethnic Groups in Nazarbaev-Era Kazakhstan*, which is due to be pub-

## Methodology

- ▶ Semi-structured interviews
- ▶ Participant observation
- ▶ Discourse analysis
- ▶ Opinion polls

## Key questions

- ▶ Do the citizens of Kazakhstan see themselves as members of a particular ethnic group or as Kazakhstanis?
- ▶ 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?

lished in 2022. The Covid-19 pandemic meant that it was impossible to travel to Kazakhstan to ask follow-up questions and catch up on recent developments on the ground. And in the current political climate, emails cannot substitute for face-to-face conversations about ostensibly sensitive issues like

the situation of ethnic minorities. Instead, Eschment invested a lot of time in other academic projects, including the preparation of the edited volume *Post-Soviet Borders: A Kaleidoscope of Shifting Lives and Lands* (together with Sabine von Löwis), which will be published by Routledge in 2022. ◀



A Kazakh in historical costume leads the Nauryz procession in Almaty.

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

**Head of project:**

Kostiantyn Fedorenko

**Term:**

since 2019

## Project description

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 force against them. Five years after the protesters' victory, which resulted in a change of government, Ukraine had generally stabilised. Yet, many former participants of the Euromaidan protests decided to leave the country.

This situation prompts the following research question: why do people who

have previously risked their lives in successful anti-government protests decide to emigrate several years later? To identify the main contributing factors, a survey will be carried out among former Euromaidan participants to evaluate their attitudes to migration and the factors that might have influenced their decision.

With this study, social scientist Kostiantyn Fedorenko expects to contribute to migration theory, as within this field, the issue of politically motivated migration without an immediate threat is under-researched. Further-

more, 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 the Humboldt Universität zu Berlin. The supervisors are Prof. Silvia von Steinsdorff (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) and Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS).

## Research in 2021

In 2021, Kostiantyn Fedorenko expanded and updated the literature review for his project. His presentations of the project, in Prof. Silvia von Steinsdorff's research colloquium and at the Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences, were well received. Fedorenko subsequently prepared the first draft of the methodology chapter and updated it based on his supervisors' suggestions. In addition, he formulated the survey questions and drafted an interview guide. He is currently polishing the methodology chapter and plans to start the survey in 2022. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Respondent-driven sampling
- ▶ Quantitative survey of former Euromaidan participants regarding their experiences, attitudes and intentions to emigrate
- ▶ In-depth qualitative interviews with a subsample of those participants

## 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?



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

**Head of project:**

Dr Piotr Goldstein

**Term:**

since 2017, at ZOiS since 2019

## Project description

When members of ethnic minorities or migrants are approached by the media or academia, contact is usually made through their community institutions. Such an approach creates an image of minority or migrant activism as self-centred and focused primarily on the subjects' own interests. 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 Europe.

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 Goldstein's previous research, which has resulted in the production of *Active (citizen)*, a 30-minute ethnographic documentary co-authored with Jan Lorenz (UAM Poznań) that has been screened at film festivals, conferences, workshops, is used for teaching in Europe and the US, and won three awards in 2021. In 2021, Goldstein released the second ethnographic documentary of the project *Spółdzielnia/Cooperative*, which tells the story of a cooperative run by Polish migrants in Manchester.

## Research in 2021

In 2021, Piotr Goldstein focused on completing *Spółdzielnia/Cooperative* – a 26-minute ethnographic documentary which is the second key output of the project. The film's rough-cut version was presented at the conference *Polish Migration in the Age of 'Staying at Home'* at University College London in June, and its final version was released in November 2021. Another output of the project – a short multimodal article based on research conducted for the documentary *Active (citizen)* – was published in June in the journal *Entanglements*.

Throughout the year, Goldstein collected new audiovisual data, mostly in Lodz (Poland) and Thessaloniki (Greece), where he conducted pilot research for a new project that builds on the experiences of *Visualising the Invisible*. Finally, together with colleagues from the EASA Anthropology of Social Movements Network, which Goldstein co-convenes, he organised an international workshop entitled *Migrant and Minority Activism: Between Protest Movements and Everyday Engagement*. The workshop took place in a hybrid form on 30 September and 1 October and brought together 40 speakers. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Long-term multi-sited ethnography
- ▶ Visual and sensory ethnography
- ▶ Interviews

## 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?

Research Cluster

# Youth in Eastern Europe

Head: 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

**Head of project:**

Dr Félix Krawatzek

**Term:**

since 2018

## Project description

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 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 has been compiled and focus group interviews have been carried out with young people in Poland and Russia in order to put their political behaviour in its historical and cultural context and understand their perceptions of social mobilisation.

## Research in 2021

A special issue on political mobilisation and the social attitudes of young people in former 'communist bloc' countries, including the successor states to Yugoslavia, post-Soviet countries, and China, was accepted by the journal *Europe-Asia Studies*. The special issue is the end product of a conference held in 2019 and it brings together a range

## Methodology

- ▶ Focus group interviews with young people in Poland and Russia
- ▶ Compiling a database on the social mobilisation of young people

## 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?

of complementary thematic and geographical perspectives. In addition, Félix Krawatzek began working on the analysis of the focus groups carried out in Poland with a view to using this

material for an article on the political mobilisation prompted by the country's democratic backsliding during the Covid-19 pandemic. ◀



Moscow, January 2021: Young Russians take part in a rally in support of imprisoned opposition activist Alexei Navalny.

# History for Young People: Historical Narratives and Perceptions

**Head of project:**

Dr Nina Frieß, Dr Félix Krawatzek

**Term:**

2020–2021

## Project description

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 malleable, or so it is believed.

In this interdisciplinary project, Slavist Nina Frieß and political scientist Félix Krawatzek identify and explore the historical narratives to which young people in Eastern Europe are exposed. The focus is on the representation of twentieth-century Russian/Soviet history. The team takes a comparative approach to their analysis of developments in Eastern Europe in order to reveal particularities and similarities.

Conscious of the wider call to link cultural studies and the social sciences, this project investigates both the logic underlying the production of historical narratives and the effect of those narratives on young people. In so doing, Nina Frieß and Félix Krawatzek have

been able to show the relevance of cultural narratives for processes of cultural memory in different social and political contexts.

## Research in 2021

This year, joint work on the publication arising from a workshop in September 2020 took centre stage. For this project, Nina Frieß and Félix Krawatzek collaborated with the publishing house De

Gruyter, in whose series *Media and Cultural Memory*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, their edited volume will appear in 2022. Work on the volume was completed in December 2021. In addition, a joint article on the memories of young Russians and cultural interpretations of history in Russia was accepted by the journal *Nationalities Papers*. The completion of these two publications marks the end of the project. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Qualitative analysis of the historical narratives conveyed in recent history books, literary texts and films
- ▶ Analysis of surveys and focus group interviews to identify young people's perceptions of history
- ▶ Comparative analysis in the Eastern and Western European context.

## Key questions

- ▶ How do young people position themselves vis-à-vis the historical narratives to which they are exposed in 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?
- ▶ In what ways are the cultural memory narratives of young people similar or different in Eastern and Western Europe?

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

**Heads of project**  
**Term:**

Dr Félix Krawatzek, Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse  
since 2018

## Project description

Based on a number of online surveys conducted across Eastern Europe, this project taps into the attitudes, behaviour, and transnational linkages of a young 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. In the official discourse of many countries in the region, youth plays an important role as a resource and a projection screen. Young people have been shown to be loyal to the regime and to identify with conservative values, but they have also been at the forefront of the mobilisation against autocratic structures. In Russia, but also in Belarus, Poland and Ukraine, the young generation can be understood as positioned between these two poles. The project looks at a range of issues, including the level of political interest, knowledge, and public engagement of young people, their sources of information, personal networks, expectations, trust, and values.

## Research in 2021

This year, the analysis of survey data gathered in previous years continued. A particular highlight was the completion of an article on the correlation between young people's transnational contacts and their political views. This article will be published in a special

## Methodology

- ▶ Designing and carrying out surveys among young people
- ▶ Analysing the survey data generated by this project and third parties

## 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?

issue of the journal *Europe-Asia Studies* edited by Félix Krawatzek. The data gathered in this context was also a basis for further political briefings, media commentaries, blogs and shorter publications, including an *Oxford Analytica Daily Brief*. Félix Krawatzek has

been a member of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation's academic board for youth studies since 2021 and in this capacity is supervising a wide-ranging project on the political and social attitudes of young people in the countries of the Eastern Partnership and Russia. ◀



In St Petersburg, young people express their solidarity with Belarusian opposition members after the rigged 2020 presidential election there.

Research Cluster

# Political Economy and Integration

Head: 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 reintegrate 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, projects in this research cluster investigate how varieties of domestic political and economic relations shape the way East European economies manage economic integration and disintegration. Projects 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 disintegration, 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

**Head of project:**

Dr Julia Langbein

**Cooperation partner:**

Prof. László Bruszt (Central European University)

**Term:**

since 2015, at ZOiS since 2020

## Project description

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.

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 in 2021

Key findings of this project were already published in 2020 in a special issue of the journal *Review of International Political Economy*. In 2021, Julia Langbein presented these research results at various academic conferences, including the Standing Group of the European Union des European Consortium for Political Research, and in meetings with representatives of political institutions.

In addition, she worked together with László Bruszt on an article looking at the reasons why the European Union, as part of its pre-accession strategy in the context of eastward enlargement, developed instruments to minimise economic divergences between candidate and member states but only used market-correcting mechanisms to a very limited degree after the accession of Central and Eastern European states, and especially after the worldwide financial crisis of 2008. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Comparative case studies
- ▶ Process analysis

## 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?

# Economic Integration with the EU and its Effects on Post-Soviet Regime Stability

**Head of project:**

Dr Julia Langbein

**Term:**

since 2018, at ZOiS since 2020

## Project description

In this project, political scientist Julia Langbein examines how economic integration with the European Union (EU) affects 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.

In theory, greater economic integration in the European internal market, for example through trade liberalisation and compliance with EU market rules, is 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.

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 what measures the EU can institute 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 in 2021

Together with Denis Cenusă (University of Gießen / Expert Grup, Moldova) and Irina Guruli (Economic Policy Research Center, Georgia), Julia Langbein investigated the effects of increasing trade liberalisation with the European Union since 2006 on the economic and political development of Georgia and Moldova. In explaining the different effects, the nature of the dominant sectoral coalitions between public and private actors is a major factor. The study shows that in Georgia, trade liberalisation with the EU is contributing significantly to the consolidation of oligarchic structures, as key export sectors are dominated by businesses close-

ly connected with these structures. Similar effects can be observed in Moldova, albeit to a lesser extent. Here, however, the main export sectors are dominated by coalitions between public and private actors that create opportunities for foreign companies, and sometimes even for small and medium-sized Moldovan enterprises, to export to the EU. The results of this research informed discussions with representatives of various political institutions and were presented at the academic conferences of the European Consortium for Political Research and the German Political Science Association. Preparations for a *ZOiS Report* on this subject were completed at the end of 2021. ◀

### Methodology

- ▶ Comparative case studies
- ▶ Qualitative interviews
- ▶ Secondary analysis

### Key questions

- ▶ Under what conditions does increasing economic integration with the EU reinforce or transform 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 why?
- ▶ How can the EU use existing instruments for economic integration in order to more effectively promote political and economic competition in the three Eastern Partnership countries?



# Externally Funded Projects

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

---

<b>ZOiS project team:</b>	Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse (principal investigator), Dr Piotr Goldstein (postdoctoral researcher), Kostiantyn Fedorenko (doctoral student)
<b>Cooperation partners:</b>	Dr Olga Onuch (University of Manchester), Prof. Jacquélien van Stekelenburg (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam), Dr Sorana Toma (ENSAE-CREST Paris), Dr David Doyle (University of Oxford), Dr Evelyn Ersanilli (University of Amsterdam)
<b>Applying institutions:</b>	Centre for East European and International Studies, University of Manchester, University of Amsterdam, ENSAE-CREST
<b>Funding body in Germany:</b>	German Research Foundation (as part of the Open Research Area)
<b>Term:</b>	since 2018
<b>Research cluster:</b>	Migration and Diversity

---

## Project description

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 and empirical 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?

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 provides in-depth qualitative data from origin and host countries

These features allow the project to generate an unprecedented amount of em-

pirical 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.

The project covers Ukraine, Poland, Morocco and Argentina – four countries which have recently witnessed both large-scale emigration and mass protests, and follows migrants from these countries to Germany, the United Kingdom and Spain.

## Research at ZOiS

The team at ZOiS headed by Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse is principally engaged in the collection of qualitative and quantitative 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. ZOiS and the UK partner conducted an additional online protest survey in Belarus (August 2020-January 2021).

## Research in 2021

In early 2021, Piotr Goldstein extended the project by conducting an online survey with protesters in Poland who opposed the change in legislation that tightened the already very restrictive abortion law. The survey also included Polish migrants, some of whom took part in protests abroad against that change. In addition to what was originally planned, the ZOiS team also conducted a focus group with Polish protesters in Berlin.

Throughout 2021, the ZOiS team and partner institutions continued the qualitative data collection with migrants, particularly from Poland and Morocco, which was earlier put on hold because of the pandemic. The team developed procedures for conducting interviews and focus groups online and applied

this newly developed know-how to the second wave of qualitative research in the project's 'origin' countries. Later in the year the team's attention focused on developing a codebook and commencing analysis of the collected qualitative data. Drawing from the project's new data and experiences of participant recruitment Piotr Goldstein delivered a presentation at the ASEES Annual Convention in New Orleans and at the Protest Research Institute seminar (online).

Based on the online protest survey in Belarus, Gwendolyn Sasse and Olga Onuch (University of Manchester) prepared two academic articles for different special issues to be published by *Post-Soviet Affairs* and *Nationalities Papers* (both special issues are being edited by Gwendolyn Sasse and Olga Onuch). The ongoing analysis of the comparative quantitative MOBILISE

### Methodology

- ▶ Nationally representative face-to-face and online panel surveys
- ▶ Online migrant surveys
- ▶ Protest participant surveys
- ▶ Focus groups
- ▶ In-depth interviews
- ▶ Social media analysis

### 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?

data was presented by Gwendolyn Sasse at the ASN World Convention 2021, the BASEES Annual Conference 2021 and

the Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies, all online. ◀



In Berlin, people protest against the anti-LGBTQ\* policies of the PiS government in Poland. The slogan is directed at the Polish Minister of Justice and Public Prosecutor General Zbigniew Ziobro: "Ziobro! We will not let you bully us!"

# The Liberal Script in Ukraine's Contested Border Regions

<b>ZOiS project team:</b>	Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse (principal investigator in the 'Borders' research unit), Dr Sabine von Löwis (head of the ZOiS sub-project), Dr Rita Sanders (research associate up to April 2021), Dr Tatiana Zhurzhenko (research associate since July 2021)
<b>Cooperation partner:</b>	Prof. Christian Volk (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)
<b>Joint project:</b>	Cluster of Excellence <i>Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)</i>
<b>Applying institution:</b>	Freie Universität Berlin
<b>Cooperating institutions in the Cluster of Excellence:</b>	Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, German Institute for Economic Research (DIW), German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA), Hertie School of Governance, Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient (ZMO), Berlin Social Science Center (WZB)
<b>Funding body:</b>	German Research Foundation (DFG)
<b>Term:</b>	2019–2023
<b>Research cluster:</b>	Conflict Dynamics and Border Regions

## Project description

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.

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 con-

tested 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 residents of border regions.

## Research in 2021

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, Rita Sanders continued to carry out her research online in the first half of the year. With the help of research assis-

## Methodology

- ▶ Interviews
- ▶ Focus groups
- ▶ Media analysis

## 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 interact with regional and national dynamics, and how are core aspects of the liberal script negotiated in this context?

tant Anastasiia Magazova, she conducted online interviews with local actors and analysed their internet presence. In September, when it was possible to go into the field again, 42 interviews and four focus groups were held in Ukraine. Residents of the border region were asked about the role of the border in everyday life and local communities. Since July 2021, Tatiana Zhurzhenko has been coordinating the

data collection in the four border regions as well as the cooperation with local researchers. She is also carrying out her own research at the Ukrainian-Russian and Polish-Ukrainian borders.

In April 2021, Sabine von Löwis and Gwendolyn Sasse gave a paper on the contact line in the Donbas at a workshop at the Academy of Sciences in Moscow. This was followed by a paper

on the same subject at the ASN World Convention in May. The project findings were also the subject of briefings with political institutions. In the context of the institute's support for early-career researchers, Sabine von Löwis presented the project to master's students at the University of Marburg. In addition, two peer-reviewed articles were published in international journals in 2021. ◀

## China, the EU and Economic Development in Eastern Europe and Eurasia

**ZOiS project team:**

**Joint project:**

**Applying institution:**

**Cooperating institutions:**

**Funding body:**

**Term:**

**Research cluster:**

Dr Julia Langbein (head of project), Valentin Krüsmann (doctoral student)  
De:link // Re:link – Local Perspectives on Transregional (Dis-)entanglements  
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin  
Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient Berlin (ZMO), Bonn International  
Centre for Conflict Studies (BICC)  
German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF)  
2021–2024  
Political Economy and Integration

### De:link // Re:link – Local Perspectives on Transregional (Dis-)entanglements

The network project *De:link//Re:link* investigates new spatial configurations and local perspectives on transregional infrastructure projects such as the Belt and Road Initiative initiated by China in 2013. The acronym **link** indicates the network's focus on **local insights** and **new knowledges**. In this context, the consortium examines the dynamics of entanglements and disentanglements as well as processes of social, political, cultural, economic and lingual de- and re-concentration in Asia, Africa and Europe. These dynamics are studied in greater depth from different disciplinary perspectives that rest on multi-scalar and multi-sited fieldwork. The

#### Methodology

- ▶ Comparative case studies
- ▶ Qualitative interviews
- ▶ Analysis of documents

#### Key questions

- ▶ What goals is China pursuing with its infrastructure projects and how do they vary depending on the institutional, political and economic parameters in the respective target country?
- ▶ How does Chinese investment in infrastructure projects influence the local scope for action to promote development in Eastern Europe and Eurasia, and what local reactions does it elicit?
- ▶ How can we explain differences in both development outcomes and local reactions?
- ▶ Does China pose a challenge to the EU as an economic power and rule exporter and if so, under what conditions?



Construction of a motorway in Montenegro by a Chinese state-owned company.

overarching goal of cooperation among the four partners in the consortium is to strengthen a pluri-directional exchange of knowledge and joint knowledge production among scholars and other academic actors in Germany and the core regions of research (Africa, Asia, Europe, Eurasia and Afrasia).

### Project at ZOiS

With a focus on Eastern Europe and Eurasia, the project *China, the EU and Economic Development in Eastern Europe and Eurasia* examines the motives behind China's infrastructure projects in the context of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and asks to what extent the sometimes critical local reactions to these projects have prompted China to reorient the BRI. It also analyses how

Chinese investment in infrastructure projects influences the local scope for promoting economic development. More precisely, it examines how China's infrastructure engagement affects economic development, political institutions, and market regulations in selected Eastern European and Eurasian economies. The research findings will have implications for a pragmatic and realistic approach to the BRI on the part of the EU and Germany.

### Research in 2021

In May, Julia Langbein and Tanja A. Börzel (Freie Universität Berlin/SCRIPTS) organised an international digital workshop on *China and the Contestation of the Liberal Economic Order*. This led to a successful application to

participate with a panel of the same name at the International Studies Association Annual Convention in spring 2022 in Nashville, USA. Valentin Krüsmann further developed his dissertation project, which investigates the motives and approaches driving the infrastructure projects initiated by China in Europe and Eurasia. Regular colloquia held by the research network *De:link//Re:link* were used as a platform to discuss parts of the research. In addition, Valentin Krüsmann and Julia Langbein began work on a joint article with Tanja A. Börzel and Lunting Wu (Freie Universität Berlin/SCRIPTS) on the differences between the development model that China exports within the framework of the BRI and the EU development model based on the 17(16)+1 Initiative. ◀

# When Every Act is War: Post-Crimea Conflict Dynamics and Russian Foreign Policy (WARU)

<b>ZOiS project team:</b>	Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse, Dr Félix Krawatzek
<b>Cooperation partner:</b>	Dr Julie Wilhelmsen, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (principal investigator)
<b>Applying institution:</b>	Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
<b>Funding body:</b>	The Research Council of Norway
<b>Term:</b>	2020–2023
<b>Research cluster:</b>	Conflict Dynamics and Border Regions

## Project description

This project focuses on discourses as a key mechanism in conflict dynamics. On a conceptual level, it builds on securitisation theories and analyses how discursive concepts of an existential threat can expand to encompass all areas of engagement with ‘the other’.

The project asks how the spiral of worsening relations between Russia and the West, observed particularly since 2014, has been shaped by the communications and narratives that characterise these relations.

The project includes in-depth empirical textual analyses to investigate how inimical rhetoric about ‘the other’ becomes the new normal that is no longer questioned and thereby actively shapes perceptions and actions. Individual project partners concentrate on Russia’s interactions with Norway, Estonia, Germany, the USA and NATO in the years from 2014 to 2020. They enrich

the project with their methodological perspectives on political framing and their research on societal perceptions.

## Research in 2021

This year, the project team discussed the preliminary research results of individual project partners internally and presented them at conferences (e.g.

at the Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies). Gwendolyn Sasse also took part in a workshop with policymakers and think tanks in Tallinn (Estonia). In addition, a corpus of Russian sources from media across the political spectrum was created with a view to analysing changes in the way Russia’s relations with Belarus are discussed. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Computer-aided discourse analysis of official speeches, strategy documents and media sources

## Key questions

- ▶ What role does rhetorical framing play in the deteriorating relations between states?
- ▶ What role does official rhetoric that construes ‘the other’ as a threat play in conflict escalation between Russia and ‘the West’?
- ▶ What are the scope and challenges of computer-aided analysis of large quantities of text?

# Living with Uncertainty. Strategies of Adaptation and Horizons of Expectation in Ukraine and Moldova (LimSpaces)

<b>ZOiS project team:</b>	Dr Sabine von Löwis (head of project), Dr Irina Mützelburg (head of sub-project), Dr Julia Langbein (head of sub-project), Claudia Eggart (project implementation)
<b>Cooperating institutions:</b>	French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), Centre Marc Bloch
<b>Applying institutions:</b>	Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS), French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS)
<b>Funding bodies:</b>	German Research Foundation (DFG), French National Research Agency (ANR)
<b>Term:</b>	2021–2024
<b>Research cluster:</b>	Conflict Dynamics and Border Regions

## Research network

In this project, we examine everyday life in Moldova and Ukraine, where local conditions are often characterised by political and economic instability. On an empirical level, we study individual and collective practices and strategies to deal with high uncertain-

ty. We look at how people make choices with regard to their education and employment. The aim is to gain an understanding of the role played by the past and by norms and rules, and to determine to what extent the latter are shaped or influenced by supranational organisations. We show how threats (e.g. war and conflict), geographical

location, the supply situation and income determine individuals' scope for action. On a theoretical level, we aim to critically develop the concepts of liminality and in-between space.

Of the four project clusters, two sub-projects are being undertaken at ZOiS. ◀



*Greengrocer in Odesa, Ukraine.*

## SUB-PROJECT

# Strategies of Small-Scale Entrepreneurs at Markets in Ukraine and Moldova

### ZOiS project team:

Dr Sabine von Löwis (head of project and sub-project),  
Dr Julia Langbein (head of sub-project), Claudia Eggart (project implementation)  
Dr Sophie Lambroschini (Centre Marc Bloch)

### Cooperation partners:

### Project description

Small-scale trading and informal markets are an integral part of the globalised economy. They deprive the national economies of tax revenue and put participants in a situation of precariousness, but they also provide intermediary, integrative spaces and guarantee a measure of social security. The significance of informality in the post-socialist space has only recently come to be recognised and studied as an indicator of growing rejection of the symbolic and political order. Until recently, little was known about how informal markets and their actors link in with the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) or the neighbouring European Union, how their social systems function and how they engage with the current economic and political crises or the shifts resulting from association agreements with the European Union.

Entrepreneurs at regional and trans-regional markets are often directly affected by changes in trade and tariff regulations, as turnover from imports and exports is generated primarily by Chinese and Turkish products. In discussions with traders and other actors of market relevance in Moldova and Ukraine, we aim to investigate and gain an understanding of the interaction between economic instability, international geo-economic links and everyday economic and political reactions.

### Research in 2021

As well as defining the scope and goals of the project, the team developed a

### Methodology

- ▶ Discourse analysis: critical analysis of the texts that outline the principles, goals, and trade regulations of the free trade agreement (DCFTA) and the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU)
- ▶ Interviews: conducting and analysing expert interviews with borderguards and managers of markets and transport companies, in addition to biographical interviews with small-scale entrepreneurs
- ▶ Ethnography: participant observation over a total of six months at markets in Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine and Moldova

### Key questions

- ▶ Which touchpoints exist between market players' individual work strategies and geo-economic shifts?
- ▶ How do market players engage with changing terms and conditions?
- ▶ To what extent do geopolitical shifts affect actors' personal and professional horizons of expectation?

research plan in 2021. In regular meetings of the project partners at ZOiS and the other participating institutions (French National Centre for

Scientific Research and Centre Marc Bloch), theoretical texts on liminality were discussed in terms of their applicability to the project's questions. ◀



*The Seventh-Kilometer Market near Odesa, Ukraine.*

## SUB-PROJECT

# Ways out of Liminality via Education Strategies

### ZOiS project team:

Dr Sabine von Löwis (head of project), Dr Irina Mützelburg (head of sub-project)

### Project partners:

Prof. Denis Eckert und Prof. Béatrice von Hirschhausen (both French National Centre for Scientific Research)

## Project description

Efforts to acquire language skills are an excellent indicator of horizons of expectation within a population, reflecting individuals' attitudes and plans through time and space.

The learning of English as a global lingua franca is now increasing in areas where it previously played virtually no historical or governmental role – particularly in post-Soviet Eastern Europe. French still maintains its primacy as a foreign language in rural



Advertisement in Transnistria for a study abroad programme including language courses.

## Methodology

- ▶ Analysis of laws and official rules on education policy in the area of foreign languages in Ukraine, tracing the development of these laws and rules from Soviet times to today
- ▶ Conducting and analysing guided interviews with officials in the Ministry of Education, foreign language teachers, pupils and their families in Ukraine

## Key questions

- ▶ In learning a foreign language, are people guided by policy measures, or are their actions contrary to the state's own position?
- ▶ Which ideological positions, attitudes and aspirations are manifested in the decision to learn a foreign language?
- ▶ Which career goals are pursued in relation to foreign language learning? To what extent are emigration ambitions a factor?

Moldova but is losing ground to English in urban areas. Although English is clearly becoming more popular as a foreign language in Ukraine and an increase in English language teaching was one of the goals of the 2017 education reform, there is still a lack of studies on this topic.

This sub-project investigates the practices and strategies of foreign language learning within the population and explores how and why people make the effort to acquire foreign language skills – or choose not to do so.

## Research in 2021

In 2021, the team mapped already existing research on educational policies and practices in Ukraine and beyond and collected data on the statutory regulations in this area. In regular meetings of the project partners at ZOiS and the other participating institutions (French National Centre for Scientific Research and Centre Marc Bloch), theoretical texts on liminality were discussed in terms of their applicability to the questions the project asks. ◀

# Project to Initiate Research and Cooperation between EU and Eastern Partnership Countries (RemitEU)

<b>ZOiS project team:</b>	Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse, Diana Bogishvili, Dr Tsypylma Darieva
<b>Cooperation partners:</b>	Prof. Lika Tsuladze, Diana Lezhava (both Center for Social Sciences (CSS) in Tbilisi)
<b>Applying institution:</b>	Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS)
<b>Funding body:</b>	German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF)
<b>Term:</b>	2021–2023
<b>Research cluster:</b>	Migration and Diversity

## Project description

The project *RemitEU* is based on a cooperation between the Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS) and the Center for Social Sciences (CSS) in Tbilisi, Georgia. The common objective is to establish a research network between EU and Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries. Over the course of several workshops in Germany and Georgia, the project partners will prepare a joint project proposal. The thematic focus, to be adapted for the respective funding line, will link migration dynamics, media discourses and processes of Europeanisation.

Migration and migrant remittances – including social and political transfers – are proving to be key drivers of and information channels for political, societal and cultural transformation between EU and EaP countries. ZOiS and the CSS have set the following cooperation goals for the first stage of the project, which is part of the BMBF funding programme Bridge2Era-EaP: network-

king and exchange, initiation of lasting cooperation, and preparation of a joint project proposal.

## Research in 2021

Towards the end of 2021, the project team had initial discussions on the respective institutional expertise and

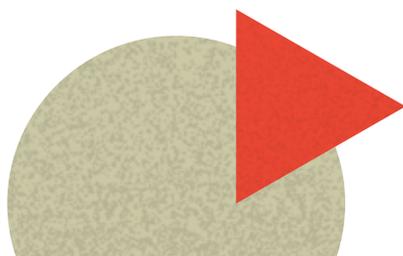
priority setting as well as identifying relevant funding programmes. The first interviews with Georgian migrants in Germany were conducted at ZOiS. The project partners also started their analysis of Europeanisation discourses in the Georgian media. Preparations are under way for the first joint workshop in 2022. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Qualitative interviews with Georgian migrants in Germany
- ▶ Media analysis (text analysis)

## Key questions

- ▶ How do social / political remittances influence political and societal perceptions?
- ▶ What role do different media discourses play in the perceptions and behaviour of both migrants and the population as a whole?
- ▶ What ideas about the EU and ‘Europeanisation’ are shaped by different information channels and discourses – and with what political effect?



# The Proliferation of Memory Laws and the Return of the Nation

**Head of project at ZOiS:**

Dr Félix Krawatzek

**Cooperation partner:**

Dr George Soroka (Harvard University)

**Funding body:**

Daimler and Benz Foundation Scholarship Programme

**Term:**

since 2018

**Research cluster:**

Societies between Stability and Change

## Project description

In recent years, many Central and Eastern European countries have adopted legislation that seeks to regulate the work of historians and public discourse about history. 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 Eastern European countries since the demise of the Soviet Union.

In Russia, a whole range of laws has been introduced to punish statements about the country's history that deviate from the official position. But what can be said in public about a country's past is also curtailed by legal provisions in many other countries, for example in Poland, Ukraine, France, Spain, Germany, Chile and a number of states in the US.

Focussing on Russia and Ukraine, this project explores the political dynamics behind this juridification of history and its wider societal implications.

## Research in 2021

Thanks to research funding from the Daimler and Benz Foundation, we were able to carry out the planned survey of historical perceptions in Russia, Ukraine and Germany in January 2021. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the survey was conducted online. The initial results were presented at many international conferences and two papers based on the material are currently being prepared. Here, Félix Krawatzek and George Soroka analyse the respective vignette experiments in Russia and Ukraine with two questions in

mind: Through what mechanisms does a memory consensus emerge in society? And how do people react to deliberate violations of such a memory consensus? In both cases, the principal aim is to understand the conditions under which memory laws have a formative influence on historical consciousness.

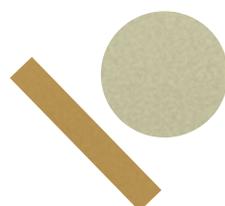
In addition, Félix Krawatzek published a book review on *Transitional Justice and the Former Soviet Union. Reviewing the Past, Looking toward the Future* in the journal *Europe-Asia Studies* as well as a *ZOiS Spotlight* on the Victory Day celebrations on 9 May 2021. ◀

### Methodology

- ▶ Carrying out a survey of perceptions of history using novel techniques like vignette and list experiments
- ▶ Compiling a database of memory laws and their political dynamics

### 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?



# Identity and Borders in Flux: The Case of Ukraine (IBiF)

**Co-investigator at ZOIS:**

**Cooperation partners:**

**Applying institution:**

**Funding bodies:**

**Term:**

**Research cluster:**

Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse

Dr Olga Onuch, University of Manchester (principal investigator),

Prof. Henry Hale, George Washington University (co-investigator),

Dr Volodymyr Kulyk, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (co-investigator)

University of Manchester

British Academy, Centre for East European and International Studies, Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies at George Washington University

2019–2022

Conflict Dynamics and Border Regions

## Project description

Taking the example of Ukraine, this project asks how stable or situational ethnolinguistic and civic identities and political attitudes are at moments of crisis. Conceptually, the project is located at the intersection of political science, sociology and social psychology. One key focus of the project is the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on identities, public trust in political institutions and political and social engagement. Another focus lies on the perception of local-level developments and decision-making processes in the context of the 2020 local elections and the ongoing decentralisation reform.

Once the pandemic situation allows, the project aims to re-interview the respondents of an earlier survey over a 6- to 12-month period in order to trace continuity and change in societal perceptions, behaviour and preferences. During the pandemic, the project has been supplemented by adding a series of questions and survey experiments to the Kyiv International Institute of

Sociology (KIIS) omnibus telephone survey in April and September 2020.

## Research in 2021

In 2021, the team concentrated on analysing the data generated by telephone surveys conducted in 2020 as well as working on four different papers, which were presented at international conferences (including the 2021 ASN World Convention and the 2021 APSA

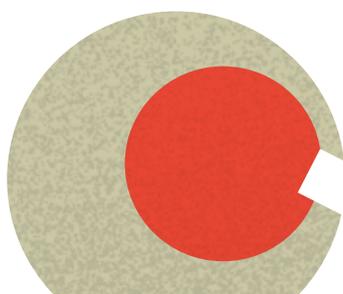
Annual Meeting) and gave rise to shorter publications (e.g. for the Monkey Cage Blog of the Washington Post). The papers focussed on the following four areas in the context of the pandemic: identities and public trust in the political leadership; shifts in ethnolinguistic and civic identities in the population; electoral dynamics in the local elections held during the pandemic; and trends in people's willingness to become socially engaged. ◀

## Methodology

- ▶ Face-to-face panel survey including survey experiments
- ▶ Cross-sectional studies (the same questions in repeated telephone surveys) including survey experiments

## Key questions

- ▶ How persistent and salient are ethnolinguistic identities over time in a country as diverse as Ukraine?
- ▶ What impact is the Covid-19 pandemic having on identities, political attitudes and people's behaviour?
- ▶ How can discrepancies in the perception of local- and national-level politics be explained?





# Researchers' Activities

## DIANA BOGISHVILI

### PUBLICATIONS

#### ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ 'Migration and Its Impacts on Georgia'. ZOiS Spotlight 15 / 2021 (21/04/2021)
- 

#### Other publications

- ▶ 'Dreißig Jahre Unabhängigkeit Georgiens'. *Wie weit ist der demokratische Transformationsprozess?* Zeitgeschichte online (26/05/2021)

### EVENTS

#### Academic

- ▶ **German Association for East European Studies (online, 1 / 2021)**  
Presentation *Merkmale der georgischen nationalen Identität* as part of the panel discussion *Georgien – Gesellschaftlicher Zusammenhalt in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*

## DR TSYPYLMA DARIEVA

### PUBLICATIONS

#### Academic

- ▶ 'Urban Religious Pluralization: Challenges and Opportunities in the post-Soviet Caucasus'. Special Issue guest-edited by Tsypylma Darieva and Julia McBrien, *New Diversities*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2021.
  - ▶ 'Introduction. Urban Religious Pluralization', with Julia McBrien. In: *New Diversities*, vol. 23, no. 2: pp. 1–10, 2021.
  - ▶ 'Encountering Informal and Invisible Religious Diversity in post-Soviet Azerbaijan'. In: *New Diversities*, vol. 23, no. 2: pp. 11-26, 2021.
- 

#### ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ 'Faith, State, and Religious Competition in Georgia'. ZOiS Report 1 / 2021 (January 2021)
  - ▶ 'US-Präsident Biden erkennt Massaker an Armenier\*innen als Völkermord an'. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (27/04/2021)
  - ▶ 'Patriotism in the Armenian Diaspora after the Nagorno-Karabakh War'. ZOiS Spotlight 16 / 2021 (28/04/2021)
  - ▶ 'Recruiting for the Nation? Russia's New Repatriation Law'. ZOiS Spotlight 43 / 2021 with Sina Giesemann (01/12/2021)
  - ▶ 'Migration'. *The End of the Soviet Union: A Video Glossary* by ZOiS and the Federal Agency for Civic Education (13/12/2021)
  - ▶ 'Looking for Compatriots: Repatriation Politics in Russia and Beyond'. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 26 / 2021 with Tatiana Zhurzhenko and Stefanie Orphal (16/12/2021)
- 

#### Other publications

- ▶ *Aserbaidshans religiöse Landschaft und seine Religionspolitik*. In: *RGOW 2 / 2021*: S. 22–24.

**Academic**

- ▶ **Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (online, 1 / 2021)**  
Habilitation lecture on *Mega-Moscheen und urbane religiöse Praktiken im post-sozialistischen Kaukasus*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 1 / 2021)**  
*ZOiS Conference 2021*  
Chair of the roundtable *Urban Spaces*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 3 / 2021)**  
Co-chair of the discussion *Between Distance and Proximity and the Concept of Neighbourhood in the Caucasus* with Nadja Douglas, organised by the ZOiS Caucasus Network
- ▶ **British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies and Leibniz ScienceCampus “Eastern Europe – Global Area” (online, 4 / 2021)**  
*Regional/ Annual Conference* in cooperation with ZOiS  
Presentation *On the Move: Diasporic Youth and its Engagement with the Homeland*
- ▶ **French Association for Russian and East European Studies in Social Sciences (online, 5 / 2021)**  
Workshop *South-Caucasus Studies. A State of the Art in Larger Europe*  
Presentation *South Caucasus Studies: Insights to a State of Art in Germany*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies, University of St. Gallen and Working Group on Religion in Eastern Europe and Eurasia (online, 6 / 2021)**  
Co-organisation of the workshop *The Politics of Religion and Reconciliation* with Regina Elsner and Catherine Wanner  
Presentation *Contested Religious Diversity and Faith-based Activism in Post-atheist Georgia*
- ▶ **Association of Anthropologists and Ethnologists of Russia, Russian Academy of Sciences and Tomsk State University (online 7 / 2021)**  
*XIV Congress of Anthropologists and Ethnologists of Russia*  
Presentation *Pilgrimage in the Time of Pandemic in Eurasia*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies and Zurich University of Applied Sciences (online, 9 / 2021)**  
Co-organisation of the workshop *Dealing with the Violent Past: Transnational Dimensions and Diasporic Experiences*  
Presentation *Making Sanctuary: Constructing Bonds to the Homeland and Diasporic Mobilization among Armenians*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies and EASA Anthropology of Social Movements Network (Berlin, 9+10 / 2021)**  
Workshop *Migrant and Minority Activism: Between Protest Movements and Everyday Engagement*  
Chair of the panel *Enacting Citizenship*
- ▶ **Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies and Ilia State University (hybrid, 9 / 2021)**  
Conference *Georgia Glocal*  
Discussant at the panel *Tbilisi as Urban Assemblage*
- ▶ **Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (online, 10 / 2021)**  
Congress *Layers of Diasporic Belonging. Re-evaluating Armenianness in Historical, Contemporary and Comparative Perspectives*  
Presentation *Get Rooted in the Ancestral Homeland. Second Generation Transnationalism among Armenian-Americans*
- ▶ **Jewish Museum Berlin, European University Viadrina and Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 10 / 2021)**  
Co-organisation of the international conference *Jews along the Silk Road: Migration Routes, Entangled Spaces, and In-between Positions* with Darja Klingenberg and Alina Gromova

- ▶ **Aleksanteri Institute (online, 10 / 2021)**  
*Aleksanteri Conference 'Eurasia and Global Migration'*  
 Organisation of the roundtable *Social Remittances in Eastern Europe*  
 Organisation of the panel *Second Generation Transnationalism* and presentation *Second Generation Transnationalism and Diasporic Activism*
  - ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg and Higher School of Economics (online, 11 / 2021)**  
 Workshop *Post-socialist Understanding and Practices of Peace, Non-Violence and Conflict-resolution*  
 Presentation at the panel *Everyday Practices / Conflict Resolution*
  - ▶ **German Anthropological Association (online, 11 / 2021)**  
*AG Stadtanthropologie*  
 Presentation *Exploring Religious Diversity and Muslim Activism in Georgia*
- 

#### Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 5 / 2021)**  
 Discussant at the ZOiS Forum #30PostSovietYears | *The Challenge of Religious Freedom*
  - ▶ **Jewish Museum Berlin, European University Viadrina and Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 10 / 2021)**  
 Chair of the ZOiS Forum #30PostSovietYears | *30 Years of Post-Soviet Migration. A Life between Worlds*
  - ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 11 / 2021)**  
 Discussant at *Coping Strategies: Religious Minorities in Georgia and Azerbaijan* as part of the format *In conversation with...*
  - ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies, Friedrich Schiller University Jena and Federal Ministry of Education and Research (online, 11 / 2021)**  
 Co-organisation of the panel discussion *Recovery, Risk and Resilience: Re-thinking the Future of EU-South Caucasus Relations*
  - ▶ Presentation of the ZOiS research clusters at the Federal Foreign Office (Berlin, 3 / 2021)
  - ▶ Briefing with representatives of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Tbilisi (online, 3 / 2021) and the South Caucasus Department of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (online, 12 / 2021)
- 

#### Other

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 3 / 2021)**  
 Co-organisation of the panel *Nachbarschaft zwischen Distanz und Nähe* as part of the ZOiS Caucasus Network (with Nadja Douglas)

#### IN THE MEDIA

- ▶ *Bakschisch aus Baku*  
 Article for *Hauptstadtbrief* (14/03/2021)
- ▶ *Aktuelle Lage in Aserbaidshan*  
 Interview for *Bayerischer Rundfunk* (16/03/2021)

#### SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ Co-supervision of a doctoral thesis at the Friedrich Schiller University Jena and a master's thesis at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

#### MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ Member of the *Working Group on Lived Religion in Eastern Europe and Eurasia* at the University of St. Gallen (since 4 / 2021)

- ▶ Member of the Advisory Board of the project *Resilience in the South Caucasus: prospects and challenges of a new EU foreign policy concept (Jena-Cauc)* at Friedrich Schiller University Jena, funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research
- ▶ Coordinator of the ZOiS Caucasus Network, together with Nadja Douglas (since 11 / 2019)

## DR NADJA DOUGLAS

Nadja Douglas was on maternal/parental leave from June to December 2021.

### PUBLICATIONS

#### Academic

- ▶ *'The Withdrawal of Russian Troops from the Republic of Moldova in the Context of International Confidence- and Security-Building Efforts'*, with Simon Muschick. In: *Withdrawal of Soviet Troops from East-Central Europe. National Perspectives in Comparison*, ed. by Christoph Meissner and Jörg Morré, pp. 297–312, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021.

#### ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ *'Belarus at a Crossroads: Attitudes on Social and Political Change'*. ZOiS Report 3 / 2021 with Regina Elsner, Félix Krawatzek, Julia Langbein and Gwendolyn Sasse (March 2021)
- ▶ *'The Uncertain Future of Cooperative Security in Europe'*. ZOiS Spotlight 11 / 2021 (24/03/2021)
- ▶ *'Verfassungskrise in Moldau'*. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (06/05/2021)
- ▶ *'Festnahme von Roman Protasewitsch in Minsk'*. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (25/05/2021)
- ▶ *'Russia's Arctic Balancing Act'*. ZOiS Spotlight 20 / 2021 (26/05/2021)
- ▶ *'#30PostSovietYears | Das Ende der Sowjetunion und der russische Truppenabzug'*. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 22 / 2021 with Matthias Uhl and Christoph Meißner (09/06/2021)
- ▶ *'Warschauer Pakt'*. The End of the Soviet Union: A Video Glossary by ZOiS and the Federal Agency for Civic Education (06/10/2021)

#### Other publications

- ▶ *'Die Beziehungen zwischen Belarus und Russland seit 1991'*. Online article for dekoder (01/03/2021)

### EVENTS

#### Academic

- ▶ **British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies und Leibniz ScienceCampus "Eastern Europe – Global Area" (online, 4 / 2021)**  
*Regional/ Annual Conference* in cooperation with ZOiS  
Presentation *Belarus: Mobilisation of Society and Regime in the Context of Externally-induced Crisis*
- ▶ **Association for the Study of Nationalities (online, 5 / 2021)**  
*ASN World Convention 2021*  
Presentation *Belarus: From the Broad Social Contract to a Narrow Security Contract*

#### Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 1 / 2021)**  
*ZOiS Conference 2021*  
Presentation *Mobilisation of State and Society in the Context of Crises* in the panel *Mobilisation and Regime Responses*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 3 / 2021)**  
Chair of the roundtable *Between Distance and Proximity and the Concept of Neighbourhood in the Caucasus* as part of the ZOiS Caucasus Network

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 4 / 2021)**  
*Belarus at the Crossroads. In conversation with Nadja Douglas, Regina Elsner, Julia Langbein, Félix Krawatzek and Gwendolyn Sasse*  
Presentation of the ZOiS Report 3 / 2021
- ▶ **Network for Belarus (online, 5 / 2021)**  
Discussant at an expert roundtable on *Society and Revolution: Social Structure and Prospects of the Protest Movement in Belarus*
- ▶ **Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (online, 5 / 2021)**  
Discussant at the webinar *Belarus: At the Height of Mobilisation and Repression*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies and FES Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe (online, 5 / 2021)**  
Chair of the ZOiS Forum *Visions of a New European Peace Order?*

## IN THE MEDIA

- ▶ *Neue Realitäten im Südkaukasus: Interview mit Dr. Nadja Douglas*  
Interview for Caucasus Watch (10/02/2021)

## SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ Mentor in the Young German Association for East European Studies mentoring programme 2020 / 21
- ▶ *Lecture Vergessene Konflikte – von Berg-Karabach bis Transnistrien – Ursachen und Auswirkungen* at the advanced seminar for scholarship students *Sicherheit und Demokratie in Osteuropa – 30 Jahre nach dem Zerfall der UdSSR* of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (14/04/2021)

## DR REGINA ELSNER

### PUBLICATIONS

#### Academic

- ▶ *'The Russian Orthodox Church and Modernity. A Historical and Theological Investigation into Eastern Christianity between Unity and Plurality'*. Hannover: ibidem, 2021.
- ▶ *Людська гідність: Виклик і шлях* [Human Dignity – Challenge and Path], ed. by Konstantin Sigov and Regina Elsner. Kyiv: Duch i litera, 2021.
- ▶ *Достоїнство человека: Вызов и путь* [Human Dignity – Challenge and Path], ed. by Konstantin Sigov and Regina Elsner. Kyiv: Duch i litera, 2021.
- ▶ *'Die Orthodoxen Kirchen in Osteuropa und Covid-19'*. In: *Liturgie und Covid-19. Erfahrungen und Problematisierungen*, ed. by Predrag Bukovec and Ewald Volgger. Regensburg, Linz: SKUL Band 11, 2021, pp. 192–210.
- ▶ *Людська гідність як виклик для Католицької Церкви в Німеччині* [Human Dignity as a Challenge for the Catholic Church in Germany]. In: *Людська гідність: Виклик і шлях*, ed. by Konstantin Sigov and Regina Elsner. Kyiv: Duch i litera, 2021, pp. 51–62.
- ▶ *'Человеческое достоинство как вызов Католической Церкви в Германии'* [Human Dignity as a Challenge for the Catholic Church in Germany]. In: *Достоїнство человека: Вызов и путь*, ed. by Konstantin Sigov and Regina Elsner. Kyiv: Duch i litera, 2021, pp. 49–63.
- ▶ *'Book Review: Democratization in Christian Orthodox Europe: Comparing Greece, Serbia and Russia'*. In: *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe*, vol. 41, no. 5: article 7, 2021.
- ▶ *'Book Review: Anti-Genderismus in Europa. Allianzen von Rechtspopulismus und religiösem Fundamentalismus. Mobilisierung – Vernetzung – Transformation'*, ed. by Sonja A. Strube, Rita Perintfalvi, Raphaela Hemet, Miriam Metz, Cicek Sahbaz. In: *Theologische Revue* 11 / 2021.

#### ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ *'Churches and Protest in Belarus: Activism or Liberation Theology?'*  
ZOiS Spotlight 2 / 2021 (20/01/2021)

- ▶ ‘Orthodoxy, Gender, and the Istanbul Convention: Mapping the Discourse in Ukraine’. ZOiS Report 2 / 2021 (March 2021)
  - ▶ ‘Belarus at a Crossroads: Attitudes on Social and Political Change’. ZOiS Report 3 / 2021 with Nadja Douglas, Félix Krawatzek, Julia Langbein and Gwendolyn Sasse (March 2021)
  - ▶ ‘Tbilisi Pride und die Orthodoxe Kirche in Georgien’. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (06/07/2021)
  - ▶ ‘Rückkehr der Religion’. The End of the Soviet Union: A Video Glossary by ZOiS and the Federal Agency for Civic Education (09/11/2021)
- 

#### Other publications

- ▶ ‘Kirchen und Protest in Belarus – Aktuelle Umfrageergebnisse’. Nachrichtendienst östliche Kirchen (24/02/2021)
- ▶ ‘Gläubige stehen gegen den Staat auf’. In: Publik-Forum Nr. 4 / 2021.
- ▶ ‘Bedroht: Religionsfreiheit in Russland. Wenn Staat und Kirche gemeinsame Sache machen’. In: Forum Weltkirche 6 / 2021, pp. 28–31.
- ▶ ‘Verzichtbar? Der Einsatz für Religions- und Gewissensfreiheit durch das Menschenrechtszentrum Memorial’. In: Russland-Analysen Nr. 411, pp. 31–33 (16/12/2021)

## EVENTS

#### Academic

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 1 / 2021)**  
ZOiS Research Colloquium  
Presentation *Questioning the Concept of ‘Religious Activism’ in Russian Orthodoxy from a Theological Position*
  - ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 1 / 2021)**  
ZOiS Conference 2021  
Chair of the roundtable *Online / Digital Spaces of Activism*
  - ▶ **German Association for East European Studies and Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 4 / 2021)**  
Co-organisation of the conference *Anti-Genderism in Central and Eastern Europe – A Question of Religion?* with Thomas Bremer
  - ▶ **Association for the Study of Nationalities (online, 5 / 2021)**  
ASN World Convention 2021  
Presentation *The Role of the Churches and Religious Values During the Protests in Belarus*
  - ▶ **International Council for Central and East European Studies (online, 8 / 2021)**  
10th World Congress  
Chair of the panel *Soteriology of Trauma: The Experience of Local Faith-Based Communities in Contemporary Russia*
  - ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 11 / 2021)**  
Co-organisation of the workshop *Post-socialist Understandings and Practices of Peace, Non-violence and Conflict-resolution* in cooperation with Regina Heller (ISFH Hamburg) and Christian Fröhlich (HSE Moscow)  
Presentation *Orthodox Understandings of Peace in a Militarized Discourse*
- 

#### Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Petersburger Dialog (online, 2 / 2021)**  
Discussant at the congress *Die Corona-Pandemie und ihr Einfluss auf die Kirchen in Deutschland und Russland: Herausforderungen und Konsequenzen* organised by the working group *Kirchen in Europa*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 4 / 2021)**  
*Belarus at a Crossroads. In conversation with Nadja Douglas, Regina Elsner, Julia Langbein, Félix Krawatzek and Gwendolyn Sasse*  
Presentation of the ZOiS Report 3 / 2021
- ▶ **Deutsche Bischofskonferenz (online, 4 / 2021)**  
Congress of the ecumenical officers  
Presentation ‘*For the Life of the World*’ – *Orthodoxe und Ökumenische Herausforderungen*

- ▶ **Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (online, 5 / 2021)**  
Participant at the research consultation *Welche Rolle spielen Religionsgemeinschaften in der Covid-19-Pandemie?*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 5 / 2021)**  
Discussant at the ZOIS Forum *The Challenge of Religious Freedom | #30PostSovietYears*
- ▶ **Fordham University (online, 6 / 2021)**  
Discussant at the panel *Political Protest, Theological Dissent, and the Orthodox Church. Religion and Freedom in the Post-Communist Orthodox World* at the Orthodox Christian Studies Center
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2021)**  
*Long Night of the Sciences 2021*  
Presentation *Religionsverfolgung in der Ukraine? Der Weg einer Falschnachricht*
- ▶ **University of St. Gallen and Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2021)**  
Workshop *The Politics of Religion and Reconciliation*  
Chat Monitor in the panel *Religion and Conflict versus Religious Conflict*
- ▶ **Forschungsstätte der Evangelischen Studiengemeinschaft (online, 6 / 2021)**  
Workshop *Konsultationsprozess Religion, Diplomatie, Frieden*  
Presentation *Relevanz ethischer und politischer Fragen in der christlich-orthodoxen Religion*
- ▶ **Open Orthodox University Kyiv (online, 9 / 2021)**  
Discussant at the book presentation *Menschenwürde – Herausforderung und Weg*
- ▶ **Evangelische Kirche Berlin-Brandenburg-schlesische Oberlausitz (online, 9 / 2021)**  
Discussant at the 6. *Potsdamer Friedensdiskurs zum Thema Russland: Blockaden überwinden – Perspektiven kooperativer Sicherheit mit Russland*
- ▶ **Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Ukraine (online, 10 / 2021)**  
Discussant at the German-Ukrainian religious dialogue *Kirchen und Pandemie*
- ▶ **Stiftung Pro Oriente Wien (online, 11 / 2021)**  
Chair and presentation *Im Dienst an der Gemeinschaft. Zum Verhältnis von Primat und Synodalität*
- ▶ **Bildungswerk Die Hegge (online, 11 / 2021)**  
Congress *Lebenswelten der Orthodoxie. Religion und Politik in gesellschaftlichen Krisenzeiten*  
Presentation *Kirche des Imperiums? Orthodoxes Christentum und Politik im 21. Jahrhundert*
- ▶ **OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) (online, 12 / 2021)**  
Discussant at the online consultation *Freedom of Religion or Belief and Gender Equality*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 12 / 2021)**  
Chair of the event *In Conversation with Tsyppylma Darieva. Coping Strategies: Religious Minorities in Georgia and Azerbaijan*

## SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ **University of Zurich (online, 3 / 2021)**  
Lecture *Historisches Paradigma oder politischer Pragmatismus? Orthodoxie und Politik in Russland*
- ▶ **Cusanuswerk (online, 8 / 2021)**  
Summer academy *Die Erben von Byzanz: Theologie und Tradition der orthodoxen Kirchen*  
Presentation *Die orthodoxen Kirchen und das Erbe von Byzanz: historische Zäsuren – aktuelle Herausforderungen*

## MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ Advisor at the feasibility study *Ziviler Friedensdienst Ukraine* (9 / 2021)
- ▶ Advisor at the Ecumenical Commission of the Deutsche Bischofskonferenz (4+12 / 2021)
- ▶ Advisor at the Steering Committee for the Catholic-Orthodox Dialogue, Stiftung Pro Oriente Wien (11+12 / 2021)

## PUBLICATIONS

**Academic**

- ▶ *'The Chechens and Kurds of Kazakhstan between Historical and Second Homelands'*. In: *Central Asian Affairs*, vol. 8, no. 4: pp. 346–371, 2021.
  - ▶ *'Introduction: Ethnic, Civic, or Both? The Ethnicities of Kazakhstan in Search of an Identity and Homeland'*, with Bruno De Cordier. In: *Central Asian Affairs*, vol. 8, no. 4: pp. 315–318.
- 

**ZOiS knowledge transfer**

- ▶ *'Big Election Sunday in Central Asia Does Not Bode Well for Democracy'*. ZOiS Spotlight 1 / 2021 (13/01/2021)
  - ▶ *'Verfassungsänderung in Kirgistan'*. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (13/04/2021)
  - ▶ *'Rücktritt von Nursultan Nasarbajew als Vorsitzender der „Versammlung des Volkes Kasachstans“'*. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (29/04/2021)
  - ▶ *'Spiralling Violence on the Borders in the Fergana Valley?'* ZOiS Spotlight 26 / 2021 (07/07/2021)
  - ▶ *'Russische Militärmanöver an den zentralasiatischen Grenzen zu Afghanistan'*. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (27/07/2021)
  - ▶ *'Nationalitäten'*. The End of the Soviet Union: A Video Glossary by ZOiS and the Federal Agency for Civic Education (20/09/2021)
  - ▶ *'Umwelt'*. The End of the Soviet Union: A Video Glossary by ZOiS and the Federal Agency for Civic Education (30/11/2021)
- 

**Other publications**

- ▶ *'Rodnoi chelovek v Kazakhstane'*. In: Bulat Sultanov. *Diplomat. Uchenyi. Direktor.* (Sb. Statei, ocherkov, interv'iu), ed. Z.K. Shaukenova, Nur-Sultan 2021 (KISI), pp. 75–77.

## EVENTS

**Academic**

- ▶ **Association for the Study of Nationalities (online, 5 / 2021)**  
*ASN World Convention 2021*  
Presentation *We are All Kazakhstancy? New Results on the Success of a Controversial Concept*
  - ▶ **Eurasian National University (online, 6 / 2021)**  
Webinar *Central Asia and the European Union: New Horizons of Interaction*  
Presentation *The State of Central Asian Studies in Germany: Shrinking Research with a Growing Region*
- 

**Knowledge transfer**

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 3 / 2021)**  
Discussant at *Zentralasien 2021 – Stand und Perspektiven* as part of the format *In conversation with...*
- ▶ **Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (online, 9 / 2021)**  
Conference *Eurasien im Fokus: Russland und Zentralasien in Geschichte und Gegenwart*  
Presentation *Afghanistan – Zentralasien und die Welt*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 9 / 2021)**  
Discussant at *Zentralasien und Afghanistan – Neue Herausforderungen in einer schwierigen Nachbarschaft?* as part of the format *In conversation with...*
- ▶ **Forum Ost-West (online, 11 / 2021)**  
Discussant at *ExpertInnengespräch mit Dr. Beate Eschment zu den Auswirkungen des Machtwechsels in Afghanistan auf Zentralasien*
- ▶ **Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the Federal Republic of Germany (online, 11 / 2021)**  
Roundtable *Interreligiöser Dialog in Kasachstan*  
Presentation *Rolle der Religion im Zusammenleben der Ethnien Kasachstans*

## IN THE MEDIA

- ▶ *Parlamentswahlen in Kasachstan*  
Assessments for Neues Deutschland (08/01/2021)
- ▶ „Die Repression ist noch gewachsen“  
Interview for Neues Deutschland (11/01/2021)
- ▶ *Wahlen in Kasachstan und Kirgistan*  
Interview at Radio LORA Magazin (13/01/2021)
- ▶ *Wie ein Land in die Resignation verfällt*  
Comments for ntv (17/01/2021)
- ▶ *Поправки в конституцию: следует ли Жапаров примеру Путина?*  
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (22/01/2021)
- ▶ *Даст ли Москва деньги Бишкеку? Что пообещал Жапаров*  
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (05/02/2021)
- ▶ *Экс-президентов Кыргызстана хотят лишить их статуса. Кому это выгодно?*  
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (12/02/2021)
- ▶ *В обмен на землю. Что Бишкек предложил Ташкенту и Душанбе?*  
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (23/04/2021)
- ▶ *Страсти по "Кумтору", или Как поссорился Бишкек с канадскими золотодобытчиками*  
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (01/06/2021)
- ▶ *Vom Flugzeug in die Jurte*  
Disussant at the Weltzeit podcast of Deutschlandfunk Kultur (01/06/2021)
- ▶ *Возобновление военного конфликта Бишкека и Душанбе – опасность велика?*  
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (02/06/2021)
- ▶ *Schwierige Nachbarschaft*  
Interview for Deutschlandfunk Kultur (23/08/2021)
- ▶ *Zentralasien ist nicht Abstellraum für die Probleme Westeuropas*  
Interview for Ö1 Europa-Journal (24/08/2021)
- ▶ *Выборы президента Узбекистана. Мирзиёева переоценили?*  
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (23/10/2021)

## SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ Supervision of five and assessment of two Master's theses at the Central Asia Seminar at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

## MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ Background discussions with diplomats, journalists and representatives of political foundations
- ▶ Expert in the country analysis (three days each in January, February and March) of the German Society for International Cooperation (GIZ) to prepare experts for their assignments in Kyrgyzstan

## KOSTIANTYN FEDORENKO

### PUBLICATIONS

#### Academic

- ▶ 'A Triadic Nexus Conflict? Ukraine's Nationalizing Policies, Russia's Homeland Nationalism, and the Dynamics of Escalation in 2014–2019'. In: *The Accommodation of Regional and Ethno-cultural Diversity in Ukraine*, ed. by Aadne Aasland and Sabine Kropp, pp. 53–82, Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.

### ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ *Ukraine's Short-Lived Middle-Class Political Parties*. ZOiS Spotlight 45 / 2021 (15/12/2021)
- 

### Other publications

- ▶ *'Uhorshchyna i Evrosoiuz posperechalysia na LHBT-tematyku' [Hungary and the EU have quarrelled on the issue of LGBT]*. Article for *Dzerkalo Tyzhnya* (01/07/2021)

## EVENTS

### Academic

- ▶ **Bonn International Centre for Conflict Studies (Kyiv, Ukraine, 9 / 2021)**  
Workshop of the project *The Consolidation of De Facto Regimes: A Comparison of Post-Soviet Cases*  
Presentation *Media Policy of the De Facto States*

## DR NINA FRIESS

Nina Friess was on parental leave from January to May and from August to December 2021.

## PUBLICATIONS

### Academic

- ▶ *"Like a crooked mirror". A Conversation with Irina Gumyrkina and Sergey Kim on Post-Soviet Kazakhstan*. In: *eSamizdat XIV* (2021): Oltre il "post-". L'esperienza (post-)sovietica sotto la lente (post-)coloniale, pp. 211–217, 2021.
  - ▶ *'Tippner, Anja; Artwińska, Anna (Hrsg.): Narratives of Annihilation, Confinement, and Survival: Camp Literature in a Transnational Perspective. Berlin, Boston 2019. Besprochen von Nina Frieß'*. In: *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie*, vol. 77, no. 1: pp. 229–233, 2021.
- 

### ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ *'Die Sprachenfrage'*. The End of the Soviet Union: A Video Glossary by ZOiS and the Federal Agency for Civic Education (15/11/2021)
- 

### Other publications

- ▶ *'Der Solowezki-Stein. Vom Weißen Meer zur Schaltstelle des KGB: Wie die Zivilgesellschaft gegen das Vergessen der Opfer des Großen Terrors kämpft'*. Article for *dekoder* (05/10/2021)

## EVENTS

### Academic

- ▶ **University of Regensburg (online, 2 / 2021)**  
Colloquium *Slavische Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaft*  
Presentation *Russkij Mir, globale russische Kulturen und Jurten. Russophone Literatur in Kasachstan*
- ▶ **Freie Universität Berlin, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and University of Tübingen (online, 3 / 2021)**  
*15th International Child and the Book Conference*  
Lecture *Let's Talk About Memory: The Russian Picture Book "The Apartment"*  
Chair of the panel *(Re-)Constructing the Socialist Past in Contemporary Slavic Crossover Literature*
- ▶ **Russophone Voices (online, 4 / 2021)**  
Chair of the expert discussion *'Making it Happen' – Platforms for Publishing Russophone Literature*

- ▶ **International Arctic Social Sciences Association (online, 6 / 2021)**  
*International Congress of Arctic Social Sciences*  
 Presentation *Writing and Rewriting Chukchi Culture in Yuri Rytkheu's Prose* in the panel *Post-Soviet Survivance? Revisiting the Past and Re-imagining the Future in Indigenous Literatures of the Russian Far North*
- ▶ **Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (online, 12 / 2021)**  
*ASEES 53rd Annual Convention*  
 Discussant at the panel *Making War, Unmaking Peace: Repercussions of the Ukraine Crisis on Popular Culture, Public Discourse, and Media*

---

#### Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2020)**  
*Long Night of the Sciences 2021*  
 Presentation *Wem gehört die russische Sprache?*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2020)**  
 Chair of the ZOiS Forum *Forgotten Diversity? | #30PostSovietYears*
- ▶ **German Association for East European Studies (hybrid, 11 / 2021)**  
 XXV. Theodor-Litt Symposium "Politische Bildung als Teil der historischen Aufarbeitung. Ein ostmitteleuropäischer Vergleich"  
 Discussant at the panel *Nationale Narrative auf dem Vormarsch? Ostmitteleuropa in der Auseinandersetzung mit der eigenen Vergangenheit*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2021)**  
 Chair of the ZOiS Forum *1991 Today: Memories of the Transition Period and its Aftermath | #30PostSovietYears*

### SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ Second supervision of a Master's thesis in cultural semiotics at the University of Potsdam

## DR PIOTR GOLDSTEIN

### PUBLICATIONS

#### Academic

- ▶ 'Visualising invisible (migrant) activism'. In: *Entanglements*, vol. 4, no. 1: pp. 24–27, 2021.

#### Other publications

- ▶ 'Spółdzielnia/Cooperative'. 26-minute ethnographic documentary film, 2021.

### EVENTS

#### Academic

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 1 / 2021)**  
*ZOiS Conference 2021*  
 Presentation *Broadening the Picture: Everyday and Invisible Activism in Serbia at the table Urban Spaces*
- ▶ **Association for the Study of Nationalities (online, 5 / 2021)**  
*ASN World Convention 2021*  
 Presentation *Protest in Poland 2018-2021: From Mass Mobilization to Everyday Activism* in the panel *Poland. A Decade of PiS, Protest and Opposition*  
 Film screening and discussion of *Active (citizen)*
- ▶ **British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (online, 5 / 2021)**  
*BASEES Polish Studies Group 2021 Workshop*  
 Participation at the roundtable *Best Ways of Achieving Academic Impact – What are your strategies of disseminating research on Poland?*

- ▶ **Council for European Studies (online, 6 / 2021)**  
27th International Conference of Europeanists  
Presentation *Legacy of an (Everyday) Revolution*
- ▶ **International Society for Ethnology and Folklore (Helsinki, Finland, 6 / 2021)**  
15th SIEF Congress  
Participation at the roundtable *Countering Ascriptions*
- ▶ **UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies (online, 6 / 2021)**  
Conference *Polish Migration in the Age of 'Staying at Home'*  
Preview und discussion of the documentary film *Spółdzielnia (Kooperative)*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 9 / 2021)**  
Co-organisation of the workshop *Migrant and Minority Activism: Between Protest Movements and Everyday Engagement* in cooperation with the EASA Anthropology of Social Movements Network  
Opening note *Migrant and Minority Activism Research at ZOIS: From Mass Protest to Everyday Activism*  
Presentation *Visualising the Invisible: Using Video Ethnography to Explore Everyday Activism of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities* in the panel *Forms of Engagement*
- ▶ **Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (New Orleans, USA, 11 / 2021)**  
*ASEEES Annual Convention 2021*  
Presentation *Polish Migrants' Social Engagement: Between Everyday Activism and Protest Movements* in the panel *Migration, Borders, and Transnational Imaginaries*  
Film screening and discussion of *Active (citizen)*

---

#### Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Green Montenegro International Film Fest (Žabljak, Montenegro, 7 / 2021)**  
Film screening of *Active (citizen)*
- ▶ **8th International Documentary Festival of Ierapetra (Ierapetra, Greece, 8 / 2021)**  
Film screening of *Active (citizen)*
- ▶ **Capital Filmmakers Festival (Berlin, 9 / 2021)**  
Film screening of *Active (citizen)*
- ▶ **Jahorina Film Fest (Jahorina, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 9 / 2021)**  
Film screening of *Active (citizen)*
- ▶ **Refugees Welcome Film Festival (Berlin, 10 / 2021)**  
Film screening of *Active (citizen)*
- ▶ **Festival Internacional de Cine Social (online, 10 / 2021)**  
Film screening of *Active (citizen)*
- ▶ **14th International Kuala Lumpur Eco Film Fest (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 10 / 2021)**  
Film screening of *Active (citizen)*
- ▶ **Vizantrop Festival of Engaged Ethnographic Film (Belgrade, Serbia, 10 / 2021)**  
Film screening of *Active (citizen)*
- ▶ **Essex DocFest (online, 11 / 2021)**  
Film screening of *Active (citizen)*
- ▶ **Festival de Cine Etnográfico de Ecuador (Quito, Ecuador, 12 / 2021)**  
Film screening of *Active (citizen)*

#### SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ **University of Amsterdam (online, 3 / 2021)**  
Speaker in the panel *'Fieldwork from Home': Online Focus Groups as part of a workshop for PhD students*
- ▶ **European University Viadrina (online, 8 / 2021)**  
*Viadrinicum Summer School*  
Chair of the workshop *What is Digital Activism?*

## MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ Special Award of the Green Montenegro International Film Fest for the documentary *Active (citizen)* with Jan Lorenz (8 / 2021)
- ▶ Best Short Documentary Award of the Capital Filmmakers Festival for the documentary *Active (citizen)* with Jan Lorenz (9 / 2021)
- ▶ Best Environmental Film Award of the Jahorina Film Fest for the documentary *Active (citizen)* with Jan Lorenz (9 / 2021)
- ▶ Elected co-convenor of the EASA Anthropology and Social Movements Network

## DR TATIANA GOLOVA

### PUBLICATIONS

#### ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ *'The Tightening Grip of Russia's Foreign Agent Laws'*. ZOiS Spotlight 7 / 2021 (24/02/2021)
- ▶ *'Nawalnys Hungerstreik und angekündigte Proteste in Russland'*. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (20/04/2021)
- ▶ *'Drei deutsche Organisationen in Russland als „unerwünscht“ eingestuft'*. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (28/05/2021)
- ▶ *'Mobilising for Regional Protests on Russian Social Media: The Case of Khabarovsk'*. ZOiS Report 4 / 2021 (June 2021)
- ▶ *'Ein Jahr nach den Protesten von Chabarowsk'*. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (08/07/2021)
- ▶ *'Parlamentswahlen in Russland'*. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (17/09/2021)
- ▶ *'Homo Sovieticus'*. The End of the Soviet Union: A Video Glossary by ZOiS and the Federal Agency for Civic Education (21/10/2021)

#### Other publications

- ▶ *'Wahlen in der „Protestregion“ Chabarowsk in Online- und sozialen Medien'*. In: Russland-Analysen Nr. 407, pp. 9–12 (01/10/2021)

## EVENTS

#### Academic

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 11 / 2021)**  
ZOiS Research Colloquium  
Presentation *Framing regionaler Proteste in den russischen sozialen Medien*

#### Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 1 / 2021)**  
ZOiS Conference 2021  
Chair of the panel *Mobilisation and Regime Responses*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2021)**  
Presentation *Die Regionalproteste von Chabarowsk: Mobilisierung in den sozialen Medien* as part of the format *In conversation with...*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 9 / 2021)**  
Organiser and discussant of *Russland: Lokaler Aktivismus im Schatten der Wahlen* as part of the format *In conversation with...*

## IN THE MEDIA

- ▶ *'Het Kremlin is een bedrijf dat alleen voor zijn aandeelhouders werkt'*  
Assessments for De Standaard (11/06/2021)
- ▶ *"Our governor": lessons from the protests in Russia's Far East, one year on*  
Interview with openDemocracy (21/07/2021)
- ▶ *"Форточка закрылась": Эксперты из ФРГ и РФ о блокировке сайтов Навального*  
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (28/07/2021)
- ▶ *Gottes Werk und Moskaus Beitrag? Was der AfD-Abgeordnete Waldemar Herdt treibt*  
Assessments for Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung (19/09/2021)

## SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ **European University Viadrina (online, 8 / 2021)**  
*Viadrinicum Summer School*  
Workshop *Studying Framing Using Natural Language Processing: Regional Protests and COVID19 Vaccination*

## DR FÉLIX KRAWATZEK

### PUBLICATIONS

#### Academic

- ▶ *'The Battlefields of History in Russia'*. Special Issue co-edited with George Soroka, *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 68, no. 5, 2021.
- ▶ *'When the Past Is Not Another Country: The Battlefields of History in Russia'*, with George Soroka. In: *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 68, no. 5: pp. 353–367, 2021.
- ▶ *'Which History Matters? Surveying Russian Youth and Their Understanding of the Past'*. In: *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 68, no. 5: pp. 402–414, 2021.
- ▶ *'Here to Stay: The Politics of History in Eastern Europe'*, Special Issue co-edited with George Soroka, *East European Politics and Society*, March 2021 (online first).
- ▶ *'Circulation, Conditions, Claims: Examining the Politics of Historical Memory in Eastern Europe'*, with George Soroka. In: *East European Politics and Society*, March 2021 (online first).
- ▶ *'Remembering a Contentious Past: Resistance and Collaboration in the Former Soviet Union'*. In: *East European Politics and Society*, March 2021 (online first).
- ▶ *'Book Review: Transitional Justice and the Former Soviet Union. Reviewing the Past, Looking toward the Future'*. In: *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 73, no. 2: pp. 410–411, 2021.
- ▶ *'Book Review: Beyond Memory: Can We Really Learn From the Past?'* In: *Memory Studies*, vol. 14, no. 6: pp. 1511–1514, 2021.

#### ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ *'How United Is Belarus Against the Regime?'* ZOiS Spotlight 6 / 2021 (17/02/2021)
- ▶ *'#30PostSovietYears | Erinnerung an die Sowjetunion und ihren Zerfall'*. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 20 / 2021 with Irina Scherbakova and Gwendolyn Sasse (23/03/2021)
- ▶ *'Belarus at a Crossroads: Attitudes on Social and Political Change'*. ZOiS Report 3 / 2021 with Nadja Douglas, Regina Elsner, Julia Langbein and Gwendolyn Sasse (March 2021)
- ▶ *'Victory Day at 75+1'*. ZOiS Spotlight 17 / 2021 (05/05/2021)
- ▶ *'Verschärftes Erinnerungsgesetz in Russland'*. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (10/06/2021)
- ▶ *'Glasnost & Perestroika'*. The End of the Soviet Union: A Video Glossary by ZOiS and the Federal Agency for Civic Education (06/09/2021)
- ▶ *'Augustputsch'*. The End of the Soviet Union: A Video Glossary by ZOiS and the Federal Agency for Civic Education (13/09/2021)
- ▶ *'Societal Fragmentation in Belarus'*. ZOiS Spotlight 37 / 2021 (20/10/2021)
- ▶ *'The Situation at the Belarus-EU Border: Part 1'*. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 23 / 2021 with Karolina Łukasiewicz and Gwendolyn Sasse (08/11/2021)

### Other publications

- ▶ ‘Understanding the mental maps of Europe through the language of memory’, with Rieke Trimčev, Gregor Feindt and Friedemann Pestel. *Ideology Theory Practice Blog* (10/05/2021)
- ▶ ‘Wurde der Protestwille der Belarussen gebrochen?’ Article for *dekoder* (01/11/2021)

## EVENTS

### Academic

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 1 / 2021)**  
*ZOiS Conference 2021*  
Chair of the panel *Activism over Time*
- ▶ **Viadrina Institute for European Studies (online, 1 / 2021)**  
Lecture *Seltsame Gesellen? Erinnerungsforschung trifft Sozialwissenschaften* as part of the project *Public History und die Krise der Liberalen Demokratien*
- ▶ **British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies and Leibniz ScienceCampus “Eastern Europe – Global Area” (online, 4 / 2021)**  
*Regional/ Annual Conference* in cooperation with ZOiS  
Presentation *What is Beyond your Own Nose? Youth, Views on Other Countries and Political Attitudes*
- ▶ **Midwest Political Science Association (online, 4 / 2021)**  
*78th Annual MPSA Conference: Historical Legacies and Illiberalism*  
Presentation *Historical Views and Political Outlooks: Russia and Ukraine* with George Soroka
- ▶ **Centre for Baltic and East European Studies / Södertörn University (online, 4 / 2021)**  
Roundtable *Dealing with the Totalitarian Past: Laws on Memory and Legislation*  
Presentation *When Do Memory Laws Bite (If Ever)?*
- ▶ **Harvard University (online, 5 / 2021)**  
Presentation and participation in the panel discussion *The Politics of Historical Memory in Eastern Europe* with George Soroka
- ▶ **University of Freiburg and University of Basel (online, 5 / 2021)**  
*Slavic Colloquium and Eucor Research Seminar in Russian and East European History*  
Lecture *Belarus am Scheideweg? Ansichten der Bevölkerung nach der Wahl 2020*
- ▶ **Association for the Study of Nationalities (online, 5 / 2021)**  
*ASN World Convention 2021*  
Co-organisation of the panel *Looking Beyond the Dictatorial Surface. Recent Survey Evidence from Belarus* with Julia Langbein  
Presentation *Towards a New Social Contract in Belarus. Changing Attitudes Towards Democracy and the Market Across Time and Generations* with Julia Langbein  
Presentation *Historical Views and Political Outlooks: Russia and Ukraine* with George Soroka
- ▶ **University of Freiburg (online, 5 / 2021)**  
*FRIAS Reflections*  
Lecture *Dis|Integration: Competing for Europe’s Past and Imagining Its Future* with Friedemann Pestel
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2021)**  
*ZOiS Research Colloquium*  
Presentation *Durch die Autorität des Gesetzes? Ansichten zu Geschichte in Russland*
- ▶ **University of Tartu (online, 6 / 2021)**  
*Fifth Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies*  
Presentation *International Conflicts over History: What Do People Make of It?*  
Chair of the panel *Russia-West Relations: Changing Discourses of the Other Post-Crimea* with Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ **Council for European Studies (online, 6 / 2021)**  
*27th International Conference of Europeanists*  
Presentation *Renationalizing Europe: Memory Laws and the EU’s Crisis of Postnationalism* with George Soroka
- ▶ **Memory Studies Association (online, 7 / 2021)**  
*Fifth Annual Conference*  
Presentation *Can Law Shape Citizens’ Representations of the Past? A Survey Study in Russia and Germany*

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 9 / 2021)**  
 Organisation of the workshop *Does Anyone Listen? Historical Memory and What Citizens Make of It*  
 Presentation *Where Do We Stand on Methods for Researching Historical Representations? An Inventory*  
 Presentation *Popular Attitudes on History: Insights from Surveys in Russia and Ukraine*
- ▶ **German Political Science Association (online, 9 / 2021)**  
 Congress *Wir haben die Wahl! Politik in Zeiten von Unsicherheit und Autokratisierung*  
 Presentation *Attitudes Towards Democracy and the Market in Belarus: What Has Changed and Why it Matters* with Julia Langbein  
 Chair of the panel *Drivers of Authoritarian Regime (In)stability: Insights from Belarus*
- ▶ **University of Zurich (online, 10 / 2021)**  
 Lecture *Brüche in Belarus: Gesellschaftliche Ansichten und politische Erwartungen nach der Präsidentschaftswahl* as part of the lecture series *Belarus bewegt*
- ▶ **German Association for East European Studies and Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 10 / 2021)**  
 Workshop *The New Belarus: Societal Change, Regime Repression, and Western Reactions*  
 Presentation *The Erosion of the Social Contract Before 2020* with Julia Langbein in the panel *Societal Change in Belarus*
- ▶ **Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (New Orleans, USA, 11 / 2021)**  
 ASEES Annual Convention 2021  
 Presentation *The Young Leading the Old? Intergenerational Differences and Political Views in Belarus*  
 Presentation *The Shape of Memory: A Vignette Experiment Conducted in Russia and Ukraine* with George Soroka

#### Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 1 / 2021)**  
 Chair of the ZOiS Forum *Climate in Russia: Change, Discourse, Protest*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 4 / 2021)**  
*Belarus am Scheideweg. Im Gespräch mit Nadja Douglas, Regina Elsner, Julia Langbein, Félix Krawatzek und Gwendolyn Sasse*  
 Presentation of the ZOiS Report 3 / 2021
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 4 / 2021)**  
 Chair of the ZOiS Forum *The End of Communism as a Generational Phenomenon? | #30PostSovietYears*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2021)**  
*Long Night of the Sciences 2021*  
 Presentation *Streit um die Vergangenheit: Geschichtspolitik und Geschichtsbilder in Deutschland und Osteuropa*
- ▶ **German Embassy in Vienna and Friedrich Ebert Foundation Vienna (online, 6 / 2021)**  
*Deutsch-Österreichisches Retreat zu Russland*  
 Presentation *Gesellschaftliche Dynamiken in Russland*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 12 / 2021)**  
 Panellist at the ZOiS Forum *1991 Today: Memories of the Transition Period and its Aftermath | #30PostSovietYears*
- ▶ Briefings and roundtables with representatives of the Federal Foreign Office, the Federal Chancellery, the Federal Armed Forces, the Federal Ministry of Defence, international diplomats, non-governmental organisations as well as political parties and parliamentary groups in the Bundestag

#### IN THE MEDIA

- ▶ *Belarus protests: why people have been taking to the streets – new data*  
 Article for The Conversation with Gwendolyn Sasse (04/02/2021)
- ▶ *The Conversation Weekly*  
 Podcast of The Conversation (04/02/2021)

- ▶ *Euronews Now*  
Interview for Euronews (09/02/2021)
- ▶ *Russisch-deutsche Geschichtskonkurrenzen: Kriegsende oder Tag des Sieges?*  
Article for Hauptstadtbrief (09/05/2021)
- ▶ *Was macht das Flugverbot mit Belarus?*  
Assessments on dekodeer.fm (26/05/2021)
- ▶ *Wer befreite Auschwitz wirklich?*  
Article for the Petersburger Dialog, also published in the Berliner Morgenpost and Kommersant (22/06/2021)
- ▶ *Hintergründe zum Mord am belarusischen Aktivisten*  
Interview for Deutschlandfunk (03/08/2021)
- ▶ *Belarus: Hoher Preis für Lukaschenkos Machterhalt*  
Interview for NRD Info (07/08/2021)
- ▶ *OK BUNGER! The Problem of Generations, pt. 1*  
Podcast Aufhebunga Bunga (21/09/2021)
- ▶ *Darum ist Corona in Osteuropa außer Kontrolle*  
Assessments for t-online (21/10/2021)
- ▶ *Thousands of migrants stuck in the middle of Poland-Belarus border crisis*  
Interview for Radio CBC (10/11/2021)
- ▶ *Body of Syrian man found near Belarus border amid political standoff, Polish police say*  
Interview for CBS News (13/11/2021)
- ▶ *La crise migratoire à la frontière de la Pologne et du Bélarus expliquée*  
Interview for Radio Canada (18/11/2021)
- ▶ *Нямецкі сацыёляг пра апытаньні ў Беларусі: «Зьнікла эмацыйная падтрымка ўлады і адчувальнае прыналежнасьці да дзяржавы»*  
Interview for Radio Svaboda / RFERL (24/11/2021)
- ▶ *Koronavirus in Belarus: как недоверие к властям тормозит вакцинацию*  
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (11/12/2021)

## SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ **Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin (online, 2 / 2021)**  
Lecture *Patriotische Bildung und Erinnerungskultur: Was passiert in Russland?* and discussion with scholarship holders
- ▶ **Harvard University (online, 3 / 2021)**  
Lecture *Mixed Methods Approaches in the Social Sciences*
- ▶ **Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań (online, 10 / 2021)**  
*International Summer School*  
*Focus Groups: From Design to Execution & Analysis*
- ▶ **Körber Foundation, Centre for East European and International Studies, Eustory, Friedrich Ebert Foundation (online, 9 / 2021)**  
Chair of a seminar session as part of the programme #30PostSovietYears | *Phantom Pasts or Everyday Present?*
- ▶ Supervision of an application for a postdoctoral fellowship from the Norwegian Research Council
- ▶ Supervision of a Master's thesis at the University of Basel
- ▶ Preliminary examination report for a doctorate at the University of Helsinki
- ▶ Seminar *Belarus am Scheideweg? Eine sozialwissenschaftliche Einordnung der Präsidentschaftswahl 2020* at the University of Basel (summer semester 2021)

## MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ Member of the Scientific Advisory Board of FES Youth Studies
- ▶ Member of the editorial team of the project dekodeer entschlüsselt Belarus in cooperation with ZOiS

## VALENTIN KRÜSMANN

Valentin Krüsmann has been at ZOiS since May 2021.

### EVENTS

#### Academic

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 5+6 / 2021)**  
Workshop *China and the Contestation of the Liberal Economic Order*  
Presentation *China, the EU and Policy Space for Development in Eastern Europe and Eurasia* with Julia Langbein

## DR JULIA LANGBEIN

### PUBLICATIONS

#### Academic

- ▶ *'Trade liberalisation and opening in post-soviet limited access orders'*, with Ildar Gazizullin and Dmytro Naumenko. In: *East European Politics*, vol. 37, no. 1: pp. 139–158, 2021.

---

#### ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ *'Belarus at a Crossroads: Attitudes on Social and Political Change'*. ZOiS Report 3 / 2021 with Nadja Douglas, Regina Elsner, Félix Krawatzek and Gwendolyn Sasse (March 2021)
- ▶ *'#30PostSovietYears | Wirtschaftspolitik und Regimestabilität: Einsichten aus Belarus und Russland'*. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 21 / 2021 with Michael Rochlitz and Fabian Burkhardt (18/05/2021)
- ▶ *'Georgia's Free Trade With the EU: Who Benefits?'* ZOiS Spotlight 31 / 2021 with Irina Guruli (08/09/2021)
- ▶ *'Raubtierkapitalismus'*. The End of the Soviet Union: A Video Glossary by ZOiS and the Federal Agency for Civic Education (11/10/2021)
- ▶ *'Oligarchen'*. The End of the Soviet Union: A Video Glossary by ZOiS and the Federal Agency for Civic Education (27/10/2021)
- ▶ *'The 6th Eastern Partnership Summit: What Should We Expect?'* ZOiS Spotlight 44 / 2021 (08/12/2021)

### EVENTS

#### Academic

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 1 / 2021)**  
*ZOiS Conference 2021*  
Chair of the roundtable *Transnational Spaces* im Panel *Mobilisation and Regime Responses*
- ▶ **British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies and Leibniz ScienceCampus "Eastern Europe – Global Area" (online, 4 / 2021)**  
*Regional/Annual Conference* in cooperation with ZOiS  
Presentation *Trade Liberalisation and Opening in Post-Soviet Limited Access Orders*
- ▶ **Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies (online, 4 / 2021)**  
Workshop *The Political Economy of Growth in Peripheral Economies*  
Presentation *EU Trade Liberalization and the Evolution of Developmental Alliances in Post-Soviet Peripheral Economies: (Unintended) Consequences of Deep Free Trade with the EU*
- ▶ **Association for the Study of Nationalities (online, 5 / 2021)**  
*ASN World Convention 2021*  
Co-organisation of the panel *Looking Beyond the Dictatorial Surface. Recent Survey Evidence from Belarus* with Félix Krawatzek  
Presentation *Towards a New Social Contract in Belarus. Changing Attitudes Towards Democracy and the Market Across Time and Generations* with Félix Krawatzek

- ▶ **King's College London (online, 5 / 2021)**  
Webinar *Towards Open Access Social Orders in Eastern Europe* as part of the East European Politics Special Issue  
Presentation *The Effects of Trade and the Association Agreement*
- ▶ **Babeş-Bolyai University (online, 5 / 2021)**  
Conference *Thirty Years of Capitalist Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe: Inequalities and Social Resistance*  
Chair of the panel *Chinese Capital Investments in Central and Eastern Europe*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 5+6 / 2021)**  
Co-organisation of the workshop *China and the Contestation of the Liberal Economic Order* with Tanja A. Börzel (Cluster of Excellence SCRIPTS / Freie Universität Berlin)  
Presentation *China, the EU and Policy Space for Development in Eastern Europe and Eurasia* with Valentin Krüsmann
- ▶ **Standing Group on the European Union (online, 6 / 2021)**  
*10th Conference of the ECPR Standing Group on the European Union*  
Presentation *Trade Liberalization and Opening in Post-Soviet Limited Access Orders* in the panel *EU Association in a Challenging Neighbourhood: Trade Vs Geopolitics*  
Presentation *Manufacturing Development: How Transnational Market Integration Shapes Opportunities and Capacities for Development in Europe's Three Peripheries* in the panel *The External Dimension of EU Regulatory Governance*
- ▶ **German Political Science Association (online, 9 / 2021)**  
Congress *Wir haben die Wahl! Politik in Zeiten von Unsicherheit und Autokratisierung*  
Lecture *Attitudes Towards Democracy and the Market in Belarus: What Has Changed and Why it Matters* with Félix Krawatzek
- ▶ **German Association for East European Studies and Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 10 / 2021)**  
Conference *The New Belarus: Societal Change, Regime Repression, and Western Reactions*  
Presentation *The Erosion of the Social Contract before 2020* with Félix Krawatzek in the panel *Societal Change in Belarus*

#### Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 1 / 2021)**  
Organiser and panellist at the event *Market Integration and Room for Development in the EU's Eastern and Southern Peripheries*
- ▶ **Freie Universität Berlin (online, 1 / 2021)**  
Lecture on *Forschung und Wissenschaftskommunikation am ZOiS* as part of the seminar *Deutsche Außenpolitik zu Ost- und Südosteuropa: Herausforderungen der Politikberatung*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 4 / 2021)**  
Panellist at *Belarus am Scheideweg. Im Gespräch mit Nadja Douglas, Regina Elsner, Julia Langbein, Félix Krawatzek und Gwendolyn Sasse*  
Presentation of the *ZOiS Report 3 / 2021*
- ▶ **dekoder (online, 6 / 2021)**  
Panellist at *Quo vadis, Belarus? Repression, Stagnation, Aufbruch*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 9 / 2021)**  
Panellist at the ZOiS Forum *Balabanov's Bandits: On the Enduring Relevance of the Cult Russian Film 'Brat' | #30PostSovietYears*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 9 / 2021)**  
Panellist at *Osteuropa: Perspektiven nach der Bundestagswahl. Im Gespräch mit Julia Langbein, Félix Krawatzek und Gwendolyn Sasse*
- ▶ **Zentrum Liberale Moderne (online, 9 / 2021)**  
Panellist at *Wirtschaftliche Integration der Ukraine in die EU: Was wurde erreicht – was steht noch aus?*
- ▶ **German Marshall Fund of the United States, Berlin office (online, 11 / 2021)**  
Discussant at the conference *The Oligarchs – Economic Power, Democracy and the Responsibility of the West*

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 11 / 2021)**  
Panellist at the ZOiS Forum *Post-Soviet Economic (Dis-)Integration: Dynamics and Consequences for Russia's Role as a Regional Power* | #30PostSovietYears
- ▶ Briefings and roundtables with representatives of the Federal Foreign Office, the Federal Chancellery, the Federal Ministry for Development and Economic Cooperation, political parties and international diplomats

## SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies**  
Co-supervision of Claudia Eggart as part of the sub-project *Strategies of Small-Scale Entrepreneurs at Markets in Ukraine and Moldova* (research project *Living with Uncertainty. Strategies of Adaptation and Horizons of Expectations in Ukraine and Moldova/LimSpaces*) with Sabine von Löwis
- ▶ **Freie Universität Berlin**  
Bachelor seminar *Politics of Market Integration* (summer semester 2021)  
Supervision of Bachelor theses  
Member of the doctoral committee of the Otto Suhr Institute for Political Science
- ▶ Primary supervision of Valentin Krüsmann's doctoral thesis at the Otto Suhr Institute for Political Science (working title: *Identifying and Explaining Differentiation in Chinese Approaches to Foreign Infrastructure Provision across Projects, Space and Time*)
- ▶ Second supervision of Keith Prushankin's doctoral thesis at the Berlin Graduate School for Global and Transregional Studies (working title: *The Discourse of Economic Discontent in Czech and Polish Populist Movements: Rhetorical Choice or Pragmatic Policy?*)
- ▶ Participation at the event *Professorship or Nothing? Options and Pathways in Academia* as part of the events series *Post-doctorate Pathways: Academic and Non-academic Career Trajectories* organised by the Cluster of Excellence SCRIPTS and BR50 (October 2021)

## MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ Member of the German Political Science Association (DVPW) and the Working Group on European Integration (AEI)
- ▶ Approval of the joint project *Local Perspectives on Transregional Interconnection and Disconnection Processes (De:link//Re:link)* by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research under the direction of the Institute for Asian and African Studies (IAAW) at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Other partners are the Leibniz Centre for Modern Oriental Studies Berlin (ZMO) and the Bonn International Centre for Conflict Studies (BICC)
- ▶ Approval of the competence network *Conflict and Cooperation in Eastern Europe. The Consequences of the Reconfiguration of Political, Economic and Social Spaces since the End of the Cold War (KonKoop)* by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research in cooperation with the Leibniz Institute of East and Southeast European Studies (IOS), the Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography (IfL), the Chair of International Relations at Friedrich Schiller University Jena, the University for Sustainable Development (HNEE) and the Leibniz Centre for Contemporary History Research (ZZF)

## DR SABINE VON LÖWIS

### PUBLICATIONS

#### Academic

- ▶ *'Friends of Foes? Changes in cross-border practices and attitudes toward neighbors along the Russian-Ukrainian Border after 2014'*, with Maria Zotova and Anton Gritsenko. In: *Etnograficheskoye obozreniye*. 4 / 2021, pp. 220–237 (published in Russian: Свои или чужие? Практики и трансформация отношений на границе с Украиной. In: *Этнографическое обозрение* 1 / 2021, pp. 124–144

- ▶ *'A Border Regime in the Making? The Case of the Contact Line in Ukraine'*, with Gwendolyn Sasse. In: *Historical Social Research*, vol. 46, no. 3: pp. 208–244, 2021.

#### ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ *'Shrinking Transnistria – Older, More Monotone, More Dependent'*, with Andrei Crivenco. ZOiS Spotlight 3 / 2021 (27/01/2021)
- ▶ *'FC Sheriff Tiraspol in the Champions League: Football Diplomacy or Business Model?'* ZOiS Spotlight 36 / 2021 (13/10/2021)
- ▶ *'Die Situation an der EU-Grenze zu Belarus: Teil 2'*. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 24 / 2021 with Bettina Bruns and Irina Mützelburg (16/11/2021)
- ▶ *'De-facto-Staaten'*. The End of the Soviet Union: A Video Glossary by ZOiS and the Federal Agency for Civic Education (25/11/2021)

## EVENTS

#### Academic

- ▶ **Russian Academy of Sciences (online, 4 / 2021)**  
Workshop *Sovereignty and Legitimacy of Post-Soviet Non-Recognized States*  
Presentation *A Border-Regime in the Making: The Case of the Contact Line in Ukraine*  
with Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ **Association for the Study of Nationalities (online, 5 / 2021)**  
*ASN World Convention 2021*  
Presentation *Varieties of Interaction Across the "Contact Line" in the Donbas* with Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ **Deutsche Gesellschaft für Geographie (online, 10 / 2021)**  
*GeoWoche 2021*  
Presentation *Waffenstillstandslinien als Geographien der Angst und Unsicherheit oder als Geographien der Hoffnung und Sicherheit? Das Beispiel der Kontaktlinie in der Ostukraine* at the session *Geographien der Angst und Unsicherheit*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 11 / 2021)**  
Workshop *Post-socialist Understandings and Practices of Peace, Non-violence and Conflict-resolution* in cooperation with the HSE Moscow and the ISFH Hamburg  
Presentation *Ceasefire Lines as Places of Ontological In-/Security. The Case of the Contact Line in Eastern Ukraine*

#### Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2021)**  
Panellist at the ZOiS Forum *Forgotten Diversity? | #30PostSovietYears*
- ▶ Briefings with the planning staff of the Federal Foreign Office, the Swedish delegation of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation and representatives of the Federal Ministry of Defence

## IN THE MEDIA

- ▶ *Sheriff Tiraspol – reicher Firmenklub im Armenland*  
Assessments for Sportschau (24/08/2021)
- ▶ *Sheriff Tiraspol: The Champions League club without a country but now in dreamland*  
Assessments for Deutsche Welle (14/09/2021)
- ▶ *Champions League im Land, das es nicht gibt*  
Participation in the ntv podcast „Wieder was gelernt“ (15/09/2021)
- ▶ *Wer sind die Sheriffs aus Transnistrien?*  
Assessments for the ZDF Sportstudio (17/10/2021)
- ▶ *The Shadowy Business Empire Behind The Meteoric Rise Of Sheriff Tiraspol*  
Assessments for Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty (25/10/2021)

## SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ *Seminar Borders on Stage – Grenze auf der Bühne oder Grenze als Bühne?* at the University of Leipzig for the Master's programme *Economic and Social Geography* (summer semester 2021)
- ▶ Lecture as part of the programme *#30PostSovietYears | Phantom Pasts or Everyday Present?* of the Körber Foundation (online, 8 / 2021)
- ▶ Lecture in the seminar *De-facto-Staaten im postsozialistischen Raum* of the Master's programme *Peace and Conflict Studies* at the University of Marburg (online, 12 / 2021)
- ▶ Supervision of ZOiS guest researcher Viktor Savinok (7 / 2021–7 / 2022)

## MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ Approval of the network *Conflict and Cooperation in Eastern Europe. The Consequences of the Reconfiguration of Political, Economic and Social Spaces since the End of the Cold War (KonKoop)* funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research in cooperation with the Leibniz Institute of East and Southeast European Studies, the Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography, the Chair of International Relations at the Friedrich Schiller University Jena, the University for Sustainable Development and the Leibniz Centre for Contemporary History Research
- ▶ Launch and coordination of the project *Living with Uncertainty. Strategies of Adaptation and Horizons of Expectations in Ukraine and Moldova (LimSpaces)*, funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the French National Research Agency (ANR) (2021–2024)
- ▶ Participation in the GLocalEast programme with the participation of ZOiS
- ▶ Associate researcher at the Centre Marc Bloch

## DR IRINA MÜTZELBURG

Irina Mützelburg has been at ZOiS since September 2021.

## PUBLICATIONS

### ZOiS knowledge transfer

- ▶ *'Die Situation an der EU-Grenze zu Belarus: Teil 2'*. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 24 / 2021 with Bettina Bruns and Sabine von Löwis (16/11/2021)

## EVENTS

### Academic

- ▶ **Centre Marc Bloch (hybrid, since 9 / 2021)**  
Founder and organiser of a monthly colloquium on *Levels and Scales*

## IN THE MEDIA

- ▶ *Immigration : talon d'Achille de l'Europe*  
Podcast Cultures Monde of France Culture (25/11/2021)

## SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ **Université Jean Monnet Saint-Étienne (online, 11 / 2021)**  
Seminar *Normtransfer in der Ukraine* in the Master's programme AlterEurope

## MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ Member of Ukraine Calling
- ▶ Member of the editorial board of the German-French journal *Trajectoires*: regular review and selection of article proposals, peer review and monitoring of the publication process of articles
- ▶ Member of the Centre Marc Bloch in Berlin, the Center for International Studies in Paris and the Institut Convergences Migrations in Paris

PUBLICATIONS

**Academic**

- ▶ *'Post-Soviet Secessionism: Nation-Building and State-Failure after Communism'*, co-edited with Mykhailo Minakov and Daria Isachenko, ibidem press / Columbia University Press, 2021.
- ▶ *'A Border Regime in the Making? The Case of the Contact Line in Ukraine'*, with Sabine von Löwis. In: *Historical Social Research*, vol. 46, no. 3: pp. 208–244, 2021.

**ZOiS knowledge transfer**

- ▶ *'#30PostSovietYears | Erinnerung an die Sowjetunion und ihren Zerfall'*. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 20 / 2021 with Irina Scherbakova and Félix Krawatzek (23/03/2021)
- ▶ *'Belarus at a Crossroads: Attitudes on Social and Political Change'*. ZOiS Report 3 / 2021 with Nadja Douglas, Regina Elsner, Félix Krawatzek and Julia Langbein (March 2021)
- ▶ *'Russischer Truppenaufbau an der Grenze zur Ukraine'*. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (14/04/2021)
- ▶ *'German Attitudes to Russia after the Navalny Poisoning'*. ZOiS Spotlight 14 / 2021 (14/04/2021)
- ▶ *'Sputnik V und der „ostdeutsche Blick“ auf Russland'*. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (30/04/2021)
- ▶ *'Vor dem Treffen von Biden und Putin'*. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (14/06/2021)
- ▶ *'Angela Merkel trifft Wladimir Putin in Moskau'*. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (20/08/2021)
- ▶ *'Angela Merkels Treffen mit Wolodymyr Selenskyj'*. ZOiS Expert\*innenstimme (23/08/2021)
- ▶ *'German Elections: What Next for Policy towards Eastern Europe?'* ZOiS Spotlight 33 / 2021 (22/09/2021)
- ▶ *'The Situation at the Belarus-EU Border: Part 1'*. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 23 / 2021 with Karolina Łukasiewicz and Félix Krawatzek (08/11/2021)

**Other publications**

- ▶ *'The Political Awakening of Belarusian Society'*. Strategic Europe, Carnegie Europe (11/02/2021)
- ▶ *'Should NATO Admit Ukraine?'* Contribution to 'Judy Asks', Strategic Europe, Carnegie Europe (15/04/2021)
- ▶ *'Putin's Undeclared Red Lines—For Now'*. Strategic Europe, Carnegie Europe (22/04/2021)
- ▶ *'Can EU Sanctions Change Lukashenko?'* Contribution to 'Judy Asks', Strategic Europe, Carnegie Europe (03/06/2021).
- ▶ *'The Message of Merkel's Last Official Visits to Russia and Ukraine'*. Strategic Europe, Carnegie Europe (26/08/2021)
- ▶ *'Continuity and Change in Belarusian Societal Attitudes'*. Strategic Europe, Carnegie Europe (21/10/2021)
- ▶ *'Is Europe in Denial About Russia?'* Contribution to 'Judy Asks', Strategic Europe, Carnegie Europe (18/11/2021)
- ▶ *'Is the EU Politically Committed to Its Eastern Partners?'* Contribution to 'Judy Asks', Strategic Europe, Carnegie Europe (09/12/2021)

EVENTS

**Academic**

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 1 / 2021)**  
*ZOiS Conference 2021*  
Chair of the keynote lecture by Jan Kubik on *Vectors of Contentious Mobilisation: From Below, From Above, or Sideways?*
- ▶ **Russians Academy of Sciences (online, 4 / 2021)**  
Workshop *Sovereignty and Legitimacy of Post-Soviet Non-Recognized States*  
Presentation *A Border-Regime in the Making: The Case of the Contact Line in Ukraine* with Sabine von Löwis  
Chair of the panel *Post-Soviet De-Facto States from a Comparative Perspective*
- ▶ **Friedrich Schiller University Jena (online, 4 / 2021)**  
Conference *National, Transnational, Anational: Konzepte der Nation im europäischen Kontext im 21. Jahrhundert*  
Keynote *Civic Identity amidst War: The Case of Ukraine*

- ▶ **British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies and Leibniz ScienceCampus “Eastern Europe – Global Area” (online, 4 / 2021)**  
Regional/Annual Conference in cooperation with ZOiS  
Presentation *The Transregional Dynamics of Exit and Voice: Alternative or Interconnected Logics*
- ▶ **Association for the Study of Nationalities (online, 5 / 2021)**  
ASN World Convention 2021  
Chair of the roundtable *Mass Mobilization in Belarus: Protest Dynamics and Societal Expectations*  
Presentation *Varieties of Interaction Across the “Contact Line” in the Donbas* with Sabine von Löwis
- ▶ **University of Tartu, Centre of Eurasian and Russian Studies (online, 6 / 2021)**  
Fifth Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies  
Presentation *Mobilization in Belarus: A Profile of the Protesters and the Protest Dynamic* with Olga Onuch  
Chair of the panel *Russia-West Relations: Changing Discourses of the Other Post-Crimea*
- ▶ **Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (online, 6 / 2021)**  
Participation in the project workshop *When Every Act is War: Post-Crimea Conflict Dynamics and Russian Foreign Policy (WARU)*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies and University of Manchester (online, 6 / 2021)**  
Organisation and chair of a workshop for a special issue of *Post-Soviet Affairs* on Belarus with Olga Onuch
- ▶ **German Association for East European Studies and Centre for East European and International Studies (Berlin, 10 / 2021)**  
Workshop *The New Belarus: Societal Change, Regime Repression, and Western Reactions*  
Presentation *Social and Political Attitudes in Belarus 2020–2021*

---

#### Knowledge transfer

- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 2 / 2021)**  
Panellist at the ZOiS Forum *Belarus: The Power of Theatre, Photography and Public Opinion*
- ▶ **Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy (online, 2 / 2021)**  
Panellist at *Crimea since Occupation: Where Things Stand*
- ▶ **George Washington University (online, 2 / 2021)**  
Panellist at *Separate Ways? Public Opinion in the Divided Donbas*
- ▶ **German Historical Institute Moscow and Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 3 / 2021)**  
Co-organiser of the panel discussion *The End of Alternatives? The Collapse of the Soviet Union and the Global South | #30PostSovietYears* with Sandra Dahlke
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 4 / 2021)**  
*Belarus am Scheideweg. Im Gespräch mit Nadja Douglas, Regina Elsner, Julia Langbein, Félix Krawatzek und Gwendolyn Sasse*  
Presentation of the ZOiS Report 3 / 2021
- ▶ **FES Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe (online, 4 / 2021)**  
Panellist at the *Security Radar 2021*
- ▶ **Europa-Union Göttingen (online, 4 / 2021)**  
Lecture at the information event *Solidarität mit den Menschen in Belarus*
- ▶ **Center for Liberal Modernity, Sakharov Center and Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 5 / 2021)**  
Panellist at *Fear and Hope: The relevance of Andrei Sakharov*
- ▶ **Humboldt Forum (online, 5 / 2021)**  
Panellist at the event *Ist das liberale Skript noch zu retten? Eine gesellschaftliche Ordnungs-idee in der Krise* of the Cluster of Excellence SCRIPTS as part of the series MitWissenschaft

- ▶ **Federal Agency for Civic Education and Literaturhaus Leipzig (online, 5 / 2021)**  
*Leipzig Book Fair*  
Chair of the discussion *1991. Das Ende der Visionen?*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2021)**  
*Long Night of the Sciences 2021*  
Presentation *Russlandansichten in Ost- und Westdeutschland*
- ▶ **Hertie Foundation (online, 6 / 2021)**  
*Hertie Summit 2021*  
Panellist at the workshop *Demokratiebewegung und Menschenrechte in Belarus: Wie kann die belarussische Zivilgesellschaft von Europa aus unterstützt werden?*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 6 / 2021)**  
Chair of the event *Die Regionalproteste von Chabarowsk: Mobilisierung in den sozialen Medien. Im Gespräch mit Tatiana Golova*
- ▶ **German Embassy in Vienna, Centre for East European and International Studies and FES Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe (online, 6 / 2021)**  
Co-organisation, chair and input at the event *Deutsch-Österreichischer Retreat zu Russland*
- ▶ **Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk (online, 7 / 2021)**  
Input to the development of a programme on Eastern Europe at the workshop *What's East?*
- ▶ **Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 9 / 2021)**  
Panellist at *Osteuropapolitik nach der Bundestagswahl. Im Gespräch mit Félix Krawatzek, Julia Langbein und Gwendolyn Sasse*
- ▶ **Körber Foundation (online, 12 / 2021)**  
Panellist at *A Journey to the East* as part of the theme year *#30PostSovietYears*
- ▶ Roundtable with Carnegie Europe and the Federal Foreign Office, briefings and discussions with representatives of the Federal Foreign Office and the Federal Government, members of the Bundestag, political parties, the media and with international diplomats

## IN THE MEDIA

- ▶ *Proteste in Russland und Forderungen nach Nord Stream 2-Stopp*  
Interview for radioeins (01/02/2021)
- ▶ *Alle Augen auf Nawalny? Wie der Kremlkritiker die Politik beeinflusst*  
Assessments for hr-inforadio (02/02/2021)
- ▶ *Belarus protests: why people have been taking to the streets – new data*  
Article for The Conversation with Félix Krawatzek (04/02/2021)
- ▶ *Der Tag*  
Deutschlandfunk Kultur refers to ZOis Report 5 / 2020 *Russland?: Russlandbilder in Ost- und Westdeutschland* (06/02/2021)
- ▶ *A new survey of the Ukraine-Russia conflict finds deeply divided views in the contested Donbas region*  
Article for Monkey Cage / Washington Post with Kristin Bakke, John O'Loughlin and Gerard Toal (12/02/2021)
- ▶ *Capturing the mood on both sides of the Ukraine-Russia conflict in Donbas*  
Article for GlobalVoices with Kristin Bakke, John O'Loughlin and Gerard Toal (17/02/2021)
- ▶ *Ein Komiker für die Ukraine*  
Assessments for WDR5 (02/03/2021)
- ▶ *Putin vinner folkeviljen i Øst-Ukraina. Med på kjøpet følger Sputnik-vaksine*  
Quoted in an Morgenbladet article (12/03/2021)
- ▶ *Портрет протестующих: что немецкие социологи узнали о белорусах*  
Interview with Deutsche Welle (31/03/2021)
- ▶ *Belarus: 70 Prozent sind in Sorge wegen der Gewalt des Regimes*  
Quoted in an article of Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (17/04/2021)
- ▶ *„Die Nato-Aufnahme der Ukraine ist derzeit völlig unrealistisch“*  
Interview for Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (22/04/2021)

- ▶ *Zum 100. Geburtstag Andrej Sacharows*  
Interview in the programme SWR2 Am Morgen (21/05/2021)
- ▶ *Sanktionen und was noch?*  
Panel discussion on Deutschlandfunk Kultur (28/05/2021)
- ▶ *Biden, Putin und die russisch-amerikanischen Beziehungen*  
Interview for radioeins (16/06/2021)
- ▶ *Vor dem Biden-Putin-Gipfel in Genf*  
Interview for Bayern 2 (16/06/2021)
- ▶ *Die Mutigen von Minsk*  
Guest article in the Hauptstadtbrief (15/08/2021)
- ▶ *Jahrestag des Giftanschlags auf den Oppositionspolitiker Nawalny*  
Interview for radioeins (20/08/2021)
- ▶ *Kiewer Krisen*  
Guest article in the Hauptstadtbrief (29/08/2021)
- ▶ *Gespräch zum 30. Jahrestag des Endes der Sowjetunion*  
Interview for Bayern 2 (06/09/2021)
- ▶ *Buckeln und Treten*  
Guest article in the Hauptstadtbrief (12/09/2021)
- ▶ *Die Wahl, die keine sein darf: Russland stimmt über sein Parlament ab*  
Interview for hr-inforadio (17/09/2021)
- ▶ *Aktuelle Stunde*  
Interview for WDR (19/09/2021)
- ▶ *"Es geht um den Systemerhalt"*  
Interview for the tagesschau (20/09/2021)
- ▶ *Немецкие эксперты: Выборы в Госдуму были репетицией президентских*  
Quoted by Deutsche Welle (20/09/2021)
- ▶ *Russlands Wahlen waren nicht frei*  
Assessments for the Tagespost (26/09/2021)
- ▶ *После выборов в Германии: как изменится отношение Берлина к России?*  
Quoted by Deutsche Welle (27/09/2021)
- ▶ *Kein Wasser, kein Essen, kein Zutritt. Flüchtlinge zwischen allen Fronten*  
Assessments for the ZDF programme Frontal21 (26/10/2021)
- ▶ *Flüchtlinge als Druckmittel auf die EU*  
Assessments for the ZDF programme heute – Europa (27/10/2021)
- ▶ *Ausnahmestand: Migranten durchbrechen polnisch-belarussische Grenze*  
Quoted by the Hamburger Morgenpost (10/11/2021)
- ▶ *Ukraine-Konflikt: Kiew fordert ein starkes Signal von Berlin nach Moskau*  
Quoted by Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (08/12/2021)
- ▶ *Russland droht Ukraine*  
Interview in the podcast Die Lage der Nation (09/12/2021)
- ▶ *Amid warnings to Russia over feared Ukraine attack, E.U. struggles over how tough to set sanctions*  
Quoted by Washington Post (16/12/2021)
- ▶ *Rückkehr der "Ostpolitik" – Warum Scholz an Brandt und Schmidt erinnert*  
Quoted by Reuters (16/12/2021)
- ▶ *Das sowjetische Erbe*  
Guest commentary for ZEIT Online (28/12/2021)

## SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ **European University Viadrina, European New School of Digital Studies und Centre for East European and International Studies (online, 8 / 2021)**  
Co-organisation of the *Viadrinicum Summer School*  
Chair of the panel discussion *Protests, (Post-)Digital Activism and the Archive. #Minsk #Warsaw #Cairo*

- ▶ **University of Basel (online, 11 / 2021)**  
Lecture *Die Krim und die Ukraine* in the lecture series *Einführung in die Ukrainian Studies*
- ▶ **Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (winter semester 2021 / 22)**  
Master's Reading Course *The Political Dynamics of Authoritarianism*
- ▶ Organisation of the monthly ZOIS Research Colloquium in cooperation with Freie Universität Berlin, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder)
- ▶ PhD supervision of Diana Bogishvili and Kostiantyn Fedorenko, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
- ▶ Mentor in the Mentoring Programme of the German Association for East European Studies
- ▶ Mentor in the Leibniz Mentoring Programme of the Leibniz Association

## MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ Einstein Professor for the Comparative Study of Democracy and Authoritarianism at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (since 2021)
- ▶ Senior Research Fellow at Nuffield College, University of Oxford (since 2021)
- ▶ Nonresident Senior Fellow at Carnegie Europe (since 2014)
- ▶ Principal Investigator in the BMBF funded *Project to Initiate Research and Cooperation between EU and Eastern Partnership Countries (RemitEU)* (since 2021)
- ▶ Cooperation partner in the project *When Every Act is War: Post-Crimea Conflict Dynamics and Russian Foreign Policy (WARU)* (since 2020)
- ▶ Principal Investigator in the DFG funded Cluster of Excellence *Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)* at Freie Universität Berlin and with various cooperation partners (since 2019)
- ▶ Co-Investigator of the British Academy funded project *Identity and Borders in Flux: The Case of Ukraine (IBiF)* (since 2019)
- ▶ Principal Investigator in the Open Research Area (including DFG) funded international joint project *Determinants of Mobilisation at Home & Abroad: Analysing the Micro-Foundations of Out-Migration & Mass Protest (MOBILISE)* (since 2018)
- ▶ Academic member of the working group *Zukunftszentrum für Europäische Transformation und Deutsche Einheit* at the Federal Ministry of the Interior and Community (3 / 2021–7 / 2021)
- ▶ Member of the Advisory Board of the network *Ukrainian Research in Switzerland (URIS)* at the University of Basel (since 2020)
- ▶ 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 Global Challenges Research Fund 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 Foundation in Vienna (since 2018)
- ▶ Member of the Advisory Board of the Center for Eastern European Studies (CEES) at the University of Zurich (since 2018)
- ▶ Chair of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Leibniz ScienceCampus "Eastern Europe – Global Area" (since 2017)
- ▶ Member of the International Advisory Board of the European Centre for Minority Issues in Flensburg (since 2010)
- ▶ Member of the Advisory Board of the Berlin Wall Foundation (since 2021)
- ▶ Member of the Berlin Wall Memorial Association (since 2019)

PUBLICATIONS

**Academic**

- ▶ ‘*Aus der Tätigkeit der IRZ. Kasachstan*’, with Christian Reitemeier. In: *Wirtschaft und Recht in Osteuropa (WiRO)*, pp. 855–856, 2021.
- 

**ZOiS knowledge transfer**

- ▶ ‘*Das neue Verwaltungsgesetzbuch der Republik Kasachstan*’, with Christian Reitemeier. *ZOiS Spotlight* 25 / 2021 (30/06/2021)

EVENTS

**Academic**

- ▶ **German Foundation for International Legal Cooperation and Law Academy of the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation, Izhevsk Branch (online, 6 / 2021)**  
Lecture *Aktuelle Probleme in Wissenschaft und Forschung auf dem Gebiet des Verwaltungsrechts und der Verwaltungstätigkeit in Deutschland und Russland*
- ▶ **German Foundation for International Legal Cooperation and Law Academy of the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation, Irkutsk Branch (online, 10 / 2021)**  
Lecture *Der Begriff des Ermessens im deutschen Verwaltungsrecht und seine gerichtliche Überprüfbarkeit*

**Knowledge transfer**

- ▶ **European University Viadrina (online, 12 / 2021)**  
Panellist at *Science Diplomacy. Perspektiven, Herausforderungen und Handlungsmöglichkeiten für Akteure aus Wissenschaft und Politik am Beispiel Belarus*

SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ **German Foundation for International Legal Cooperation and Academy of Law at the Supreme Court of the Republic of Kazakhstan (online, 2–5 / 2021 and 10–12 / 2021)**  
Lecture series *Verwaltungs- und Verwaltungsverfahrensrecht aus Anlass des Inkrafttretens des Verwaltungsgesetzbuches der Republik Kasachstan* with Christian Reitemeier

MISCELLANEOUS

- ▶ Continuation of the *Runder Tisch der Cybersicherheit für den vorpolitischen Raum* together with the *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*, the *Mercator Institute for China Studies*, the *Goethe-Institut*, the *Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen*, the *German Academic Exchange Service* and others (online, 3 / 2021 and 11 / 2021)

## DR TATIANA ZHURZHENKO

Tatiana Zhurzhenko has been at ZOIS since July 2021.

### PUBLICATIONS

#### Academic

- ▶ 'A Border on the Move. The Ukrainian-Russian frontier from the Soviet collapse to the conflict in Donbas'. In: Yearbook Migration and Society 2020 / 2021. Beyond Borders, ed. by Hans Karl Peterlini and Jasmin Donlic, pp. 139–158, Transcript, 2021.
- ▶ 'Fighting Empire, Weaponising Culture. The conflict with Russia and the restrictions on Russian mass culture in post-Maidan Ukraine'. In: Europe-Asia Studies, vol. 73, no. 8: pp. 1441–1466, 2021.
- ▶ 'The Monumental Commemoration of St. Volodymyr / St. Vladimir in Ukraine, Russia and Beyond: The Nationalisation of the Past, the Orthodox Church and 'Monumental Propaganda' before and after the Annexation of Crimea'. In: Official History in Eastern Europe, ed. by Korine Amacher, Andrii Portnov and Viktoriia Serhiienko, pp. 173–218, Fibre, 2021.
- ▶ 'World War II Memories and Local Media in the Russian North: Velikii Novgorod and Murmansk'. In: The Memory of the Second World War in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia, ed. by David L. Hoffmann, pp. 202–228, Routledge, 2021.

---

#### ZOIS knowledge transfer

- ▶ 'Looking for Compatriots: Repatriation Politics in Russia and Beyond'. Podcast Roundtable Osteuropa 26 / 2021 with Tsypylma Darieva and Stefanie Orphal (16/12/2021)

### EVENTS

#### Academic

- ▶ **Center for Governance and Culture in Europe at the University of St. Gallen (online, 10+11 / 2021)**  
Conference *Black Sea Region in the Times of Crises: New Theoretical Approaches and Research Methodologies*  
Panellist at *Memory and Heritage in the Black Sea Region*
- ▶ **European University Viadrina und German Academic Exchange Service (Frankfurt / Oder, 11 / 2021)**  
Seminar *Researching Society at War: The Ukrainian Case in the Nexus between Annexation and Armed Conflict*  
Presentation 'Lines in the sand': *Conceptual Challenges and Moral Dilemmas of Studying Borders and Border Identities in Unstable (Geo)political Contexts*
- ▶ **European University Institute (Florence, Italy, 11 / 2021)**  
Working meeting of the ERC project *SOCIOBORD* and workshop *Veterans and Social Welfare in the European Borderlands*  
Presentation *Soviet War Veterans in Late Stalinist Lviv: A Preliminary Report from the Local Archives*

### SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ **University of Vienna (online, 10 / 2021)**  
Introduction to the lecture series *Thirty Years after the Fall of the Soviet Union* at the Institute for Political Science

The background is a solid, deep red color. It is decorated with various abstract geometric shapes in different colors and orientations. These include thin, elongated bars in shades of gold, light green, and blue. There are also larger shapes, such as a prominent orange triangle on the right side, a blue circle, and a light green square in the bottom left corner. The shapes are scattered across the page, creating a dynamic and modern aesthetic.

# Supporting Young Researchers

*Alongside research, supporting young people who wish to enter a career in research or research communication is a key area of work at ZOiS. These efforts to foster young talent are delivered at various levels and include dialogue, e.g. at the internal and external research colloquia; research cooperation and related academic training posts; lectures by our researchers; articles by junior researchers in ZOiS publications; mentoring programmes involving ZOiS researchers as supervisors; the traineeship in the Communications team; and opportunities for students to take up internships or research assistant posts in our research projects and Communications team.*

### **Internal and external research colloquia**

ZOiS's two research colloquia facilitate dialogue between junior researchers and experienced professionals and provide impetus for research as part of the academic training process.

The external research colloquium is organised in cooperation with Freie Universität Berlin, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder). In 2021, all the external research colloquia were held online, opening up the event to participants from outside the Berlin-

Brandenburg region. The colloquium takes place every two weeks during the semester and serves as a forum for discussion of work in progress by scholars – from PhD students to established academics – engaged in research on Eastern Europe.

ZOiS also holds an internal research colloquium for its researchers and guest academics. The colloquium offers an opportunity for them to discuss work in progress from a multidisciplinary perspective. The colloquium takes place once a month and is now well-established as a regular event for fostering young talent and promoting academic exchange at ZOiS.

### **Schule@ZOiS**

The *Schule@ZOiS* programme is intended to spark young people's interest in social science research and Eastern Europe and thus strengthen knowledge transfer from ZOiS. To that end, ZOiS invites students and teachers to take part in discussions with researchers on a variety of topics relating to 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 aspects that particularly interest them.

We became aware during the first year of the pandemic (2020) that an online format was of only limited suitability for this particular programme. Due to the ongoing measures to control the pandemic, no events in the *Schule@ZOiS* programme were held in 2021.

### **Interns and research assistants**

Despite the pandemic-related restrictions and the general shift to working from home, ZOiS welcomed interns again in 2021. From November 2020 to March 2021, Yana Strogonova from the Higher School of Economics in Moscow interned with Piotr Goldstein at ZOiS and worked with him on developing a questionnaire on civil society and trust in Serbia. In November 2021, Anna Sinelnikova joined ZOiS via a partnership with Freie Universität Berlin and the Higher School of Economics in Moscow. Her work focused mainly on collecting sources relating to depictions of Belarus in the Russian media discourse for one of Félix Krawatzek's projects.

In addition to internships, research assistantships at ZOiS offer opportuni-



*As a PhD student in the joint ZOiS-BGSS programme, I have pursued my own research while also participating in the broader team project MOBILISE and its multifaceted data collection process. Since the focus of this project is related to the theme of my dissertation, I have been able to expand my understanding of the field.*

*Kostiantyn Fedorenko, doctoral student and researcher at ZOiS*

ties for students to gain practical experience in research or research communication. This involves a range of tasks, from literature and background research, data collection, processing and evaluation, and editing to involvement in academic networking. For example, in 2021, Sina Giesemann supported the further development of the *ZOiS Caucasus Network* set up by Tsypylma Darieva and Nadja Douglas. She also authored a *ZOiS Spotlight* on Georgia's informal civil society and co-authored a further *Spotlight* on Russia's repatriation laws with Tsypylma Darieva.

Student assistants are also placed with the Communications team at ZOiS, where their tasks include website editing, research and editorial duties, and conducting interviews for the *Meet the Author* series. For example, Henri Koblichke interviewed Andrew Wilson about his book on the Belarusian regime and spoke to Regina Smyth about her analysis of regime stability in Russia.

### Editing of Zentralasien-Analysen

Zentralasien-Analysen was edited by junior researchers Rostam Onori and Richard Schmidt for a second year. Both are currently studying on the Master's degree programme in Central Asian Studies at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and working on Zentralasien-Analysen enables them to develop their editorial skills; at the same time, their specialist knowledge of the region is of benefit to the publication. 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 Leib-

niz 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 at BGSS join one of ZOiS's research clusters in parallel to working on their dissertations. They also participate in events and contribute to publications.

Diana Bogishvili and Kostiantyn Fedorenko have been based at ZOiS since 2019. In April 2021, Diana Bogishvili authored a *ZOiS Spotlight* entitled *Migration and Its Impacts on Georgia*, based on her PhD project *Migration and Transformation in Metaphors – The Transnational Lifeworlds of Georgian Educational Migrants in Germany and their Families in Georgia*. As part of her PhD studies, she spent the summer carrying out fieldwork in Georgia, focusing mainly on collecting data among migrants' families. Kostiantyn Fedorenko also produced a *ZOiS Spotlight*, entitled *Ukraine's Short-Lived Middle-Class Political Parties*, which drew on his PhD project *From Molotov Cocktails to Farewell Parties: Causes of Emigration for Participants of the 2013–14 Euromaidan Protests in Ukraine*.

### Teaching

Due to the shift online, staff members from ZOiS had more opportunities in 2021 to teach courses and give lectures at various universities, including some located further afield, and to participate in summer schools.

During the 2020/21 winter semester, Regina Elsner gave a lecture entitled *Historical Paradigm or Political Pragmatism? Orthodoxy and Politics in Russia* at the University of Zurich. At the Cusanuswerk Summer Academy on *The Legacies of Byzantium: The Theology and Traditions of the Orthodox Churches* in August 2021, she gave a lecture entitled *The Orthodox Churches and the Legacy of Byzantium: Historical Watersheds – Current Challenges*.

In March 2021, Piotr Goldstein offered insights into *'Fieldwork from Home': Online Focus Groups* at a workshop for doctoral students at the University of Amsterdam. In August, he led a workshop entitled *What is Digital Activism?* at the Viadrinum Summer School run by European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder). Also at the Viadrinum, Tatiana Golova led the workshop *Studying Framing Using Natural Language Processing: Regional Protests and COVID-19 Vaccination*.

Félix Krawatzek gave various one-off lectures, including a talk at the Berlin House of Representatives in February 2021 on *Patriotic Education and Memory Culture: What is happening in Russia?*, which was followed by a discussion with scholarship holders. In March, he gave a lecture on *Mixed Methods Approaches in the Social Sciences* at Harvard University. In October, he gave a lecture on *Focus Groups: From Design to Execution & Analysis* at an International Summer School at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. In the 2021 summer semester, he taught an online seminar on *Belarus at the Crossroads? A social science exploration of the 2020 presidential elections* at the University of Basel. In September 2021, he chaired a seminar as part of the *#30PostSoviet-Years | Phantom Pasts or Everyday Present?* programme organised by ZOiS, the Körber Foundation and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.



*The cooperation programme between ZOiS and the BGSS has given me the opportunity to publicise my research, for example at ZOiS events or in ZOiS publications, and to discuss other socio-political issues in addition to my research findings. It is very enriching for me as a researcher to engage in research communication together with colleagues from ZOiS.*

*Diana Bogishvili, doctoral student and researcher at ZOiS*

In the summer semester, Sabine von Löwis led a seminar entitled *Borders on Stage – Grenze auf der Bühne oder Grenze als Bühne?* for the Master's programme in Economic and Social Geography at the University of Leipzig. She also gave two lectures, one as part of the *#30PostSovietYears | Phantom Pasts or Everyday Present?* programme in August and a second for the seminar on *De facto States in the post-Socialist Space* for the Master's programme in Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Marburg in December.

In the 2021 summer semester, Julia Langbein offered an undergraduate course (Bachelor's programme) entitled *Politics of Market Integration* at Freie Universität Berlin. In October 2021, Tatiana Zhurzhenko gave the introduction to the lecture series *Thirty Years after the Fall of the Soviet Union* run by the Department of Political Science at the University of Vienna. Irina Mützelburg taught the seminar *Norm Transfer in Ukraine* for the AlterEurope Master's programme at Université Jean Monnet in Saint-Étienne.

Gwendolyn Sasse was a co-organiser of the Viadrinum Summer School at European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder), where she also moderated the panel discussion *Protests, (Post-) Digital Activism and the Archive. #Minsk #Warsaw #Cairo*. She also delivered a lecture on *Crimea and Ukraine* as part

of the University of Basel's *Introduction to Ukrainian Studies* lecture series in late autumn. In the 2021/22 winter semester, she gave a series of lectures on *The Political Dynamics of Authoritarianism* for the Master's programme at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin as part of her Einstein Professorship. She was also responsible for organising the monthly ZOiS research colloquium in cooperation with Freie Universität Berlin, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder).

#### **Mentoring and dissertation supervision**

Mentoring students and supervising dissertations are other important methods for supporting young researchers at ZOiS.

Nadja Douglas was a mentor for the Young German Association for East European Studies mentoring programme in 2020/21. Tsypylma Darieva supervised a PhD thesis at Friedrich Schiller University Jena and a Master's thesis at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Beate Eschment supervised five and appraised two Master's theses at the Central Asian Seminar at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Nina Frieß co-supervised a Master's thesis in Cultural Semiotics at the University of Potsdam. Félix Krawatzek supervised a Master's thesis at the University of Basel and

an application to the Norwegian Research Council for a post-doctoral scholarship; he also produced a preliminary appraisal of a doctorate at the University of Helsinki. In addition to supervising final year (Bachelor's) projects, Julia Langbein was a member of the Doctoral Committee (*Promotionskommission*) at the Otto Suhr Institute of Political Science at the Freie Universität Berlin. At ZOiS, she took over the supervision of the PhD thesis of Valentin Krüsmann, a researcher on an externally funded project in her research cluster. At Berlin Graduate School for Global and Transregional Studies, she took over as co-supervisor of Keith Prushankin's PhD thesis. She also addressed issues relating to the fostering of young talent from a theoretical perspective, e.g. through her participation in the discussion *Professorship or Nothing? Options and Pathways in Academia* as part of the event series *Post-doctorate Pathways: Academic and Non-academic Career Trajectories* organised by the SCRIPTS Cluster of Excellence and BR50. Gwendolyn Sasse is a mentor for the German Association for East European Studies mentoring programme and the Leibniz Association mentoring programme. She also supervises PhD students Diana Bogishvili and Kostiantyn Fedorenko at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin; both are researchers at ZOiS. ◀

The background is a solid, deep red color. Scattered across the page are various abstract geometric shapes: a blue circle in the top right, a light green square overlapping it, a blue circle in the middle left, a red square in the center, a large orange triangle in the bottom right, and several thin, light green and gold-colored rectangular strips of varying lengths and orientations. The text 'Research Communication' is centered in the middle of the page in a white, sans-serif font.

# Research Communication

# The First Traineeship at ZOiS

*Elena Goerttler-Reck joined ZOiS as a trainee in the communications team in February 2021 and, since then, has been learning the basics of press and public relations at a research institute. From document editing and social media, event organising and website management to working on podcast and video productions, she is developing a broad range of skills through 'learning by doing'. There is also scope to put her own ideas into practice. Here, she offers some insights into her experiences so far.*

## **What motivated you to apply for a traineeship in ZOiS's Communications team?**

I had already completed an internship at ZOiS in 2019 and felt very much at home there. After graduating with a Master's in East European studies, I felt that this route into research communications at ZOiS was a good opportunity to maintain the link to my field of study while building my professional skills. So the traineeship at ZOiS was pretty much my dream job.

## **You joined ZOiS as a trainee in February 2021 in the midst of a pandemic. What does practical training look like under these conditions?**

My internship at ZOiS certainly gave me a major advantage in that I already knew most of my colleagues, who were always willing to listen or have a chat. Since the pandemic started, our department has tended to communicate by chat; we use different channels for different topics, which makes it easier to organise the work. We also hold regular video conferences, so we get to see each other. Of course, this is no substitute for real-world conversations around the water cooler, but it works well. I am still hoping that we will be able to return to the office before my traineeship ends.

## **Tell us about your job – what do you do, and what skills are you developing?**

My work covers all aspects of communication. I edit texts, carry out photo research, assist with event planning, work on the ZOiS website, send out mailshots, deal with social media, and edit sound and video recordings. A major project that I was involved in was a video glossary, entitled 'The End of the Soviet Union', for #30PostSoviet-Years, which was our theme for 2021. I learned a great deal about coordinating and communicating with external project partners. Other tasks include shortening texts to capture the meaning, distilling them down to the core



*Trainee Elena Goerttler-Reck.*

message, and organising events and internal workflows, so it is a constant learning curve.

## **Have your preconceptions of what research communications might look like day-to-day been confirmed?**

My ideas of what research communications can do and which areas it covers have expanded as a result of working at ZOiS. For example, I wasn't fully aware just how important a role is played by the sharing of content on social media. Some of my other precon-

ceptions have been confirmed, such as the fact that it sometimes takes very considerable effort to write a text that is clear and accessible to a broad readership, which is what we aim to do with the ZOiS *Spotlight*.

## **What was your greatest success so far – and your most awkward moment?**

My greatest success so far was an online pub quiz to round off our video glossary series. I came up with the idea of organising a post-Soviet pub quiz and ZOiS gave me the opportunity to develop the content and deal with the organisational aspects. The event was well-attended, with a lot of positive

feedback. My most awkward moment? The first time I answered an external call. I didn't expect to receive any phone calls from outside ZOiS so I simply picked up the receiver and said 'hello?' The caller was someone from the Ministry of the Interior!

## **Where do you see yourself in future, career-wise?**

I would like to carry on working at the interface between research communications and Eastern Europe – ideally at ZOiS. ◀

# Events

With the Covid-19 pandemic now in its second year, ZOiS continued to hold most of its events online. Finally, in autumn, some easing of restrictions and low infection rates meant that several in-person events could go ahead with reduced participant numbers. ZOiS ran several workshops in a hybrid format, i.e. as combined online and in-person events, in order to make them accessible to academics who were unable to travel due to the pandemic.

As in the previous year, we saw that there were benefits to livestreaming as well, particularly for events that were aimed at the general public, enabling anyone with an interest in the subject to attend regardless of their physical location. Many of the online events were also recorded and made available on the ZOiS website and YouTube channel.

Organising events at ZOiS is heavily dependent on cooperation with German and international institutions and individuals. We see ourselves as part of a network and as a forum for connecting and promoting dialogue with universities, research institutes, think tanks, foundations and other organisations with an interest in Eastern Europe.

## Event formats

Within its programme of events, ZOiS offers a variety of formats, tailored to diverse target groups. We differentiate between academic events and those designed to promote knowledge transfer to a wider audience. The first of these categories includes lectures, panel discussions, workshops and conferences that are mainly intended for the academic community, such as the *ZOiS Research Colloquium*, which is held in cooperation with Freie Universität Berlin, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder).

ZOiS's knowledge transfer events focus on current debates, topics and research relating to Eastern Europe. The *ZOiS Forum* series, for example, aims to build a bridge between the arts and academia and is designed with the general public in mind. In 2021, its main topic was *#30PostSovietYears*, so the events looked at the collapse of the Soviet Union and its consequences from a variety of perspectives. By contrast, the *In conversation with...* series, established in 2017, seeks to attract a specialist audience from political institutions, think tanks and foundations.

## ACADEMIC EVENTS

### Public lectures and panel discussions

- ▶ *The Politics of Historical Memory in Eastern Europe (online, 05/05/2021)*  
Organised by Harvard University in cooperation with ZOiS  
Olga Davydova-Minguet (University of Eastern Finland), Susan Divald (University of Oxford), Krzysztof Jasiewicz (Washington and Lee University) and Nikolay Kuposov (Emory University). Chair: Félix Krawatzek (ZOiS) and George Soroka (Harvard University)

### Conferences

- ▶ *Politics from Below: Reasserting or Transcending the Democratic Paradigm? (online, 27–28/01/2021)*  
ZOiS Conference 2021
- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | Globalising Eastern Europe – New Perspectives on Transregional Entanglements (hybrid, 20/04/2021)*  
In cooperation with the German Association for East European Studies (DGO), the Leibniz ScienceCampus „Eastern Europe – Global Area“ (EEGA) and the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (BASEES)
- ▶ *Anti-Genderism in Central and Eastern Europe – A Question of Religion? (online, 21/04/2021)*  
Organised by Thomas Bremer (German Association for East European Studies) and Regina Elsner (ZOiS)

- ▶ *Jews along the Silk Road: Migration Routes, Entangled Spaces, and In-between Positions (hybrid, 10–12/10/2021)*  
Organised by Tsypylma Darieva (ZOiS), Alina Gramova (Jewish Museum Berlin) and Darja Klingenberg (European University Viadrina)
- 

### Workshops

- ▶ *China and the Contestation of the Liberal Economic Order (online, 28/05 + 03–04/06/2021)*  
Organised by Tanja Börzel (Cluster of Excellence SCRIPTS / Freie Universität Berlin) and Julia Langbein (ZOiS)
  - ▶ *The Politics of Religion and Reconciliation (online, 16–18/06/2021)*  
Organised by Tsypylma Darieva (ZOiS) in cooperation with the University of St. Gallen and the Working Group on Lived Religion in Eastern Europe and Eurasia
  - ▶ *Does Anyone Listen? Historical Memory and What Citizens Make of It (hybrid, 02–03/09/2021)*  
Organised by Félix Krawatzek (ZOiS)
  - ▶ *Dealing with the Violent Past: Transnational Dimensions and Diasporic Experiences (online, 23/09/2021)*  
Organised by Tsypylma Darieva (ZOiS) and Dilyara Müller-Suleymanova (Zurich University of Applied Sciences)
  - ▶ *Migrant and Minority Activism: Between Protest Movements and Everyday Engagement (hybrid, 30/09/2021)*  
Organised by Piotr Goldstein (ZOiS) in cooperation with the EASA Anthropology of Social Movements Network
  - ▶ *The New Belarus: Societal Change, Regime Repression, and Western Reactions (hybrid, 06–07/10/2021)*  
Organised by Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS) in cooperation with the German Association for East European Studies (DGO)
  - ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | Post-socialist Understandings and Practices of Peace, Non-violence and Conflict-resolution (online, 18–19/11/2021)*  
Organised by Regina Elsner (ZOiS), Christian Fröhlich (Higher School of Economics Moscow) and Regina Heller (Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg)
- 

### ZOiS Research Colloquium

- ▶ *Questioning the Concept of 'Religious Activism' in Russian Orthodoxy from a Theological Position (online, 13/01/2021)*  
Regina Elsner (ZOiS)
- ▶ *Materialised Futurities? – The Soviet City and its Aftermath in Central Asia and the Southern Caucasus (online, 10/02/2021)*  
David Leupold (Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient)
- ▶ *Securitisation of Sex Work and Coping Strategies of Female Sex Workers in Tajikistan (online, 14/04/2021)*  
Karolina Kluczevska (University of Duisburg-Essen)
- ▶ *Between (In)visibility and (Self-)exotisation: The Queer Post-Soviet Diaspora in Germany (online, 12/05/2021)*  
Masha Beketova (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)
- ▶ *By the Authority of the Law? Views on History in Russia (online, 09/06/2021)*  
Félix Krawatzek (ZOiS)
- ▶ *Framing of Regional Protests on Russian Social Media (online, 10/11/2021)*  
Tatiana Golova (ZOiS)
- ▶ *Beyond the Energy Rents. Growth Strategies and Welfare Reforms in Russia (online, 08/12/2021)*  
Katharina Bluhm and Ewa Dambrowska (both Freie Universität Berlin)

**ZOiS Forum**

- ▶ *Climate in Russia: Change, Discourse, Protest (online, 21/01/2021)*  
Benjamin Beuerle (German Historical Institute Moscow), Angelina Davydova (journalist) and Arshak Makichyan (activist). Chair: Félix Krawatzek (ZOiS)
- ▶ *Belarus: The Power of Theatre, Photography and Public Opinion (online, 16/02/2021)*  
Misha Friedman (photographer), Natalia Koliada (The Belarus Free Theatre) and Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS). Chair: Stefanie Orphal (ZOiS)
- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | The End of Communism as a Generational Phenomenon? (online, 20/04/2021)*  
In cooperation with the Leibniz ScienceCampus „Eastern Europe – Global Area” (EEGA) and the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (BASEES)  
Mikhail Anipkin (sociologist), Matthias Neumann (University of East Anglia) and Marci Shore (University of Yale). Chair: Félix Krawatzek (ZOiS)
- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | The Challenge of Religious Freedom (online, 20/05/2021)*  
Tsypylma Darieva (ZOiS), Caroline von Gall (Freie Universität Berlin) and Victoria Lomasko (artist and curator). Chair: Regina Elsner (ZOiS)
- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | Forgotten Diversity? (online, 24/05/2021)*  
In cooperation with the Interdisciplinary Centre ‘Border Crossings – Crossing Borders’ at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin  
Lana Bastašić (author), Sabine von Löwis (ZOiS), Andrij Kurkov (author) and Nenad Stefanov (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin). Chair: Nina Frieß (ZOiS)
- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | Balabanov’s Bandits: On the Enduring Relevance of the Cult Russian Film ‘Brat’ (Kino Krokodil Berlin, 23/09/2021)*  
In cooperation with Kino Krokodil  
Julia Langbein (ZOiS) and Michael Rochlitz (University of Bremen)
- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | 30 Years of Post-Soviet Migration. A Life between Worlds (W. M. Blumenthal Akademie Berlin, 12/10/2021)*  
In cooperation with the Jewish Museum Berlin and the European University Viadrina  
Olga Grjasnowa (writer) and Britta Schneider (European University Viadrina).  
Chair: Tsypylma Darieva (ZOiS)
- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | Post-Soviet Economic (Dis-)Integration: Dynamics and Consequences for Russia’s Role as a Regional Power (online, 24/11/2021)*  
Alexander Libman (Freie Universität Berlin) and Johannes F. Linn (Brookings Institution).  
Chair: Julia Langbein (ZOiS)
- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | 1991 Today: Memories of the Transition Period and its Aftermath (online, 14/12/2021)*  
Félix Krawatzek (ZOiS), Oleg Lutohin (Yeltsin Center) and Olga Malonova (Higher School of Economics Moskau). Chair: Nina Frieß (ZOiS)

**In conversation with...**

- ▶ *Zentralasien 2021 – Stand and Perspektiven (online, 16/03/2021)*  
Beate Eschment and Rostam Onsori (both ZOiS)
- ▶ *Belarus am Scheideweg (online, 15/04/2021)*  
Nadja Douglas, Regina Elsner, Félix Krawatzek and Julia Langbein (all ZOiS).  
Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)
- ▶ *Die Regionalproteste von Chabarowsk: Mobilisierung in den sozialen Medien (online, 23/06/2021)*  
Tatiana Golova (ZOiS). Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)
- ▶ *Russland: Lokaler Aktivismus im Schatten der Wahlen (online, 16/09/2021)*  
Chair: Tatiana Golova (ZOiS)
- ▶ *Zentralasien and Afghanistan – Neue Herausforderungen in einer schwierigen Nachbarschaft? (online, 23/09/2021)*  
Beate Eschment (ZOiS) and Katja Mielke (Bonn International Centre for Conflict Studies).  
Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)



The reading and discussion 'Forgotten Diversity?' with Nina Frieß, Lana Bastašić, Sabine von Löwis (top from left), Nenad Stefanov and the Ukrainian author Andriy Kurkov (bottom from left).

The workshop 'Migrant and Minority Activism' at ZOIS.

- ▶ *Osteuropa: Perspektiven nach der Bundestagswahl (online, 29/09/2021)*  
Félix Krawatzek, Julia Langbein and Gwendolyn Sasse (all ZOIS).  
Chair: Stefanie Orphal (ZOIS)
- ▶ *Coping Strategies: Religious Minorities in Georgia and Azerbaijan (online, 25/11/2021)*  
Tsypylma Darieva (ZOIS). Chair: Regina Elsner (ZOIS)

### Other events

- ▶ *Market Integration and Room for Development in the EU's Eastern and Southern Peripherie (online, 18/01/2021)*  
Panel discussion  
László Bruszt (Central European University), Julia Langbein (ZOIS), Daniela Schwarzer (German Council on Foreign Relations) and Istvan Székely (General Directorate for the Economic and Financial Affairs of the European Commission). Chair: Tanja Börzel (Freie Universität Berlin)
- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | The End of Alternatives? The Collapse of the Soviet Union and the Global South (online, 23/03/2021)*  
Kick-off event of the theme year #30PostSovietYears in cooperation with the German Historical Institute Moscow (DHI Moscow)  
Manuela Boatcă (University of Freiburg), Artemy Kalinovsky (University of Amsterdam) and Steffi Marung (Leipzig University). Chair: Sandra Dahlke (DHI Moscow)
- ▶ *Between Distance and Proximity and the Concept of Neighbourhood in the Caucasus (online, 25/03/2021)*  
ZOIS Caucasus Network Panel  
Diana Forker, Bidzina Lebanidze and Veronika Pfeilschifter (all Friedrich Schiller University Jena), Heather DeHaan (Binghamton University) and Richard Girokasyan (Regional Studies Center Jerewan). Chair: Tsypylma Darieva and Nadja Douglas (both ZOIS)
- ▶ *Vom sozialistischen Eigentum zur Marktwirtschaft (online, 22/04/2021)*  
Panel discussion in cooperation with the German Historical Institute Moscow  
Marcus Böick (Ruhr-Universität Bochum), Michael Rochlitz (University of Bremen), Peter Wegenschimmel (University of Vienna) and Sergej Zhuravlev (Russian Academy of Sciences). Chair: Sandra Dahlke (DHI Moscow)
- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | Visions of a New European Peace Order? (online, 11/05/2021)*  
Panel discussion in cooperation with the FES Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe  
Rafael Biermann (Friedrich Schiller University Jena), Dmitri Makarov (Moscow Helsinki Group) and Márta Pardavi (Hungarian Helsinki Committee). Chair: Nadja Douglas (ZOIS)
- ▶ *Fear and Hope: The Relevance of Andrei Sakharov (online, 19/05/2021)*  
Soirée to mark 100 years of Andrei Sakharov in cooperation with the Centre for Liberal Modernity and the Sakharov Center  
Andrei Kolesnikov (Carnegie Moscow Center), Sergei Lukashevsky (Sakharov Center), Arkady Ostrovsky (The Economist), Marina Sakharov-Liberman (Andrei Sakharov Foundation), Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOIS), Irina Scherbakova (Memorial Moscow) and Karl Schlögel (European University Viadrina). Chair: Ralf Fücks (Centre for Liberal Modernity)



One of the few in-person events at ZOiS in 2021: the workshop 'The New Belarus: Societal Change, Regime Repression, and Western Reactions'.

- ▶ *Long Night of the Sciences 2021 (online, 05/06/2021)*  
Regina Elsner, Nina Frieß, Felix Krawatzek and Gwendolyn Sasse (all ZOiS)
- ▶ *Quo vadis, Belarus? Repression, Stagnation, Aufbruch (online, 09/06/2021)*  
Panel discussion in cooperation with dekodeer  
Iryna Herasimovich (translator and cultural manager, Belarus), Julia Langbein (ZOiS) and Jakob Wöllenstein (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung). Chair: Ingo Petz (dekodeer)
- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | Restoring European Security. From Managing Relations to Principled Cooperation (online, 18/06/2021)*  
Lunch Talk in cooperation with the FES Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe  
Irina Busygina (Higher School of Economics Moscow), Ute Finckh-Krämer (expert for peace policy) and Lukasz Kulesa (Polish Institute of International Affairs).  
Chair: Simon Weiss (FES ROCPE)
- ▶ *Recovery, Risk and Resilience: Re-thinking the Future of EU-South Caucasus Relations (hybrid, 25/11/2021)*  
Panel discussion organised by Tsypylma Darieva (ZOiS) in cooperation with the Friedrich Schiller University Jena and the Federal Ministry of Education and Research  
Leila Alieva (Oxford School for Global and Area Studies), Shushanik Minasyan (University of Bonn), Maia Panjikidze (Caucasus University Tbilisi) and Sonja Schiffrers (Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung). Chair: Stefan Meister (German Council on Foreign Relations)
- ▶ *Quo vadis, Belarus? Repression, Krise, Isolation (online, 07/12/2021)*  
Panel discussion in cooperation with dekodeer  
Katja Artsiomenka (HMKW University of Applied Sciences for Media, Communication and Management Cologne), Robert Kirchner (German Economic Teams) and Félix Krawatzek (ZOiS). Chair: Ingo Petz (dekodeer)
- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | A Journey to the East (online, 07/12/2021)*  
Panel discussion in cooperation with the Körber Foundation  
Katja Fausser (Körber Foundation) and Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS).  
Chair: Gabriele Woidelko (Körber Foundation)
- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | Post-Soviet Pub Quiz (online, 13/12/2021)*  
Pub quiz in cooperation with the Federal Agency for Civic Education  
Chair: Wladimir Kaminer (author)

## SUPPORTING YOUNG RESEARCHERS

- ▶ *Viadrinum Summer School 2021: Transsectoral DigitalLab: (Dis-)Assembling the (Post) Digital Social (hybrid, 16–29/08/2021)*  
Summer School in cooperation with the European University Viadrina and the European New School of Digital Studies (ENS).
- ▶ *Envisioning Collective Agency Beyond Digital Capitalism (European University Viadrina, 17/08/2021)*  
Opening lecture of the Viadrinum Summer School 2021  
Evgeny Morozov (author). Chair: Jürgen Neyer (European New School of Digital Studies)
- ▶ *Protests, (Post-)Digital Activism and the Archive. #Minsk #Warsaw #Cairo (online, 23/08/2021)*  
Panel discussion as part of the Viadrinum Summer School 2021  
Lara Baladi (artist), Aliaksandr Herasimenka (Oxford Internet Institute) and Anna Nacher (Jagiellonian University Krakow). Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)



Online, in print or for listening: research results and expertise from ZOiS are freely accessible in a variety of ways.

## Publications

ZOiS publications offer insights into our research findings, address current developments and provide background analyses. For this purpose, we have developed various formats which cover a broad range of topics related to Eastern Europe and are freely accessible on our website. The authors include ZOiS researchers as well as experts from our international network.

### 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.

- ▶ *Faith, State, and Religious Competition in Georgia*  
ZOiS Report 1 / 2021 by Tsypylma Darieva (January 2021)
- ▶ *Orthodoxy, Gender, and the Istanbul Convention: Mapping the Discourse in Ukraine*  
ZOiS Report 2 / 2021 by Regina Elsner (March 2021)
- ▶ *Belarus at a Crossroads: Attitudes on Social and Political Change*  
ZOiS Report 3 / 2021 by Nadja Douglas, Regina Elsner, Félix Krawatzek, Julia Langbein and Gwendolyn Sasse (March 2021)
- ▶ *Regionale Proteste in den russischsprachigen sozialen Medien: der Fall Chabarowsk*  
ZOiS Report 4 / 2021 by Tatiana Golova (June 2021)

### ZOiS Spotlight

*ZOiS Spotlight* is a short weekly publication by ZOiS researchers and guest contributors featuring analyses, insights, and background information on current developments in Eastern Europe and the post-Soviet space. It is aimed at the broader public and published on the ZOiS website each Wednesday in English and German.

- ▶ *Big Election Sunday in Central Asia Does Not Bode Well for Democracy*  
ZOiS Spotlight 1 / 2021 by Beate Eschment (13/01/2021)
- ▶ *Churches and Protest in Belarus: Activism or Liberation Theology?*  
ZOiS Spotlight 2 / 2021 by Regina Elsner (20/01/2021)
- ▶ *Shrinking Transnistria – Older, More Monotone, More Dependent*  
ZOiS Spotlight 3 / 2021 by Sabine von Löwis and Andrei Crivenco (27/01/2021)
- ▶ *Georgia's Informal Civil Society: A Glance Behind the Scenes*  
ZOiS Spotlight 4 / 2021 by Sina Giesemann (03/02/2021)

- ▶ *Domestic Violence in Ukraine: What Role for Religious Leaders?*  
ZOiS Spotlight 5 / 2021 by Tetiana Kalenychenko (10/02/2021)
- ▶ *How United Is Belarus Against the Regime?*  
ZOiS Spotlight 6 / 2021 by Félix Krawatzek (17/02/2021)
- ▶ *The Tightening Grip of Russia's Foreign Agent Laws*  
ZOiS Spotlight 7 / 2021 by Tatiana Golova (24/02/2021)
- ▶ *The Eagle and the Bear: US-Russian Relations Under Biden*  
ZOiS Spotlight 8 / 2021 by George Soroka (03/03/2021)
- ▶ *Environmental Activism in an Age of Democratic Backsliding*  
ZOiS Spotlight 9 / 2021 by Adam Fagan and Marek Józefiak (10/03/2021)
- ▶ *The Navalny Case and Public Discourse in Russia and the West*  
ZOiS Spotlight 10 / 2021 by Mario Baumann (17/03/2021)
- ▶ *The Uncertain Future of Cooperative Security in Europe*  
ZOiS Spotlight 11 / 2021 by Nadja Douglas (24/03/2021)
- ▶ *Three Paradoxes in the Bulgarian Parliamentary Election*  
ZOiS Spotlight 12 / 2021 by Daniel Smilov (31/03/2021)
- ▶ *Russia and the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination*  
ZOiS Spotlight 13 / 2021 by Johannes Socher (07/04/2021)
- ▶ *German Attitudes to Russia after the Navalny Poisoning*  
ZOiS Spotlight 14 / 2021 by Gwendolyn Sasse (14/04/2021)
- ▶ *Migration and Its Impacts on Georgia*  
ZOiS Spotlight 15 / 2021 by Diana Bogishvili (21/04/2021)
- ▶ *Patriotism in the Armenian Diaspora after the Nagorno-Karabakh War*  
ZOiS Spotlight 16 / 2021 by Tsypylma Darieva (28/04/2021)
- ▶ *Victory Day at 75+1*  
ZOiS Spotlight 17 / 2021 by Félix Krawatzek (05/05/2021)
- ▶ *Why Manizha's 2021 Eurovision Entry Touched a Raw Nerve in Russia*  
ZOiS Spotlight 18 / 2021 by Mark Simon (12/05/2021)
- ▶ *Andrei Sakharov's Fight for Freedom*  
ZOiS Spotlight 19 / 2021 by Irina Scherbakova (19/05/2021)
- ▶ *Russia's Arctic Balancing Act*  
ZOiS Spotlight 20 / 2021 by Nadja Douglas (26/05/2021)
- ▶ *The Fight Against Domestic Violence in Belarus in Times of Protest*  
ZOiS Spotlight 21 / 2021 by Leandra Bias (02/06/2021)
- ▶ *30 Years of the German-Polish Treaty on Good-Neighbourliness: Civil Society Takes Centre Stage*  
ZOiS Spotlight 22 / 2021 by Peter Oliver Loew (09/06/2021)
- ▶ *22 June: Russia Remembers the German Invasion of the Soviet Union*  
ZOiS Spotlight 23 / 2021 by Esther Meier (16/06/2021)
- ▶ *The Hungarian Government Takes Further Steps Against NGOs*  
ZOiS Spotlight 24 / 2021 by Melanie Hien (23/06/2021)
- ▶ *The Republic of Kazakhstan's New Administrative Procedures Code*  
ZOiS Spotlight 25 / 2021 by Christian Schaich and Christian Reitemeier (30/06/2021)
- ▶ *Spiralling Violence on the Borders in the Fergana Valley?*  
ZOiS Spotlight 26 / 2021 by Beate Eschment (07/07/2021)
- ▶ *The Legacy of Soviet Rock in Belarusian Protest Music*  
ZOiS Spotlight 27 / 2021 by David-Emil Wickström (14/07/2021)
- ▶ *Difficult Conditions for Armenia's Newly Elected Parliament*  
ZOiS Spotlight 28 / 2021 by Nane Khachatryan (21/07/2021)
- ▶ *Never-ending Competition: Orthodox Celebrations in Ukraine*  
ZOiS Spotlight 29 / 2021 by Andriy Fert (28/07/2021)

- ▶ *The Situation of the Pamir Kyrgyz after the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan*  
ZOiS Spotlight 30 / 2021 by Mahabat Sadyrbek (01/09/2021)
- ▶ *Georgia's Free Trade With the EU: Who Benefits?*  
ZOiS Spotlight 31 / 2021 by Julia Langbein and Irina Guruli (08/09/2021)
- ▶ *The Russian State Duma Elections: Costs for the Kremlin*  
ZOiS Spotlight 32/2021 by Ben Noble (15/09/2021)
- ▶ *German Elections: What Next for Policy towards Eastern Europe?*  
ZOiS Spotlight 33 / 2021 by Gwendolyn Sasse (22/09/2021)
- ▶ *Rap in Tatar: Turning Away from Russian?*  
ZOiS Spotlight 34 / 2021 by Aleksey Tikhonov (29/09/2021)
- ▶ *Ten Days that Ended Yugoslavia: The Forgotten War in Slovenia, 30 Years Later*  
ZOiS Spotlight 35 / 2021 by Dejan Djokić (06/10/2021)
- ▶ *FC Sheriff Tiraspol in the Champions League: Football Diplomacy or Business Model?*  
ZOiS Spotlight 36 / 2021 by Sabine von Löwis (13/10/2021)
- ▶ *Societal Fragmentation in Belarus*  
ZOiS Spotlight 37 / 2021 by Félix Krawatzek (20/10/2021)
- ▶ *Eastern Europe's Gig Economy Goes On Strike*  
ZOiS Spotlight 38 / 2021 by Miglė Bareikytė (27/10/2021)
- ▶ *Is Russia Becoming a Unitary State?*  
ZOiS Spotlight 39 / 2021 by Stanislav Klimovich (03/11/2021)
- ▶ *Whither Georgia?*  
ZOiS Spotlight 40 / 2021 by Khatia Kikalishvili (10/11/2021)
- ▶ *Problems of International Peace Missions in Eurasia*  
ZOiS Spotlight 41 / 2021 by Nina Lutterjohann (17/11/2021)
- ▶ *The Systemic Discrimination Facing Greece's Roma*  
ZOiS Spotlight 42 / 2021 by Christos Varvantakis (24/11/2021)
- ▶ *Recruiting for the Nation? Russia's New Repatriation Law*  
ZOiS Spotlight 43 / 2021 by Tsypylma Darieva and Sina Gieseemann (01/12/2021)
- ▶ *The 6th Eastern Partnership Summit: What Should We Expect?*  
ZOiS Spotlight 44 / 2021 by Julia Langbein (08/12/2021)
- ▶ *Ukraine's Short-Lived Middle-Class Political Parties*  
ZOiS Spotlight 45 / 2021 by Kostiantyn Fedorenko (15/12/2021)

## 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.

- ▶ *'The Kremlin has not had very many missteps'*  
Meet the Author with Regina Smyth (15/04/2021)
- ▶ *'Our migration discourse is often focused on problems'*  
Meet the Author with Jannis Panagiotidis (29/04/2021)
- ▶ *'You were either a hippie or a member of socialist society'*  
Meet the Author with Juliane Fürst (22/07/2021)
- ▶ *'Lukashenka's fate now depends on Russia'*  
Meet the Author with Andrew Wilson (17/08/2021)
- ▶ *'Navalny is clearly taken very seriously in the Kremlin'*  
Meet the Author with Jan Matti Dollbaum (02/09/2021)

- ▶ *'We have to look at transition as a broader type of crisis'*  
Meet the Author with Mitchell A. Orenstein (15/11/2021)
- ▶ *'You can't use each energy type as a foreign policy weapon in the same way'*  
Meet the Author with Margarita Balmaceda (25/11/2021)
- ▶ *'Russian messianism is a counter-hegemonic narrative of Russia as an underdog'*  
Meet the Author with Alicja Curanović (16/12/2021)

## Podcast: Roundtable Osteuropa

In 2019, ZOIS launched an audio format, the Podcast *Roundtable Osteuropa*, which is available on all the usual podcast platforms as well as on our website. Here, ZOIS researchers and invited guests discuss their research on Eastern Europe. We address current events in politics and society, but also try to shed light on lesser-known topics from the perspective of various academic disciplines.

- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | Erinnerung an die Sowjetunion und ihren Zerfall*  
Podcast: Roundtable Osteuropa 20 / 2021 (23/03/2021)  
With Irina Scherbakova and Félix Krawatzek. Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | Wirtschaftspolitik und Regimestabilität: Einsichten aus Belarus und Russland*  
Podcast: Roundtable Osteuropa 21 / 2021 (18/05/2021)  
With Michael Rochlitz and Fabian Burkhardt. Chair: Julia Langbein
- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | Das Ende der Sowjetunion und der russische Truppenabzug*  
Podcast: Roundtable Osteuropa 22 / 2021 (09/06/2021)  
With Matthias Uhl and Christoph Meißner. Chair: Nadja Douglas
- ▶ *The Situation at the Belarus-EU Border: Part 1*  
Podcast: Roundtable Osteuropa 23 / 2021 (08/11/2021)  
With Karolina Łukasiewicz and Félix Krawatzek. Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Die Situation an der EU-Grenze zu Belarus: Teil 2*  
Podcast: Roundtable Osteuropa 24 / 2021 (16/11/2021)  
With Bettina Bruns and Sabine von Löwis. Chair: Irina Mützelburg
- ▶ *#30PostSovietYears | Ukraine's Independence*  
Podcast: Roundtable Osteuropa 25 / 2021 (30/11/2021)  
With Serhii Plokhii and Gwendolyn Sasse. Chair: Félix Krawatzek
- ▶ *Looking for Compatriots: Repatriation Politics in Russia and Beyond*  
Podcast: Roundtable Osteuropa 26 / 2021 (16/12/2021)  
With Tatiana Zhurzhenko and Tsypylma Darieva. Chair: Stefanie Orphal

## Expert\*innenstimme

Since 2021, a new format, the *Expert\*innenstimme* (Expert Voice), has been providing an interview-based analyses of selected current events and developments. ZOIS researchers give short answers to three questions in which they explain the significance, background and consequences of a news report with their respective professional expertise. These assessments are available in German on the ZOIS website.

- ▶ *Verfassungsänderung in Kirgistan*  
Beate Eschment (13/04/2021)
- ▶ *Russischer Truppenaufbau an der Grenze zur Ukraine*  
Gwendolyn Sasse (14/04/2021)
- ▶ *Nawalnys Hungerstreik und angekündigte Proteste in Russland*  
Tatiana Golova (20/04/2021)
- ▶ *US-Präsident Biden erkennt Massaker an Armenier\*innen als Völkermord an*  
Tsypylma Darieva (27/04/2021)
- ▶ *Rücktritt von Nursultan Nasarbajew als Vorsitzender der „Versammlung des Volkes Kasachstans“*  
Beate Eschment (29/04/2021)

- ▶ *Sputnik V und der „ostdeutsche Blick“ auf Russland*  
Gwendolyn Sasse (30/04/2021)
- ▶ *Verfassungskrise in Moldau*  
Nadja Douglas (06/05/2021)
- ▶ *Festnahme von Roman Protasewitsch in Minsk*  
Nadja Douglas (25/05/2021)
- ▶ *Drei deutsche Organisationen in Russland als „unerwünscht“ eingestuft*  
Tatiana Golova (28/05/2021)
- ▶ *Verschärftes Erinnerungsgesetz in Russland*  
Félix Krawatzek (10/06/2021)
- ▶ *Vor dem Treffen von Biden und Putin*  
Gwendolyn Sasse (14/06/2021)
- ▶ *Tbilisi Pride und die Orthodoxe Kirche in Georgien*  
Regina Elsner (06/07/2021)
- ▶ *Ein Jahr nach den Protesten von Chabarowsk*  
Tatiana Golova (08/07/2021)
- ▶ *Russische Militärmanöver an den zentralasiatischen Grenzen zu Afghanistan*  
Beate Eschment (26/07/2021)
- ▶ *Angela Merkel trifft Wladimir Putin in Moskau*  
Gwendolyn Sasse (20/08/2021)
- ▶ *Angela Merkels Treffen mit Wolodymyr Selenskyj*  
Gwendolyn Sasse (23/08/2021)
- ▶ *Parlamentswahlen in Russland*  
Tatiana Golova (17/09 / 2021)

## 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). Since 2020, the *Zentralasien-Analysen* series has been edited by Rostam Onsoni and Richard Schmidt at ZOiS.

- ▶ *Vorgezogene Präsidentschaftswahl und Referendum über die Regierungsform in Kirgistan / Parlamentswahlen in Kasachstan*  
Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 145 with a contribution by Mahabat Sadyrbek (29/01/2021)
- ▶ *Häusliche Gewalt gegen Frauen in Kirgistan*  
Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 146 with a contribution by Asylai Akisheva (06/04/2021)
- ▶ *Iranisch-usbekische Zusammenarbeit / Verfassungsreferendum in Kirgistan / Grenzkonflikt zwischen Kirgistan und Tadschikistan*  
Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 147 with a contribution by Zaur Gasimov (14/06/2021)
- ▶ *Regionale Zusammenarbeit in Zentralasien*  
Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 148 with a contribution by Birgit Wetzels (01/08/2021)
- ▶ *30 Jahre Zerfall der Sowjetunion – Der Bürgerkrieg in Tadschikistan*  
Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 149 with a contribution by Tim Ephenhans (01/10/2021)
- ▶ *Zentralasien nach der Machtübernahme der Taliban in Afghanistan / Präsidentschaftswahl in Usbekistan*  
Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 150 with a contribution by Mélanie Sadozai (09/12/2021)

# ZOIS in the Media

- ▶ *Parlamentswahlen in Kasachstan*  
Neues Deutschland (08/01/2021) | Article with assessments by Beate Eschment
- ▶ *»Die Repression ist noch gewachsen«*  
Neues Deutschland (11/01/2021) | Article with assessments by Beate Eschment
- ▶ *Wie ein Land in die Resignation verfällt*  
ntv (17/01/2021) | Article with comments by Beate Eschment
- ▶ *Поправки в конституцию: следует ли Жапаров примеру Путина?*  
Deutsche Welle (22/01/2021) | Article with assessments by Beate Eschment
- ▶ *Proteste in Russland und Forderungen nach Nord Stream 2-Stopp*  
radioeins (01/02/2021) | Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Alle Augen auf Nawalny? Wie der Kremlkritiker die Politik beeinflusst*  
hr-infoadio (02/02/2021) | Podcast with assessments by Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Belarus protests: why people have been taking to the streets – new data*  
The Conversation (04/02/2021) | Article by Gwendolyn Sasse and Félix Krawatzek
- ▶ *The Conversation Weekly*  
The Conversation (04/02/2021) | Interview with Félix Krawatzek
- ▶ *Даст ли Москва деньги Бишкеку? Что пообещал Жапаров*  
Deutsche Welle (05/02/2021) | Article with assessments by Beate Eschment
- ▶ *Geimpfte und Ungeimpfte – wer soll welche Rechte haben?*  
Deutschlandfunk Kultur (06/02/2021) | Podcast with reference to Gwendolyn Sasse's study on images of Russia in East and West Germany
- ▶ *Neue Realitäten im Südkaukasus: Interview mit Dr. Nadja Douglas*  
Caucasus Watch (10/02/2021) | Interview with Nadja Douglas
- ▶ *The Political Awakening of Belarusian Society*  
Carnegie Europe (11/02/2021) | Article by Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Экс-президентов Кыргызстана хотят лишить их статуса. Кому это выгодно?*  
Deutsche Welle (12/02/2021) | Article with quotes from Beate Eschment
- ▶ *A new survey of the Ukraine-Russia conflict finds deeply divided views in the contested Donbas region*  
Monkey Cage / The Washington Post (12/02/2021) | Article co-authored by Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Исследование: в ордо снизилось количество тех, кто видит свое будущее с Украиной*  
Novosti Donbassa (13/02/2021) | Article with reference to a study on the Donbas region with the involvement of Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Эксперты: чем больше в тупике остается «Минский процесс», тем труднее разрешить конфликт на Донбассе*  
DonPress (13/02/2021) | Article with reference to a study on the Donbas region with the involvement of Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Capturing the mood on both sides of the Ukraine-Russia conflict in Donbas*  
GlobalVoices (17/02/2021) | Article co-authored by Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Kirchen und Protest in Belarus – Aktuelle Umfrageergebnisse*  
Nachrichtendienst Östliche Kirchen (24/02/2021) | Article with reference to a ZOIS survey in Belarus
- ▶ *Ein Komiker für die Ukraine*  
WDR5 (02/03/2021) | Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Putin vinner folkeviljen i Øst-Ukraina. Med på kjøpet følger Sputnik-vaksine*  
Morgenbladet (12/03/2021) | Article with quotes from Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Bakschisch aus Baku*  
Hauptstadtbrief (14/03/2021) | Article by Tsypylma Darieva
- ▶ *Aserbajdschan: Das Land und die Herrscherdynastie*  
Bayerischer Rundfunk (16/03/2021) | Interview with Tsypylma Darieva

- ▶ *53% выбрали Тихановскую, 18% — Лукашенко. Немецкие социологи провели онлайн опрос белорусов*  
Nezavisimaya Gazeta (29/03/2021) | Article with reference to the ZOiS Report 3 / 2021
- ▶ *Портрет протестующих: что немецкие социологи узнали о белорусах*  
Deutsche Welle (31/03/2021) | Article with reference to the ZOiS Report 3 / 2021
- ▶ *German researchers survey Belarus election results*  
Belsat TV (02/03/2021) | Article with reference to the ZOiS Report 3 / 2021
- ▶ *Judy Asks: Should NATO Admit Ukraine?*  
Carnegie Europe (15/04/2021) | Blog post by Gwendolyn Sasse and others
- ▶ *Belarus: 70 Prozent sind in Sorge wegen der Gewalt des Regimes*  
Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (17/04/2021) | Article with quotes from Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Osteuropaexpertin: „Die Nato-Aufnahme der Ukraine ist derzeit völlig unrealistisch“*  
Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (22/04/2021) | Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Putin's Undeclared Red Lines—For Now*  
Carnegie Europe (22/04/2021) | Article by Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *В обмен на землю. Что Бишкек предложил Ташкенту и Душанбе?*  
Deutsche Welle (23/04/2021) | Article with quotes from Beate Eschment
- ▶ *Russisch-deutsche Geschichtskonkurrenzen: Kriegsende oder Tag des Sieges?*  
Hauptstadtbrief (09/05/2021) | Article by Félix Krawatzek
- ▶ *Zur Aktualität Andrej Sacharows*  
Deutschlandfunk (20/05/2021) | Report on the event *Soirée Fear and Hope: The Relevance of Andrei Sakharov* co-organised by ZOiS
- ▶ *Zum 100. Geburtstag von Andrej Sacharow*  
SWR2 (21/05/2021) | Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Europe Is Finally Waking Up Over Belarus*  
Carnegie Europe (25/05/2021) | Article with reference to the ZOiS Report 3 / 2021
- ▶ *Was macht das Flugverbot mit Belarus?*  
detektor.fm (27/05/2021) | Interview with Félix Krawatzek
- ▶ *Sanktionen und was noch?*  
Deutschlandfunk Kultur (28/05/2021) | Discussion with Gwendolyn Sasse and others
- ▶ *Страсти по "Кумтору", или Как поссорился Бишкек с канадскими золотодобытчиками*  
Deutsche Welle (01/06/2021) | Article with assessments by Beate Eschment
- ▶ *Vom Flugzeug in die Jurte*  
Deutschlandfunk Kultur (01/06/2021) | Interview with Beate Eschment
- ▶ *Возобновление военного конфликта Бишкека и Душанбе – опасность велика?*  
Deutsche Welle (02/06/2021) | Article with quotes from Beate Eschment
- ▶ *Judy Asks: Can EU Sanctions Change Lukashenko?*  
Carnegie Europe (03/06/2021) | Blog post by Gwendolyn Sasse and others
- ▶ *Biden, Putin und die russisch-amerikanischen Beziehungen*  
radioeins (16/06/2021) | Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Wer befreite Auschwitz wirklich?*  
Petersburger Dialog (22/06/2021) | Article by Félix Krawatzek
- ▶ *“Our governor”: lessons from the protests in Russia's Far East, one year on*  
openDemocracy (21/07/2021) | Interview with Tatiana Golova
- ▶ *"Форточка закрылась": Эксперты из ФРГ и РФ о блокировке сайтов Навального*  
Deutsche Welle (28/07/2021) | Article with quotes from Tatiana Golova
- ▶ *Hintergründe zum Mord am belarusischen Aktivistin*  
Deutschlandfunk (03/08/2021) | Interview with Félix Krawatzek
- ▶ *Belarus: Hoher Preis für Lukaschenkos Machterhalt*  
NDR Info (07/08/2021) | Interview with Félix Krawatzek
- ▶ *Die Mutigen von Minsk*  
Hauptstadtbrief (15/08/2021) | Article by Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Jahrestag des Giftanschlags auf den Oppositionspolitiker Nawalny*  
radioeins (20/08/2021) | Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse

- ▶ *Zentralasiatische Staaten wollen keine Flüchtlinge*  
Deutschlandfunk Kultur (23/08/2021) | Interview with Beate Eschment
- ▶ *Zentralasien ist nicht Abstellraum für die Probleme Westeuropas*  
Ö1 Europa-Journal (24/08/2021) | Interview with Beate Eschment
- ▶ *Sheriff Tiraspol – reicher Firmenklub im Armenland*  
Sportschau (24/08/2021) | Article with quotes from Sabine von Löwis
- ▶ *The Message of Merkel's Last Official Visits to Russia and Ukraine*  
Carnegie Europe (26/08/2021) | Article by Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Kiewer Krisen*  
Hauptstadtbrief (29/08/2021) | Article by Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Gespräch zum 30. Jahrestag des Endes der Sowjetunion*  
Bayern2 (06/09/2021) | Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Buckeln und Treten*  
Hauptstadtbrief (12/09/2021) | Article by Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Sheriff Tiraspol: The Champions League club without a country but now in dreamland*  
Deutsche Welle (14/09/2021) | Article with quotes from Sabine von Löwis
- ▶ *Separatisten-Klub in der Champions League*  
ntv (15/09/2021) | Interview with Sabine von Löwis
- ▶ *Dumawahl in Russland*  
hr-infoadio (17/09/2021) | Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Duma-Wahlen in Russland*  
WDR (19/09/2021) | Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Gottes Werk und Moskaus Beitrag? Was der AfD-Abgeordnete Waldemar Herdt treibt*  
Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung (19/09/2021) | Article with quotes from Tatiana Golova
- ▶ *Es geht um den Systemerhalt*  
tagesschau.de (20/09/2021) | Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Немецкие эксперты: Выборы в Госдуму были репетицией президентских*  
Deutsche Welle (20/09/2021) | Article with quotes from Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *OK BUNGER! The Problem of Generations, pt. 1*  
Aufhebunga Bunga (21/09/2021) | Podcast with Félix Krawatzek
- ▶ *Russlands Wahlen waren nicht frei*  
Die Tagespost (26/09/2021) | Article with assessments by Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *После выборов в Германии: как изменится отношение Берлина к России?*  
Deutsche Welle (27/09/2021) | Article with assessments by Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Wer sind die Sheriffs aus Transnistrien?*  
ZDF Sportstudio Reportage (17/10/2021) | Interview with Sabine von Löwis
- ▶ *Darum ist Corona in Osteuropa außer Kontrolle*  
t-online (21/10/2021) | Article with quotes from Félix Krawatzek
- ▶ *Continuity and Change in Belarusian Societal Attitudes*  
Carnegie Europe (21/10/2021) | Article by Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Выборы президента Узбекистана. Мирзиёева переоценили?*  
Deutsche Welle (23/10/2021) | Article with assessments by Beate Eschment
- ▶ *The Shadowy Business Empire Behind The Meteoric Rise Of Sheriff Tiraspol*  
Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty (25/10/2021) | Article with quotes from Sabine von Löwis
- ▶ *Flüchtlinge als Druckmittel auf die EU*  
ZDF (26/10/2021) | Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Kinder der Revolution*  
Süddeutsche Zeitung Magazin (04/11/2021) | Article with reference to the ZOIS Report 3 / 2021
- ▶ *Thousands of migrants stuck in the middle of Poland-Belarus border crisis*  
The Current (10/11/2021) | Interview with Félix Krawatzek
- ▶ *Ausnahmezustand: Migranten durchbrechen polnisch-belarussische Grenze*  
Morgenpost (10/11/2021) | Article with quotes from Gwendolyn Sasse
- ▶ *Body of Syrian man found near Belarus border amid political standoff, Polish police say*  
CBC News (13/11/2021) | Interview with Félix Krawatzek



# Publishing Details

## **PUBLISHED BY**

Centre for East European and  
International Studies (ZOiS) gGmbH  
Mohrenstraße 60  
10117 Berlin

+49 (30) 2005949-12  
info@zois-berlin.de  
www.zois-berlin.de  
Twitter: @ZOiS\_Berlin  
Facebook: @ZOiS.Berlin

Court of Registry:  
Amtsgericht Charlottenburg,  
HRB 182254  
USt-IdNr. DE 309 833 495

## **DIRECTORS**

Gwendolyn Sasse, Christian Schaich

## **RESPONSIBLE FOR EDITORIAL CONTENT**

Gwendolyn Sasse, Christian Schaich

## **EDITORIAL TEAM**

Yvonne Troll (lead editor)  
Stephanie Alberding  
Elena Goerttler-Reck  
Henri Koblischke  
Anja Krüger  
Alexandra Nowicky  
Stefanie Orphal

## **TRANSLATIONS**

Anne Boden  
Hillary Crowe

## **LAYOUT**

ultramarinrot  
Büro für Kommunikationsdesign

## **PRINTED BY**

vierC print + mediafabrik GmbH & Co.KG

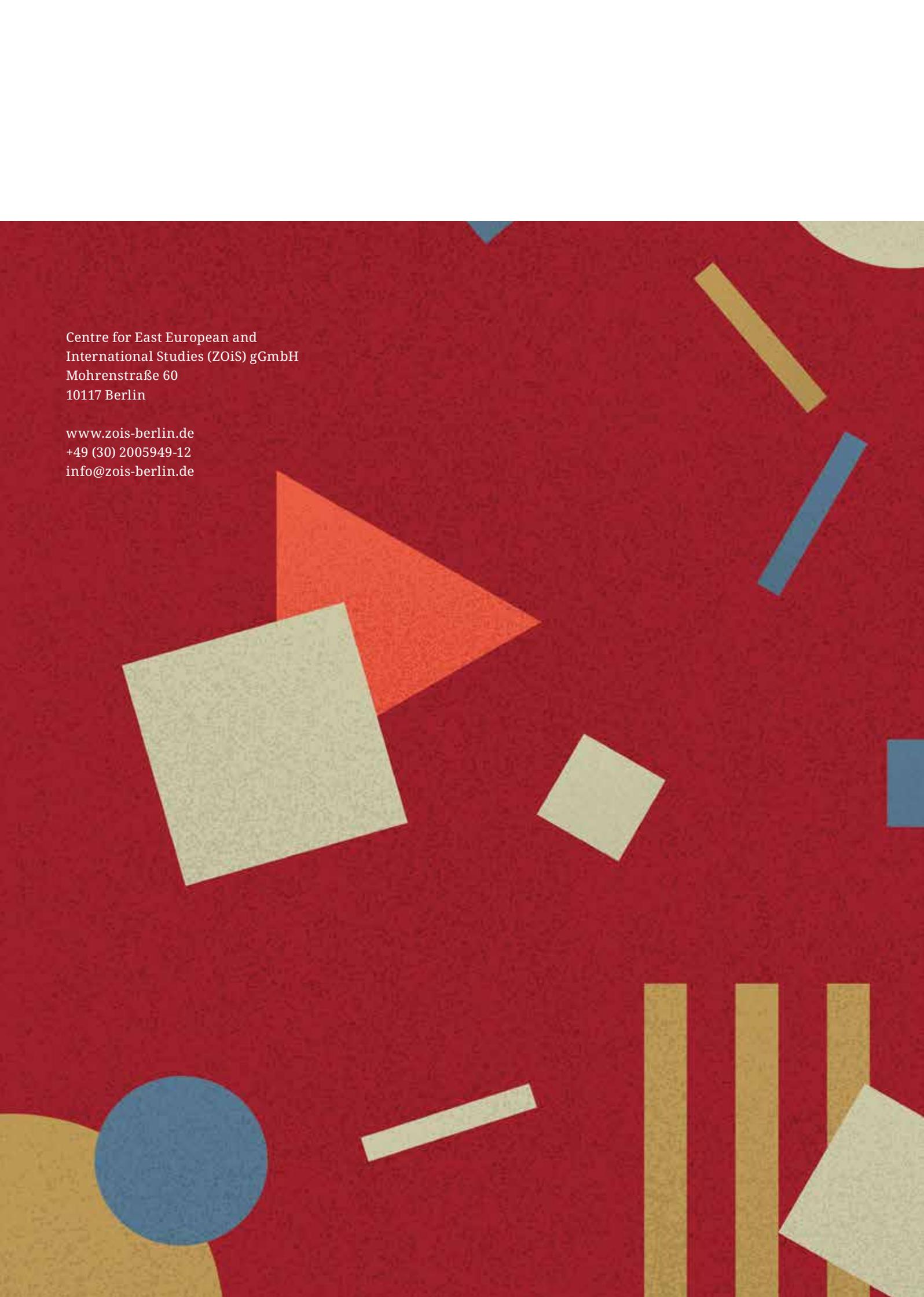
## **ISSN**

2625-3089

## **PHOTO CREDITS**

p. 6	ZOiS
p. 14 left	IMAGO / EST&OST
p. 14 middle	IMAGO / CTK Photo
p. 14 right	IMAGO / ITAR-TASS
p. 16–19	Annette Riedl / ZOiS
p. 28	IMAGO / ITAR-TASS
p. 29	IMAGO / ITAR-TASS
p. 31	wahlatlas.net
p. 32	IMAGO / Vitalii Kliuiev
p. 33	IMAGO / Christian Spicker
p. 36	IMAGO / TT
p. 37	IMAGO / ITAR-TASS
p. 42	Diana Bogishvili
p. 45	Beate Eschment
p. 49	IMAGO / ITAR-TASS
p. 51	IMAGO / ITAR-TASS
p. 57	Piotr Goldstein
p. 60	IMAGO / CTK Photo
p. 62	Irina Mützelburg
p. 63	Claudia Eggart
p. 64	Sabine von Löwis
p. 103	ZOiS
p. 107–109	ZOiS
p. 117	IMAGO / NurPhoto



The background is a solid dark red color. It is decorated with various abstract geometric shapes in different colors and orientations. There are several yellow rectangles and squares, some blue rectangles and squares, and one large orange triangle. A blue circle is partially visible in the bottom left corner, and a yellow circle is partially visible in the top right corner. The shapes are scattered across the page, creating a modern, minimalist aesthetic.

Centre for East European and  
International Studies (ZOiS) gGmbH  
Mohrenstraße 60  
10117 Berlin

[www.zois-berlin.de](http://www.zois-berlin.de)  
+49 (30) 2005949-12  
[info@zois-berlin.de](mailto:info@zois-berlin.de)