

2022

ANNUAL REPORT

Contents

Foreword	4
ZOiS	5
▶ Staff	6
▶ Visiting Researchers	10
▶ Cooperation Beyond Academia	11
▶ Marking ZOiS's Anniversary	12
▶ ZOiS's First Evaluation	14
▶ Structure and Finances	15
ZOiS Research in Times of War	16
Research	18
▶ Research Cluster: Societies between Stability and Change	18
▶ Research Cluster: Conflict Dynamics and Border Regions	22
▶ Research Cluster: Migration and Diversity	25
▶ Research Cluster: Youth and Generational Change	29
▶ Research Cluster: Political Economy and Integration	32
▶ Cross-cutting Projects	35
Supporting Young Researchers	38
Research Communication	43
▶ Communicating Research in the Context of War	43
▶ ZOiS Events	44
▶ ZOiS Publications	50
▶ ZOiS in the Media	54
External Activities	66
▶ Academic and Other Publications	66
▶ Events	72
▶ Consultations and Expert Talks	87
▶ Membership of Advisory and Executive Boards	90
Publishing Details	91

Foreword

Dear Friends of ZOiS,

2022 was a difficult year for all of us. Since the escalation in Russia's war against Ukraine from 24 February onwards, we have been working in something akin to a state of emergency – one which challenges many of us in unaccustomed and intensive ways, requires considerably more flexibility in our work, and places us under emotional and physical stress, not only as we analyse these complex events and continue our longer-term research projects, but also in our personal engagement. It sometimes feels as if everything that we are attempting to contribute as an Institute – in terms of contextualising and documenting the war and its impacts – does little to change the situation overall. Nevertheless, this year, we noticed just how much demand there



is for our expertise in this extreme situation; we saw the level of trust invested in us in the midst of great uncertainty; and we recognised our ability to adapt swiftly in both thematic and organisational terms. The importance of social science research on Eastern Europe, particularly research that is not focused only on Russia, could not be more apparent.

Following the postponement of our five-year anniversary during the pandemic, we were able to mark this occasion with a celebration in autumn 2022, albeit muted due to the war. The ZOiS Annual Conference which followed focused on diverse priorities pursued by ZOiS since it was established. This was the first major on-site event at ZOiS since the start of the pandemic and it reminded us just how important it is to be able to meet in person.

Our presence in the public sphere was more evident than ever in 2022. We produced a considerable number of publications, many of them appearing in leading international academic journals or released by highly respected publishing houses, and we launched some significant externally funded projects, including the *KonKoop* research network funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), *MoveMeRU* with financial support from the European Research Council (ERC), and the BMBF-funded *Ukraine Research Network@ZOiS* for Visiting Fellows in or from Ukraine. In accordance with our conception of good research practice, we were able to take another important step in our institutional development with our internal ethics procedure and an external Ethics Commission, which was established on our initiative with partner institutions.

The most significant institutional milestone in 2022 was the first academic evaluation of ZOiS. Here, the initial priority was to establish an appropriate framework for the evaluation process and document our activities since 2016 in a comprehensive status report. The inspection by an international academic evaluation panel took place in November 2022. Despite all the effort involved in the process, it was also an opportunity to remind ourselves that ZOiS is still a team – albeit one which has increased considerably in size. The process enabled us to look back on how much we have achieved together in our six years of existence. We hope that the evaluation will identify key entry points for the consolidation phase to come.

Thank you for your interest in our work.

PROF. GWENDOLYN SASSE
Director

DR CHRISTIAN SCHAICH
Managing Director



ZOIS

Staff

MANAGEMENT



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



DR CHRISTIAN SCHAICH
Managing Director



EMILY KLEINE
Assistant to the Director / Recruiting

RESEARCHERS



DIANA BOGISHVILI
Doctoral Student
Sociologist



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



DR IVAYLO DINEV
Researcher
Political Scientist



DR NADJA DOUGLAS
Researcher
Political Scientist



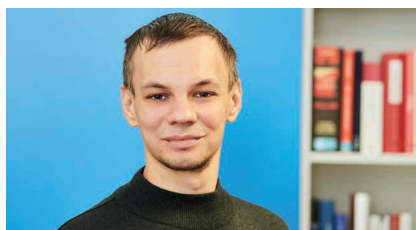
CLAUDIA EGGART
Doctoral Student
Social Anthropologist



DR REGINA ELSNER
Researcher
Theologist



DR BEATE ESCHMENT
Researcher
Central Asia Expert



KOSTIANTYN FEDORENKO
Doctoral Student
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 and Generational Change



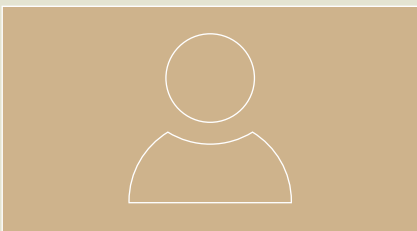
VALENTIN KRÜSMANN
Doctoral Student
Development Economist



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



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



DR IRINA MÜTZELBURG
Researcher
Political Scientist



DR BERIL OCAKLI
Researcher
Geographer / Institutional Economist



LENA PIEBER
Doctoral Student
Political Scientist



DR TATIANA ZHURZHENKO
Researcher
Political Scientist

RESEARCH MANAGEMENT / ACADEMIC COORDINATION



KATRIN HOFFMANN
External Funding and Research
Management



DR KERSTIN BISCHL
Academic Coordinator
KonKoop



ANASTASIYA LEUKHINA
Academic Coordinator
UNET



JOHANNA MOGWITZ
Academic Coordinator
MoveMeRU

COMMUNICATIONS



DR STEFANIE ORPHAL
Communications Director
Media Relations and Publications



STEPHANIE ALBERDING
Communications Coordinator
Social Media



DR ANNE BODEN
English-Language Publications
Editor



ANJA KRÜGER
Communications Coordinator
Events



YVONNE TROLL
Communications Coordinator
Editor



ELENA GOERTTLER-RECK
Trainee

EDITORIAL OFFICE ZENTRALASIEN-ANALYSEN



ROSTAM ONSORI
Editor



RICHARD SCHMIDT
Editor

ADMINISTRATION



THOMAS BERTHOLD
Head of Finance



TONI FRITZSCHE
IT System / Network Administrator



THOMAS JUNGE
Chief Information Officer

VISITING RESEARCHERS

Dr Yuliya Bidenko (UNET)
Ana Martínez Fernandez
Travis C. Frederick
Prof. Ákos Kopper
Dr Olena Podvorna
Prof. Tanya Richardson
Dr Adrián del Río
Viktor Savinok
Dr Christos Varvantakis

RESEARCH AFFILIATES

Veronika Pfeilschifter

STUDENT ASSISTANTS

Katalin Bayer
Kseniia Cherniak
Anna Costante
Giorgi Davidian
Nodar Etsadashvili
Franziska Fischer
Sina Giesemann
Anna Guryanova
Isabella Hoyer
Varvara Ilyina
Martha Jurowski
Margaritra Kayanja
Henri Koblischke
Alice Lackner

Verena de Lange
Karolina Lebek
Nikol Levova
Anastasiia Magazova
Alexandra Nowicky
Elizaveta Sokovnina
Eugenia Scanferla
Pamela Schmidt
Alena Surina
Jan Philipp Zimmermann

INTERNS

Felix Jehn
Anna Sinelnikova

Visiting Researchers

Researchers from different disciplines, places and career stages enrich the research undertaken at ZOiS. Nine researchers were guests at ZOiS in 2022. They worked on their projects and exchanged ideas with their colleagues on site, participated in the knowledge transfer at ZOiS and took part in events.

- ▶ **Dr Yuliya Bidenko** has been a fellow in the *Ukraine Research Network@ZOiS* (see p. 37) since December 2022. Her work focuses on the role of civil society in the Ukrainian resilience and recovery in the context of Russia's full-scale war against Ukraine.
- ▶ **Ana Martínez Fernandez** was a visiting researcher at ZOiS from May to August 2022. Her stay was financed by the international third-party funded project MOBILISE. During her time at ZOiS, she collected qualitative data as part of her MOBILISE sub-project and also carried out research on women's groups and collectives in Berlin for a joint project with Piotr Goldstein. Together with Piotr Goldstein and Karolina Lebek, both from ZOiS, she also participated in the research colloquium and MOBILISE project meetings.
- ▶ **Travis C. Frederick** is a PhD candidate at Princeton University and visited ZOiS from March to May 2022 with additional funding from Princeton. He studies the psychology of remembering in contemporary Russia using original experimental data. During his time at ZOiS, he pursued his doctoral research under Félix Krawatzek's supervision. He wrote a *ZOiS Spotlight*, participated in a podcast and presented his research at ZOiS's internal colloquium and in a PONARS Academy Talk.
- ▶ **Prof. Ákos Kopper** joined ZOiS in October 2022 as a fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. His research focuses on populism and the foreign policies of Eastern European countries. He is currently working on a chapter on Hungary and Poland to be published in the book *Populist Foreign Policy: Regional Perspectives of Populism in the International Scene*. In December 2022, he published a text on Hungary's role between Russia and the EU in the *ZOiS Spotlight* series. He also presented one of his own texts at ZOiS's internal colloquium.
- ▶ **Dr Olena Podvorna** came to Berlin from Ukraine with funding from the Cluster of Excellence SCRIPTS and, in addition to ZOiS, was affiliated with the Freie Universität Berlin. She was in Berlin from April to July and from August to October 2022, during which time she continued to pursue her research on European security policy and the impact Russia's invasion of Ukraine has had on it. She mainly worked on a third-party funding proposal for a project on the impact of the war on the political geography of the Arctic. Podvorna participated in the Summer School of the Center for Russian Studies in Tbilisi on *Reinterpreting Russia and the Region*, which was funded by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, and presented her work at the annual conference of the Aleksanteri Institute in Helsinki.
- ▶ **Prof. Tanya Richardson** is a professor at Wilfrid Laurier University in Canada and came to ZOiS for a one-week stay in October 2022. She gave two lectures and participated in a panel discussion. Her collaboration with ZOiS researcher Sabine von Löwis will be continued at the 2023 BASEES conference.
- ▶ **Dr Adrián del Río**, a fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, has been working on his book on elite divisions in electoral autocracies at ZOiS since October 2021. In this context, he has compiled data sets on the career paths of more than 35,000 politicians in such systems. He was also involved in two ERC-funded projects in Glasgow and Oslo, which gave rise to extensive data sets. In addition, he was part of a project at the National University of Distance Education in Madrid. Del Río was interviewed as an expert for media reports and also published articles in the *ZOiS Spotlight* series and the ECPR blog *The Loop*. Since October 2022, he has also been affiliated with the Berlin Social Science Center (WZB).
- ▶ **Viktor Savinok** was a visiting researcher at ZOiS from July 2021 to July 2022. From October 2021 on, his stay was funded by the Study Foundation of the Berlin House of Representatives. During his time at ZOiS, he worked on his dissertation on Germany's Russia policy, published academic articles and participated in international academic conferences. He also presented his work twice at the ZOiS internal colloquium.
- ▶ **Dr Christos Varvantakis** conducted research at ZOiS on activism, youth and political memory from September 2021 to February 2022, collaborating with ZOiS researchers Piotr Goldstein and Félix Krawatzek. His stay was financed from ZOiS funds. In parallel, he was also affiliated with Goldsmiths, University of London.

Cooperation Beyond Academia

Cooperation with actors beyond the scientific community is important for ZOiS in many ways, allowing us to access key target groups, increase knowledge on Eastern Europe and support young professionals beyond academic circles, and provide academic and non-academic institutions and actors in Germany and abroad with new impetus and synergies.

ZOiS Caucasus Network

Founded in 2019, the *ZOiS Caucasus Network* has established itself as a platform and hub for exchange among scholars and experts with a focus on the Caucasus region. In a flexible organisational framework, the network facilitates cooperation between experts from academia, politics and the media and promotes synergies between different disciplines. The regular meetings on topics of current interest and discourses on the Caucasus region take place both online and in person. In addition, regular newsletters are sent out with information about the latest research activities, publications, and events of network members. The network is led by social anthropologist Tsypylma Darieva and political scientist Nadja Douglas, while Sina Giesemann, a former ZOiS staff member, continues to assist with the coordination of its activities. As in previous years, in 2022 the *ZOiS Caucasus Network* organised two events:

Religion, State and Diversity in the South Caucasus (24/03/2022)

Panel discussion with Leila Alieva (Oxford School for Global and Area Studies), Tornike Metreveli (Lund University) and Silvia Stöber (freelance journalist). Moderation: Tsypylma Darieva and Sina Giesemann (both ZOiS)

Connectivity and Disconnectivity in the South Caucasus (19–20/10/2022)

Panel discussion followed by a workshop with Franziska Smolnik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs), Lela Rekhviashvili (Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography), Anar Valiyev (ADA University) and Mikayel Zolyan (Brusov State University)

Berlin Research 50 (BR50)

ZOiS is a member of the Berlin Research 50 (BR50) network, an initiative of the capital's non-university research institutions whose goal it is to strengthen Berlin as an international science metropolis. BR50 also serves to coordinate joint activities, such as supporting Ukrainian researchers, and is the main port of call for cooperation with the Berlin

universities and exchange with society and politics. In this context, the member institutions also coordinate their research communication activities. Important topics discussed at the network meeting at the Berlin Social Science Center (WZB) on 23 August 2022 included knowledge transfer to society, politics and business, measuring success, and the strategic communication of issues important to BR50. In 2022, ZOiS contributed in particular to the joint podcast project *Berlin Research – Forschung in Berlin*. Together with the Centre Marc Bloch, an episode was produced on freedom and limits of research in authoritarian countries, which, against the backdrop of the Russian war against Ukraine, also addressed the issue of how to support exiled and persecuted researchers.

dekoder: decoding Belarus

In 2022, ZOiS continued to cooperate with the online medium *dekoder.org* in the context of the project *Belarus entschlüsseln* (decoding Belarus), which follows the far-reaching changes the country is currently undergoing and explains these developments for a German readership. As well as supporting the project with its expertise, ZOiS organised two further events together with *dekoder* on the overarching theme *Quo vadis, Belarus?* In May, we looked at the current state of Belarusian society and how it has changed as a result of the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine. In November, our focus turned to the Belarusian role in the war, but also to the continuing repression within the country.

The Colloquium for Children's Literature (KLK)

The Colloquium for Children's Literature (KLK) is an open networking platform whose aim is to foster academic exchange on Eastern European children's and young adult literature and increase the visibility of research in this subject area. Since 2020, the colloquium organised by Nina Frieß (ZOiS), Eva Kowollik (Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg) and Karoline Thaidigsmann (Ruprecht Karls University Heidelberg) has provided a forum primarily for scholars from German-speaking Slavic Studies and other departments and institutions with a focus on Eastern Europe to discuss aspects of children's and young adult literature from Eastern Europe, present their research, collaborate on conferences, publications and other projects, and promote the integration of topics relating to children's and young adult literature into research and curricula. The meetings take place once a semester online or in hybrid form.

Marking ZOiS's Anniversary

The Covid-19 pandemic threw our plans to celebrate ZOiS's 5th birthday in March 2022 into disarray. We ended up marking the occasion in September, even though we did not feel like celebrating in light of Russia's war in Ukraine. In a ceremonial act in the Leibniz Hall of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Berlin, we remembered the founding of ZOiS and its first steps, reflected on the importance of the region for research, politics and public discourse, and dared to look ahead.

Following words of welcome from ZOiS Director Gwendolyn Sasse, a video message from the Minister of State at the Federal Foreign Office Anna Lührmann, and short speeches by Angela Ganninger (Foundation Board) and Timm Beichelt (Academic Advisory Board), a panel comprising Merike Blohfield (GIGA Institute of Latin American Studies), Linde Götz (Leibniz Institute of Agricultural Development in Transition Economies) and Ivan Krastev (Centre for Liberal Strategies) discussed the regional and global consequences of the war against Ukraine.





ZOiS's First Evaluation

Five years after the founding of the Centre for East European and International Studies, it was time for the institute's first evaluation. The preparations for this took place in a period marked by profound changes. In terms of both personnel and projects, the institute had grown rapidly and strongly over the years; the pandemic had a lasting impact on internal and external forms of communication; and Russia's war against Ukraine forced the institute to adapt many projects and rethink its structures for cooperation.

The evaluation focused in particular on the institute's output, its overall orientation and research programme, as well as its strategic development and long-term outlook. The central question was whether ZOiS is doing a good job and living up to its aspirations.

► Organisational framework

An internal cross-departmental working group set up specifically for this purpose developed the structural basis for the evaluation and prepared extensive documentation. The aim was to adequately reflect the special features of the institute and its core tasks, namely research, research communication, support for young researchers and networking. The Evaluation Commission had to be correspondingly diverse and ultimately included renowned academics representing the breadth of disciplines, regions and career stages found at the institute. The experts on the Commission also considered the structure and governance of the institute as well as research communication. The Commission was chaired by the historian of Eastern Europe Prof. Eduard Mühle, at that time based at the University of Münster. An experienced agency provided administrative support to the Commission, thus ensuring that the evaluation was external and independent.

Together with the Academic Advisory Board, ZOiS's Foundation Board played a key role in designing the evaluation process. The evaluation was carried out in accordance with rules of procedure developed for this purpose, which will also be used in future evaluation cycles. The evaluation itself was ultimately based on two pillars: the self-presentation of the institute with a comprehensive appendix on the one hand, and the site visit by the Evaluation Commission on the other.

► The self-presentation and site visit as the main components of the evaluation

The self-presentation was submitted to the Evaluation Commission in August 2022. The site visit took place in November 2022 and included discussions with the management, the individual departments and all ZOiS employees. In short presentations by researchers and a poster session, the Commission members gained insights into research at ZOiS and how it is organised along inter- and multidisciplinary lines. In addition, discussions were held with former visiting researchers and cooperation partners as well as with the governing bodies and the funding body. During this tightly packed two-day programme, the Evaluation Commission was able to gain in-depth knowledge of ZOiS's work.

The evaluation culminated in a detailed report by the Commission, the final version of which (including all envisaged statements) was available from June 2023. The self-presentation, report and statement will be published on the ZOiS website in summer 2023. The institute is currently working to implement the recommendations made by the Commission in close consultation with its governing bodies and the funding body.



Within a comparatively short period of time, ZOiS has succeeded in becoming a visible, widely recognised actor with a strong scholarly reputation in the German and international debate on Eastern Europe.

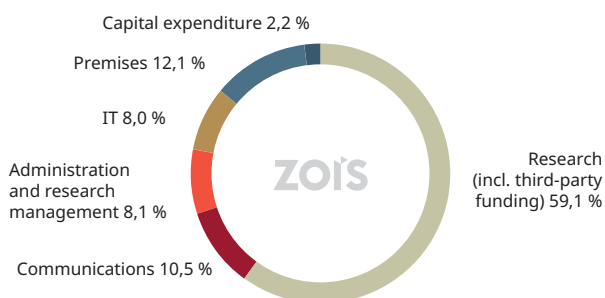
Evaluation Report of the Commission

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. Following Prof. Jan Kusber's (Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz) departure from his position as chairman in June 2022, the Foundation Board has been temporarily chaired by deputy chairperson Michael Scharfschwerdt, head of Policy Planning at the Federal Foreign Office. An international Academic Advisory Board assists the Centre on research matters.

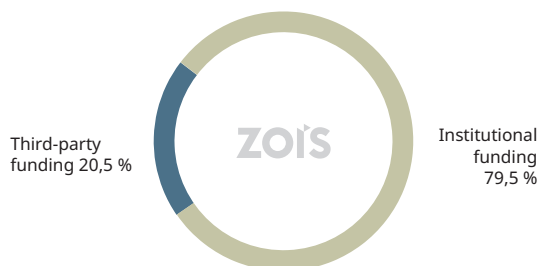
All researchers have sole responsibility for carrying out individual projects they have selected themselves. ZOiS's research programme is drawn up by the management and approved by the Academic Advisory Board. The awarding authority has no influence on the research work or its findings.

Distribution of ZOiS funds



ZOiS's total funding for the year 2022 amounted to EUR 3.785.250 million. The share of third-party funding in the total funds has almost doubled compared to 2021.

Ratio of institutional funding to third-party funding at ZOiS

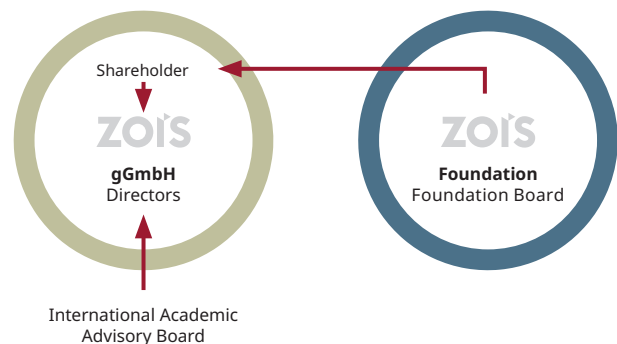


The Academic Advisory Board has an international membership and represents an array of disciplines and research regions. It fosters a lively culture of debate and currently convenes once or twice a year by video conference. It is continuously involved in strategic development, staffing decisions, events, 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**
currently Harvard University, USA
- ▶ **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

Structure of ZOiS



ZOIS Research in Times of War

On 24 February 2022, the ZOIS team, like so many people around the world, watched in dismay as events unfolded in Ukraine. We were horrified by the news and images coming out of a country with which we have long-standing connections based on many years of collaboration, where we have many friends, acquaintances and colleagues, a country familiar to us from countless research visits, and where our own families are now forced to huddle in cellars and basements to protect themselves from the shelling.

For ZOIS, a research institute which focuses on Eastern Europe, the war – particularly in the early stages – blurred the distinction between the personal and the professional. This is especially the case, of course, for our colleagues from Ukraine. On the day of the Russian invasion, ZOIS researcher Tatiana Zhurzhenko was preparing for her research visit to the Kharkiv region on the border with Russia. However, two of the Ukrainian border towns that she had planned to visit were seized by occupying forces just a few days after the invasion: ‘Kharkiv, my home city and a site of my research for many years, has become a war zone.’

Topical issues

The initial shock was followed by a need to take action. Alongside their personal commitment to providing aid for refugees and sending emergency relief, for example, our researchers started to think about how their studies might provide some context to the war. Some projects acquired unexpected political relevance. With her many years of experience researching topics such as the political landscape, forced migration in and out of Ukraine and identities in a country often described as ‘divided’, ZOIS Director Gwendolyn Sasse’s expertise was in great demand from the media.

Regina Elsner’s research on the positions of the Russian Orthodox Church and the discourse on peace ethics in the Eastern European churches, Félix Krawatzek’s expert knowledge of official historical narratives in Russia and Ukraine, and Tsy pylma Darieva’s and Tatiana Golova’s planned pilot study on political migration from Russia acquired a new

topicality. The war also sparked a fresh discussion about the significance of the Russian language in politics and society – a topic addressed by Slavist Nina Frieß in her research on literature and power: ‘The positions range from total rejection of the “language of the aggressor” to efforts to contest Russia’s quasi-monopoly on the Russian language.’

New research questions

The content of many projects, especially those focusing on Ukraine, had to be adjusted, however. With no foreseeable end to the dire situation facing the Ukrainian state and society, many ZOIS researchers started to consider possible new directions of study. As political scientist Irina Mützelburg explains: ‘Which topics were actually still relevant? Which were feasible and accessible for research? Which sources and methods were ethically defensible?’ She was not alone in asking these questions.

Above all, the lack of access to Ukraine and, for that matter, to Russia is a challenge for ZOIS’s research, which is based on detailed data collection in the field. Desk research and digital methods offered an opportunity for our researchers to continue their academic work. Shifting the regional and thematic focus opened up new scope for empirical research. For example, instead of studying Ukrainian markets, Claudia Eggart turned her attention to Moldova, specifically the area near the border between Romania, Moldova and Ukraine. Here, she talked to truck drivers who were transporting Ukrainian grain and who had to wait for up to 10 days to cross the border – gridlocked by red tape, an absurd situation in view of the urgent need for grain for global food security, she says. ‘This is about power, bureaucracy, infrastructure and everyday life in an area that is both peripheral and geopolitically central, depending on the transregional situation. So these are the aspects that I am studying in my new project.’

Tatiana Zhurzhenko began work on an ad hoc project that documents developments in the newly occupied areas of Ukraine. She analyses Russian policy in these areas, the



The war has had a drastic impact on all the areas I have been working on. Knowledge gaps have been revealed and new questions have emerged that require in-depth research.

Kostiantyn Fedorenko, PhD student



It became impossible for me to carry out any research in Ukraine. Doing fieldwork at a distance was out of the question. How could I contact strangers in basements, metro stations and bunkers and expect them to answer my questions, which had zero relevance to them in their present situation, while I was safe in my office in Berlin?

Irina Mützelburg, researcher

response from the Ukrainian state and society, the issue of collaboration, forms of local resistance, and the challenges of de-occupation. Irina Mützelburg also found a new topic: the educational situation of Ukrainian schoolchildren who are refugees in Germany. For that, she and Félix Krawatzek conducted surveys among Ukrainian parents, schoolchildren and teaching staff at German schools. In another new project, Piotr Goldstein and Félix Krawatzek are investigating young Poles' attitudes towards the many Ukrainian refugees hosted by their country since February 2022, as well as views on the political and military support being provided to Ukraine.

Ukraine has been a key focus of research at ZOiS since its establishment. However, the war of aggression against the country as a whole since 2022 marks a watershed and has posed new challenges for research on Ukraine and Eastern Europe. It is essential to empirically document the reality during and after the war, to reflect on the major challenges facing research that explores war-related topics or is conducted against the background of war, including the ethical issues that arise in this context, and to create new synergies between research on Eastern Europe, peace and conflict studies, and migration research. With the newly established *Ukraine Research Network@ZOiS*, which includes a Fellowship programme (see p. 37), ZOiS is keen to make a contribution here by enhancing the visibility of social science research on and from Ukraine and building connections.

Implications for the region as a whole

Even ZOiS research that does not explicitly focus on Ukraine was affected: the impacts of the war 'spread like seismic waves across the whole region', as political scientist Nadja Douglas explained. The regions which were previously the focus of her research – the Russian-backed de facto state of Transnistria, now a factor of insecurity for Ukraine and the

Republic of Moldova; Belarus as Russia's closest remaining ally; and the contested region of Nagorno-Karabakh between Azerbaijan and Armenia – were now parallel theatres in Russia's war against Ukraine: 'There continues to be a substantial need for information on Russia's changing role as a regional power and the so-called peacekeeping contingent, which no longer meets requirements,' Douglas explains. Georgia, too – one of the main destinations for Russian migrants and whose government was worried about becoming a further target of Russia's imperialist aggression – gained fresh urgency as a topic in Tsypylma Darieva's and Diana Bogishvili's research.

But with all eyes on Ukraine and attention focused on the impacts of the war in that country, other regions – which have their own conflicts and challenges – have slipped under the radar, both in terms of public interest and research. As Beril Ocaklı points out in relation to Central Asia and the South Caucasus, there is a risk of a decline in long-term research that is not focused on Ukraine. This could potentially result in a knowledge gap, with long-term implications for policy-making.

The role of academia

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has revealed the fragile nature of the global order. The public demand for information was considerable, as was the need to put the events into context and interpret them accordingly. At ZOiS, this was reflected in a surge in interest from the media, keen to obtain expert analyses and background knowledge on the developments in Ukraine, Russia and the region as a whole. In view of the major gaps in society's knowledge of Eastern Europe, and with so much targeted disinformation, researchers have a responsibility to provide factual analysis and debunk myths. Although this task will not become any easier in the foreseeable future, ZOiS will continue to make a contribution here.



As a researcher, I feel a particular need to contribute to the empirical documentation of the war, even though this is difficult to accomplish in practice.

Gwendolyn Sasse, ZOiS Director

Research Cluster

Societies between Stability and Change

Head: Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse

ZOIS-FUNDED PROJECTS

Database on Protest Waves in Eastern Europe, 1980–2022

Dr Ivaylo Dinev | Term: since 2022

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

Dr Nadja Douglas | Term: since 2016

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

Dr Regina Elsner | Term: since 2017

Literature and Power in the Post-Soviet Space

Dr Nina Frieß | Term: since 2016

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

Dr Piotr Goldstein | Term: since 2015, based at ZOIS since 2019

Regional Protests on Russian Social Media

Dr Tatiana Golova | Term: since 2021

Languages of Conflict: Ideas of Europe in European Memory

Dr Félix Krawatzek in cooperation with Dr Gregor Feindt (Leibniz Institute of European History, Mainz), Dr Friedemann Pestel (University of Freiburg), Dr Rieke Trimçev (University of Greifswald)
Term: since 2011, based at ZOIS since 2018

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

PD Dr Sabine von Löwis | Term: since 2018

Russia²

Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse | Term: since 2019

Belarus at the Crossroads? Public Attitudes after the 2020 Election

Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse, Dr Nadja Douglas, Dr Regina Elsner, Dr Félix Krawatzek, Dr Julia Langbein
Term: 2020–2022

EXTERNALLY FUNDED PROJECT

The Proliferation of Memory Laws and the Return of the Nation

Dr Félix Krawatzek in cooperation with Dr George Soroka (Harvard University) | Term: since 2018

Concepts such as ‘democracy’ and ‘authoritarianism’ or ‘liberal’ and ‘illiberal’ suggest clear defining criteria and boundaries between regime types, but are inadequate to capture the diversity and dynamics of political systems and societies. This is the starting point for the work conducted by this research cluster, which focuses on social developments in Eastern Europe, particularly actors and processes which facilitate, restrict or obstruct political, social or cultural change. Contested spaces – the physical and discursive areas in which political, normative and historical claims and expectations, but also identities and memories, legacies and values are negotiated – take centre stage. The research cluster gathers insights from sociology, political science, geography, anthropology, theology and cultural studies.

Key developments in 2022

For this research cluster, 2022 was, above all, a year in which a number of its projects came to fruition in the form of major publications; in addition, substantial new data-gathering began or continued. Russia’s war against Ukraine required the modification of several projects. Protest dynamics in (semi-) authoritarian systems, diverse forms of activism, the impacts of political crises and Russia’s war against Ukrainian civilians and against political and ecclesiastical institutions were a particular focus of interest.

A noteworthy highlight – in terms of our researchers’ professional development – was Sabine von Löwis’ postdoctoral thesis *Das Phantom der alten Grenze am Zbruč. Kontinuitäten und Brüche sozialräumlicher Strukturen in der Westukraine (The Phantom of the Old Border at the Zbruč: Continuities and Ruptures in the Socio-spatial Structures of Western Ukraine)*. The *Habilitation* was

submitted to Leipzig University’s Faculty of Physics and Earth Sciences in 2022 and passed the scientific colloquium’s examination procedure at the end of the year. The *Habilitation* is the culmination of a multi-year ethnographic study in which Sabine von Löwis made a major contribution to the development of the concept of the ‘phantom border’. It refers to historical borders which continue to resonate in memories and everyday practices over long periods of time.

Mass protests in Belarus

The interdisciplinary project *Belarus at the Crossroads? Public Attitudes after the 2020 Election* was based on a panel survey of the Belarusian population during and after the mass mobilisation in 2020–21 following the presidential election. It is rarely possible to conduct this type of data-gathering during or soon after mass protests in authoritarian settings; by doing so, researchers are able to gain an impression of motivations and attitudes among protesters and across wider society.

After the presentation of preliminary findings in media articles, short publications and policy briefings in 2021, various academic publications were published in 2022. The first of these was an open access Special Issue in the journal *Post-Soviet Affairs* entitled *Understanding the 2020 Mass Mobilization in Belarus*, which was edited by Gwendolyn Sasse and Olga Onuch (University of Manchester).

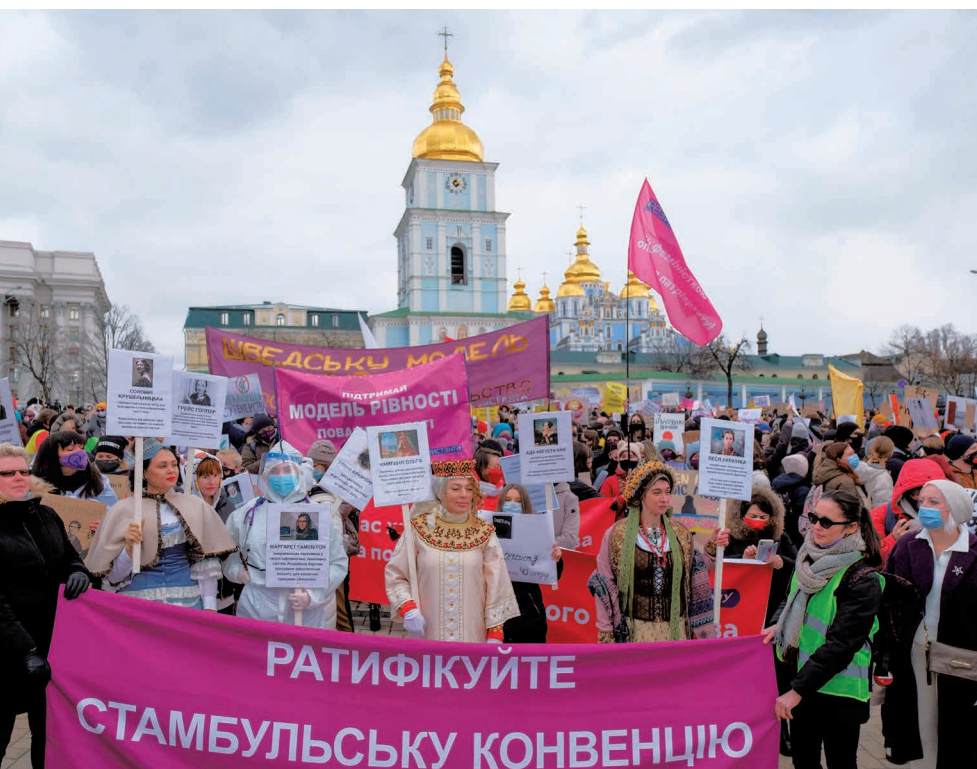
Two of the articles in the Special Issue relate to research conducted at ZOIS. The article by Onuch and Sasse examines the significance of geopolitical positions, such as pro- or anti-EU/Russia preferences, as foundational dispositions distinguishing anti-authoritarian protesters from non-protesters.

Foreign policy preferences have not been the subject of systematic study in protest research to date but merit more detailed theoretical and empirical analysis, as this article shows. The article is based in part on an online survey conducted in Belarus as part of the MOBILISE project (part of the research cluster *Migration and Diversity*), which studies this mobilisation from its beginnings in August 2020 until January 2021.

The article *Attitudes Towards Democracy and the Market in Belarus: What has changed and why it matters* by Félix Krawatzek and Julia Langbein compares data from the ZOIS surveys with public opinion data collected by other organisations from 2011 and 2018. The study finds that Belarusian society has become more supportive of liberal political and economic values. Surprisingly, this trend is particularly driven by the older generation.

Orthodox churches, protests and gender

2022 also saw the online publication of the first articles from a second open access Special Issue on Belarus, which was edited by Gwendolyn Sasse and Olga Onuch and appears in *Nationalities Papers*. The complete issue will be available in print in early 2023 and will include an article by Nadja Douglas on the securitisation of relations between state and society. Regina Elsner’s article *Praying Instead of Protesting? The Belarusian Churches and Political Protest After the 2020 Presidential Election* was already published online in 2022. It draws on data collected by ZOIS in an online survey in 2020, specifically the questions on trust in the churches’ institutions and on religious practices and attitudes. Overall, the Belarusian population is less religious compared to neighbouring countries. Neverthe-



Rally for the ratification of the Istanbul Convention in Kyiv before the war, a step taken by the Ukrainian Parliament in 2022.

less, religious communities became visible actors during the political crisis, not least by offering protection to protesters. There is, however, a growing discrepancy between the theological position of the Orthodox Church and grassroots social and political engagement, as Regina Elsner shows in her study.

Regina Elsner's work focuses on negotiation processes between the church as an institution and religious communities and the tensions between theological doctrine, social ethics and sociopolitical reality. In 2022, she was among the ZOIS researchers who received the most media enquiries due to the prominent role played by church discourses in relation to Russia's war against Ukraine. Her research interests also include gender discourses, such as the conflict between a 'European' and

an 'anti-gender' identity in the positions of the Ukrainian churches (until February 2022). In 2022, she addressed this topic in her article *Ukrainian Churches and the Implementation of the Istanbul Convention in Ukraine: Being Europe Without Accepting 'Gender'*, published in *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*. The research cluster is currently intensifying its focus on the topic of gender as a key dimension of discourses and practices in various political systems, particularly in authoritarian contexts.

Memory politics and political regimes

Historical memory and history policy are key political mechanisms for maintaining regime stability by means of socialisation, media and legislation. For the research cluster, a highlight in

this thematic area in 2022 was *Here to Stay: The Politics of History in Eastern Europe*, a Special Issue of the journal *East European Politics and Societies*. Edited by Félix Krawatzek and George Soroka (Harvard University), the Special Issue brings together some of the findings of a longstanding research partnership and puts them in dialogue with a wider circle of international academics. Krawatzek and Soroka examine a diffuse field of research by focusing systematically on structural conditions and on the framing by political regimes, elites and society that governs historical memory. In a further article, Krawatzek also looks at historical memory among young people in Belarus and Latvia, drawing on ZOIS surveys from 2019. In addition to revealing generational differences, he explores the role played by identities in historical memory.

Poetry and protest in Kazakhstan

In an innovative *ZOIS Report*, Slavist Nina Frieß introduced academic and non-academic readers to poetry's role in the protests in Kazakhstan. For this publication, she translated previously inaccessible poems and analysed them in the social context of an authoritarian state. She also continued her project on Russophone literature, with the expansion of an international research network against the backdrop of war. The distinction between 'Russophone' and 'Russian' literature is gaining new topicality as a result of Russia's war against Ukraine. In her research, Frieß focuses mainly on Russophone writers from Kazakhstan who are largely unknown in the West and identify as both 'Russophone' and 'Kazakhstani', thereby expressing an openly state-oriented identity while, in many cases, also creating space for regime-critical discourses in their literature.

Protests on Russian social media

While social media are undoubtedly used pro-actively and in multiple ways by modern authoritarian regimes ('networked authoritarianism'), they are key communication and mobilisation tools for critical activists and protest movements. In her project, Tatiana Golova explored how mobilisation for regional protests occurs through 'un-focused' framing in the absence of pre-existing political networks. The unusually long-lasting protests in the Khabarovsk Krai in 2020 served as her main case study. In 2022, the analytical phase of the project concluded with the submission of an academic paper; however, her methodologies are still being applied in a new project on political migration from Russia and Azerbaijan (see p. 27).

Left-wing movements in Bulgaria and Slovenia

Protests and various forms of activism feature as topics in a number of projects in this research cluster. Ivaylo Dinev's research on left-wing political movements in Eastern Europe, mainly Bulgaria and Slovenia, was published in the form of a new dataset and a long-term study in 2022. In an article in the *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, he explores the divergent paths of organised left-wing political movements in the two countries and the growing polarisation within the left in Slovenia. In 2022, Dinev also began work on establishing the comprehensive *Database on Protest Waves in Eastern Europe, 1980–2022*.

Everyday activism in Poland and Serbia

In 2022, Piotr Goldstein worked on a new ethnographic documentary with the working title *Seeding Change*, which

brings together visual research from 2018 and 2019. The film – to be completed in 2023 – centres on examples of everyday activism in the Polish city of Łódź. Goldstein also continued a project on activism in Serbia, a theme which he first addressed in ethnographic fieldwork in 2011–2012. Ten years later, in 2022, he began to re-interview 30 activists in cooperation with colleagues from the University of Novi Sad. He thus explores a hitherto understudied topic, namely activism during various phases of life.

Attitudes to Russia

At the start of the year, Gwendolyn Sasse collected further focus group data in East and West Germany in order to analyse attitudes to Russia, with a particular focus on pro-Russian leanings. She followed up on her surveys conducted in 2019 and 2020 and focus group discussions in 2019, which

showed that the differences between East and West Germany are often exaggerated and that affinity for Russia is in many cases associated with a critical attitude towards the German government and a lack of knowledge of or genuine interest in Russia itself. Statements expressing affinity for Russia were often coloured by the perception of effective leadership under President Putin (as compared to the German government) and anti-Americanism. It may be expected, however, that Russia's war against Ukraine from February 2022 onwards has led to at least a partial shift in attitudes. The project was modified in order to explore this question, with further in-depth interviews conducted in December with focus group participants from January. This quasi-experimental qualitative research design aims to capture continuities and ruptures in the attitudes and lines of argument.



Everyday activism in Warsaw: Showing solidarity with Ukraine.

Research Cluster

Conflict Dynamics and Border Regions

Head: PD Dr Sabine von Löwis

ZOIS-FUNDED PROJECTS

Confidence-Building and Conflict Settlement: The Case of Transdnistria

Dr Nadja Douglas, Prof. Stefan Wolff (University of Birmingham) | Term: since 2017

Orthodox Peace Ethics and Militarisation in the Post-Soviet Space

Dr Regina Elsner | Term: since 2020

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

PD Dr Sabine von Löwis | Term: since 2017

Forced Migrants from Ukraine in Transnational Europe: Between Personal Agency, Civil Society and the State (FORUM)

PD Dr Sabine von Löwis, Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse | Term: since 2022

Political Orientations and Identities in De Facto States

PD Dr Sabine von Löwis, Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse | Term: since 2019

Identities in Wartime: The Case of Ukraine

Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse | Term: since 2016

EXTERNALLY FUNDED PROJECTS

The Liberal Script in Ukraine's Contested Border Regions

Dr Tatiana Zhurzhenko, PD Dr Sabine von Löwis, Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse | Term: since 2019

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

PD Dr Sabine von Löwis, Dr Julia Langbein, Claudia Eggart, Dr Félix Krawatzek, Dr Irina Mützelburg
Term: since 2021

Displacement from and in Ukraine: Trajectories, Attitudes, Perspectives

PD Dr Sabine von Löwis, Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse | Term: since 2022

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)

Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse, PD Dr Sabine von Löwis, Dr Julia Langbein. Project coordination: Dr Kerstin Bischl
Term: since 2022

This research cluster investigates conflict dynamics and border regions; in some instances, it also studies conflict dynamics in border regions. It focuses particularly on local state and non-state actors and structures that are affected by conflicts and influence their further development. These actors include refugees from conflict regions, populations of disputed areas, and local decision-makers. The research considers the multitude of shifting interactions between local and external actors and investigates the causes and management of conflicts, socio-spatial dynamics, the actions and practices of affected populations, and the effectiveness of those actions. The projects comprising the research cluster are funded by ZOIS itself or by third parties.

Key developments in 2022

In 2022, there was a particular emphasis on establishing joint work structures across the research cluster's various projects and on fostering thematic collaboration among the researchers, who apply a variety of empirical and theoretical approaches and methodologies in their projects. A particular priority was to discuss various approaches at a monthly study group and to develop the roundtable on geopolitics 'from below' at the 2022 ZOIS Annual Conference.

Russia's war against Ukraine had a major impact on the work carried out by the research cluster team and affected various aspects of research communication. The increased demand for expertise in response to the war was evident from the large number of enquiries from schools, the media, foundations and policy-makers.

A highlight in 2022 was the publication of *Post-Soviet Borders: A Kaleidoscope of Shifting Lives and Lands*, edited by Beate Eschment and Sabine von Löwis, in the *Routledge Borderlands Studies*

series. This edited volume consists of various papers presented at two workshops in 2018 and 2019.

Surveys in the Donbas

Gwendolyn Sasse's projects in this research cluster focus on social attitudes and identities in crisis and war contexts. Parallel surveys involving various opinion research institutes and conducted in cooperation with John O'Loughlin (University of Colorado Boulder) and Gerard Toal (Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University) in the Donbas were of great topical relevance in 2022. The results provided insights into political attitudes on both sides of the contact line before the full-scale Russian invasion. Gwendolyn Sasse made a major contribution to advancing knowledge about the war with her numerous media appearances and interactions with policy-makers and the public. Her book *Der Krieg gegen die Ukraine. Hintergrund, Ereignisse, Folgen (The War Against Ukraine: Background, Events, Consequences)*, published by C.H. Beck in the Wissen series in autumn and aimed at a broad readership, made a major contribution here. She also curated three Virtual Special Issues of *Europe-Asia Studies*. Entitled *Russia's War against Ukraine*, these Virtual Special Issues bring together relevant research from the journal's back catalogue, enabling readers to rediscover this classic scholarship.

Orthodox Churches in the context of war

In her project *Orthodox Peace Ethics and Militarisation in the Post-Soviet Space*, Regina Elsner investigates concepts of peace ethics in Eastern European Orthodoxy, making her research particularly relevant for an understanding of the social and political dimensions of the war against Ukraine in 2022. This was reflected in her numerous media

contributions and publications. The topic also featured prominently in the research landscape, with, notably, the publication of *Dynamics of Russian Orthodox Ethics of Peace and War: Sketching Shifts from the Cold War to the War in Ukraine* in the *Uppsala Yearbook of Eurasian Studies*.

Disputed territories: Transnistria and Nagorno-Karabakh

Nadja Douglas, who returned from parental leave in mid-2022, resumed work on her research project on confidence-building and conflict settlement in the case of Transnistria and authored a policy brief entitled *Confidence Building in the Shadow of War – Moldova, Transdnistria, and the Uncertain Future of the 5+2 Process*, which is due to be published in the OSCE Insights series in 2023. She was also engaged in research communication, mainly as an expert on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan and on the role of Belarus in the Russian war against Ukraine.

Research on Ukrainian border regions

As part of the *Contestations of the Liberal Script in Ukraine's Borderlands* project, Tatiana Zhurzhenko organised a panel at the Convention of the Central and East European International Studies Association (CEEISA) in Bratislava in June 2022, which examined case studies on the Polish-Ukrainian, Hungarian-Ukrainian and Transnistrian/Moldovan-Ukrainian borders. The studies focus on the public's everyday perspectives and practices in border regions and look at how they have been affected by the war in Eastern Ukraine since 2014. The project's thematic focus and the opportunities for data-gathering have been severely impacted by Russia's war against Ukraine. As far as possible, the fieldwork has continued

with the involvement of Ukrainian partners and the research questions have been amended in response to the war since February 2022. At present, it is not possible to carry out research in the Kharkiv region along the Ukrainian-Russian border, which has been severely impacted by the war; for that reason, surveys were conducted among refugees from Kharkiv. In addition, developments in the occupied areas were documented and analysed and then published and presented in various formats. Tatiana Zhurzhenko also accepted numerous requests to participate in discussions and give lectures to fellow academics and the public and thus helped to advance understanding of the background and context of Russia's war against Ukraine.

Another high point of the project was an exhibition of photographs entitled *Border Areas: Places and People on the Ukrainian-Polish and Ukrainian-Hungarian Border* at ZOiS. The opening of the exhibition – a collaboration between photographers Anastasiia Kuznietsova and Volker Kreidler – was held during the 2022 ZOiS Annual Conference.

The documentary photographs were produced in autumn/winter 2021/2022 and – after the outbreak of the war – in summer/autumn 2022 and offer diverse insights into everyday life and local conditions in regions along Ukraine's borders with Poland and Hungary.

Refocusing the *LimSpaces* project

September 2021 saw the launch of the project *Living with Uncertainty. Strategies of Adaptation and Horizons of Expectation in Ukraine and Moldova (LimSpaces)*, which is funded by the Agence nationale de la recherche (ANR) and the German Research Foundation (DFG). Researchers from France's Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) and the Berlin-based Centre Marc Bloch are involved in the project alongside ZOiS. In this project too, the research schedule for 2022 had to be substantially amended due to the war against Ukraine. The thematic focus of the two ZOiS-based sub-projects and therefore also the research questions were modified due to the impossibility of conducting fieldwork in Ukraine (see p. 36f.).

Launch of the BMBF-funded *KonKoop* research network

A major success for ZOiS and the research cluster was the launch of the research 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)* on 1 April 2022. The network, which is funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), studies various conflict constellations and dynamics of cooperation in Eastern Europe, Southeast Europe, Central Asia and the Caucasus. The aim is to understand and explain interactions and pool the expertise available in Germany, integrate it into an international network and enhance its visibility. *KonKoop* is coordinated by Kerstin Bischl at ZOiS (see p. 35f.).

New network to study the situation of Ukrainian refugees

Russia's war against Ukraine has directly or indirectly affected and led to the modification of many research projects, but it has also been a contributory factor in the establishment of a new project. With so many people fleeing Ukraine, ZOiS and the German Centre for Integration and Migration Research (DeZIM) have set up a network to conduct research on the situation of Ukrainian refugees in various European countries. The project, entitled *Forced Migrants From Ukraine in Transnational Europe: Between Personal Agency, Civil Society and the State (FORUM)*, aims to coordinate research on this topic and foster dialogue among academics. A project headed by Sabine von Löwis and Gwendolyn Sasse at ZOiS in the context of the network will carry out a series of surveys among refugees currently living in Poland, Moldova and Germany (see p. 35).



Food parcels for refugees in a church in western Ukraine: With her assessments of the role of the Orthodox Churches in the war, Regina Elsner was a sought-after expert in the media in 2022.

Research Cluster

Migration and Diversity

Head: PD Dr Tsypylma Darieva

ZOIS-FUNDED PROJECTS

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

Diana Bogishvili | Term: since 2019

Transformation of Urban Spaces and Religious Pluralisation in the Caucasus

PD Dr Tsypylma Darieva | Term: since 2017

Homeland Pilgrimage: Roots and Routes of Transnational Diasporic Engagement

PD Dr Tsypylma Darieva | Term: 2010–2022

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

Dr Beate Eschment | Term: since 2018

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

Kostiantyn Fedorenko | Term: since 2019

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

Dr Piotr Goldstein | Term: since 2017, based at ZOIS since 2019

Political Migration from Russia and Azerbaijan

PD Dr Tsypylma Darieva, Dr Tatiana Golova | Term: since 2022

Forced Migrants from Ukraine in Transnational Europe: Between Personal Agency, Civil Society and the State (FORUM)

PD Dr Sabine von Löwis, Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse | Term: since 2022

EXTERNALLY FUNDED PROJECTS

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

Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse, Dr Piotr Goldstein, Kostiantyn Fedorenko | Term: 2018–2022

Displacement from and in Ukraine: Trajectories, Attitudes, Perspectives

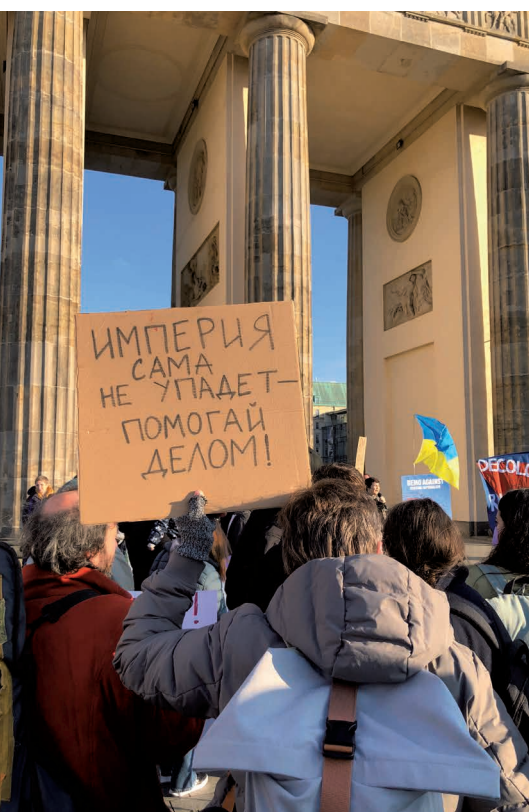
PD Dr Sabine von Löwis, Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse | Term: since 2022

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

Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse, Diana Bogishvili | Term: 2021–2023

Migratory processes and societal change from a transnational perspective are the main focus of interest for the *Migration and Diversity* research cluster. With its social science-based approach, it makes an innovative contribution to the study of hitherto under-researched forms and processes of migration in and outside Eastern Europe. Migration and diversity issues are closely connected.

The research cluster focuses on migrants with an Eastern European background in Western Europe and on migratory processes and their effects on societies in Eastern Europe, the South Caucasus and Central Asia. Key topics are: past and present migrations, transnational diaspora networks to the 'ancestral' homeland, multiple identities, value-oriented debates, and political participation and social engagement by migrants between the home and host countries.



"The empire will not crumble by itself – get active!": Protest against the invasion of Ukraine and Russian imperialism organised by Russian and Russian-speaking migrant activists in Berlin in November 2022.

The cluster's eight research projects are located at the interface between social science-based migration and diaspora research and Transregional and Area Studies. The Eastern Partnership countries in the South Caucasus and the Central Asian republics feature prominently in the research, alongside Germany and Russia. Under-researched minorities and their integration, but also transnational linkages among academics and the general public are made visible. In 2022, the research cluster responded swiftly to the impacts of the war in Ukraine, including displacement and exile, and this has broadened the spectrum of topics and methods being addressed.

Key research questions in 2022

- ▶ How do migrants' remittances (social, political and economic) influence the home and host societies?
- ▶ Which social resources are available to migrants from/in Eastern Europe to support their engagement in society at a time of war/crisis?
- ▶ Which strategies and practices to deal with ethnic and religious diversity are being developed by state and non-state actors in Eastern Europe, the South Caucasus and Central Asia?
- ▶ Where are new conflicts emerging, and under which conditions can peaceful coexistence be sustained despite the crises?

In 2022, the research cluster focused on the following activities: 1) analysing case studies of diversity and multiple identities; 2) generating new empirical research data on various migrant and diaspora groups and migrants' activism; 3) developing new research projects in the context of Russia's war against Ukraine.

Russia's war against Ukraine

The war against Ukraine has affected the research cluster in both thematic and organisational terms. The researchers reacted swiftly to the urgent po-

litical issues raised by the arrival of Ukrainian refugees in Poland and Germany and the new waves of emigration from Russia. The research cluster identified new research topics and generated empirical data such as Kostiantyn Fedorenko's interviews with refugees, political migrants and Maidan activists from Ukraine. In collaboration with Prof. Andreas Heinemann-Grüder (University of Bonn), Kostiantyn Fedorenko also studied various forms of Russian influence on local media in different de facto states (Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia and the self-proclaimed Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics).

In cooperation with the *Youth and Generational Change* research cluster, Piotr Goldstein investigated young Poles' political attitudes towards refugees from Ukraine and their views on refugees from the Middle East who migrated into the EU in 2021 across the Polish-Belarusian border. His analysis of attitudes towards both events was published in a *ZOiS Report* in 2022.

In view of the unrest in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, the potential impacts of the war in Ukraine on countries in Central Asia and the South Caucasus have led to heightened media interest in these regions, and this has increased the demand for expert analysis by ZOIS's researchers, particularly Central Asia expert Beate Eschment. This has significantly enhanced the public visibility of the regional expertise available at ZOIS.

New waves of migration

Early in the year, and in response to the impacts of the war in Ukraine, Tatiana Golova and Tsy pylma Darieva launched a pilot project on political migration from Russia and Azerbaijan. Based on a systematic analysis of social media channels (Telegram), semi-structured interviews with Russian activists and experts, and ethnographic observations at selected locations, the project explores civil society attitudes in exile and aims to identify the

extent to which they exert influence in the home countries. The research focuses mainly on Germany and Georgia. In 2022, 45 qualitative interviews were conducted with Russian emigrants and migration experts in Germany and Georgia. The study is intended to contribute to a theoretical understanding of political remittances and migrant participation.

In Georgia, Tsypylma Darieva collaborated with local academics from Tbilisi State University and the Caucasus Research Resource Center in order to enhance understanding of Georgian attitudes towards the new waves of migrants from Russia into Georgia. The provisional findings on various forms of activism by Russian migrants in the context of the war and the visa regime were presented at the ZOiS Annual Conference in 2022 and featured in a *ZOiS Spotlight* by Tsypylma Darieva.

In summer 2022, ZOiS and the German Centre for Integration and Migration Research (DeZIM) set up a new network to conduct research on urgent issues relating to the integration of forced migrants from Ukraine in various European countries. The *FORUM* network involves several research clusters and focuses on Ukrainian refugees and diaspora communities in transnational Europe. It is particularly interested in how those fleeing Ukraine negotiate their everyday lives vis-à-vis welfare state regulations, institutional practices, and various local and transnational civil society intermediaries (see p. 35).

Migrants' activism

The research cluster regards migrants and minorities as active transnational agents of societal change. Several research projects, particularly those conducted by Tatiana Golova, Tsypylma Darieva, Gwendolyn Sasse, Piotr Goldstein and Kostiantyn Fedorenko, turn the spotlight on different forms of activism by Eastern European migrants and on transnational civil society engagement. A particular aim is to break down stereotypes that portray

'migrants' and 'members of ethnic minorities' as isolated and passive burdens on society.

In a long-term ethnographic study, Tsypylma Darieva looks at forms of transnational engagement by the second and subsequent generations of the Armenian diaspora and shows how emotions are driving new forms of diaspora mobility (*roots mobility*) with political implications. The findings of this post-doctoral project were presented by Tsypylma Darieva in a keynote at a conference on *Migration and Everyday Life of (Post-)Soviet Diaspora Nationalities* in Lüneburg in early 2022. In December, the monograph *Making a Homeland: Roots and Routes of Transnational Armenian Engagement* was submitted to Transcript for inclusion in its *Global Studies* series and will be published in spring 2023.

Visual research methodologies

Multimedia approaches to ethnography offer scope for deeper reflection and provide valuable insights into protagonists' everyday lives. Piotr Goldstein's first ethnographic documentary *Active (citizen)* was developed into a multi-screen installation entitled *Active (cit-*

izen) – *Can anyone be an activist?* The installation was screened for the first time at the ZOiS Annual Conference. *The Visualising the Invisible* project thus makes a contribution to socially engaged ethnography. As well as presenting his findings at academic conferences, Piotr Goldstein hosted screenings in community centres and at numerous film festivals attended by filmmakers and activists. The second ethnographic documentary in Piotr Goldstein's project – the 26-minute *Spółdzielnia/Cooperative* – won the Best Short Documentary award at the Capital Filmmakers Festival in Madrid in November 2022.

Workshops and conferences

In April 2022, the workshop *Studying Political Migration: Methodological Challenges and Perspectives* – part of the *Political Migration* pilot project – showed that the new wave of migration from Russia to Europe and the South Caucasus is a highly topical issue for international academics from a range of disciplines. As a result of the workshop, an international research network has emerged that provides a basis for regular exchange and for generating new research projects.



'To Europe!' is the message written on posters in the Georgian capital Tbilisi. In light of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Georgia has brought forward its application for EU membership.

As part of the externally funded *Project to Initiate Research and Cooperation between EU and Eastern Partnership Countries (RemitEU)* and in collaboration with the Center for Social Sciences (CSS) in Georgia, Diana Bogishvili organised two workshops in Tbilisi and Berlin, which explored topical issues such as Europeanisation processes in Eastern Partnership countries, migration and changing values. As one of the outcomes, an international consortium involving 11 international partners from Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova, the Western Balkans, Belgium, Italy and Ireland was formed and an initial project proposal for submission to the Federal Ministry of Education and Research's *Horizon Europe* programme was drafted.

Among the activities undertaken by the *ZOiS Caucasus Network*, which involves several of ZOiS's research clusters, Tsypylma Darieva and Nadja Douglas organised a workshop and a *ZOiS Forum* on the issue of *Connectivity and Disconnectivity in the South Caucasus*. In collaboration with Franziska Smolnik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs) and Susanne Fehlings (German Anthropological Association), work is under way on a special issue on new infrastructures in the South Caucasus (New Silk Road) and their significance for local communities in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Multiethnic societies

Issues of governance and everyday practices of coexistence in multiethnic and multireligious societies are the main focus of the studies on diversity. The nation-states in conflict regions such as the South Caucasus and Central Asia face particular challenges in presenting and managing diversity both internally and externally. Beate Eschment's research findings on numerous ethnic groups and deported minorities in Kazakhstan show that

peaceful overlaps between multiple identities are possible among ethnic minorities. Minorities with multiple identities identify not only with their own ethnic group but also with Kazakhstan as a nation-state. The 'historical homelands' can play diverse roles in this context: depending on the group concerned and its relationship with Kazakhstan, they can contribute to peaceful coexistence – or they can worsen conflicts.

Religious pluralisation

Dealing with religious diversity poses new challenges for nation-states. Tsypylma Darieva's findings from her ethnological project reveal various models of power relations between religious minorities and the state in Georgia and Azerbaijan. January 2022 saw the publication of a special issue of the journal *New Diversities*, entitled *Urban Religious Pluralization: Challeng-*

es and Opportunities in the Post-Soviet South Caucasus, edited by Tsypylma Darieva and Julie McBrien (University of Amsterdam).

During the course of the year, Tsypylma Darieva and Jeanne Kormina (École Pratique des Hautes Études) produced a special issue on various forms of religious activism, to be published in the journal *Religion, State and Society* in spring 2023. Six articles, including two by ZOiS researchers Regina Elsner and Tsypylma Darieva, analyse the concept of religious activism in Eastern Europe as a local, non-elite response to the dominance of the churches and nation-state discourses. In light of the complex interactions between religion, civil society engagement and political participation, the authors investigate how faith-based claims and initiatives in the public space are mobilised and negotiated from the grassroots up.



Monument to the Ukrainian national poet Taras Shevchenko in Almaty, Kazakhstan, decorated with a symbol of solidarity with Ukraine.

Research Cluster

Youth and Generational Change

Head: Dr Félix Krawatzek

ZOIS-FUNDED PROJECTS

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

Dr Félix Krawatzek, Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse | Term: since 2018

History for Young People: Historical Narratives and Perceptions

Dr Nina Frieß, Dr Félix Krawatzek | Term: 2020–2022

Defining the Nation: Young Poles and their Sense of Identity

Dr Piotr Goldstein, Dr Félix Krawatzek | Term: since 2022

Education in Liminality – The Situation of Displaced Ukrainian Schoolchildren in Germany

Dr Irina Mützelburg, Dr Félix Krawatzek | Term: since 2022

New Left Youth in the South Caucasus: Political Ideologies, Conceptualisations of Justice and Intergenerationality

Veronika Pfeilschifter (in cooperation with Friedrich Schiller University Jena) | Term: since 2022

EXTERNALLY FUNDED PROJECT

Moving Russia(ns): Intergenerational Transmission of Memories Abroad and at Home (MoveMeRU)

Dr Félix Krawatzek. Project coordination: Johanna Mogwitz | Term: since 2022

Youth and generational change play key roles in the constant transitions that politics and society undergo. On the one hand, young people may become politically active; on the other, youth provides a flexible projection screen for a country's experiences, expectations and political dynamics. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, young people across Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the South Caucasus have experienced radical changes in their living conditions, including the education system, economic opportunities and politics. These dramatic changes have implications for the relationship between

young and old and the role young people play as agents for change or stability in Eastern Europe today. The various interpretations of youth and its function within the state have an impact on politics and can play both a regime-sustaining and a subverting role in authoritarian contexts.

This research cluster explores social and political attitudes among young people, their political behaviour, sociocultural practices and identities, their role within the economy, and government-initiated youth policies. The comparative analysis of societies in the post-Soviet

space aims to identify national and regional specificities and similarities. In future, the research cluster will extend its thematic scope with a stronger focus on questions relating to the intergenerational transmission of social values. In particular, it will explore the transmission of historical narratives, both in the migration context and in families with no history of migration. By addressing this topic of key relevance to research on political socialisation, the aim is to shed new light on continuities and change within societies.



'No to mega dams': Left-wing groups protest against a hydroelectric power plant in Georgia in March 2021. In her research, PhD student Veronika Pfeilschifter focuses on new left-wing youth in the South Caucasus.

Political engagement of young people in Eastern Europe

The publication of a special issue of the journal *Europe-Asia Studies* was a high point in 2022. The publication evolved from a ZOIS-funded workshop in 2019 and brings together diverse perspectives on young people's social and political engagement in various Eastern European countries and China. As such, it has the potential to become a key reference text in the field of youth research. In addition to the theoretical introduction by Félix Krawatzek, an article based on data collected by ZOIS on Russia should be mentioned in particular. In the article, Félix Krawatzek and Gwendolyn Sasse assess the extent to which personal transnational links play a role in the domestic policy preferences and protest participation of young Russians. The analysis suggests that personal links to Western democracies are associated with a much more critical perspective on authoritarian politics in Russia. Due

to the timing of the publication in early 2022, coinciding with the debate about the introduction of visa restrictions for Russian citizens, the article met with considerable interest from the research community.

Historical narratives and perceptions

Another interdisciplinary project conducted jointly by Félix Krawatzek and Nina Frieß analyses the interplay between historical narratives in the cultural sphere and young people's perceptions of history, with a focus on 20th century Russian and Russian-Soviet history. The results of the project were presented in two academic publications in 2022: a comparative interdisciplinary volume on *Youth and Memory in Europe: Defining the Past, Shaping the Future* in the *Media and Cultural Memory* series published by De Gruyter, and an article in the journal *Nationalities Papers*. In particular, the synergies between the literary and social

science perspectives in the introductions to the individual case studies – which look at countries in South-East and Western Europe as well as Eastern Europe – highlight the added value of interdisciplinary cooperation. Other elements of this completed project which should be mentioned are a Deutschlandfunk feature on Russia's current view of its own history, with extensive input from the two ZOIS researchers, and a joint opinion piece in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. The research showed that even under authoritarian conditions, alternative historical narratives may emerge in the cultural sphere; however, their ability to reach young people is constrained by the regime's stringent control of the education system and media.

Young Poles and the war against Ukraine

This year, three new projects were added to the research cluster. The first focuses on the situation of the young generation in Poland in the context of Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine. Through the combination of an online survey of 2,000 young people and focus group interviews with representatives of diverse age groups, Félix Krawatzek and Piotr Goldstein explore how understandings of national identity are negotiated among different generations. The status of the Catholic Church and aspects of cultural diversity are a particular focus of interest here. A ZOIS Report entitled *Young Poles in Times of Dramatic Change: Refugees, Identity and Social Engagement* was published during the early stages of the project and the topic was addressed at various specialist conferences and in the political sphere. The Polish people have shown tremendous solidarity with refugees from Ukraine, and this was confirmed by our research; however, we also identified faultlines, such as the concern, which was mainly expressed by women, about the lack of resources in the health and education

sectors, and the extent to which the shared Polish-Ukrainian history has a bearing on aspects of the present solidarity with Ukraine.

Displaced Ukrainian schoolchildren in Germany

This new project is conducted by Irina Mützelburg and Félix Krawatzek and forms part of *Living with Uncertainty: Strategies of Adaptation and Horizons of Expectation in Ukraine and Moldova (LimSpaces)*. It emerged in response to Russia's war against Ukraine and deals with the educational situation and strategies of refugee pupils from Ukraine in Germany (see p. 36f).

Historical memories among the Russian-speaking population

Another major research project was launched in 2022 as a result of a successful application for a Starting Grant from the European Research Council (ERC). With the *MoveMeRU* project, the research cluster is expanding thematically and employing new team members. The focus is on young adults of Russian origin, as they are exposed to two national historical narratives: that of the country they live in and that of their family's country of origin. However, it is still unclear how the transmission of historical perceptions from one generation to the next shapes migrants' relationships to 'here' and 'there'. *MoveMeRU* wants to contribute to closing this research gap by investigating the historical memory processes of people with and without a migration background across two generations.

The research focuses on people of Russian origin in host environments that differ significantly in terms of their political and social attitudes towards Russia, namely Germany, Estonia and Canada. The focus is on three questions: To what extent do young adults in migrant and non-migrant

families identify with their parents' homeland and period of history? Under what conditions do the historical memories and political attitudes of young adults in migrant and non-migrant families converge with, or diverge from, those of their parents? What kinds of historical memories are conducive to solidarity and pluralist political attitudes or, conversely, to indifference and intolerance? Project coordinator Johanna Mogwitz joined the team in 2022; other positions will be filled in 2023.

Teaching and supporting young researchers

Researchers from this research cluster are also engaged in teaching and fostering young researchers. In addition to lectures at the University of Aarhus and Freie Universität Berlin in 2022, the successful integration of a first

PhD project into the research cluster should be mentioned; this was achieved in cooperation with Diana Forker at Friedrich Schiller University Jena. Doctoral candidate Veronika Pfeilschifter's PhD project, entitled *New Left Youth in the South Caucasus: Political Ideologies, Conceptualisations of Justice and Intergenerationality*, investigates social and political activism by young people in the South Caucasus. Based on selected case studies from Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, the project explores forms of ideological self-positioning by various individuals and collectives who define themselves as left-wing and examines their understandings of justice. This year, the project focused in detail on theoretical and conceptual issues; initial fieldwork was also conducted in Georgia and was discussed at 2022 ZOis Annual Conference



A young woman in Poland helps Ukrainian refugees. In 2022, Félix Krawatzek and Piotr Goldstein researched the attitudes of young Poles in the context of the war against Ukraine.

Research Cluster

Political Economy and Integration

Head: Dr Julia Langbein

ZOIS-FUNDED PROJECT

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

Dr Julia Langbein | Term: since 2018, based at ZOIS since 2020

EXTERNALLY FUNDED PROJECTS

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

Dr Julia Langbein, Dr Beril Ocaklı, Valentin Krüsmann | Term: 2021–2024

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)

Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse, PD Dr Sabine von Löwis, Dr Julia Langbein. Project coordination: Dr Kerstin Bischl
Term: since 2022

The Geopolitics of Customs Regimes: An Ethnographic Study of Border Infrastructures in the Border Triangle between Moldova, Ukraine and Romania

Claudia Eggart, Dr Julia Langbein, PD Dr Sabine von Löwis | Term: since 2022

With its focus on the interplay between economic, political and social developments, the *Political Economy and Integration* research cluster has added a new dimension to ZOIS's research programme since 2020. The research cluster also explores the global context, e.g. in its analyses and comparative studies of the economic integration strategies pursued by the EU, Russia and China in Eastern Europe. Core topics of relevance to all its projects are: 1) economic (dis)integration processes, 2) economic agency and development strategies, and 3) market integration and its impacts on power relations in the domestic and foreign policy fields.

In 2022, the research cluster's activities focused on three thematic priorities: 1) the effects of trade liberalisation with the EU on economic development in Georgia and Moldova, 2) China's economic engagement in Eastern Europe, the South Caucasus and Central Asia, and 3) the role of economic factors in the emergence and resolution of conflicts.

Effects of trade liberalisation on Moldova and Georgia

Within the project framework, Julia Langbein published a *ZOIS Report* with co-authors Denis Cenusa (Expert-Grup,

Chisinau) and Irina Guruli (Economic Policy Research Center, Tbilisi) in early 2022. The report aims to identify economic actors in Moldova and Georgia who have benefited most from trade liberalisation with the EU and looks at its impacts on the power position of rent-seeking elites and prospects for inclusive development. In the public debate about the effects of free trade with the EU, considerable emphasis is placed on the benefits of an increase in the volume of trade between the EU and the associated Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries. The report, which was presented at briefings with representatives of various political institu-

tions, enhances this discussion by offering a more nuanced interpretation from a political economy perspective. In some of Georgia's and Moldova's export sectors, trade liberalisation with the EU undoubtedly boosts inclusive economic development. However, it mainly benefits larger foreign enterprises and may, under certain circumstances, consolidate oligarchic networks.

China's and the EU's development models in Eastern Europe

The *China, the EU and Economic Development in Eastern Europe and Eurasia* project – part of the research network *De:link//Re:link: Local Perspectives on Transregional (Dis-)Entanglements* and funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) since April 2021 – gathered pace in 2022. In collaboration with Tanja A. Börzel and Lunting Wu from the SCRIPTS Cluster of Excellence at Freie Universität Berlin, Julia Langbein and Valentin Krüsmann submitted a manuscript to a leading international journal for peer review.

In this article, they explore compatibility between the development models pursued by the EU (in the enlargement context) and China (through the *Belt and Road Initiative*). The authors argue that the EU's and China's respective development models differ largely at the programmatic level, if at all. While both models emphasise the need for inclusive and sustainable development, the EU's values- and rules-based approach is not compatible with the 'no strings attached' policy that the BRI arguably pursues. In both models, however, policy and practice are decoupled at the implementation level. For that reason, the two models

are increasingly forfeiting legitimacy, especially in Eastern Europe, for failing to honour the pledge to promote inclusive growth in the partner countries.

Fieldwork in Georgia and Kazakhstan

Within the project framework, Beril Ocaklı and Valentin Krüsmann conducted fieldwork in Georgia (April–May) and then in Kazakhstan (November–December), analysing Chinese engagement with reference to specific infrastructure projects in the South Caucasus and Central Asia. In Georgia, the empirical research focused on the section of the East-West Highway that runs through the Rikoti Pass. The interdisciplinary research conducted in Tbilisi and along the Rikoti highway reveals the global character of this supposedly 'Chinese' infrastructure and challenges East-West dichotomies.

It shows how various actors from Asia, such as China, and from the West, including the European Investment Bank and the World Bank, converge in major connectivity projects. Like other connectivity infrastructure schemes around the world, this road-building project in Georgia is controversial. However, this is not primarily due to the involvement of Chinese companies. Rather, local pro- or anti-democratic processes and national institutional conditions are the key factors determining how these mega-projects are likely to affect development prospects, since they establish the framework for engagement by Chinese and other international stakeholders.

In Kazakhstan, the fieldwork looked at how Kazakhstan's energy transition overlaps and is evolving in tandem with the supposed greening of China's *Belt and Road Initiative (Green BRI)*. In



The 100-megawatt Zhanatas wind park in Kazakhstan was built with the help of Chinese investment.



Base camp of a Chinese construction company in the Rikoti road construction project in Georgia.

their case study of a 100 MW wind farm in the south of the country – currently the largest in Central Asia – Beril Ocaklı and Valentin Krüsmann examine the role and activities of Chinese stakeholders in Kazakhstan’s renewable energy sector. The study shows that China’s and Kazakhstan’s climate commitments, domestic and international pressure for better governance of major infrastructure projects, and geopolitical and geoeconomic developments have so far produced nothing more than a discursive improvement and greening of investment.

Initial findings

The initial findings were presented and discussed in numerous national and international forums, including several chaired by the researchers. There are plans to submit the research and fieldwork on Georgia for publication in an interdisciplinary journal in the form of a special issue titled *Whom the Roads Bypass: East-West Connections in a Disconnected Georgia* (as a collaborative outcome of the ZOiS workshop on *Connectivity and Disconnectivity in*

the South Caucasus). With Franziska Smolnik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs), Beril Ocaklı co-authored an article titled *Reconstructing the Future: Road Infrastructure in Georgia Between Techno-scientific Discourse and Governance Effects*, which will also appear in the planned special issue.

Beril Ocaklı has already analysed part of the empirical research on behalf of the Centre for Baltic and East European Studies. Her findings will appear in the *State of the Region Report 2022* in a chapter on *Georgia’s Modern Problems: The Nature of Road and Energy Infrastructures* (co-author: Benedikt Ibele, GIZ). The article describes the (geo) political context of road-building and energy infrastructure projects that ignore local stakeholders’ needs and participation through a governance of exclusion and thus have a destructive effect on communities’ relationships with their environment.

As the German government formulates its China Strategy and with a visit by Foreign Minister Annalena Baerbock

to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in November, several informal meetings were held with representatives of the German Federal Foreign Office in 2022. At these meetings, initial insights from the project were presented and discussed and regional expertise was shared.

A political economy perspective on conflicts in Eastern Europe

A new topic which broadened the research cluster’s thematic scope in 2022 is the study of the causes and dynamics of conflicts in Eastern Europe from a political economy perspective. Within the framework of the *KonKoop* research network (see p. 35f.), Lena Pieber’s PhD project *Economic Agency in the Context of De Facto Statehood* applies a ‘typologisation of economic agency’ model to explore the relationships between de facto states’ economic structures and decision-making processes and their conflict dynamics.

The impacts of Russia’s war against Ukraine

And finally, following the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the research cluster was involved in various events which examined Armenia’s and Azerbaijan’s reactions to the war and how it has affected Georgia and Moldova. 2022 ZOiS Annual Conference, Beril Ocaklı organised and chaired a panel discussion on the extremely challenging research conditions in the region impacted by the war.

The sub-project of the externally funded cooperation project *LimSpaces*, which is part of this research cluster, had to adapt its questions due to the war against Ukraine. Since it was not possible to conduct research on the ground in Ukraine, Claudia Eggart’s project now focuses on the border infrastructure in the border triangle between Moldova, Ukraine and Romania (see p. 37).

Cross-cutting Projects

Forced Migrants from Ukraine in Transnational Europe: Between Personal Agency, Civil Society and the State (FORUM)

Coordination: PD Dr Sabine von Löwis (ZOiS)
Dr Nora Ratzmann (DeZIM)
Term: since 2022

FORUM is a joint project of the Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS) and the German Centre for Integration and Migration Studies (DeZIM), which was launched in response to the Russian war against Ukraine. The network aims to connect scholars across Europe engaged in research on the experiences of people who have fled Ukraine to seek refuge in various countries. It currently brings together scholars from Germany, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, Poland, Sweden and Denmark with a range of disciplinary backgrounds and extensive expertise in the study of forced migration and Ukraine.

Each of the researchers carries out their own projects on the experiences, strategies, networks and attitudes of the refugees, all of which are shaped by local and (trans-)national policies and practices. The network also encourages joint discussion of empirical, conceptual and ethical issues as well as preliminary research findings. It is coordinated at DeZIM by Nora Ratzmann and at ZOiS by Sabine von Löwis.

Project: *Displacement from and in Ukraine: Trajectories, Attitudes, Perspectives*

Project management: PD Dr Sabine von Löwis
Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse
Term: since 2022

Within the framework of the *FORUM* network, Gwendolyn Sasse and Sabine von Löwis are pursuing a project on internally displaced persons (IDPs) within Ukraine and on the situation of Ukrainian refugees in Moldova, Poland and Germany. In 2022, the groundwork for the project was laid in terms of its thematic focus and the logistics of conducting interviews with the refugees. Over the course of 2023, 15 to 20 Ukrainians will be interviewed at intervals of four to eight weeks. The interviewees differ, among other things, in their age, place of origin, and level of education. In this project, we use qualitative guided interviews and mental mapping as a visualisation method. Data will be collected up to six

times at different arrival locations in Ukraine and in the three other countries studied. The aim is to investigate and make visible, over time and in depth, not only the experiences of fleeing and arriving in the new societies, but also questions in relation to people's personal sense of identity and belonging.

The project is funded by ZOiS with the support of the SCRIPTS cluster of excellence at the Freie Universität Berlin. At ZOiS, it straddles the two research clusters *Conflict Dynamics and Border Regions* and *Migration and Diversity*.

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)

Project management: Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse
PD Dr Sabine von Löwis
Dr Julia Langbein
Coordination: Dr Kerstin Bischl
Term: 2021–2024

Funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), the *KonKoop* research network began its work in April 2022 with the participation of six German research institutions: the Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS), the Leibniz Institute for East and South-east European Studies (IOS) in Regensburg, the Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography (IfL) in Leipzig, Friedrich Schiller University Jena (FSU Jena), Eberswalde University for Sustainable Development (HNEE), and the Leibniz Centre for Contemporary History (ZZF) in Potsdam. Various international partners are also associated with the network.

The network is made up of several interdisciplinary research teams that seek to identify how conflicts arise in Eastern Europe, which actors are involved and which factors contribute to escalation and de-escalation, but also which conditions guarantee security or enable cooperation.

It is also home to two (data) labs: The *Multi-method Data Lab* based at ZOiS is an interdisciplinary platform that processes and links quantitative and qualitative research data. The *Multi-perspective Laboratory for Peace and Conflict Cartography* located at the IfL explores how cooperation partners and conflict parties represent their specific in-



During research visits to the border between Romania, Moldova and Ukraine in 2022, Claudia Eggart spoke with lorry drivers and customs and border officials.



Poster with information for Ukrainian refugees at Berlin Central Station: In a new ZOiS project, Gwendolyn Sasse and Sabine von Löwis are researching the situation of refugees from Ukraine in several countries.

terests by means of maps. As part of the project, a junior research group comprising five doctoral students is supervised from the IOS.

The projects conducted as part of *KonKoop* cut across all five of ZOiS's research clusters. The thematic fields are: post-imperial nation-building processes; religious and ethnic diversity; economic (dis)integration; environmental change and ecological resources; interactions and interdependencies between conflict and cooperation; and security and perceptions of insecurity in Eastern Europe in the context of the war in Ukraine.

ZOiS project team

KonKoop is coordinated at ZOiS by Dr Kerstin Bischl. A team of ZOiS researchers is working on several projects in the research network; Lena Pieber is carrying out her doctoral research as a PhD student in the research cluster *Political Economy and Integration*. Dr Ivaylo Dinev is in charge of the data laboratory.

In 2022, Kerstin Bischl worked together with the partner institutions to lay the foundations for the network's work and structures as well as preparing the project website. In addition, preparations were made for the kick-off conference, which had to be postponed until early 2023. Ivaylo Dinev started work in the data lab and developed basic procedures for data exchange in the project. In addition, he held introductory workshops on data collection methods and data analysis for the *KonKoop* junior research group and advised and supported doctoral students and staff on methodological questions.

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

Project management: PD Dr Sabine von Löwis
Term: 2021–2024

LimSpaces is a joint project of ZOiS, the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) in France and the Centre Marc Bloch in Berlin. It is funded by the the Agence nationale de la recherche (ANR) and the German Research Foundation (DFG). In its original conception, the project was to look at the everyday life of people in the border regions of the European Union (EU), especially in Moldova and Ukraine. But in light of Russia's war against Ukraine, this plan had to be radically altered. The focus of the two sub-projects carried out at ZOiS was also adjusted, as research stays in Ukraine were not possible in 2022.

Sub-project: Education in Liminality – The Situation of Ukrainian Displaced Schoolchildren in Germany

Project management: Dr Irina Mützelburg
Dr Félix Krawatzek
Term: since 2022

In this *LimSpaces* sub-project, Irina Mützelburg and Félix Krawatzek explore the educational situation and strategies of Ukrainian pupils in Germany. These children and teenagers are attempting to learn German and establish social contacts in Germany, while also maintaining their

connection with school in Ukraine so that they can reintegrate smoothly when they return home. The project uses a combination of qualitative in-depth interviews and online surveys among Ukrainian parents in Germany. In the summer of 2022, a survey was conducted among almost 2,000 people. It was supplemented by parallel interviews with German school administrators and teachers whose classes include displaced schoolchildren from Ukraine. The preliminary findings were presented at conferences and to policymakers and provide insights into the importance of socio-economic differences in Ukraine in the context of displacement in Germany. This project straddles the research clusters *Conflict Dynamics and Border Regions* and *Youth and Generational Change*.

Sub-project: *The Geopolitics of Customs Regimes: An Ethnographic Study of Border Infrastructures in the Border Triangle between Moldova, Ukraine and Romania*

Project management: Claudia Eggart
PD Dr Sabine von Löwis
Dr Julia Langbein
Term: since 2022

The focus of this *LimSpaces* sub-project also had to be adapted and now concentrates on the border crossing between Moldova, Ukraine and Romania. It looks in particular at the experiences of truck drivers, who sometimes face long waiting times at the EU border due to poor infrastructure and overly bureaucratic clearance procedures. As a preparation for this project, the humanitarian aid that Claudia Eggart provided to refugees from Ukraine in Moldova in March 2022, when she accompanied a shipment of donations to Moldova, was invaluable. Over the course of her stay she had the opportunity to talk to truck drivers and customs and border officials. She was able to conduct further surveys during a second research visit in July and August and presented the first results of this field research at the ZOIS Annual Conference. The project is part of two research clusters at ZOIS: *Political Economy and Integration* and *Conflict Dynamics and Border Regions*.

Ukraine Research Network@ZOIS (UNET)

Coordination: Anastasiya Leukhina
Term: 2022–2026

In response to the new challenges posed by Russia's war against Ukraine for research on Ukraine and Eastern Europe as a whole, ZOIS launched the *Ukraine Research Network@ZOIS (UNET)* in November 2022 with funding for four years

from the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF). This initiative builds on the research on Ukraine that ZOIS has been conducting since its foundation.

UNET aims to connect social science research on Ukraine and increase its visibility and impact. With this in mind, it grants fellowships to Ukrainian researchers who come to Berlin, as well as providing support for non-residential fellows who stay in Ukraine and conduct their research locally. In order to contribute to maintaining academic potential in Ukraine and provide a basis for reconstruction, Ukrainian scholars and academic institutions will be systematically included in the network. The project aims to create a space for regular exchange on research on Ukraine, to connect various existing initiatives and to communicate Ukraine expertise to the general public and the political arena.

UNET works with all of ZOIS's research clusters and is coordinated by Anastasiya Leukhina. Dr Yuliya Bidenko is the first of the Berlin-based Fellows. More fellowships are due to be advertised in 2023.



Military vehicle in the de facto state of South Ossetia, one of the case study regions of the research network 'Conflict and Cooperation in Eastern Europe (KonKoop)' that was launched in 2022.

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 assistant posts in our research projects and in the 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 the Freie Universität Berlin, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and the European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder). It takes place monthly 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 visiting researchers. The colloquium of-

fers an opportunity for them to discuss work in progress from a multidisciplinary perspective. It 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.

In 2022, ZOiS researchers Diana Bogishvili, Nina Frieß und Irina Mützelburg visited the Hans Litten School in Berlin on three occasions as part of the *Schule@ZOiS* programme. They talked with the pupils about the background to Russia's full-scale war against Ukraine, the history of the Soviet Union, including a contemporary witness, and literature in times of war.

Interns and student assistants

In addition to internships, research assistantships at ZOiS offer opportunities 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 involve-

ment in academic networking. 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. In 2022, 24 student and research assistants and two interns were employed at ZOiS.

Mentoring and supervision

Another important instrument in the support we provide to young researchers at ZOiS is the mentoring of students and thesis supervision up to dissertation level as both first and second supervisors. Tsypylma Darieva, Regina Elsner, Beate Eschment, Tatiana Golova, Félix Krawatzek, Julia Langbein and Gwendolyn Sasse were all involved in supervision in 2022 (seven dissertations, six Master's theses) at the Freie Universität Berlin, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Friedrich Schiller University in Jena, the University of Potsdam and the University of Basel.

Tsypylma Darieva, Christian Schaich and Gwendolyn Sasse also participated in the mentoring programme of the German Association for East European Studies (DGO). In addition, Gwendolyn Sasse was involved as a mentor in the *Ukraine Research Network@ZOiS (UN-ET)* and in the Leibniz Mentoring Programme for Female Scholars. ZOiS researchers are also engaged in supervision activities within the institute, for example for visiting researchers, as well as mentoring doctoral students.

Doctoral students at ZOiS

► 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 post-graduate 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 ZOiS publications. Diana Bogishvili and Kostiantyn Fedorenko have been based at ZOiS since 2019.

In her dissertation, **Diana Bogishvili** looks at the effects of migration on the values of Georgian educational migrants in Germany and their families in Georgia. For this purpose, she identifies the metaphors in spoken language that reflect the cognitive and emotional feelings of her interviewees. After defining the theoretical basis of her study and completing the interview phase in the previous year, in 2022 she devoted herself to analysing the data collected. The focus here was on values as general orientations for action and subjective beliefs and the changes they undergo in migration.

In light of the war in Ukraine, in 2022 **Kostiantyn Fedorenko** had to completely revise the methodology of his dissertation project on participants in the 2013/14 Ukrainian Euromaidan protests who chose to emigrate. In the new project design, only former Euromaidan participants who emigrat-

ed before 2022 will be interviewed. Fedorenko will now also interview Ukrainian activists in Germany who are engaged in activities related to the war. The focus here will be on their experiences in Germany.

► De:link // Re:link

Valentin Krüsmann has been a doctoral student at ZOiS since May 2021. He works in the project *China, the EU and Economic Development in Eastern Europe and Eurasia* as part of the research consortium *De:link // Re:link – Local Perspectives on Transregional (Dis-)Entanglements*. Here, he focuses on the multilateralisation of infrastructure projects with Chinese participation in the context of the Belt and Road Initiative in Eastern Europe and Eurasia. In 2022, he further developed his PhD project based on field research stays in Georgia and Kazakhstan.

► KonKoop

Lena Pieber joined ZOiS in April 2022 as a researcher in the research 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)*. In her dissertation, Pieber examines the economic agency of de facto states that formed after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, comparing economic developments and entanglements in Georgia and Abkhazia with those in the Republic of Moldova and Transnistria. During a two-week research stay in Armenia in July 2022, she conducted interviews with economists and political scientists on economic data from the Nagorno-Karabakh region.

► LimSpaces

Claudia Eggart conducts research in the ZOiS project *Living with Uncertainty – Strategies of Adaptation and Horizons of Expectation in Ukraine and Moldova (LimSpaces)*. In the context of Russia's war against Ukraine, she had to change her original plan to carry out research on street markets in Ukraine and Moldova. Her field research in July and August 2022 centred on Moldova, the border region with Ukraine and Romania. Due to the war, essential raw materials had to be exported from Ukraine overland instead of by cargo ship, as is usually the case. In conversations with truck drivers, she was struck by the difficult work conditions they face despite their importance for the functionality of global trade chains.

Border dynamics at former Soviet external borders are also the focus of her dissertation, which Eggart is writing at the University of Manchester. Here, she addresses the question of how geopolitics is experienced, negotiated and shaped from below by cross-border traders in container markets in Odesa (Ukraine) and Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan).

► Affiliated doctoral students

Veronika Pfeilschifter has been a research affiliate in the research cluster *Youth and Generational Change* since September 2022. In her dissertation *New Left Youth in the South Caucasus: Political Ideologies, Conceptualisations of Justice and Intergenerationality*, she looks at the new generation of young leftists in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. In 2022, she conducted interviews with left-wing activists and intellectuals in Tbilisi and Nukriani in Georgia.

Seminars

- ▶ Master's seminar | Gwendolyn Sasse
The Political Dynamics of Authoritarianism
 Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (winter semester 2021/22)
- ▶ Master's seminar | Tsypylma Darieva
Migrations- und Diasporaforschung in Zentralasien und im Südkaukasus
 Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Institute for Asian and African Studies (winter semester 2021/22)
 MA-course Modul 5 *Analyse und Interpretation*
- ▶ Seminar | Regina Elsner
Friedensethik und Kriegstheologie in den Orthodoxen Kirchen
 Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Zentralinstitut für Katholische Theologie (summer semester 2022)
- ▶ Seminar | Félix Krawatzek
Jugend und Politik Europa
 Freie Universität Berlin (summer semester 2022)
- ▶ Bachelor's seminar | Gwendolyn Sasse
Stability and Change: Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective
 Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (summer semester 2022)
- ▶ Seminar | Félix Krawatzek
Youth in Russia: Identities, Political Participation and Social Values
 Aarhus University, Department of Global Studies (summer semester 2022)
- ▶ Bachelor's seminar | Claudia Eggart
Engaging with Social Research
 University of Manchester (September–December 2022)
- ▶ Master's seminar | Gwendolyn Sasse
Russia's War Against Ukraine
 Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (winter semester 2022/23)

Single events

- ▶ Presentation | Félix Krawatzek
Jugend, Werte, Politik
 Freie Universität Berlin (Berlin, 25/01/2022)
 As part of Prof. Katharina Bluhm's seminar on *Ungleichheit und sozialer Wandel in Osteuropa*
- ▶ Presentation | Beate Eschment
Lage der Sozialdemokratie in Zentralasien
 Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (online, 11/03/2022)
 As part of the seminar *Überblick über die politischen Entwicklungen in Zentralasien* for FES fellows
- ▶ Presentation | Félix Krawatzek
Defending History? The Impact of Context and Speaker in Russia
 Malmö University, Russia, Ukraine and the Caucasus Regional Research (online, 15/03/2022)
- ▶ Lecture | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
The Russian Invasion to the Core of Europe: Bringing Ukrainian Voices to the Fore: Ukraine at War
 University of Helsinki, Faculty of Social Sciences (online, 24/03/2022)
 Part of the lecture series *Understanding Contemporary Ukraine: The Prism of War and beyond*
- ▶ Presentation | Félix Krawatzek
Lebensperspektiven, politische Einstellungen & Krieg: Jugend in Russland
 German Academic Scholarship Foundation (online, 25/03/2022)
 Part of the series *Russlands Überfall auf die Ukraine: Wie weiter?*
- ▶ Presentation | Sabine von Löwis
Eine Grenzregion im Entstehen. Der Fall der Kontaktlinie in der Ostukraine
 Study Foundation of the Berlin House of Representatives (online, 06/04/2022)



Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (HU): Here and at other universities, ZOIS researchers regularly teach courses. ZOIS also cooperates with the Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences at the HU to support doctoral students.

- ▶ Guest lecture | Regina Elsner
Orthodoxe Sozialethik: Orientierung im Krieg?
 University of Freiburg, Faculty of Catholic Theology (Freiburg, 05/05/2022)
 Part of the lecture *Ethik des Politischen*
- ▶ Panel discussion | Sabine von Löwis
Zeitgeschehen: Dynamiken des Kriegs in der Ukraine – ein Blick von außen und von innen
 Claussen-Simon-Stiftung (online, 10/05/2022)
 (with Irena Remestwenski, Christian von Soest)
- ▶ Lecture | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
Clashing Identities within and around Ukraine
 University of Freiburg (online, 20/06/2022)
 Part of the lecture series *Russian-Ukrainian Conflict: Root Causes, Dynamics, and Approaches to Conflict Management*
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Russlands Krieg in der Ukraine und die Kirchen
 University of Erfurt, Faculty of Philosophy (online, 25/06/2022)
 Part of the *Graduiertenkolloquium zur Kulturgeschichte des Orthodoxen Christentums*
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Autokephalie der ukrainischen Orthodoxie: die Politisierung der Kirchen im postsowjetischen Raum
 Colloquium of the German Academic Scholarship Foundation (online, 01/07/2022)
- ▶ Convention | Tsypylma Darieva, Tatiana Golova
29. Tagung Junger Osteuropa-Expert*innen (JOE)
 German Association for East European Studies (Jena, 01–03/07/2022)
Tsypylma Darieva
 Commentator of the panel *Reflections on Contemporary Developments in the South Caucasus*
Tatiana Golova
 Commentator of the Panel *Facetten von Protest und Mobilisierung in Ost(mittel)europa*
- ▶ Symposium | Félix Krawatzek
Monterey Summer Symposium on Russia
 Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey (online, 19/07/2022)
 Module C *What is Power?*
 Seminar *Researching Russian Youth Attitudes and Opinions from the Outside: Adapting to Challenge*

- ▶ Presentation | Beril Ocaklı
Navigating the Science-Policy Nexus in East Europe and Eurasia
 Freie Universität Berlin, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (Berlin, 28/07/2022)
 As part of a summer school for Master's students on the topic of policy briefing and Eastern Europe
- ▶ Summer School | Sabine von Löwis, Lena Pieber
Viadrinicum Summer School 2022: University in Ruins. Scaffolding Futures
 Programme day at ZOiS as part of the summer school of the European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder) (ZOiS, 22/08/2022)
 With presentations by Olga Konsevych (journalist), Sabine von Löwis (ZOiS) and Lena Pieber (ZOiS)
 Panel discussion *The (Transnational) Role of Universities in Times of War* with Felix Ackermann (European University Viadrina, London School of Economics), Tymofii Brik (Kyiv School of Economics) and Svitlana Shlipchenko (Center for Urban Studies Kyiv). Chair: Sabine von Löwis (ZOiS)
- ▶ Summer School | Sabine von Löwis, Irina Mützelburg
GLocalEAsT-Summer School: Global Migration, Diaspora and Border Studies in East-Central Europe
 GLocalEAsT, Viadrina Center B/ORDERS IN MOTION (Frankfurt/Oder, 16/09/2022)
 Multiplier Event *Contesting Borders/Shifting Orders: Russia's War of Aggression on Ukraine and Its Impact on Border-Making and Migration*
 Panel *Global Migration, Diaspora and Migrant Integration*
- ▶ Guest lecture | Beril Ocaklı
China in Eurasia. Infrastructures for Development?
 American University of Central Asia, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (online, 16/09/2022)
- ▶ Training | Christian Schaich
Administrative Law: Theory and Practice of Teaching
 Faculty of Law at M. Narikbayev KAZGUU University and other institutions in Kazakhstan (Astana, 10–13/10/2022)
- ▶ Workshop | Ivaylo Dinev
Introduction to Data Management Plan
 KonKoop Young Researchers' Group, Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European (online, 21/10/2022)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Regina Elsner
Anti-LGBT*-Politics and Movements at the Intersection of Religion and Right-wing Populism Throughout Europe – the Case of Orthodoxy in Ukraine and Russia
 Cusanuswerk (Berlin, 12/11/2022)
 Conference of the Expert Group of the Cusanus Foundation *Unheilige Allianz? Anti-LSBTIQ*-Vernetzung, Begriffe und Mobilisierung im Schnittfeld von christlichem Fundamentalismus und Rechtspopulismus*
- ▶ Workshop | Ivaylo Dinev
KonKoop Workshop for Young Researchers: Peace and Conflict Research in Eastern Europe Post-2022: Methods and Ethical Dilemmas
 Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (Regensburg, 28–29/11/2022)
 Session on *Mixed Methods Research*
- ▶ Lecture | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
Politics of Memory in the Ukrainian-Russian Conflict
 University of Vienna, Department of Political Science (Vienna, 05/12/2022)
 Part of the lecture series *Russia's War in Ukraine*
- ▶ Guest lecture | Beril Ocaklı
China in Eurasia. Infrastructures for Development?
 Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Geography Department (Berlin, 13/12/2022)

Communicating Research in the Context of War

When the ZOIS team met in early 2022 to discuss and plan our topics for the year, experience from previous years had already taught us that our plans could be overtaken by reality at any moment. Even though Russia's amassing of troops on the border with Ukraine was already at the forefront of our minds, the full-scale invasion still came as a shock.

With the events of 24 February, the question which arose for the ZOIS Communications team was how to respond to the war. The public, too, was dismayed and perplexed by the Russian invasion. What had prompted this full-scale and open aggression by Russia? Where did the Ukrainian people's unity and resistance come from? Why was there so little protest in Russia? With so many questions from the media, there was clearly a tremendous need for background information on Eastern Europe and particularly Ukraine. It was also clear that no country in our study area and none of the topics on our research agenda would remain unaffected by the war.

Responding to current events

There was no doubt about it: we would have to look again at the topics we had planned for formats such as *ZOIS Spotlight* and the podcast and for upcoming events and adapt them to the new situation. *Spotlight* proved to be an ideal format for responding quickly to current developments and debates during the first few weeks. Articles by ZOIS researchers and guest authors explored much-discussed topics such as Russia's ideology, the sanctions regime and the scope for prosecuting war crimes. The Russian occupation, Ukraine's civil society, the significance of Russia's politics of history and the

role of the Orthodox Church were other themes that held our attention throughout the year.

In our podcast *Roundtable Osteuropa* a month after the invasion, we discussed Ukrainian society in the context of war, with subsequent episodes focusing on the situation of Ukrainian refugees in Poland and Germany and on Russian cultural imperialism.

Explaining and countering disinformation

There was already considerable interest from the media ahead of the Russian invasion and this increased in intensity after 24 February 2022. Providing clear and reliable answers to these questions and arranging for experts to comment on specific topics took up much of the Communications team's capacities in the first few weeks. ZOIS

researchers gave numerous interviews, authored guest articles and took part in events; they also added to the extensive research on fact-checking websites and shared their knowledge in support of mediation efforts by the churches, trade unions, foundations and education sector. With her book *The War Against Ukraine (Der Krieg gegen die Ukraine)*, published in October, ZOIS Director Gwendolyn Sasse made a significant contribution to the debate with her concise overview of events for German-speaking readers.

Through its cooperation with partners such as *dekoder* and the Federal Agency for Civic Education (bpb), ZOIS made every effort to provide much-needed contextual knowledge. Together with bpb, we planned a series of explanatory videos on Ukraine, with production commencing in December 2022.

Online lecture series in cooperation with Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

An international cast of leading scholars – including many from Ukraine – presented their social science research on Ukraine. The lectures were recorded and are available as an online resource on our website.

'In conversation with ...' – Reactions to the war

In order to explore how Russia's war is affecting the wider region, our Spring 2022 schedule for this event series focused on Armenia and Azerbaijan, Central Asia, Belarus, Georgia and Moldova and on Russian-speaking communities in Germany.

Russia's war against Ukraine – FAQs

In March, the online platform *dekoder* – with support from ZOIS – published the first part of its FAQs about the war, with academics providing answers to questions about the unfolding events.

Journalist in Residence

As part of WZB's programme for Ukrainian journalists at risk, journalist Olha Konsevych spent three months at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center and ZOIS to share knowledge and engage in dialogue with researchers.

ZOiS Events

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. By contrast, the **In conversation with...** series seeks to attract a specialist audience from political institutions, think tanks and foundations.

The **Schule@ZOiS** programme is intended to spark young people's interest in social science research and Eastern Europe. To that end, ZOiS invites students and teachers to take part in discussions with researchers on a variety of topics (see p. 38).

ACADEMIC EVENTS

Public lectures and panel discussions

▶ **Protest and Crisis Politics in Kazakhstan: Understanding What Happened & Considering What May Happen (online, 13/01/2022)**

In cooperation with the Competitive Authoritarian Protest Research Network (CAPRN) Asel Doolotkeldieva (OSCE Academy, Bishkek), Sam Greene (King's College London), Diana Kudaibergenova (University of Cambridge), Edward Schatz (University of Toronto). With inputs by Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS), Regina Smyth (Indiana University) and Joshua Tucker (New York University)

▶ **Religion, State and Diversity in the South Caucasus (online, 24/03/2022)**

Leila Alieva (University of Oxford), Tornike Metreveli (Lund University) and Silvia Stöber (Journalist). Chair: Tsypylma Darieva and Sina Giesemann (both ZOiS)

▶ **Ukraine: What Social Science Research Tells / Told Us: What Have We Learned about Ethnonational Identities in Ukraine (online, 28/04/2022)**

Lecture series in cooperation with Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin Volodymyr Kulyk (National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine). Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)

▶ **Ukraine: What Social Science Research Tells / Told Us: Data for Ukraine: Machine Learning and Detecting Human Rights Violations and Resistance to Russia's Invasion (online, 05/05/2022)**

Lecture series in cooperation with Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin Graeme Robertson (University of North Carolina) and Erik Wibbels (Duke University). Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)

▶ **Ukraine: What Social Science Research Tells / Told Us: Data for Ukraine: Support for Democracy and Civic Duty among Ukrainians: The Basis for Civic Identity and Civilian Resistance (online, 12/05/2022)**

Lecture series in cooperation with Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin Olga Onuch (University of Manchester). Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)

▶ **Quo vadis, Belarus? Krieg, Diaspora, Souveränität (ZOiS, 17/05/2022)**

In cooperation with dekode Jörg Forbrig (German Marshall Fund of the United States), Ingo Petz (dekode) and Tatiana Shchyttsova (European Humanities University Vilnius). Chair: Regina Elsner (ZOiS)

- ▶ **Ukraine: What Social Science Research Tells / Told Us: Data for Ukraine: The Perils and Benefits of Surveying in Conflict Zone: Cautionary Tales and Results from Donbas 2020–2022 (online, 19/05/2022)**

Lecture series in cooperation with Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
John O’Loughlin (University of Colorado) and Gerard Toal (Virginia Tech).
Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Ukraine: What Social Science Research Tells / Told Us: Data for Ukraine: Long-term Trends of Polarisation in Ukraine (online, 02/06/2022)**

Lecture series in cooperation with Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Tymofii Brik (Kyiv School of Economics). Chair: Tatiana Zhurzhenko (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Ukraine: What Social Science Research Tells / Told Us: Living at the ‘Gates to Europe’: the Border with Poland as an Opportunity and a Challenge for Local Communities in the Lviv Region (online, 09/06/2022)**

Lecture series in cooperation with Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Tatiana Zhurzhenko (ZOiS). Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Ukraine: What Social Science Research Tells / Told Us: (Trans)national Experiences of Displacement from Ukraine (online, 16/06/2022)**

Lecture series in cooperation with Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Viktoria Sereda (National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine). Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)
- ▶ **China Connecting People? A Transregional Inquiry into Infrastructural Dis/connections in Africa and Eurasia (online, 16/06/2022)**

In cooperation with Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient
John Njenga Karugia (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), Valentin Krüsmann (ZOiS) and Kadara Swaleh (Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient). Chair: Beril Ocaklı (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Ukraine: What Social Science Research Tells / Told Us: Women’s Participation in the Euromaidan Protest and the War in Ukraine (online, 23/06/2022)**

Lecture series in cooperation with Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Tamara Martsenyuk (University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy). Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Ukraine: What Social Science Research Tells / Told Us: From Spontaneous Help to Organised Civil Society: Volunteering in the Context of Forced Population Displacement in Ukraine Since 2014 (online, 30/06/2022)**

Lecture series in cooperation with Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Oksana Mikheieva (Ukrainian Catholic University). Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Ukraine: What Social Science Research Tells / Told Us: Social Capital in Ukraine: Networks and Civic Activism (online, 07/07/2022)**

Lecture series in cooperation with Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Tetiana Kostiuchenko (University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy). Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Ukraine: What Social Science Research Tells / Told Us: How Ukraine was Underestimated: Decentralisation, EU Integration and Digitalization (online, 14/07/2022)**

Lecture series in cooperation with Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Yuliya Bidenko (V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University). Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Das Globale im russischen Krieg gegen die Ukraine (Leibniz Hall Berlin, 05/09/2022)**

Panel discussion as part of the celebration marking the fifth anniversary of the founding of ZOiS
Merike Blofield (German Institute for Global and Area Studies), Linde Götz (Leibniz Institute of Agricultural Development in Transition Economies) and Ivan Krastev (Institute for Human Sciences).
Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)

- ▶ **Combining the (In)Compatible: Experiences of Believing Feminists and LGBT People in Ukraine (Quarteera Berlin, 23/09/2022)**
In cooperation with Quarteera e. V.
Irina Kaplan (NGO Workshop for Academic Study of Religion Kyiv). Chair: Regina Elsner (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Connectivity and Disconnectivity in the South Caucasus (ZOiS, 19/10/2022)**
In cooperation with the Frobenius Institute for Research in Cultural Anthropology and the German Anthropological Association
Lela Rekhviashvili (Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography), Franziska Smolnik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs), Anar Valiyev (ADA University, Azerbaijan) and Mikayel Zoylan (Brusov University, Armenia). Chair: Nadja Douglas (ZOiS), welcoming: Tsypylma Darieva (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Youth in Eastern Europe – How to Engage a New Generation (Berlin, 19/10/2022)**
Organised by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in cooperation with ZOiS
Salome Alania (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung), Emilbek Dzhuraev (OSCE Academy, Bishkek), Fabian Funke (SPD party member), Pavel Grabchikov (activist, Belarus), Félix Krawatzek (ZOiS), Johannes Schrapf (SPD party member) and Ekaterina Schulmann (Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences)
- ▶ **Ein Jahr nach der Machtübernahme der Taliban: Tektonischer Wandel in Zentralasien? (ZOiS, 22/11/2022)**
In cooperation with the German Association for East European Studies
Beate Eschment (ZOiS), Alexander Libman (Freie Universität Berlin) and Katja Mielke (Bonn International Centre for Conflict Studies). Chair: Gabriele Freitag (German Association for East European Studies)
- ▶ **Quo vadis, Belarus? Escalation, Power, Independence (ZOiS, 29/11/2022)**
In cooperation with dekoder
Ingo Petz (dekoder), Alesia Rudnik (Center for New Ideas) and Artyom Schraibman (Sense Analytics).
Chair: Regina Elsner (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Der Krieg gegen die Ukraine – Hintergründe, Ereignisse, Folgen (Urania, 01/12/2022)**
In cooperation with Urania Berlin and the publishing house C.H. Beck
Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS). Chair: Isolde Ruhdorfer (journalist)
- ▶ **Navigating Ukrainian Studies in Time of War (ZOiS, 08/12/2022)**
Organised by ZOiS and the project *(Un)Disciplined: Pluralizing Ukrainian Studies – Understanding Ukrainian War (UNDIPUS)* funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research
Roman Dubasevych (UNDIPUS project), Maria Mayerchuk (University of Greifswald, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine) and Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS). Chair: Matthias Schwartz (Leibniz-Zentrum für Literatur- und Kulturforschung)

Conferences

- ▶ **ZOiS Conference 2022: 5+ Years of ZOiS Research: Looking Back and Looking Ahead (ZOiS, 06/09/2022)**
With contributions by Péter Balogh (Eötvös Loránd University), Tsypylma Darieva (ZOiS), Sarah Eaton (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), Claudia Eggart (ZOiS), Regina Elsner (ZOiS), Nina Frieß (ZOiS), Piotr Goldstein (ZOiS), Tatiana Golova (ZOiS), Marnie Howlett (University of Oxford), Félix Krawatzek (ZOiS), Volker Kreidler (photographer), Valentin Krüsmann (ZOiS), Anastasiia Kuznietsova (photographer), Jan Lorenz (Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań), Sabine von Löwis (ZOiS), Karolina Łukaciewicz (University of Warsaw), Beril Ocaklı (ZOiS), John O'Loughlin (University of Colorado), Veronika Pfeilschifter (Friedrich Schiller University Jena), Tanya Richardson (Wilfrid Laurier University), Samuel Rogers (Open University), Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS), Gerard Toal (Virginia Tech), Guzel Yusupova (Contestations of the Liberal Script), Sabrina Zajak (DeZIM), Tatiana Zhurzhenko (ZOiS)
- ▶ **History and Memory in International Relations (University of Warsaw, 26–28/10/2022)**
Organised by The European Network Remembrance and Solidarity (ENRS) in cooperation with ZOiS, the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, the College of Europe, the Oxford School of Global and Area Studies and the University of Warsaw

- ▶ **War and the Future of Ukraine (Oxford, 18–19/11/2022)**
Organised by the University of Oxford, St Antony's College, in cooperation with ZOiS
With contributions by Tatiana Zhurzhenko and Gwendolyn Sasse (both ZOiS)

Workshops

- ▶ **Kick-Off Workshop for the Project LimSpaces (ZOiS, 04–05/04/2022)**
Organised by Sabine von Löwis and Irina Mützelburg (both ZOiS) in cooperation with the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) and the Centre Marc Bloch
- ▶ **Studying Political Migration: Methodological Challenges and Perspectives (online, 26/04/2022)**
Organised by Tsypylma Darieva, Tatiana Golova and Daria Skibo (all ZOiS)
- ▶ **Das Autorenkollektiv zur europäischen Erinnerung (ZOiS, 20–22/06/2022)**
Organised by Félix Krawatzek (ZOiS)
- ▶ **3rd WARU Workshop (ZOiS, 07/09/2022)**
Project workshop organised by the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) in cooperation with ZOiS
- ▶ **Europavorstellungen in europäischen Erinnerungsdiskursen (ZOiS, 27/09/2022)**
Project workshop organised by Félix Krawatzek (ZOiS)
- ▶ **The Education of Displaced Ukrainian Pupils Abroad (online, 12/12/2022)**
Organised by Irina Mützelburg (ZOiS) and Kristina Kocyba (Eötvös Loránd University Budapest)

ZOiS Research Colloquium

- ▶ **Captured Memories of Kolkhoz Times: How Contested Memories Affect the Land Use Strategies in Post-Soviet Armenia (online, 12/01/2022)**
Tamar Khutsishvili (Friedrich Schiller University Jena)
- ▶ **Pre-emption and Consolidation: Constitutional Amendments and Leadership Change in the Post-Soviet Space (online, 11/05/2022)**
Anna Fruhstorfer (University of Potsdam)
- ▶ **Migrant Activist Solidarities? Polish and Argentinian Women Activists in Berlin (online, 08/06/2022)**
Piotr Goldstein (ZOiS), Ana Martínez Fernández (University of Manchester) and Karolina Lebek (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Legitimisation Strategies of Russian Companies: A Bricolage of Social Responsibility (ZOiS, 13/07/2022)**
Sabine Kropp (Freie Universität Berlin)
- ▶ **Internationalisation of Research and Imitation Science at Russian Universities (ZOiS, 14/12/2022)**
Anna Abalkina (Freie Universität Berlin)

ZOiS KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER

ZOiS Forum

- ▶ **Caring and Solidarity – New Engine for Protests in Authoritarian Regimes? (online, 22/02/2022)**
Sergey Medvedev (Dekabristen e.V.) and Olga Shparaga (European College of Liberal Arts in Belarus).
Chair: Regina Elsner (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Little Man, Time and Troubadour (Kino Krokodil, 17/03/2022)**
In cooperation with Kino Krokodil
Diana Bogishvili (ZOiS) and Ineke Smits (film director). Chair: Sabine von Löwis (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Ukraine at War: A Country at the Centre of the World's Attention (Urania Berlin, 27/04/2022)**
In cooperation with Urania Berlin
Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS) and Michael Thumann (journalist). Chair: Lars Feyen (journalist)

- ▶ **When History is Rewritten: Focus on Ukraine, Belarus and Russia (ZOiS, 18/05/2022)**
Aliaksei Bratachkin (European University Viadrina), Félix Krawatzek (ZOiS), Kateryna Mishchenko (Medusa publishing house) and Matthias Schwartz (Leibniz-Zentrum für Literatur- und Kulturforschung). Chair: Nina Weller (European University Viadrina)
 - ▶ **Spółdzielnia / Cooperative: Invisible Activism in Manchester (Kino Krokodil, 21/06/2022)**
In cooperation with Kino Krokodil
Piotr Goldstein (ZOiS). Chair: Sebastian Truskolaski (University of Manchester)
 - ▶ **When Feelings Go Public: The New Language of Emotions in Russia (ZOiS, 05/07/2022)**
Polina Aronson (openDemocracy), Gasan Gusejnov (Free University Moscow, Freie Universität Berlin) and Julia Lerner (Ben Gurion University of the Negev). Chair: Tatiana Golova (ZOiS)
 - ▶ **Border Areas: Places and People on the Ukrainian-Polish and Ukrainian-Hungarian Border (ZOiS, 17/10/2022)**
Exhibition opening
Volker Kreidler (photographer), Anastasiia Kuznietsova (photographer) and Tatiana Zhurzhenko (ZOiS). Chair: Sabine von Löwis (ZOiS)
 - ▶ **Security vs. Freedom? The Social Question as a Question of Power (ZOiS, 07/12/2022)**
In cooperation with the Friends' Association of the Berlin Wall Memorial and the Berlin Wall Foundation
Nadja Douglas (ZOiS), Alexander Libman (Freie Universität Berlin) and Jessica Lindner-Elsner (Leibniz Centre for Contemporary History). Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS),
welcoming: Reiner Felsberg (Friends' Association of the Berlin Wall Memorial)
-

In conversation with...

- ▶ **Who Benefits from Trade Liberalisation with the EU: Insights from Moldova and Georgia (online, 17/02/2022)**
In cooperation with the Economic Policy Research Center (EPRC) and Expert-Grup
Denis Cenusă (Expert-Grup Moldova, Eastern Europe Studies Centre Lithuania), Irina Guruli (Economic Policy Research Center Tbilisi) and Julia Langbein (ZOiS).
- ▶ **Reaktionen auf die russische Invasion in die Ukraine: Zentralasien (online, 04/03/2022)**
Beate Eschment (ZOiS). Chair: Rostam Onori (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Reaktionen auf die russische Invasion in die Ukraine: Armenien und Aserbaidschan (online, 17/03/2022)**
Tsypylma Darieva (ZOiS) and Franziska Smolnik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs). Chair: Beril Ocaklı (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Reaktionen auf die russische Invasion in die Ukraine: Russischsprachige Communities in Deutschland (online, 23/03/2022)**
Tatiana Golova (ZOiS) and Jannis Panagiotidis (University of Vienna). Chair: Nina Frieß (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Reaktionen auf die russische Invasion in die Ukraine: Moldau und Georgien (online, 25/03/2022)**
Diana Bogishvili and Sabine von Löwis (both ZOiS). Chair: Beril Ocaklı (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Belarus und Belarusians and Russia's War against Ukraine (online, 31/03/2022)**
In cooperation with the Research Centre of Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya Office and the Oxford Belarus Observatory (OBO), with support of the project GCRF COMPASS
Vytyis Jurkonis (Freedom House Vilnius, Vilnius University), Elena Korosteleva (University of Warwick) and Franak Viačorka (Atlantic Council's Eurasia Center). Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Russia's Lost Future? The Political System Before, During and After the Invasion of Ukraine (online, 06/04/2022)**
In cooperation with the Aleksanteri Institute at the University of Helsinki
Irina Busygina (Higher School of Economics St. Petersburg), Vladimir Gel'man (University of Helsinki) and Félix Krawatzek (ZOiS). Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)



The ZOiS Annual Conference ‘5+ Years of ZOiS Research: Looking Back and Looking Ahead’ was filmed and is available on the ZOiS website and our YouTube channel.

- ▶ **‘Victory Day’ and Pro-War Mobilisation Among Russian-speaking Communities (online, 13/05/2022)**
Travis C. Frederick (Princeton University), Tatiana Golova (ZOiS) and Félix Krawatzek (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Mobilisation in Russia – Disparities and Reactions (online, 05/10/2022)**
Nadja Douglas (ZOiS), Greg Yudin (Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences) and Guzel Yusupova (Cluster of Excellence SCRIPTS / Freie Universität Berlin). Chair: Tatiana Golova (ZOiS)
- ▶ **Bericht aus Kyjiw (ZOiS, 19/12/2022)**
Denis Trubetskoy (journalist). Chair: Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)

Other events

- ▶ **Lange Nacht der Wissenschaften 2022 | Russlands Krieg in der Ukraine: Kontext und Perspektiven (online, 02/07/2022)**
Regina Elsner, Nina Frieß, Sabine von Löwis, Gwendolyn Sasse, Christian Schaich and Tatiana Zhurzhenko (all ZOiS)

ZOiS 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 and 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.

- ▶ *Ambivalente Effekte des Freihandels mit der EU: Einblicke aus Moldau und Georgien*
ZOiS Report 1/2022 by Julia Langbein, Irina Guruli and Denis Cenusă (February 2022)
- ▶ *Young Poles in Times of Dramatic Change: Refugees, Identity and Social Engagement*
ZOiS Report 2/2022 by Piotr Goldstein and Félix Krawatzek (September 2022)
- ▶ *Poesie und Protest. Der „Blutige Januar“ in der zeitgenössischen Dichtung Kasachstans*
ZOiS Report 3/2022 by Nina Frieß (October 2022)

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 on Wednesdays in English and German.

- ▶ *The Future of European Security – What Does Russia Want?*
ZOiS Spotlight 1/2022 by Stefan Meister (12/01/2022)
- ▶ *Post-Punk in Belarus and Russia: Lyrical Criticism of the Political System or Post-Soviet Nihilism?*
ZOiS Spotlight 2/2022 by Aleksej Tikhonov (19/01/2022)
- ▶ *Youth Citizenship in Russia: Between Patriotism and Informal Commitment*
ZOiS Spotlight 3/2022 by Nadya Nartova (26/01/2022)
- ▶ *Understanding the Current Warmongering in Bosnia and Herzegovina*
ZOiS Spotlight 4/2022 by Jessie Barton Hronešová (02/02/2022)
- ▶ *Why Zelenskyi Is Downplaying the Threat of Escalation in Ukraine*
ZOiS Spotlight 5/2022 by Valeria Korablyova (09/02/2022)
- ▶ *Belarus Votes – Or Not: Lukashenka’s Constitutional Reform from the Public’s Perspective*
ZOiS Spotlight 6/2022 by Fabian Burkhardt and Jan Matti Dollbaum (16/02/2022)
- ▶ *The Russian Orthodox Church and the Military: Defenders of Sacred Borders*
ZOiS Spotlight 7/2022 by Regina Elsner (23/02/2022)
- ▶ *Political and Public Reactions to Putin’s War in Post-Soviet Countries*
ZOiS Spotlight 8/2022 by Diana Bogishvili, Tsypylma Darieva, Beate Eschment and Sabine von Löwis (02/03/2022)
- ▶ *Everyday Decisions in the War in Ukraine*
ZOiS Spotlight 9/2022 by Sabine von Löwis and Irina Mützelburg (09/03/2022)
- ▶ *Russia’s Slide Into International Isolation*
ZOiS Spotlight 10/2022 by Michael Rochlitz (16/03/2022)
- ▶ *The Ideology Behind Russia’s War*
ZOiS Spotlight 11/2022 by Katharina Bluhm (23/03/2022)
- ▶ *The Ambiguous Impact of the War in Ukraine on Serbia’s Elections*
ZOiS Spotlight 12/2022 by Florian Bieber (30/03/2022)



The opening of the exhibition 'Border Areas: Places and People on the Ukrainian-Polish and Ukrainian-Hungarian Border' at ZOiS in September 2022, with photographs by Volker Kreidler and Anastasiia Kuznietsova (2nd from left).

- ▶ *Russian State Patriotism and Putin's Invasion of Ukraine*
ZOiS Spotlight 13/2022 by Jussi Lassila (06/04/2022)
- ▶ *Putin in Court?*
ZOiS Spotlight 14/2022 by Florian Jeßberger (13/04/2022)
- ▶ *Russia's Wars: Ukraine and Chechnya Compared*
ZOiS Spotlight 15/2022 by James Hughes (20/04/2022)
- ▶ *Literature in War*
ZOiS Spotlight 16/2022 by Nina Frieß (27/04/2022)
- ▶ *Victory Day 2022: Memory at War*
ZOiS Spotlight 17/2022 by Travis C. Frederick (04/05/2022)
- ▶ *War in Ukraine: What Do Young Poles Think?*
ZOiS Spotlight 18/2022 by Piotr Goldstein and Félix Krawatzek (11/05/2022)
- ▶ *The War Divides: (Un)Equivocal Statements in the Russian and Ukrainian Rap Scene*
ZOiS Spotlight 19/2022 by Aleksej Tikhonov (18/05/2022)
- ▶ *Energy Headaches for the G7*
ZOiS Spotlight 20/2022 by Margarita M. Balmaceda (25/05/2022)
- ▶ *The End of the Post-Soviet*
ZOiS Spotlight 21/2022 by Claudia Eggart (01/06/2022)
- ▶ *The Constitutional Referendum in Kazakhstan and the Belated End of the Nazarbayev Era*
ZOiS Spotlight 22/2022 by Beate Eschment (08/06/2022)
- ▶ *Moscow is Trapped: Centre-regional Relations in Russia After the Invasion of Ukraine*
ZOiS Spotlight 23/2022 by Irina Busygina (15/06/2022)
- ▶ *Bulgaria's New Political Crisis*
ZOiS Spotlight 24/2022 by Ivaylo Dinev (22/06/2022)
- ▶ *Russia's Programme of Educational Indoctrination in Ukraine's Occupied Territories*
ZOiS Spotlight 25/2022 by Allyson Edwards (29/06/2022)
- ▶ *Ukraine's Cultural Alignment With the West*
ZOiS Spotlight 26/2022 by Alessandro Achilli (06/07/2022)
- ▶ *Georgia's New Wave of Russian Migrants*
ZOiS Spotlight 27/2022 by Tsypylma Darieva (13/07/2022)
- ▶ *The Effect of War on Ukraine's Values*
ZOiS Spotlight 28/2022 by Iryna Kaplan (20/07/2022)
- ▶ *Education Under Fire: The Ukrainian School System Under Occupation*
ZOiS Spotlight 29/2022 by Tatiana Zhurzhenko (07/09/2022)
- ▶ *The Role of Think Tanks in Russian Foreign Policy*
ZOiS Spotlight 30/2022 by Felix Riefer (21/09/2022)
- ▶ *Exploring the Diversity of Georgia's Post-Soviet Left*
ZOiS Spotlight 31/2022 by Veronika Pfeilschifter (05/10/2022)
- ▶ *The Violence in Kyrgyz Gold*
ZOiS Spotlight 32/2022 by Beril Ocaklı (19/10/2022)

- ▶ *Belarus's Role in Russia's War Against Ukraine*
ZOiS Spotlight 33/2022 by Nadja Douglas (02/11/2022)
- ▶ *High but Fluid Support for European Integration in Poland*
ZOiS Spotlight 34/2022 by Félix Krawatzek (16/11/2022)
- ▶ *Between Wishful Thinking and Fatalism: The Role of Elite Divisions in Autocracies*
ZOiS Spotlight 35/2022 by Adrián del Río (30/11/2022)
- ▶ *Hungary's Pragmatism: Courting Russia, Pleasing the EU*
ZOiS Spotlight 36/2022 by Ákos Kopper (14/12/2022)

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.

- ▶ *Die Ukraine im Krieg*
Roundtable Osteuropa 27 (04/04/2022)
With Tatiana Zhurzhenko and Gwendolyn Sasse. Chair: Stefanie Orphal
- ▶ *Russischsprachige Communitys und der Krieg in der Ukraine*
Roundtable Osteuropa 28 (08/04/2022)
With Jannis Panagiotidis and Tatiana Golova. Chair: Nina Frieß
- ▶ *Fleeing Russia's War: Ukrainian Refugees in Europe*
Roundtable Osteuropa 29 (17/05/2022)
With Karolina Łukasiewicz and Irina Mützelburg. Chair: Stefanie Orphal
- ▶ *Der russische Kulturimperialismus und der Krieg*
Roundtable Osteuropa 30 (09/06/2022)
With Alessandro Achilli and Miriam Finkelstein. Chair: Nina Frieß
- ▶ *Männlichkeit in Osteuropa – Wann ist ein Mann ein Mann?*
Roundtable Osteuropa 31 (28/06/2022)
With Leandra Bias and Matthias Schwartz. Chair: Elena Goerttler-Reck
- ▶ *Tadschikistan und Kirgistan: Mehr als ein Grenzkonflikt*
Roundtable Osteuropa 32 (12/12/2022)
With Beate Eschment and Beril Ocaklı. Chair: Stephanie Orphal
- ▶ *Orthodoxe Kirchen in Russland und der Ukraine*
Roundtable Osteuropa 33 (21/12/2022)
With Kristina Stöckl and Regina Elsner. Chair: Kerstin Bischl

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 war did not begin only in February 2022'*
Meet the Author with Gwendolyn Sasse (13/10/2022)
- ▶ *'States put a lot of time and effort into shaping young people's values'*
Meet the Author with Nina Frieß and Félix Krawatzek (18/10/2022)
- ▶ *'There are 44 Million Zelenskys'*
Meet the Author with Olga Onuch and Henry E. Hale (06/12/2022)

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.

- ▶ *Proteste in Kasachstan*
Beate Eschment (05/01/2022)
- ▶ *Zuspitzung der Ukraine-Krise und Reaktionen der internationalen Politik*
Gwendolyn Sasse (10/01/2022)
- ▶ *Abkehr der Russischen Orthodoxen Kirchengemeinde Amsterdams vom Moskauer Patriachat*
Regina Elsner (14/03/2022)
- ▶ *Explosionen in Transnistrien*
Sabine von Löwis (26/04/2022)
- ▶ *Vor dem 9. Mai – Russlands „Tag des Sieges“ in Deutschland*
Tatiana Golova (05/05/2022)
- ▶ *Vor dem „Tag des Sieges“ in Russland*
Félix Krawatzek (05/05/2022)
- ▶ *Gewaltausbruch zwischen Armenien und Aserbaidshjan*
Nadja Douglas (19/09/2022)
- ▶ *Vorgezogene Präsidentschaftswahlen in Kasachstan*
Beate Eschment (17/11/2022)

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 Onori and Richard Schmidt at ZOIS.

- ▶ *Kasachstans Weg der Denuklearisierung / Januar-Unruhen in Kasachstan / Parlamentswahl in Kirgistan*
Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 151 (25/02/2022)
- ▶ *Zentralasien während des russischen Angriffskrieges gegen die Ukraine / Frugale Innovationen im Gesundheitswesen Usbekistans / Präsidentschaftswahl in Turkmenistan*
Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 152 (10/06/2022)
- ▶ *Macht und Informalität in Kirgistan / Verfassungsreferendum in Kasachstan*
Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 153 (29/07/2022)
- ▶ *Protest und Repression in der innerstaatlichen Autonomie: Karakalpakstan und Berg-Badachschan / Konferenz der Weltreligionsführer in Astana / SOZ-Gipfel in Samarkand*
Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 154 (14/10/2022)

ZOIS in the Media

TV/Video

- ▶ *Aktuelle Stunde*
Beate Eschment | WDR (06/01/2022)
- ▶ *Украина под прицелом Путина: нашли ли Лавров и Блинкен выход из тупика?*
Beate Eschment | Deutsche Welle (21/01/2022)
- ▶ *Путина ‘кинули’, или Ответ Москвы на переписку с США и НАТО вокруг Украины*
Beate Eschment | Deutsche Welle (02/02/2022)
- ▶ *‘Baltische Staaten betonen, harten Kurs gegen Russland zu fahren’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | tagesschau24 (10/02/2022)
- ▶ *Что ждёт Казахстан: немецкие эксперты о Токаеве и его отношениях с Путиным по итогам визита в Россию*
Beate Eschment | Deutsche Welle (13/02/2022)
- ▶ *‘Kriegsgefahr ist noch nicht gebannt’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ZDF-Mittagsmagazin (15/02/2022)
- ▶ *Zum Konflikt zwischen der Ukraine und Russland*
Gwendolyn Sasse | tagesschau (15/02/2022)
- ▶ *Scholz-Besuch im Kreml: Wie belastbar sind die Entspannungssignale?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | tagesthemen (15/02/2022)
- ▶ *Zwischen Blutbad und Truppenabzug*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ARD (17/02/2022)
- ▶ *ARTE Journal Abendausgabe*
Félix Krawatzek | ARTE (22/02/2022)
- ▶ *Was im Ukraine-Konflikt passiert*
Gwendolyn Sasse | logo! (22/02/2022)
- ▶ *Markus Lanz vom 22. Februar 2022*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ZDF (22/02/2022)
- ▶ *Markus Lanz vom 25. Februar 2022*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ZDF (25/02/2022)
- ▶ *Brennpunkt: Krieg gegen die Ukraine*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ARD (28/02/2022)
- ▶ *tagesthemen*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ARD (09/03/2022)
- ▶ *Auf Augenhöhe*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ARD (10/03/2022)
- ▶ *Stillstand an der Front und bei Verhandlungen*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ZDF (15/03/2022)
- ▶ *Wed 16 Mar, 10/40 pm*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Scotland Tonight (16/03/2022)
- ▶ *Sondersendung zum ‘Ukraine-Konflikt’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ARTE (18/03/2022)
- ▶ *As NATO weighs its options: Who can help Ukraine?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutsche Welle (23/03/2022)
- ▶ *Osteuropa-Expertin Sasse zu Friedensverhandlungen*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ARD (30/03/2022)
- ▶ *Gwendolyn Sasse, Zentrum für Osteuropa und internationale Studien, zum angeblichen russischen Rückzug*
Gwendolyn Sasse | tagesschau (30/03/2022)

- ▶ *Politik mit Geschichte: Perspektiven auf Russland*
Félix Krawatzek | Daimler und Benz Stiftung (30/03/2022)
- ▶ *Markus Lanz vom 31. März 2022*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ZDF (31/03/2022)
- ▶ *Youth and War in Ukraine*
Félix Krawatzek | CTV News (25/04/2022)
- ▶ *‘Spekulationen vor Feierlichkeiten sind Teil Putins Taktik’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ARD (09/05/2022)
- ▶ *Die Orthodoxie und der Staat*
Regina Elsner | alpha-demokratie (10/05/2022)
- ▶ *Markus Lanz vom 11. Mai 2022*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ZDF (11/05/2022)
- ▶ *Putin – Der gefährliche Despot*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ZDF (17/05/2022)
- ▶ *Zwischen Krieg und Frieden. Der Katholikentag 2022 in Stuttgart*
Regina Elsner | ZDF (30/05/2022)
- ▶ *Streit statt Stärke – doch nicht gemeinsam gegen Putin?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ZDF (09/06/2022)
- ▶ *Markus Lanz vom 15. Juni 2022*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ZDF (15/06/2022)
- ▶ *Политолози: Другата седмица ще гледаме продължението ‘още от същото’*
Ivaylo Dinev | Nova News TV (16/06/2022)
- ▶ *Kasachstan – auch von Russland bedroht?*
Beate Eschment | Deutsche Welle (29/06/2022)
- ▶ *Не вярвам в това Народно събрание да се сформира нов кабинет*
Ivaylo Dinev | Nova News TV (29/06/2022)
- ▶ *How and for what the Bulgarians protested during the transition*
Ivaylo Dinev | TV1 (19/08/2022)
- ▶ *Самостоятелното явяване на ‘Продължаваме промяната’ на избори е грешка*
Ivaylo Dinev | Bulgaria On Air TV (20/08/2022)
- ▶ *Политолози: Предизборната кампания ще бъде жестока*
Ivaylo Dinev | Nova News TV (01/09/2022)
- ▶ *15/15: analitikas iš Vokietijos: Lenkijoje jaunos moterys jaučia ukrainiečių pabėgėlių konkurenciją*
Félix Krawatzek | 15min (12/09/2022)
- ▶ *‘Rhetorische Verschiebungen in Putins Rede’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | tagesschau (21/09/2022)
- ▶ *Sasse: Putins Mobilmachung ‘viel größer’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ZDF (22/09/2022)
- ▶ *Krieg in der Ukraine: Wie geht es weiter?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | tagesschau24 (25/09/2022)
- ▶ *Putin und sein Wille zur Macht*
Gwendolyn Sasse | 3sat (05/10/2022)
- ▶ *Nadja Douglas über die Vergabe des Friedensnobelpreises*
Nadja Douglas | tagesschau24 (07/10/2022)
- ▶ *Putin gerät unter Druck aus eigenen Reihen*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ARD (11/10/2022)
- ▶ *Could a key hydro-electric dam be Russia’s next target?*
Nadja Douglas | Deutsche Welle (21/10/2022)

- ▶ *Konflikt in Kasachstan und Rolle Russlands*
Beate Eschment | Deutschlandfunk Kultur (06/01/2022)
- ▶ *Interview mit Dr. Beate Eschment, Zentralasienexpertin, ZOiS, zu Kasachstan*
Beate Eschment | Deutschlandfunk (06/01/2022)
- ▶ *‘Grundsätzlich ist Kasachstan ein autoritär geführter Staat’*
Beate Eschment | radioeins (07/01/2022)
- ▶ *Aufbruchstimmung in der Kulturszene in Kasachstan*
Nina Frieß | Deutschlandfunk (08/01/2022)
- ▶ *Osteuropa-Expertin: ‘Wir befinden uns in einer Eskalationsspirale’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | rbb Inforadio (10/01/2022)
- ▶ *Beate Eschment: Der Kreml hat kein Interesse, Kasachstan zu destabilisieren*
Beate Eschment | Ö1 Europa-Journal (10/01/2022)
- ▶ *Unruhen in Kasachstan: Wie verhält sich die Literaturszene zu den Protesten?*
Nina Frieß | Deutschlandfunk Kultur (11/01/2022)
- ▶ *Die Macht der Waffen*
Beate Eschment | Deutschlandfunk Kultur (12/01/2022)
- ▶ *‘Hier stehe ich, ich kann nicht anders.’ Die Macht des Protests*
Beate Eschment | hr2 Der Tag (12/01/2022)
- ▶ *Nina Frieß zur Literaturszene in Kasachstan*
Nina Frieß | WDR 3 Resonanzen (12/01/2022)
- ▶ *‘Moskau schaut sehr genau auf Kasachstan’*
Regina Elsner | Domradio (13/01/2022)
- ▶ *Baerbock in Kiew und Moskau: Was kann sie erreichen?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutschlandfunk Kultur (17/01/2022)
- ▶ *Baerbock will sich für diplomatische Einigung einsetzen*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutschlandfunk Nova (17/01/2022)
- ▶ *Wie soll Deutschland reagieren?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutschlandfunk Kultur (29/01/2022)
- ▶ *Kein weiteres Öl ins Feuer – Die Rolle der orthodoxen Kirche im Ukraine-Konflikt*
Regina Elsner | SWR1 (13/02/2022)
- ▶ *Was hat die deutsche Ukraine-Diplomatie gebracht?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | WDR 3 (16/02/2022)
- ▶ *Osteuropa-Expertin befürchtet Eskalation in Ukraine-Konflikt*
Gwendolyn Sasse | rbb Inforadio (19/02/2022)
- ▶ *‘Die russische Armee ist zu einem großen Angriff bereit’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutschlandfunk Nova (21/02/2022)
- ▶ *Donbas in der Ukraine*
Sabine von Löwis | mdr (23/02/2022)
- ▶ *L'invasion de l'Ukraine par la Russie*
Félix Krawatzek | Radio Canada (24/02/2022)
- ▶ *Putin wird nicht einlenken*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutschlandfunk Kultur (25/02/2022)
- ▶ *The Current for Feb. 25, 2022*
Félix Krawatzek | CBC (25/02/2022)
- ▶ *Osteuropa-Expertin Sasse: Signale der EU in Moskau angekommen*
Gwendolyn Sasse | NDR (28/02/2022)
- ▶ *Theologin: Streit um Kirchen hat nichts mit dem eigentlichen Konflikt zu tun*
Regina Elsner | Deutschlandfunk (28/02/2022)
- ▶ *Sasse: Gefahr einer weiteren Eskalation ist gegeben*
Gwendolyn Sasse | rbb Inforadio (28/02/2022)
- ▶ *Krieg mit allen Mitteln – Lässt sich Putin noch stoppen?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | SWR2 (02/03/2022)
- ▶ *Wolodymyr Selenskyj: Putin hat den ukrainischen Präsidenten unterschätzt*
Gwendolyn Sasse | SWR (03/03/2022)

- ▶ *Beginn einer neuen Weltordnung?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutschlandfunk Kultur (04/03/2022)
- ▶ *Die Rolle der ukrainisch-orthodoxen Kirchen in Putins Krieg*
Regina Elsner | Bayerischer Rundfunk (04/03/2022)
- ▶ *Dialogabbruch? Politol. Félix Krawatzek zum Umgang mit russischen Künstler*innen*
Félix Krawatzek | Deutschlandfunk (04/03/2022)
- ▶ *Humanitäre Krise droht in der Ukraine – Interview Gwendolyn Sasse, Politologin*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutschlandfunk (06/03/2022)
- ▶ *Krieg in der Ukraine – Die Rolle der Kirchen*
Regina Elsner | Bayerischer Rundfunk (07/03/2022)
- ▶ *Le point sur la situation en Ukraine*
Félix Krawatzek | Radio Canada (10/03/2022)
- ▶ *Spannungen zwischen russischer und ukrainischer Orthodoxie*
Regina Elsner | SRF (10/03/2022)
- ▶ *Orthodoxe Kirche in Russland: Auf Linie mit Putin*
Regina Elsner | Deutschlandfunk Kultur (10/03/2022)
- ▶ *ZOiS-Direktorin Sasse: 'Ein Großteil der Russen kann sich nicht unabhängig informieren'*
Gwendolyn Sasse | rbb Inforadio (12/03/2022)
- ▶ *Überfall auf die Ukraine*
Gwendolyn Sasse | rbbKultur (13/03/2022)
- ▶ *Zentralasien: Russlands Nachbarn in Sorge*
Beate Eschment | WDR 5 (14/03/2022)
- ▶ *Ukrainische Fernsehsender sollen eins werden*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutschlandfunk (21/03/2022)
- ▶ *Kann der Papst zwischen Russland und Ukraine vermitteln?*
Regina Elsner | WDR 3 (24/03/2022)
- ▶ *Gwendolyn Sasse, international renommierte Osteuropa-Kennerin*
Gwendolyn Sasse | WDR 2 (24/03/2022)
- ▶ *'Russland streut gezielt Desinformation in Deutschland'*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutschlandfunk (29/03/2022)
- ▶ *Neutralität der Ukraine ist Schlüsselbegriff*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutschlandfunk Nova (29/03/2022)
- ▶ *Mit Gottes Hilfe? Die christlichen Kirchen und der Ukraine-Krieg*
Regina Elsner | SWR2 (30/03/2022)
- ▶ *Friedensverhandlungen: Hoffnungsschimmer oder Täuschungsmanöver?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | SRF (30/03/2022)
- ▶ *Religiös zu rechtfertigen? Sechs Wochen russischer Angriffskrieg auf die Ukraine*
Regina Elsner | NRD (10/04/2022)
- ▶ *Zentralasien und der Respekt vor dem russischen Nachbarn*
Beate Eschment | SRF (22/04/2022)
- ▶ *Ukraine-Krieg: Die Verantwortung der Kirchen*
Regina Elsner | WDR (23/04/2022)
- ▶ *Osteuropa-Expertin kritisiert Zurückhaltung des Papstes*
Regina Elsner | Domradio (04/05/2022)
- ▶ *Putins heiliger Krieg? Die Kirchen im Ukraine-Konflikt*
Regina Elsner | HR2 (06/05/2022)
- ▶ *Gwendolyn Sasse über das Gedenken zum 8./9. Mai in Russland und der Ukraine*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutschlandfunk (08/05/2022)
- ▶ *Moldavie: Victor Gusan, le 'sheriff' de Transnistrie*
Sabine von Löwis | Radio France Internationale (08/05/2022)
- ▶ *'Russische Staatsrhetorik wird heute alles als "Sieg" verkaufen'*
Gwendolyn Sasse | BR2 (09/05/2022)
- ▶ *Patriarch Kyrill als Kriegstreiber*
Regina Elsner | Deutsche Welle (11/05/2022)
- ▶ *La Finlande et la Suède se rapprochent de l'OTAN*
Félix Krawatzek | Radio Canada (18/05/2022)

- ▶ *Das ausgedachte Imperium – Putins Konstruktion einer ‘russischen Welt’*
Sabine von Löwis | WDR 5 (22/05/2022)
- ▶ *‘Es ist kein Ende dieses Krieges in Sicht’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutschlandfunk Kultur (24/05/2022)
- ▶ *Die Rolle der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche im Ukraine-Krieg*
Regina Elsner | radioeins (28/05/2022)
- ▶ *Sondersendung live vom Katholikentag in Stuttgart*
Regina Elsner | WDR 5 (29/05/2022)
- ▶ *Gewagter Balanceakt – Wie der Vatikan das Gespräch mit Patriarch Kyrill sucht*
Regina Elsner | Bayern 2 (30/05/2022)
- ▶ *Sasse: EU-Kandidatenstatus ist realistisch*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutschlandfunk (15/06/2022)
- ▶ *Отиваме ли към избору?*
Ivaylo Dinev | Bulgarian National Radio (16/06/2022)
- ▶ *Interview mit der Osteuropaexpertin Gwendolyn Sasse zur Debatte über den EU-Beitrittsantrag der Ukraine*
Gwendolyn Sasse | WDR 5 (18/06/2022)
- ▶ *Am Beispiel Cherson – Wie Russland eroberte ukrainische Gebiete russifiziert*
Tatiana Zhurzhenko | SRF (08/07/2022)
- ▶ *Russlands aktueller Blick auf die eigene Geschichte*
Nina Frieß and Félix Krawatzek | Deutschlandfunk (04/08/2022)
- ▶ *Политическият елит в България като цяло не е настроен към завой на изток*
Ivaylo Dinev | Bulgarian National Radio (08/08/2022)
- ▶ *Горещото политическо лято се очертава дълго*
Ivaylo Dinev | Bulgarian National Radio (10/08/2022)
- ▶ *Politologin Sasse: ‘Großes Risiko für Putin, aber keine Schwäche’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutschlandfunk (25/09/2022)
- ▶ *Putins Katastrophe – Will Russland einen Atomkrieg?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | SWR2 (26/09/2022)
- ▶ *Der Kanzler in der Zeitenwende – Deutsche Außenpolitik nach Regierungswechsel*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutschlandfunk (26/09/2022)
- ▶ *Eine Minderheit begehrt auf*
Beate Eschment | Deutschlandfunk Kultur (28/09/2022)
- ▶ *Friedensnobelpreis für Menschenrechtler aus Belarus, Russland und der Ukraine*
Tatiana Golova | rbbKultur (07/10/2022)
- ▶ *‘Russland ist nicht so isoliert, wie wir glauben’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | radioeins (13/10/2022)
- ▶ *Wird Belarus zur Kriegspartei?*
Nadja Douglas | rbb Inforadio (17/10/2022)
- ▶ *Nina Frieß über Poesie und Protest. ‘Blutige Januar’ in der Dichtung Kasachstans*
Nina Frieß | Deutschlandfunk (28/10/2022)
- ▶ *‘Neues’ Kasachstan. Tokajews Rezept zum Machterhalt*
Beate Eschment | Deutschlandfunk Kultur (16/11/2022)
- ▶ *Le Kremlin invoque la religion pour justifier son invasion de l’Ukraine*
Regina Elsner | RTS (21.11.2022)
- ▶ *MDR KULTUR Spezial: Neue Bücher zur Ukraine*
Gwendolyn Sasse | MDR Kultur (06/12/2022)
- ▶ *Zwischen Macht und Ohnmacht. Papst Franziskus und der Krieg*
Regina Elsner | Bayerischer Rundfunk (21/12/2022)
- ▶ *Papst Franziskus und der Krieg in der Ukraine*
Regina Elsner | Bayerischer Rundfunk (28/12/2022)
- ▶ *Ukraine: Krieg auch an der ‘Kirchenfront’*
Regina Elsner | Österreichischer Rundfunk (30/12/2022)

Podcast

- ▶ *Was will Russland?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Podcast Foreign Times (26/01/2022)
- ▶ *Unruhen in Kasachstan – Bleibt das Land ohne den ‘Alten’ stabil?*
Beate Eschment | Podcast Atlantic Talk (27/01/2022)
- ▶ *Liebesgrüße vom Donbass*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Politikgeflüster-Podcast (27/01/2022)
- ▶ *WTF?! (13): Der Ukraine-Krieg und die Orthodoxen Kirchen*
Regina Elsner | Die Eule (25/02/2022)
- ▶ *Ukrainian Cities at War*
Tatiana Zhurzenko | Urban Political Podcast (02/03/2022)
- ▶ *Die Kirche im Ukraine-Krieg*
Regina Elsner | Himmelklar-Podcast (09/03/2022)
- ▶ *KATAPULT im Gespräch über KRIEG und KIRCHE*
Regina Elsner | KATAPULT (12/03/2022)
- ▶ *Russia’s Invasion of Ukraine Special Edition*
Regina Elsner | Religion in Praxis Conversation Series (27/03/2022)
- ▶ *Georgien und Moldau – Putins nächste Ziele?*
Sabine von Löwis | ntv (30/03/2022)
- ▶ *Réfugiés : l’Europe a-t-elle appris de la crise de 2015?*
Irina Mützelburg | France Culture (30/03/2022)
- ▶ *Krieg in der Ukraine*
Tatiana Zhurzenko | Blätter-Podcast (01/04/2022)
- ▶ *APuZ #6: Ende der Sowjetunion*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (07/04/2022)
- ▶ *Gwendolyn Sasse über Einigkeit und Werte in Zeiten der Aggression*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Foreign Times (14/06/2022)
- ▶ *Zentralasien – Putins Freunde?*
Beate Eschment | Weltspiegel (06/08/2022)
- ▶ *Kumtor Gold Mine Controversies Continue Under Kyrgyz Ownership*
Beril Ocaklı | Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (04/09/2022)
- ▶ *WTF?! (17): Ukraine-Update mit Regina Elsner*
Regina Elsner | Die Eule (08/12/2022)

Print/Online

- ▶ *Bei meiner Reise durch Russland lernte ich: Die Angst wächst*
Tatiana Golova | Krautreporter (05/01/2022)
- ▶ *Josep Borrell: ‘No hay seguridad en Europa si no hay seguridad en Ucrania’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | El País (05/01/2022)
- ▶ *Lage in Kasachstan/Auswärtiges Amt und EU besorgt*
Beate Eschment | Deutschlandfunk (06/01/2022)
- ▶ *Berichte über Enthauptungen, Dutzende Tote: Die Lage in Kasachstan eskaliert*
Beate Eschment | Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (06/01/2022)
- ▶ *Darum herrscht in Kasachstan so grosse Wut*
Beate Eschment | Blick (06/01/2022)
- ▶ *Wie wirtschaftliche Unzufriedenheit in politische umschlägt*
Beate Eschment | rbb Inforadio (06/01/2022)
- ▶ *‘Warum sollte jemand Interesse haben, Kasachstan zu destabilisieren?’*
Beate Eschment | nd (06/01/2022)
- ▶ *Der ‘Alte’ ist weg, es wird brutaler*
Beate Eschment | tagesschau (07/01/2022)
- ▶ *哈萨克斯坦之乱：更像“颜色革命”前的测试*
Beate Eschment | Red Star News (07/01/2022)
- ▶ *‘Man kann fast sagen, es sind russische Kräfte in Kasachstan einmarschiert’*
Beate Eschment | rbb24 (08/01/2022)

- ▶ *Tyrannen der Steppe*
Beate Eschment | Süddeutsche Zeitung (09/01/2022)
- ▶ *'In Kasachstan wird Friedhofsruhe herrschen'*
Beate Eschment | ntv (10/01/2022)
- ▶ *Ennen Saksa oli se, joka jyrähti Venäjälle, mutta onko maa nyt polvillaan?*
Angela Merkelin äänet peri nuori demarinainen, joka selittää HS:lle
'utta idänpolitiikkaa'
Gwendolyn Sasse | Helsingin Sanomat (19/01/2022)
- ▶ *Analysis: In Ukraine crisis, Germany faces tough decisions over gas pipeline*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Reuters (20/01/2022)
- ▶ *Worum geht es eigentlich im Ukraine-Konflikt?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Augsburger Allgemeine (20/01/2022)
- ▶ *'Voor Poetin is nu hét moment om geschiedenis te schrijven'*
Gwendolyn Sasse | De Standaard (21/01/2022)
- ▶ *Wer könnte Russlands Lücke füllen?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | tagesschau (21/01/2022)
- ▶ *Wie Bewohner des Landes die russische Bedrohung sehen*
Gwendolyn Sasse | tagesspiegel (24/01/2022)
- ▶ *Back in the U.S.S.R.: Putin will zurück zu alter Größe*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Kurier (30/01/2022)
- ▶ *Ist auf Deutschland Verlass?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Salzburger Nachrichten (05/02/2022)
- ▶ *Warum es so viele Russen nach Deutschland zieht*
Félix Krawatzek | Tagesspiegel (10/02/2022)
- ▶ *EXPLAINER: Putin's Ukraine strategy mixes threats, diplomacy*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ABC (11/02/2022)
- ▶ *Expertin: Kasachstan nimmt nach Unruhen Kurs auf Reformen*
Beate Eschment | Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (13/02/2022)
- ▶ *'Putin nimmt Selenski weniger ernst als dessen Vorgänger'*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Blick (14/02/2022)
- ▶ *Russland-Experten zum Ukraine-Konflikt: Gefahr eines Krieges ist real*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (14/02/2022)
- ▶ *Die Bedrohung der Ukraine und die Religion*
Regina Elsner | Deutsche Welle (15/02/2022)
- ▶ *'Konflikt ist auf keinen Fall abgewendet'*
Gwendolyn Sasse | tagesschau24 (15/02/2022)
- ▶ *Что говорят немецкие аналитики о визите Шольца в Москву*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutsche Welle (15/02/2022)
- ▶ *Moskauer Patriarch schweigt zu Ukraine-Krise*
Regina Elsner | kath.ch (16/02/2022)
- ▶ *In joust with Putin, Germany's Scholz displays more assertive style*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Reuters (16/02/2022)
- ▶ *Großer Putin-Bluff? Russland scheint zurückzuziehen – warum die Ukraine-Krise aber noch lange nicht vorbei ist*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Frankfurter Neue Presse (16/02/2022)
- ▶ *NÖK Nachgefragt: Kirchen zum Ukraine-Konflikt*
Regina Elsner | Nachrichtendienst Östliche Kirchen (16/02/2022)
- ▶ *Ukrainer in München: Hoffnung auf Konfliktlösung*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Bayerischer Rundfunk (17/02/2022)
- ▶ *'Göttlich legitimierte Grenzüberschreitung'*
Regina Elsner | domradio.de (23/02/2022)
- ▶ *'Ich sehe wenig Spielraum für Verhandlungen'*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ntv (23/02/2022)
- ▶ *Großangriff auf die Ukraine. Wie konnte es so weit kommen?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ZDF (25/02/2022)



The panel discussion ‘When Feelings Go Public: The New Language of Emotions in Russia’ in the ZOIS Forum series with Tatiana Golova, Polina Aronson, Gasan Gusejnov and Julia Lerner (from left to right).

- ▶ *Er zijn Russisch-orthodoxe geestelijken die de oorlog bekritisieren, maar maakt dat iets uit, als de patriarch Poetin steunt?*
Regina Elsner | Trouw (04/03/2022)
- ▶ *Bruderzwist mit gravierenden Folgen*
Regina Elsner | Lausitzer Rundschau (04/03/2022)
- ▶ *Mit dem Segen des Patriarchen*
Regina Elsner | Rheinische Post (07/03/2022)
- ▶ *Kasachstans banger Blick auf Russlands Invasion in der Ukraine*
Beate Eschment | Reuters (07/03/2022)
- ▶ *Ook het Russisch-gezinde deel van de Oekraïense orthodoxe kerk is klaar met patriarch Kirill, én met Poetin*
Regina Elsner | Trouw (08/03/2022)
- ▶ *Osteuropa-Expertin: Papst macht sich zum Komplizen von Kyrills Ideologie*
Regina Elsner | katholisch.de (09/03/2022)
- ▶ *Wer könnte Putin ablösen?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Der Spiegel (10/03/2022)
- ▶ *Der Vorhang ist wieder zu*
Christian Schaich | Süddeutsche Zeitung (11/03/2022)
- ▶ *Mosca vs Kiev: il fattore religioso*
Regina Elsner | Atlante delle Guerre e die conflitti del mondo (14/03/2022)
- ▶ *Große Zweifel an diplomatischer Lösung*
Gwendolyn Sasse | tagesschau (16/03/2022)
- ▶ *Auch Russlands Kirche versucht sich an der Expansion*
Regina Elsner | katholisch.de (17/03/2022)
- ▶ *‘Russian World’ Is the Civil Religion Behind Putin’s War*
Regina Elsner | Wall Street Journal (17/03/2022)
- ▶ *Kirchenexpertin: ‘Ein Besuch des Papstes in Kiew wäre ein starkes Zeichen’*
Regina Elsner | kath.ch (17/03/2022)

- ▶ *Ein russisch-orthodoxer Priester wendet sich von seiner Kirche ab – hin zur Ukraine*
Regina Elsner | Augsburger Allgemeine (17/03/2022)
- ▶ *Türen nach Moskau offen halten*
Regina Elsner | domradio.de (21/03/2022)
- ▶ *Die scheue Kritik des Papstes*
Regina Elsner | Süddeutsche Zeitung (23/03/2022)
- ▶ *‘Die Sprache, um diesen Krieg zu beschreiben, ist erst im Entstehen’*
Tatiana Zhurzhenko | Falter (23/03/2022)
- ▶ *Как война в Украине повлияла на ‘русскоговорящую Германию’*
Tatiana Golova | Deutsche Welle (24/03/2022)
- ▶ *Not just Ukraine: How the fate of Belarus is linked to the war between two of its neighbours*
Gwendolyn Sasse | The Independent (26/03/2022)
- ▶ *Einflüsterer, Loyalisten, Verschwundene: Wladimir Putin und seine Clique – ein Überblick*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Tagesspiegel (28/03/2022)
- ▶ *‘Viel hängt vom Begriff “Neutralität” ab’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | tagesschau (29/03/2022)
- ▶ *Osteuropa-Expertin: ‘Das Verhältnis zu Russland wird sich in den kommenden Jahren gar nicht normalisieren können’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Merkur (29/03/2022)
- ▶ *Putins geplatzter Traum vom russischen Imperium*
Beate Eschment | Tagesspiegel (30/03/2022)
- ▶ *Das Putin-Dilemma der Ex-Sowjetrepubliken*
Beate Eschment | t-online (31/03/2022)
- ▶ *‘Wie können sie uns befreien, wenn sie uns umbringen?’ Die moskautreuen Orthodoxen geraten in der Ukraine zwischen die Fronten*
Regina Elsner | Neue Zürcher Zeitung (31/03/2022)
- ▶ *Theologin kritisiert Menschenrechtsrhetorik des Moskauer Patriarchats*
Regina Elsner | evangelisch.de (03/04/2022)
- ▶ *Ex-Sowjetrepubliken: Nicht ganz hinter Wladimir Putin*
Beate Eschment | Die Presse (07/04/2022)
- ▶ *Автопробеги под российским флагом в Берлине и не только: что следует знать*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutsche Welle (09/04/2022)
- ▶ *Ukraine-Krieg: Ökumene mit dem Kriegstreiber?*
Regina Elsner | Die Eule (11/04/2022)
- ▶ *Patriarch im Krieg: Was bezweckt Kyrill?*
Regina Elsner | BR 24 (12/04/2022)
- ▶ *Sturmgewehre und Selfies: Wieso zehntausende Frauen im Ukraine-Krieg kämpfen*
Kostiantyn Fedorenko | Tagesspiegel (12/04/2022)
- ▶ *Putins Patriarch*
Regina Elsner | tagesschau (15/04/2022)
- ▶ *Theologin: Kritik an russisch-orthodoxer Kirche muss deutlicher werden*
Regina Elsner | Deutschlandfunk (20/04/2022)
- ▶ *Papst Franziskus will vorerst nicht in die Ukraine reisen*
Regina Elsner | Bayerischer Rundfunk (22/04/2022)
- ▶ *Polizei: Über 1700 Straftaten mit Bezug zum Ukraine-Krieg*
Tatiana Golova | Die Zeit, Berliner Abendblatt, Berliner Zeitung (28/04/2022)
- ▶ *‘Das Leben des Einzelnen ist nichts wert’*
Regina Elsner | RP Online (30/04/2022)
- ▶ *Ukraine-Krieg: Papst will Putin in Moskau treffen*
Regina Elsner | BR 24 (03/05/2022)
- ▶ *Asow, Bandera und Co.: Was steckt hinter Putins Narrativ von ‘Nazis’ in der Ukraine?*
Tatiana Zhurzhenko | CORRECTIV – Recherchen für die Gesellschaft (05/05/2022)
- ▶ *Як Московський Патріархат ‘залучив’ до війни Ватикан*
Regina Elsner | Ecumenical Studies (06/05/2022)
- ▶ *Experten: Umgang mit Kyrill I. kann Vatikan Autorität kosten*
Regina Elsner | katholisch.de (06/05/2022)

- ▶ *Ukraine-Krieg: Wo hat die Ökumene Grenzen?*
Regina Elsner | Die Eule (17/05/2022)
- ▶ *Kritik am Umgang der Kirche mit dem Ukraine-Krieg*
Regina Elsner | Süddeutsche Zeitung, tagesschau, Die Zeit (26/05/2022)
- ▶ *‘Im Kampf gegen die liberalen Werte sah man sich auf der gleichen Seite der Front’*
Regina Elsner | Tagespost (26/05/2022)
- ▶ *Warum die Distanzierung von Moskau noch kein Schisma ist*
Regina Elsner | FAZ (28/05/2022)
- ▶ *Regina Elsner: In Kyrills Weltbild stehen Gay-Paraden für das Böse*
Regina Elsner | kath.ch (31/05/2022)
- ▶ *Ukrainisch-orthodoxe Kirche erklärt völlige Unabhängigkeit von Moskau*
Regina Elsner | PRO (31/05/2022)
- ▶ *Balanceakt: Wie Franziskus mit Kyrill in Kontakt bleibt*
Regina Elsner | Bayerischer Rundfunk (06/06/2022)
- ▶ *Mangel an Expertise – ‘Gesellschaft interessiert sich kaum für Russland und Osteuropa’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (07/06/2022)
- ▶ *По-вероятно е да се отиде на нови избори, отколкото да се гласува кабинет*
Ivaylo Dinev | Bulgarian National Radio (10/06/2022)
- ▶ *Vor Scholz’ Ukraine-Reise: Kann Europa Kiews Erwartungen überhaupt erfüllen?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (16/06/2022)
- ▶ *‘Große Wirkung für ukrainische Bevölkerung’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | tagesschau.de (17/06/2022)
- ▶ *Zeitenwende für die EU und die Ukraine*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutsche Welle (23/06/2022)
- ▶ *Weitere Konfliktherde der EU mit Russland*
Beate Eschment | ZDF, Die Welt (01/07/2022)
- ▶ *Warum Russland kasachischen Öl-Export stoppt*
Beate Eschment | ZDF (06/07/2022)
- ▶ *Die Sprache des Aggressors: Wie Putins Krieg dem Image der russischen Kultur schadet*
Nina Frieß | Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (25/07/2022)
- ▶ *Putin und Kyrill: Glaubenskrieger gegen das Böse*
Regina Elsner | ARD (28/07/2022)
- ▶ *How Russia’s invasion of Ukraine is changing Central Asia’s relationship with Moscow*
Beate Eschment | Emerging Europe (03/08/2022)
- ▶ *‘Es passiert sehr viel hinter den Kulissen’*
Regina Elsner | domradio.de (05/08/2022)
- ▶ *Political instability and economic uncertainty stalk Bulgaria, again*
Ivaylo Dinev | Emerging Europe (11/08/2022)
- ▶ *Vom ‘Pakt gegen Christus’ und der gescheiterten Papst-Mission*
Regina Elsner | kath.ch (25/08/2022)
- ▶ *Was die Massenproteste aus Tschechien über einen möglichen ‘heißen Herbst’ in Europa aussagen*
Ivaylo Dinev | Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (08/09/2022)
- ▶ *Kaum Chancen auf Veränderung in Russland*
Tatiana Golova | ZDF (11/09/2022)
- ▶ *Kasachstan empfängt Xi Jinping: ein Land zwischen den Mächten China und Russland*
Beate Eschment | Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (13/09/2022)
- ▶ *EU will Sanktionen gegen Moskau verschärfen*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ZDF (22/09/2022)
- ▶ *Noch keine Mobilisierung gegen Putin ‘von unten’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Stuttgarter Zeitung (22/09/2022)
- ▶ *Osteuropa-Expertin: Stimmung in Russland verändert sich – keine Mobilisierung gegen Putin ‘von unten’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (22/09/2022)
- ▶ *Teilmobilisierung mit Fragezeichen*
Gwendolyn Sasse | tagesschau.de (22/09/2022)
- ▶ *Experten zweifeln an Russlands Erfolg nach Teilmobilisierung*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Süddeutsche Zeitung (22/09/2022)

- ▶ *‘Ethnische Säuberung’: Putins Zwangsmobilmachung der Krimbevölkerung*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (27/09/2022)
- ▶ *Warum sich Belarus nicht am Angriff beteiligt*
Nadja Douglas | ZDF (27/09/2022)
- ▶ *Es brodelt in Russlands Hinterhof*
Tatiana Zhurzhenko | Der Standard (29/09/2022)
- ▶ *‘Putin agiert wie ein Machthaber des 19. Jahrhunderts’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Der Spiegel (29/09/2022)
- ▶ *Le président biélorusse Alexandre Loukachenko, va-t-en-guerre malgré lui?*
Nadja Douglas | France 24 (11/10/2022)
- ▶ *Pourquoi la Biélorussie est de plus en plus va-t-en-guerre: cinq questions pour comprendre*
Nadja Douglas | La Montagne (12/10/2022)
- ▶ *‘Für Putin war die Krim-Annexion ein Test’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | ntv (16/10/2022)
- ▶ *Osteuropaexpertin über den Krieg: Welche Irrtümer unser Bild der Ukraine verzerren*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Tagesspiegel (16/10/2022)
- ▶ *Wie gefährlich kann ‘Russlands Schlagerkönigin’ Pugatschowa für Putins Regime werden?*
Tatiana Golova | web.de (18/10/2022)
- ▶ *‘Ми всім рокив робили вигляд, що ця війна не є війною’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Deutsche Welle (18/10/2022)
- ▶ *Putins Demografie-Katastrophe: Was mit einem Land passiert, wenn es plötzlich an Männern mangelt*
Félix Krawatzek | Tagesspiegel (27/10/2022)
- ▶ *‘Der Krieg gegen die Ukraine’ – Russlands imperiale Hinterlassenschaften*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Frankfurter Rundschau (04/11/2022)
- ▶ *‘Verteidigerin des wahren Glaubens’*
Regina Elsner | domradio.de (15/11/2022)
- ▶ *Zur Gefahr rechtspopulistischer Vereinnahmung von Religionen*
Regina Elsner | Neues Ruhrwort (20/11/2022)
- ▶ *Токаєв укрєпляєт легітїмнїсть: мнєня о вїборах в Казакїстанє*
Beate Eschment | Deutsche Welle (21/11/2022)
- ▶ *Nach Tokajew-Wahlsieg mit mehr als 80 Prozent: Kasachstan zwischen Reformen und autoritärem System*
Beate Eschment | Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (21/11/2022)
- ▶ *Kampf gegen gottlosen Westen: Darum kann Putin auf Rückhalt der russischen Kirche im Ukraine-Krieg zählen*
Regina Elsner | Frankfurter Rundschau (23/11/2022), Merkur (25/11/2022)
- ▶ *Stalins Völkermord vor 90 Jahren: Wiederholt sich der Genozid unter Putin in der Ukraine?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (26/11/2022)
- ▶ *Neue Töne aus dem Kreml: Will Putin Selenskyj doch nicht mehr stürzen?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (27/11/2022)
- ▶ *Im Westen wachsen die Zweifel: Geht Putins Kalkül am Ende doch noch auf?*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (29/11/2022)
- ▶ *‘Der Krieg gegen die Ukraine’: die Frage nach dem ‘Warum?’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Ukraine Verstehen (01/12/2022)
- ▶ *Gwendolyn Sasse: ‘Es sprechen zu viele über die Ukraine, die keine Ahnung haben’*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Berliner Zeitung (01/12/2022)
- ▶ *China in Central Asia: Fact-checking and myth-busting*
Beril Ocaklı | Novastan (02/12/2022)
- ▶ *Ein lesenswertes Buch über Russlands Angriff*
Gwendolyn Sasse | FAZ (05/12/2022)
- ▶ *Fehleinschätzungen, Irrtümer, Prognosen für die Tonne – Die russische Armee wurde maßlos über-, die ukrainische unterschätzt*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Tabula Rasa Magazin (08/12/2022)
- ▶ *‘Man läuft Gefahr, das Augenmaß zu verlieren’*
Regina Elsner | Die Eule (08/12/2022)

- ▶ *Fierce claims to Crimea highlight slim chance of Russia-Ukraine peace deal*
Gwendolyn Sasse | The Washington Post (11/12/2022)
- ▶ *Les revendications concurrentes sur la Crimée montrent pourquoi la Russie et l'Ukraine ne peuvent pas faire la paix*
Gwendolyn Sasse | news-24.fr (11/12/2022)
- ▶ *'Apathie' bei Russlands Jugend: Generation Putin ist desillusioniert – und hat Angst vor der Front*
Félix Krawatzek | Merkur (20/12/2022)
- ▶ *Ukraineforschung in Kriegszeiten: Wissenschaft kann differenzieren*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Tagesspiegel (20/12/2022)
- ▶ *Debatten in der Ukraineforschung: Neue Narrative zulassen*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Tagesspiegel (20/12/2022)
- ▶ *'Es ist auch Teil des zivilen Widerstands, dass man Feste begeht, so gut es geht'*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (20/12/2022)
- ▶ *Die Ukraine: ein Land, zwei Kirchen und der Krieg*
Regina Elsner | Redaktionsnetzwerk Deutschland (20/12/2022)
- ▶ *Warum die Ukraine zweimal Weihnachten feiert*
Regina Elsner | Westdeutsche Zeitung (21/12/2022)
- ▶ *The history of Bulgaria as a history of workers – an interview with Ivaylo Dinev about the past and present of trade union movement in Bulgaria*
Ivaylo Dinev | dVERSIA (22.12.2022)
- ▶ *Warum viele Ukrainer Weihnachten vorziehen wollen*
Regina Elsner | Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (24/12/2022)
- ▶ *Gwendolyn Sasses 'Der Krieg gegen die Ukraine': Die neue Ordnung*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Süddeutsche Zeitung (26/12/2022)
- ▶ *Orthodoxe Kirche in Russland: Heiliger Krieg und spirituelle Unabhängigkeit*
Regina Elsner | ZDF heute (27/12/2022)

Guest contributions

- ▶ *'Putin has forced this crisis diplomacy upon the West'*
Gwendolyn Sasse | swissinfo (10/01/2022)
- ▶ *Ein Blick ins Innere der Ukraine*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Rotary Magazin (01/02/2022)
- ▶ *So schön, wie es niemals war – Geschichte und Erinnerung dienen in Wladimir Putins Russland der Verherrlichung der Nation und der Rechtfertigung von Gewalt*
Nina Frieß and Félix Krawatzek | Neue Zürcher Zeitung (07/03/2022)
- ▶ *Keine zweite Ukraine werden – gegenüber Russland ist staatliche Stabilität für Kasachstan eine Art Lebensversicherung; doch die Zeiten, da man der Politik des Kremls willig folgte, sind vorbei*
Beate Eschment | Neue Zürcher Zeitung (06/05/2022)
- ▶ *Ausbruch aus einem selbstreferentiellen Gespräch*
Gwendolyn Sasse | Hauptstadtbrief (08/05/2022)
- ▶ *To stop Russian manipulation, Francis must make Vatican's stand on Ukraine clear*
Regina Elsner with Thomas Bremer, Massimo Faggioli and Kristina Stoeckl | National Catholic Reporter (09/05/2022)
- ▶ *En la lengua del enemigo*
Nina Frieß | Agenda Pública/El País (23/07/2022)
- ▶ *Three reasons why Pope Francis perpetually fails Ukraine*
Regina Elsner | Euromaidanpress (26/08/2022)
- ▶ *Ein Wiederaufbau im Schatten des Krieges ist möglich*
Gwendolyn Sasse with Jörg Faust, Jörn Gravingholt, Alexander Libman, Solveig Richter and Susan Stewart | Die Zeit (29/10/2022)

Academic and Other Publications

Monographs

- ▶ Mützelburg, Irina. *Transferring Asylum Norms to EU Neighbours. Multi-Scalar Policies and Practices in Ukraine*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022.
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Der Krieg gegen die Ukraine*. München: C.H. Beck, 2022.

Editorships

- ▶ Frieß, Nina; Caffee, Naomi. *Not only Russian: Explorations in Contemporary Russophone Literature*. Russian Literature (Special Issue), 2022, 127.
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix; Frieß, Nina. *Youth and Memory in Europe. Defining the Past, Shaping the Future*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2022.
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix. *A Sign of Things to Come? Youth and Politics: Regimes, Values and Agency*. Europe-Asia Studies (Special Issue), 2022, 74(7).
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix; Soroka, George. *Here to Stay: The Politics of History in Eastern Europe*. East European Politics and Societies (Special Section), 2022, 36(1), pp. 298–327.
- ▶ Löwis, Sabine von; Eschment, Beate. *Post-Soviet Borders. A Kaleidoscope of Shifting Lives and Lands*. New York: Routledge, 2022.
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn; Onuch, Olga. *Understanding the 2020 Mass Mobilization in Belarus*. Post-Soviet Affairs (Special Issue), 2022, 38(1–2).
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Russia's War against Ukraine: A Trio of Virtual Special Issues, No. 1: Identities and Societal Mobilisation in Ukraine*. Europe-Asia Studies (online) (05/05/2022).
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Russia's War against Ukraine: A Trio of Virtual Special Issues, No. 2: Russian Neo-Imperialism: Official Discourse and Domestic Legitimation*. Europe-Asia Studies (online) (18/08/2022).

Articles in refereed journals

- ▶ Dinev, Ivaylo. *Bulgaria and Slovenia Protest Event Dataset (2009–2017): protest cycles and protest patterns in Southeast Europe*. In: Intersections. East European Journal of Society and Politics, 2022, 8(1), pp. 5–22.
- ▶ Dinev, Ivaylo. *Historical Processes and New-left Movements: exploring the divergent paths of protest politics in Southeast Europe*. In: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe, 2022, 30(2), pp. 237–257.
- ▶ Eggart, Claudia. *'Can You Hear Me?' Five Reflections on Building Rapport Online During the Coronavirus (COVID-19) Pandemic*, with Hannah Bartels, Ina Tanita Burda, Katharina Nowak, Sara Wiederkehr. In: Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 2022, 147(1–2), pp. 13–32.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Praying Instead of Protesting? The Belarusian Churches and Political Protest After the 2020 Presidential Election*. In: Nationalities Papers, 2022, pp. 1–17.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Ukrainian Churches and the Implementation of the Istanbul Convention in Ukraine: Being Europe Without Accepting 'Gender'*. In: The Review of Faith & International Affairs, 2022, 20(3), pp. 63–76.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Dynamics of Russian Orthodox Ethics of Peace and War: Sketching Shifts from the Cold War to the War in Ukraine*. In: The Uppsala Yearbook of Eurasian Studies III, 2022, pp. 39–55.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Religionsfreiheit in der Ukraine: Ein Menschenrecht als Instrument der Kriegspropaganda*. In: Kirche und Recht, 2022, 28(1), pp. 1–14.
- ▶ Frieß, Nina. *'Where are You Going to Live? In what Language?': The Search for Identity in Iurii Serebrianskii's Russophone Prose*. In: Frieß, Nina; Caffee, Naomi (eds.). Russian Literature, 2022, 127, pp. 127–149.

- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix; Langbein, Julia. *Attitudes Towards Democracy and the Market in Belarus: what has changed and why it matters*. In: *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2022, 38(1–2), pp. 107–124.
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix. *Circulation, Conditions, Claims: examining the politics of historical memory in Eastern Europe*, with George Soroka. In: *East European Politics and Societies*, 2022, 36(1), pp. 198–224.
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix. *Remembering a Contentious Past: resistance and collaboration in the former Soviet Union*, with George Soroka. In: *East European Politics and Societies*, 2022, 36(1), pp. 298–327.
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix. *Introduction. A Sign of Things to Come? Youth and Politics: Regimes, Values and Agency*. In: *Europe-Asia Studies*, 2022, 74(7), pp. 1105–1122.
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix; Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Transnational Links and Political Attitudes: Young People in Russia*. In: *Europe-Asia Studies*, 2022, 74(7), pp. 1278–1299.
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix; Frieß, Nina. *A Foundation for Russia? Memories of World War II for Young Russians*. In: *Nationalities Papers*, 2022, pp. 1–21.
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix. *Les jeunes et le politique en Russie, en Ukraine et au Bélarus*. In: *Regards sur l'Eurasie. L'année politique 2021 / Les Etudes du CERJ*, 2022, 261–262, pp. 27–33.
- ▶ Löwis, Sabine von. *Shrinking Transnistria. Trends and Effects of Demographic Decline in a De Facto State*, with Andrei Crivenco. In: *Comparative Southeast European Studies*, 2022, 70(1), pp. 47–79.
- ▶ Mützelburg, Irina. *NGOs in Ukraine's Multi-Scalar Asylum Governance – Between Influence and Dependence on State Authorities*. In: *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 44(1), pp. 125–142.
- ▶ Ocaklı, Beril. *Making and Unmaking Gold as a Resource. Resistant Socionatures in Maidan, Kyrgyzstan*, with Jörg Niewöhner. In: *Geoforum*, 2022, 131, pp. 151–162.
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Introduction. The Belarus Crisis: people, protest and political dispositions*, with Olga Onuch. In: *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2022, 38(1–2), pp. 1–8.
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Anti-regime Action and Geopolitical Polarization: understanding protester dispositions in Belarus*, with Olga Onuch. In: *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2022, 38(1–2), pp. 62–87.

Chapters in edited volumes

- ▶ Dinev, Ivaylo. *Протестен вот, протестни партии и движения партии: концептуализиране и тенденции* [Protest vote, protest parties and movement parties: conceptualisation and trends]. In: *Кризис, избори, пандемия* [Crises, Elections, Pandemic]. Veliko Tarnovo: University of St Kiril and Metodii, 2022, pp. 37–46.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Kirchen im Ukrainekrieg: Teil der Lösung oder Teil des Problems?* In: *Werkner, Ines-Jacqueline; Mayer, Lotta; Krüger, Madlen (eds.). Wege aus dem Krieg in der Ukraine: Szenarien – Chancen – Risiken*. Heidelberg: heiBOOKS, 2022 (FEST kompakt – Analysen – Stellungnahmen – Perspektiven, Band 5), pp. 93–102.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Zwischen Patriarchat und Pussy Riot. Männer, Frauen und Gender in der Russischen Orthodoxen Kirche*. In: *Martin, Silke; Schwaderer, Isabella; Waldner, Katharina (eds.). Religion und Gender. Konzepte – Erfahrungen – Medien*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2022, pp. 47–76.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Toward an Orthodox Social Ethos? Socio-Ethical Negotiations in Ukrainian Orthodoxy*. In: *Bremer, Thomas; Brüning, Alfons; Kizenko, Nadieszda (eds.). Orthodoxy in Two Manifestations? The Conflict in Ukraine as Expression of a Fault Line in World Orthodoxy*. Berlin: Peter Lang, 2022, pp. 97–120.
- ▶ Eschment, Beate. *Conclusion*. In: *Löwis, Sabine von; Eschment, Beate (eds.). Post-Soviet Borders. A Kaleidoscope of Shifting Lives and Lands*. New York: Routledge, 2022, pp. 221–225.
- ▶ Fedorenko, Kostiantyn. *The Intermarium Idea in the Post-Soviet Period: Ideas and Institutions for a Security Alliance between the Baltic and Black Seas*, with Vasile Rotaru, Andreas Umland. In: *Schiffer, Sebastian (ed.). Ukraine in Central and Eastern Europe: Kyiv's Foreign Affairs and the International Relations of the Post-Communist Region*. Ibidem Press, 2022, pp. 285–306.

- ▶ Frieß, Nina; Kampkötter, Christian. *Serhij Žadan*. In: Pörzgen, Yvonne (ed.). *Ukrainische Gegenwartsliteratur*. München: edition text+kritik, 2022, pp. 113–128.
- ▶ Frieß, Nina. *Promoting Patriotism, Suppressing Dissent Views: The Making of Historical Narratives and National Identity in Russia and Poland*, with Jade McGlynn, Karoline Thaidigsmann. In: Krawatzek, Félix; Frieß, Nina (eds.). *Youth and Memory in Europe: Defining the Past, Shaping the Future*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2022, pp. 221–230.
- ▶ Frieß, Nina. *Engaging Young Readers in History: Alternative Historical Narratives in Contemporary Russian Children's Literature*. In: Krawatzek, Félix; Frieß, Nina (eds.). *Youth and Memory in Europe: Defining the Past, Shaping the Future*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2022, pp. 247–260.
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix; Frieß, Nina. *Transmitting the Past to Young Minds*. In: Krawatzek, Félix; Frieß, Nina (eds.). *Youth and Memory in Europe: Defining the Past, Shaping the Future*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2022, pp. 1–24.
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix. *A Former Soviet Republic? Historical Perspectives on Belarus*, with Nina Weller. In: Krawatzek, Félix; Frieß, Nina (eds.). *Youth and Memory in Europe: Defining the Past, Shaping the Future*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2022, pp. 27–40.
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix. *Without Roots? The Historical Realm of Young Belarusians*. In: Krawatzek, Félix; Frieß, Nina (eds.). *Youth and Memory in Europe: Defining the Past, Shaping the Future*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2022, pp. 41–58.
- ▶ Löwis, Sabine von; Eschment, Beate; Kutsishvili, Ketevan. *Dynamics of Bordering in the Post-Soviet Space Over the Last 30 Years*. In: Löwis, Sabine von; Eschment, Beate (eds.). *Post-Soviet Borders. A Kaleidoscope of Shifting Lives and Lands*. New York: Routledge, 2022, pp. 13–31.
- ▶ Löwis, Sabine von. *Post-Soviet Borders. A Kaleidoscope of Shifting Lives and Lands. An Introduction*. In: Löwis, Sabine von; Eschment, Beate (eds.). *Post-Soviet Borders. A Kaleidoscope of Shifting Lives and Lands*. New York: Routledge, 2022, pp. 1–9.
- ▶ Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. *Making and Unmaking the Ukrainian-Russian Border since 1991*. In: Palko, Olena; Ardeleanu, Constantin (eds.). *Making Ukraine: Negotiating, Contesting and Drawing the Borders in the Twentieth Century*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022, pp. 329–354.
- ▶ Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. *Between the 'Opening to the West' and the Trauma of Rebordering: Towards a Genealogy of Post-Soviet Border Studies*. In: Löwis, Sabine von; Eschment, Beate (eds.). *Post-Soviet Borders. A Kaleidoscope of Shifting Lives and Lands*. New York: Routledge, 2022, pp. 32–50.
- ▶ Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. *Legislating Historical Memory in Post-Soviet Ukraine*. In: Barkan, Elazar; Lang, Ariella (eds.). *Memory Laws and Historical Justice. The Politics of Criminalizing the Past*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2022, pp. 97–130.

Other publications

- ▶ Eggart, Claudia. *Grassroot-level Humanitarian Aid and the Paradoxes of Logistics, Regulation and Geography in Times of War*. In: *Making sense of the war in Ukraine*. COMPAS blog (11/04/2022).
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *The Murderous Silence of the Russian Orthodox Church*. In: *Religion in Praxis* (27/02/2022).
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *The Role of Religion in Contemporary Russia and for the War in Ukraine*, with Tobias Köllner. In: *London School of Economics Blog* (17/03/2022).
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Die religiöse Dimension des Krieges in der Ukraine und die globalen Konsequenzen*. In: *Vielfalt leben – Gesellschaft gestalten*. Blog by the Bertelsmann Stiftung (25/03/2022).
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Russia's Invasion of Ukraine Special Edition*, with Cyril Hovorun, Ulrich Schmid. Podcast 'Religion in Praxis Conversation Series' (26/03/2022).
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Wenn Religion der Ideologie dient. Krieg in der Ukraine: Anfragen an die Kirchen*. In: *Salzkörner*, 2 (12/04/2022).
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Leider keine Friedenskraft. Die Verstrickung der russischen Orthodoxie in den Krieg um die Ukraine*. In: *Zeitzeichen* 4/2022.

- ▶ Elsner, Regina. 'Verfolgte' Kirche in der Ukraine. *Kriegspropaganda, Kirchenkonflikt und globale Konsequenzen*. In: Monitor Religion und Politik, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, April 2022.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Come il Patriarcato di Mosca ha 'arruolato' il Vaticano nella Guerra*, with Bremer, Thomas; Faggioli, Massimo; Stoeckl, Kristina. *Il Regno* (05/05/2022).
In German: *Wie die Russische Orthodoxe Kirche den Vatikan manipuliert*. Feinschwarz (05/05/2022).
In Ukrainian: *Як Московський Патріархат 'залучив' до війни Ватикан*. *Ecumenical Studies* (06/05/2022).
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Ökumenische Herausforderung Friedensethik*. In: Positionen. Zentrum für ethische Bildung in den Streitkräften (zebis) (08/05/2022).
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *The End of Unity: How the Russian Orthodox Church Lost Ukraine*. In: TRAFO – Blog for Transregional Research (12/05/2022).
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Papst Franziskus in Kasachstan – Religionsdiplomatie auf steinigem Gelände*. In: Zentralasien-Analysen Nr. 154 (14/10/2022), pp. 15–17.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Ideological Pillow and Strategic Partner: The Russian Orthodox Church and the War*. In: *Russian Analytical Digest* Nr. 286 (17/10/2022), pp. 2–4.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Kampf gegen die 'Kirche des Aggressors'*. In: Karenina. *Petersburger Dialog Online* (06/12/2022).
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Kriegstreiber oder Friedenskraft? Zur Rolle der Kirchen in Russlands Krieg in der Ukraine*. In: *Communicatio Socialis. Zeitschrift für Medienethik und Kommunikation in Religion und Gesellschaft*, 2022, 55(4), pp. 479–491.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Religionsfreiheit: Russland*. *Länderberichte Religionsfreiheit* 55, hrsg. vom Internationalen Katholischen Missionswerk missio e.V. und von Renovabis e.V., Aachen 2022.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Kirche der Angst. Mehr als Putins Ideologieabteilung?* In: *Herder Korrespondenz*, 12/2022, pp. 28–31.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Woher dieser Hass? Russlands Krieg um die 'natürliche Ordnung'*. In: *Religion und Gesellschaft in Ost und West (RGOW)*, 10/2022, pp. 10–14.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Rezension: Schon, Dietmar: Berufen zur Verwandlung der Welt. Die Orthodoxe Kirche in sozialer und ethischer Verantwortung*. In: *Theologische Revue*, Bd. 118, Oktober 2022.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Die Russische Orthodoxe Kirche und der Krieg*. In: *Apostel. Zeitschrift der Arnsteiner Patres*, 2/2022, pp. 17–19.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *'Sich nicht vereinnahmen lassen'*. In: *Christ in der Gegenwart* 14/2022, p. 3.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Von innen ausgehöhlt. Die Konsensökumene mit der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche ist gescheitert*. In: *Herder Korrespondenz*, 8/2022, pp. 24–25.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Reise an die Peripherie? Papst Franziskus in Kasachstan*. In: *Christ in der Gegenwart* 39/2022, p. 2.
- ▶ Elsner, Regina. *Krieg in der Ukraine – die über- und die unterschätzte Macht der Kirchen*. In: *Neue Wege* 6/2022, pp. 21–25.
- ▶ Eschment, Beate. *Rezension: Alexander Morrison. The Russian Conquest of Central Asia. A Study in Imperial Expansion, 1814–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021. In: *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 69, 3/2021, pp. 471–473 (published 2022).
- ▶ Eschment, Beate. *Ein Meilenstein auf dem Weg nach...? Anmerkungen zum Verfassungsreferendum in Kasachstan*. In: *Zentralasien-Analysen* Nr. 153 (29/07/2022), pp. 7–8.
- ▶ Eschment, Beate. *Responses from Central Asian States to the Russian Invasion of Ukraine*. In: *E-International Relations* (31/03/2022).
- ▶ Eschment, Beate. *Taktisches Manöver. Tadschikische Reaktionen auf den Sieg der Taliban*. In: *Religion und Gesellschaft in Ost und West (RGOW)*, Jg. 50, 2/2022, pp. 15–17.
- ▶ Frieß, Nina; Eschment, Beate. *Sprache und Macht*. Hintergrundtext zum Film 'Akyn'. *Berlinale Hauptprogramm*, 2022.
- ▶ Frieß, Nina. *Kunst und Protest in Kasachstan*. In: *Zentralasien-Analysen* Nr. 151 (25/02/2022), pp. 6–8.

- ▶ Frieß, Nina. *In der Sprache des Feindes*. In: Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft (08.07.2022). Also published in English: *In the Language of the Enemy*. In: Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft (18/07/2022).
- ▶ Frieß, Nina. *Казахстанская литература без катастроф. Об антологии 'АМАНАТ'*. Daktil, 34 (Juli 2022).
- ▶ Frieß, Nina. *AMANAT – Female Writers as the Window to Contemporary Kazakhstani Literature*. In: The Alma Review (19/07/2022).
- ▶ Goldstein, Piotr; Douzina-Bakalaki, Phaedra. *Doggy Bag*. A 12:45-minute ethnographic documentary study, Greece/Germany (2022).
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix; Goldstein, Piotr. *Ukraine War: Poland Welcomed Refugees with Open Arms at First, but Survey Shows Relations Are Becoming More Strained*. In: The Conversation (07/12/2022).
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix. *Putin's Home Front: A War on Time*, with George Soroka. In: PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo, No. 784 (11/07/2022).
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix. *Adrift from Politics. Youth in Russia before the War*. In: Democracy and Human Rights, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, July 2022.
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix. *A Glimmer of Hope. Youth in Ukraine before the War*. In: Democracy and Human Rights, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, July 2022.
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix. *The Best Story: the Ukrainian past in Zelenskyy's words and the eyes of the public*, with George Soroka. In: New Eastern Europe 6, November–December 2022.
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix. *Ukraine War: People Are Fighting and Dying for Vladimir Putin's Flawed Version of History*, with George Soroka. In: The Conversation (22/03/2022).
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix. *Ukraine and Russia: Two Countries Whose Memories of a 'Shared' Past Could Not Be More Different*, with George Soroka. In: The Conversation (27/01/2022).
- ▶ Krawatzek, Félix; Sasse, Gwendolyn. *The E.U. Continues to Sanction Belarus. Some Belarusians Agree*. In: The Washington Post – Monkey Cage (06/01/2022).
- ▶ Langbein, Julia. *Western Sanctions Need to Hurt the Putin Regime at its Core*. In: SCRIPTS Blog, No. 5 (01/03/2022).
- ▶ Mützelburg, Irina. *Flucht in und aus der Ukraine*. In: Ukraine-Analysen Nr. 269 (30/05/2022), pp. 2–6.
- ▶ Mützelburg, Irina. *Geflüchtete Schüler*innen aus der Ukraine*. In: Berliner Bildungszeitschrift – bbz der GEW (27/05/2022).
- ▶ Ocaklı, Beril. *China in Zentralasien – Factchecking, um mit Mythen aufzuräumen*. Novastan (04/01/2022). Also published in English: *China in Central Asia: Fact-checking and myth-busting*. Novastan (02/12/2022).
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Grenzen und Identitäten im Wechselspiel nach 1989/1991*. In: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte 1–2/2022, pp. 33–39.
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Russlands Krieg gegen die Ukraine. Faktoren, Ursachen, Dynamik*. In: Zeitschrift Osteuropa, 2022, 6–8, pp. 167–178.
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Die Ukraine in der Rhetorik russischer Präsidenten und der Staatsduma*. In: Russland-Analysen Nr. 413 (15/02/2022), pp. 20–23.
- ▶ Sasse Gwendolyn. *Will Russia Recognize the Independence of Two Eastern Ukraine Republics? Here's What People There Think*, with John O'Loughlin, Gerard Toal. The Washington Post / Monkey Cage (17/02/2022).
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Reading the Political Signs from Moscow*. Strategic Europe, Carnegie Europe (17/02/2022).
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Russia's Invasion of Ukraine Changes Everything*. Strategic Europe, Carnegie Europe (25/02/2022).
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Ende der Sowjetunion: Der Zerfall und seine Folgen*. Podcast of the Federal Agency for Civic Education 'Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte' (APuZ#6), (06/04/2022).
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Do People Want to be 'Liberated' by Russia?*, with John O'Loughlin, Gerard Toal. The Washington Post / Monkey Cage (15/04/2022).



On the occasion of the publication of her book 'The War against Ukraine', ZOiS Director Gwendolyn Sasse (right) discussed the background to Russia's attack on its neighbour and its consequences with journalist Isolde Ruhdorfer at Urania Berlin.

- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Wir brauchen eine De-Kolonisierung und Aufwertung der Osteuropa-Forschung*. In: *Ukraine-Analysen* Nr. 269 (30/05/2022), pp. 13–14.
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Russia-Ukraine Talks: A Difficult Road to Peace*. Strategic Europe, Carnegie Europe (31/05/2022).
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Why the EU Must Open Its Doors to Ukraine*. Strategic Europe, Carnegie Europe (23/06/2022).
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *Russia's War in Ukraine: A Turning Point?* Strategic Europe, Carnegie Europe (13/09/2022).
- ▶ Sasse, Gwendolyn. *The Risks of Negotiating an End to the War in Ukraine*. Strategic Europe, Carnegie Europe (06/12/2022).
- ▶ Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. *The Russian Invasion of Ukraine as a Contestation of the Liberal Script?* In: *SCRIPTS Blog*, No. 7 (15/03/2022).
- ▶ Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. *In der Ukraine geht es um Europa*. In: *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik* 4/2022.
Also published in English: *Ukraine: A battleground for Europe's future*. In: *Eurozine* (08/04/2022).
In French: *Ukraine : le champ de bataille où se joue l'avenir de l'Europe*, and in Italian: *Quella in Ucraina è una battaglia per il futuro dell'Europa*. In: *Voxeurop* (21/04/2022).
In Lithuanian: *Ukraina: mūšio laukas dėl Europos ateities*. In: *Kultūros barai*, No. 5 (2022).
- ▶ Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. *Ukraine – Die erstarkte Nation*. In: *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik* 6/2022.
Also published in English: *Making sense of the war*. In: *Eurozine* (16/06/2022) and *Public Seminar* (06/07/2022).
In Russian: *Осмысляя войну в Украине*. *Sapere Aude* (11/07/2022).
- ▶ Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. *Terror, Kollaboration und Widerstand. Russlands Herrschaft in den neu besetzten Gebieten der Ukraine*. In: *Zeitschrift Osteuropa*, 2022, 6–8, pp. 179–200.
- ▶ Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. *Terror, Kollaboration und Widerstand unter russischer Okkupation*. In: *Religion und Gesellschaft in Ost und West (RGOW)*, 7/2022, pp. 6–10.
- ▶ Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. *'Russland spielt mit hohem Einsatz'/ 'Russia is playing a high-stakes game'*. In: *Ethik und Militär – Kontroversen der Militäretik und Sicherheitskultur* 2/2022, *War in Ukraine / Krieg in der Ukraine*.

Events

Presentations and panel discussions

- ▶ Panel discussion | Gwendolyn Sasse
Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy (online, 24/01/2022)
Die Zukunft der europäischen Sicherheit: Kooperation oder Konfrontation?
(with Almut Möller, Helga Schmid, Ursula Schröder)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Beate Eschment
Kasachstan nach den Januar-Unruhen 2022
Deutsch-Kasachische Gesellschaft (online, 04/02/2022)
- ▶ Keynote | Tsypylma Darieva
Journey to the Future? Conceptualizing Homeland Travel and Constructing Bonds to the Homeland (in Post-Soviet Armenia and beyond)
University of Göttingen (online, 04/02/2022)
Part of the conference *Migration and Everyday Life of Post-Soviet Diaspora Nationalities*
- ▶ Online event | Gwendolyn Sasse
Public Opinion in the Divided Donbas: Results of a January 2022 Survey on Both Sides of the Contact Line
Kennan Institute, Wilson Center (online, 23/02/2022)
(with Mikhail Minakov, John O'Loughlin, Gerard Toal)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Gwendolyn Sasse
Russlands Aggression gegen die Ukraine: Aktuelle Einschätzungen
Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (online, 24/02/2022)
(with Guido Hausmann, Cindy Wittke)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Regina Elsner
Religion, Russia, Ukraine
Fordham University (online, 28/02/2022)
(with Shaun Casey, Brandon Gallaher, Cyril Hovorun, Aristotle Papanikolaou)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Regina Elsner
Krieg in der Ukraine – Krieg in Europa
Evangelische Akademie Sachsen (online, 01/03/2022)
(with Klaus Segbers, Dieter Segert)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Sabine von Löwis
Krieg in der Ukraine
University of Marburg, Center for Conflict Studies (online, 02/03/2022)
(with Andrea Gawrich, Hubert Zimmermann)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
Russia's War Against Ukraine
Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy, Centre for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (online, 03/03/2022)
(with Volodymyr Dubovyk, Marta Dyczok, Olga Onuch, Oxana Shevel)
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Krieg in der Ukraine – Die religiöse und kirchliche Dimension des Konflikts
Domschule Würzburg (Würzburg, 07/03/2022)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Gwendolyn Sasse
Putins Geo- und Geschichtspolitik
Bielefeld University, Center for Interdisciplinary Research (Bielefeld & online 07/03/2022)
(with Angelika Epple, Frank Grüner, Andreas Vasilache, Gabriele Woidelko, Andreas Zick)

- ▶ Panel discussion | Félix Krawatzek
From Memory Wars...to War
 George Washington University, Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies
 (online, 11/03/2022)
 (with Travis Frederick, Jade McGlynn, George Soroka)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
Putin's War in Ukraine
 University of Vienna, Department of Political Science (online, 11/03/2022)
 (with Julia Baumann, Edgars Eihmanis, Anna Lazareva, Anatoly Reshetnikov,
 Johan Skytte, Yuliya Yurchenko)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Gwendolyn Sasse
Überfall auf die Ukraine: Diskussionsabend im Großen Sendesaal des rbb
 Einstein Foundation Berlin and rbb (Berlin, 13/03/2022)
 (with Jutta Allmendinger, Olafur Eliasson, Wladimir Kaminer, Christoph Marksches,
 Hermann Parzinger, Martin Rennert, Patricia Schlesinger, Günter Ziegler)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
**ZEITENWENDE? Russia's Invasion of Ukraine: A Roundtable on Implications
 for the Liberal Order**
 Cluster of Excellence *Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)*, Freie Universität Berlin
 (online, 15/03/2022)
 (with Katharina Bluhm, Tanja A. Börzel, Thomas Risse, Umma Salma Bava, Lunting Wu)
- ▶ Presentation | Gwendolyn Sasse
**Ukrainathon: A 24-hour Marathon of Expert Lectures on Topics Related to Russia's
 Invasion of Ukraine**
 PONARS Eurasia, Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (IRES),
 Petrarch Program on Ukraine (online, 16–17/03/2022)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Regina Elsner
Krieg in der Ukraine: Wie steht es um die Rolle der Kirchen?
 Katholische Akademie Berlin, German Association for East European Studies (online, 17/03/2022)
 (with Johannes Oeldemann, Andriy Waskowycz)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Gwendolyn Sasse
Krieg – Neue Konsequenzen für Sicherheit und Frieden in und um Europa
 Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Berlin, 17/03/2022)
 (with Niels Annen, Jean Asselborn, Richard R. Burt, Rüdiger Lüdeking, Ljudmyla Melnyk)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Gwendolyn Sasse
Virtual ASN: Geopolitics and the War in Ukraine
 Association for the Study of Nationalities (online, 23/03/2022)
 (with Zsuzsa Csergő, James Goldgeier, Oleksiy Haran, Peter Rutland, David Shullman)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Regina Elsner
Ökumenische Kontakte nutzen? – Kirchliche Verantwortung und der Ukraine-Krieg
 Evangelische Akademie Loccum (online, 28/03/2022)
 Part of the series *Beten. Und sonst? – Kirchliche Verantwortung und der Ukraine-Krieg*
 (with Dirk Stelter)
- ▶ Keynote | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
War and Memory in the Post-Soviet Space: Weaponization Without Limits?
 EUSTORY, Körber-Stiftung (online, 29/03/2022)
 In the framework of the *EUSTORY Annual Network Meeting 2022*

- ▶ Panel discussion | Sabine von Löwis
Krieg in der Ukraine – Ende der Friedensordnung?
Frauenkirche Dresden (Dresden, 29/03/2022)
(with Matthias Dembinski, Arnd Henze, Marcel Röthig, Merle Spellerberg)
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Christen als Friedensstifter im Ukraine-Krieg?
Gedenkzentrum Plötzensee (Berlin, 31/03/2022)
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Christen gegen Christen. Die religiöse Dimension des Kriegs in der Ukraine
Arbeitsgemeinschaft Sozialpädagogik und Gesellschaftsbildung e.V. (online, 05/04/2022)
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Christen gegen Christen. Die religiöse Dimension des Kriegs in der Ukraine
Katholisches Bildungsforum Münster (online, 07/04/2022)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Gwendolyn Sasse
Russia in Ukraine III: Cauldron of a Nation
The American Academy of Berlin (online, 12/04/2022)
(with Daniel Benjamin, Serhii Plokhii, Yoshua Yaffa)
- ▶ Film screening and discussion | Piotr Goldstein
Ethnografilm Festival
Théâtre Lepic (Paris, 20/04/2022)
Film screening of *Active (citizen)*, produced by Piotr Goldstein and Jan Lorenz, with Q&A
- ▶ Panel discussion | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
Memory Politics and Russia's War in Ukraine
Central European University (online, 20/04/2022)
(with Florian Bieber, Alexander Etkind, Thomas Fetzer, Maria Mälksoo, Tchavdar Marinov)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Sabine von Löwis
Putins Überfall auf die Ukraine – eine grenztheoretische Einordnung des Angriffs auf die Ordnung der Staatsgrenze(n)
European University Viadrina, Center B/ORDERS IN MOTION (online, 27/04/2022)
(with Norbert Cyrus)
- ▶ Presentation | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
Weaponizing History. The Role of Memory in the Russian War against Ukraine
European University Viadrina, Ukraine Calling (Frankfurt/Oder, 05/05/2022)
Part of the series *Voices from Ukraine – Writing and Researching in War: Dialogue with Scholars from and in Ukraine* (with Georgiy Kasianov)
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Frauen in der Orthodoxie – ein Blick auf die aktuelle Situation in der Ukraine und Russland
University of Erfurt (online, 24/05/2022)
Part of the series *Frauen der Kirche – Kirche der Frauen*
- ▶ Panel discussion | Beate Eschment
30 Jahre deutsch-kasachische bilaterale Beziehungen – Rolle und Perspektiven der deutschen Minderheit
Stiftung Verbundenheit (online, 24/05/2022)
Input *Kasachstan, Deutschland, Kasachstan-Deutsche und der Krieg in der Ukraine*
- ▶ Panel discussion | Beate Eschment
Der virtuelle Runde Tisch: Referendum am 5. Juni in Kasachstan: der Blick von innen und außen
Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the Federal Republic of Germany (online, 24/05/2022)
Input *Assessment of Constitutional Amendments*

- ▶ Presentation | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
The Politics of Memory in the Ukrainian-Russian Conflict
 University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam Centre for European Studies (online, 24/05/2022)
 Part of the series *#uadiscussions*
- ▶ Panel discussion | Regina Elsner
Mit Gott auf unserer Seite? Zur Beziehung von Religion und Außenpolitik
 Görres-Gesellschaft (Stuttgart, 26/05/2022)
 (with Sarah Delere, Ulrich Schlie, Nikodemus Schnabel)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Regina Elsner
Der Krieg in der Ukraine. Zeitenwende für die Ökumene?
 Katholikentag – Zentrum für Ökumene (Stuttgart, 27/05/2022)
 (with Doris Hege, Erzpriester Radu Constantin Miron, Andriy Mykhaleyko, Anna Nötzel, Johannes Oeldemann)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Lena Pieber
Perspektiven der Feministischen Außenpolitik auf den Krieg in der Ukraine
 University of Erfurt, Department Extracurricular Formation of the Student Council Economics, Law and Social Sciences (online, 30/05/2022)
- ▶ Vortrag | Gwendolyn Sasse
Crimea and Ukraine
 University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam Centre for European Studies (online, 31/05/2022)
 Part of the series *#uadiscussions*
- ▶ Panel discussion | Regina Elsner
Relionsgemeinschaften der Ukraine und der russische Angriffskrieg
 Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (Berlin, 14/06/2022)
 Chair of the panel discussion (with Gennadij Biloritsky, Metropolit Epiphanius, Anatolij Kozatschok, Vitalii Kryvytskyi, Scheikh Akhmed Tamim)
- ▶ Presentation | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
Russia's Rule on the Newly Occupied Territories of Ukraine: Terror, Collaboration, Resistance
 Central European University, Department of International Relations (online, 15/06/2022)
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Krieg in der Ukraine. Zur Lage in der Ukraine, in Belarus und Russland
 Thomas-Morus-Akademie Bensberg (online, 21/06/2022)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Nina Frieß
Russophone Voices in Time of War
 Organisation of the discussion as part of the network *Russophone Voices* (online, 22/06/2022)
- ▶ Presentation | Lena Pieber
Frozen Conflicts im postsowjetischen Raum
 Young European Federalists (Siggen, 25/06/2022)
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Im Krieg. Orthodoxe Kirchen in der Ukraine und in Russland
 Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtnis-Kirche (Berlin, 29/06/2022)
 Part of the series *Kapellengespräch „extra“*
- ▶ Lecture | Nina Frieß
Nomadenmythen in der Literatur und Kultur Kasachstans
 Heidelberg University, Slavic Institute (online, 29/06/2022)
 Part of the lecture series *Kultur und Geistesgeschichte der slawischen Völker*

- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Kriegstreiber oder Friedenskraft? Kirchen und Politik in Russlands Krieg in der Ukraine
 University of Passau (Passau, 30/06/2022)
 Part of the series *Russlands Krieg gegen die Ukraine*
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Kriegstreiber oder Friedenskraft? Zur Rolle der Kirchen im Krieg in der Ukraine
 University of Bamberg (online, 07/07/2022)
 Part of the lecture series *Der Krieg in der Ukraine – Hintergründe, Einordnung und Fragestellungen*
- ▶ Panel discussion | Regina Elsner
Vatikanische Ukraine-Diplomatie: „Naiv und utopisch“?
 Domberg-Akademie (online, 21/07/2022)
 (with Annette Schavan)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Regina Elsner
The Politics of Emotions and Values in International Relations
 Middlebury Institute of International Studies, Monterey Initiative in Russian Studies
 (online, 22/07/2022)
 (with Andrei Tsygankov, Zheng Wang)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Kostiantyn Fedorenko
Ukrainian Vibes Project
 Democracy International (online, 11/08/2022)
 Presentation *Aspects of Activism in Ukraine and Ukrainian Activist Emigration*
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Potenzielle Wege einer Annäherung und Verständigung zwischen Russland und der Ukraine. Kirchen als Teil der Lösung oder Teil des Problems?
 Protestant Institute for Interdisciplinary Research (Heidelberg, 07–08/09/2022)
 Part of the series *Krieg in der Ukraine*
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Die Russische Orthodoxe Kirche im Krieg: Politische Ideologie und theologische Sprachlosigkeit
 Domforum Köln (Köln, 14/09/2022)
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
125 Jahre Caritas – Katholische und Orthodoxe Zugänge zu sozialer Hilfe in Krisenzeiten
 Katholische Pfarrei St. Maria Mater Dolorosa, Caritasverband der Diözese Görlitz
 (Fensterwalde, 18/09/2022)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Gwendolyn Sasse
Europa: Herausforderungen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart
 Centre Marc Bloch (Berlin, 19/09/2022)
 (with Patricia Clavin, Nicolas Hubé, Silke Mende, Baláys Trencsényi)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Félix Krawatzek
Surveying Ukrainian Attitudes Towards the Past
 Harvard University, Ukrainian Research Institute (online, 21/09/2022)
 (with Emily Channell-Justice, Kira Rudik, George Soroka)
- ▶ Presentation | Lena Pieber
Konflikte im postsowjetischen Raum: eine Destabilisierungsstrategie Russlands
 Hans Böckler Foundation (Cologne, 21/09/2022)
 Part of the series *Der Russische Angriffskrieg auf die Ukraine. Die europäische Sicherheitsordnung am Abgrund*
- ▶ Presentation | Beril Ocaklı
Situating Extractivism in Post-Soviet Geographies. The Un / Making of Kyrgyzstan's Gold
 Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, Centre for Interdisciplinary Regional Studies
 (online, 29/09/2022)
 Part of the lecture series *ETROD – Extractivism and Transition Research Online Dialogues*

- ▶ Panel discussion | Regina Elsner
Orthodoxien im Krieg – Heiliges Russland und christlicher Westen
 Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities (online, 04/10/2022)
 (with Michael Meier, Thomas Németh, Emmanuel Sfiatkos, Kristina Stöckl)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Regina Elsner
Identity, Ideology and Family Values
 Ukrainian Catholic University Lviv (online, 05/10/2022)
 Part of the *15th Ecumenical Social Week*
 Input *How the Question of Gender Impacts Ukrainian Churches' Search for Identity?*
 (with Jadranka Sr. Rebeka Anić, Massimo Faggioli, Thomas Németh, Kristina Stoeckl)
- ▶ Presentation | Félix Krawatzek
Von kontroversen Sichtweisen auf die Geschichte zur militärischen Eskalation?
 Daimler and Benz Foundation (Cologne, 08/10/2022)
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Orthodoxie und Ukraine-Krieg – Herausforderungen für die Ökumene
 The Plenary Assembly of the Catholic Council in the Diocese of Magdeburg (Halle, 08/10/2022)
- ▶ Presentation | Christian Schaich
Aufhebung eines rechtswidrigen und eines rechtmäßigen Verwaltungsakts, Vollstreckung von Verwaltungsakten
 Academy of Law at the Supreme Court of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Astana, 11–12/10/2022)
 Part of the seminar *Gesetzgebung zum Verwaltungsverfahren und Verwaltungsgerichtsverfahren: Besonderheiten und Probleme bei der Anwendung in der Praxis*
- ▶ Panel discussion | Nadja Douglas
Der Abzug der sowjetischen Truppen aus Ostmitteleuropa. Nationale Perspektiven im Vergleich
 Museum Berlin-Karlshorst (Berlin, 13/10/2022)
 (with Christopher Meißner, Jörg Morré, Hans-Henning Schröder)
- ▶ Roundtable | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
Europe and Eurasia: Re-Bordering in an Era of Uncertainty
 Rondeli Foundation – Georgian Foundation for Strategic and International Studies (Tbilisi, 14/10/2022)
 Part of the project *Rescaling the Border: Nationalism and Civilisationalism in Central and Eastern Europe*
 (with Giorgi Badridze, Péter Balogh, Mark Bassin, Mark Clayton, Kakha Gogolashvili, Paul Richardson)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Gwendolyn Sasse
Futuring the Liberal Script: Ukraine – vom Krieg sprechen
 Cluster of Excellence *The Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)* (Berlin, 17/10/2022)
 (with Jens Bisky, Kateryna Mishchenko)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Félix Krawatzek
Youth in Eastern Europe – How to Engage a New Generation
 Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, ZOiS (Berlin, 19/10/2022)
 (with Salome Alania, Emilbek Dzhuraev, Fabian Funke, Pavel Grabchikov, Johannes Schrap, Ekaterina Schulmann)
- ▶ Presentation | Claudia Eggart
Fragile Network, Stable Node. Customs, Geopolitics and Human Infrastructures at a Kyrgyz Bazaar
 University of Oxford, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) (Oxford, 20/10/2022)
 In the context of a work-in-progress seminar
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Die Russische Orthodoxe Kirche im Krieg: Theologische und Politische Aspekte
 University of Tübingen (Tübingen, 24/10/2022)
 Part of the event *Politische Theologie im imperialen Russland: Die russische Orthodoxie im Angesicht des Ukraine-Krieges*

- ▶ Presentation | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
Years of Post-Soviet Border Studies: Paradoxes and Tensions
 University of Eastern Finland (Joensuu, 30/10/2022)
 Part of the annual meeting of the research association *Borders, Mobilities and Cultural Encounters*
- ▶ Panel discussion | Beate Eschment
Die neue geopolitische Lage Kasachstans
 Deutsch-Kasachische Gesellschaft (online, 03/11/2022)
 (with Askar Nurscha, Rakhim Oshakbajew, Andrea Schmitz)
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Die Haltung der Orthodoxen Kirche in Russland und der Ukraine zu Sterben und Krieg
 Berliner Forum der Religionen (Berlin, 16/11/2022)
 Part of the 13th Berlin Psychiatric-Religious Studies Colloquium *Sterben und Tod, Flucht, Krieg, Religion und die Möglichkeiten der Psychotherapie*
- ▶ Panel discussion | Félix Krawatzek
Sozialwissenschaften unter autoritären Bedingungen – Russland im Fokus
 German Association for East European Studies (online, 17/11/2022)
 (with Lev Gudkov)
- ▶ Keynote | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
(De)occupation: Challenges for the Ukrainian State and Society
 University of Oxford (Oxford, 18/11/2022)
 Part of the conference *War and the Future of Ukraine*
- ▶ Presentation | Félix Krawatzek
History that Binds? Perspectives on Polish History and Attitudes on the War in Ukraine
 Aarhus University, School of Culture and Society (Aarhus, 23/11/2022)
- ▶ Presentation | Claudia Eggart
The Box. A Short Material History of the Container and its Role in the Making of the Post-Soviet Wholesale and Retail Market
 University of Manchester (Manchester, 28/11/2022)
 In the context of a research seminar for postgraduates / doctoral candidates
- ▶ Keynote | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
Russia's Occupation and Ukraine's Response
 Norwegian Network for Research on Ukraine (UKRAINETT) (Oslo, 28/11/2022)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Kostiantyn Fedorenko
The Post-war European Future for Ukraine: Visions and Realities
 Elan for Europe (online, 02/12/2022)
- ▶ Presentation | Gwendolyn Sasse
Russlands Krieg gegen die Ukraine
 Rotary Club Wuppertal (online, 02/12/2022)
- ▶ Presentation | Gwendolyn Sasse
Studying Displacement: The Displaced as 'Ordinary Citizens'
 Central European University, Invisible University for Ukraine (online, 05/12/2022)
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Die Ostkirchen vor dem Hintergrund der russischen Aggression gegen die Ukraine
 Andrassy University Budapest (Budapest & online, 13/12/2022)
 Part of the event series *Religion und Diplomatie*

- ▶ Presentation | Irina Mützelburg
Bildung geflüchteter ukrainischer Schüler*innen in Deutschland
Centre Marc Bloch (Berlin, 13/12/2022)
- ▶ Panel discussion | Félix Krawatzek
Where is Russia going?
Centre for Baltic and East European Studies (online, 14/12/2022)
(with Matthew Blackburn, Yulia Gradszkova, Ilya Viktorov)
Presentation *Young Russians and the War in Ukraine*
- ▶ Presentation | Regina Elsner
Die Kirchen und der Krieg: Krieg und Frieden als Thema der verschiedenen Konfessionen
Bistum Münster (online, 15/12/2022)
Part of a training for teachers
- ▶ Panel discussion | Gwendolyn Sasse
Aufbruch für Ost und West – Zur Förderung exzellenter jüngerer Forscher vor dem Hintergrund des Kriegs in der Ukraine
Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities (Berlin, 19/12/2022)
(with Olga Garaschuk, Robert Kindler, Bozhena Kozakevych, Christoph Marksches, Timo de Wolff)
- ▶ Presentation | Félix Krawatzek
‘East’ and ‘West’? Questioning paradigms and clichés, exemplified by ‘Osteuropastudien’
Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities (Berlin, 19/12/2022)
In the context of the *Young East-West Network*

Conferences and workshops

- ▶ Workshop | Beate Eschment
Die Proteste in Kasachstan: Perspektiven der Friedens- und Konfliktforschung
University of Marburg, Center for Conflict Studies (online, 14/01/2022)
Presentation *Wie sind die Ereignisse in Kasachstan einzuordnen*
- ▶ Conference | Gwendolyn Sasse
Munich Security Conference
Munich Security Conference Foundation (Munich, 17–20/02/2022)
- ▶ Workshop | Julia Langbein
Regional Conference on Asian Scripts
Cluster of Excellence *Contestations of the Liberal Script (SCRIPTS)* (online, 23/02/2022)
Presentation *Colliding Scripts? Comparing the BRI and the EU Approach to Development Cooperation*
(with Tanja A. Börzel, Valentin Krüsmann, Lunting Wu)
- ▶ Convention | Regina Elsner
Rechtspopulismus und Religion – Herausforderungen für Christentum und Islam
Akademie der Diözese Rottenburg-Stuttgart, Theologisches Forum Christentum – Islam
(online, 04–06/03/2022)
Presentation *Identität, Werte und die Russische Orthodoxe Kirche* (with Gulnaz Sibgatullina)
- ▶ Workshop | Félix Krawatzek
Post-Communist Politics and Economics
Harvard University (online, 11/03/2022)
Presentation *Defending History? The Impact of Context and Speaker in Russia* (with George Soroka)

- ▶ Conference | Tatiana Golova, Félix Krawatzek
BASEES Annual Conference 2022
 British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (Cambridge, 08–10/04/2022)
Tatiana Golova
 Roundtable *Russian Political Emigration: Visions and Controversies after Navalny's Imprisonment*
 (with Olga Bronnikova, Sergei Erofeev, Geir Flikke, Joanna Fomina, Katrine Stevnshøj)
Félix Krawatzek
 Presentation *A Sense of Identity & Politics: Comparison within Eastern Europe*
- ▶ Conference | Claudia Eggart
ReCentGlobe Jahrestagung 2022
 Leipzig University, Research Centre Global Dynamics (Leipzig, 27–29/04/2022)
 Presentation *Lived Geopolitics. Strategic Narratives and Local Responses of Traders at Container Markets in Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan*
- ▶ Conference | Sabine von Löwis
2022 Central and Eastern European Conference: Bridging Old and New Divides – Global Dynamics and Regional Transformations
 Regional Studies Association (online, 03/05/2022)
 Pre-Conference Roundtable *Political Geographies and Re-Thinking CEE – Historical Experiences and Everyday-Responses in Conflict and Post-Conflict Spaces*
- ▶ Conference | Regina Elsner, Kostiantyn Fedorenko, Irina Mützelburg, Gwendolyn Sasse
ASN Annual World Convention 2022
 Association for the Study of Nationalities (online, 04–07/05/2022)
Regina Elsner
 Book-Panel on *Understanding World Christianity: Russia* (with Scott Kenworthy, Pål Kolstø, Catherine Wanner)
Kostiantyn Fedorenko
 Presentation *From Molotov Cocktails to Farewell Parties: Causes of Emigration for Participants of the 2013-14 'Euromaidan' Protests in Ukraine*
Irina Mützelburg
 Presentation *Legislative Adoption and Translation of International Asylum Norms in Ukraine: The Parliament as an Actor of Subtle Resistance against Norm Transfer*
Gwendolyn Sasse
 Book Panel on Mark Beissinger's *The Revolutionary City: Urbanization and the Global Transformation of Rebellion* (with Dominique Arel, Mark Beissinger, Volodymyr Ishchenko)
 Chair of the panel *Belarus: Society and Politics in Crisis*
 Presentation *Anti-Regime Action and Geopolitical Polarization: Understanding Protester Dispositions in Belarus* (with Olga Onuch)
 Presentation *Protest Intention vs. Migration Intention: Examining Push Factors of Exit and Voice* (with Olga Onuch)
 Presentation *The Pandemic Penalty: The Effect of Fear and Experience on Incumbent Advantage in Local Elections* (with Henry Hale, Volodymyr Kulyk, Olga Onuch)
- ▶ Convention | Félix Krawatzek
Youth in Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the South Caucasus
 Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (online, 31/05/2022)
 Kick-off presentation at the regional convention of the Eastern Europe department
- ▶ Workshop | Beate Eschment
Eurasia Aflame – Geopolitical Implications of the Ukraine Crisis and the Fall of Kabul for the Region as Large
 Bruno Kreisky Forum for International Dialogue (Vienna, 09–10/06/2022)
 Presentation *The War in Ukraine and its Consequences for Kazakhstani-Russian Relations*

- ▶ Symposium | Tatiana Golova
Meinung – Mitsprache – Mitwirkung. Deutsche aus Russland in der öffentlichen Wahrnehmung
 Akademie am Tönsberg (Fulda, 13–15/06/2022)
 Chair of the workshop *Selbstverständnis und Fremdverstehen: Wie kann die Anschlussfähigkeit russlanddeutscher Perspektiven im gesamtgesellschaftlichen Diskurs gestärkt werden?*
 (with Anna Flack)
- ▶ Conference | Tsypylma Darieva
The Materiality of Lived Religion: Evocations, Persuasions, Outrage
 The Working Group on Lived Religion in Eastern Europe and Eurasia (Tbilisi, 22–24/06/2022)
 Co-organiser of the conference and discussant at the panel *The Political Life of Ancestors*
- ▶ Conference | Piotr Goldstein, Félix Krawatzek, Sabine von Löwis, Tatiana Zhurzhenko
Back to the Margins? CEEISA 2022 Convention
 University of Economics (Bratislava, 22–24/06/2022)
Piotr Goldstein
 Presentation *Defining the Nation: 2022's Young Poles and their Sense of Identity* (with Félix Krawatzek)
 Film screening and discussion *Active (citizen): Visualising the Margins of Social Engagement*
Félix Krawatzek
 Discussant *Roundtable on the Future of European Memory*
 Presentation *Defining the Nation: 2022's Young Poles and their Sense of Identity* (with Piotr Goldstein)
 Chair of the panel *Ukraine's Border Regions between the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement and the Conflict in Donbas*
Sabine von Löwis
 Presentation *Local, Regional and National Dynamics of a (Dis)Integrating Border Region – The Border between Ukraine and the De Facto State Transnistria*
Tatiana Zhurzhenko
 Roundtable *Russia's War on Ukraine and the Lessons for the Study of International Relations*
 (with Zeynep Gülşah Çapan, Aliaksei Kazharski, Andrey Makarychev)
 Presentation *Living at 'the Gates to Europe': The Border with Poland as an Opportunity and a Challenge for Local Communities in the Lviv Region*
- ▶ Conference | Valentin Krüsmann, Beril Ocaklı
CESS Summer Conference 2022
 Central Eurasian Studies Society (Tashkent, 23–26/06/2022)
Valentin Krüsmann, Beril Ocaklı
 Roundtable *China and BRI's Growing Footprint in Central Eurasia: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue on Governance, Markets and Souls* (with Jasmin Dall'Agnola)
Beril Ocaklı
 Presentation *Making and Unmaking Gold as a Resource. Resistant Socionatures in Maiden, Kyrgyzstan* (with Jörg Niewöhner)
- ▶ Conference | Ivaylo Dinev
Labour, Living Standards and the Social Divide
 Institute for Social and Trade Union Research, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Sofia, 28/06/2022)
 Presentation *Trade Unionism in the Age of Digital Capitalism*
- ▶ Workshop | Beril Ocaklı
POLLEN 2022: Political Ecology: North, South, and Beyond
 Political Ecology Network (Frankfurt, 28–29/06/2022)
 Presentation *Researching Social-ecological Conflicts – Bringing Non-human Entities into the Analysis*
- ▶ Conference | Irina Mützelburg
3rd International Workshop on Public Policy
 International Public Policy Association (Budapest, 28–30/06/2022)
 Workshop *Policy Implementation in the Global South*
 Presentation *Agency and Improvisation at the Ukrainian Administration – Consequences of Political Resistance to Norm Transfer*

- ▶ Conference | Piotr Goldstein, Félix Krawatzek
28th International Conference of Europeanists – The Environment of Democracy
 Council of European Studies (Lisbon, 29/06–01/07/2022)
Piotr Goldstein
 Presentation *Visualizing the Invisible Migrant (Environmental) Activism*
Félix Krawatzek
 Presentation *A Sense of Identity and Political Views: Comparing within Eastern Europe*
 Presentation *What the Authorities Say, What the People Hear: Can Politicians Shape Memory in Russia?*
 (with George Soroka)
- ▶ Conference | Piotr Goldstein
ISTR 15th International Conference
 International Society of Third-Sector Research (Montreal & online, 12–15/07/2022)
 Presentation *Migrant Activism: Between Public Protest and Everyday Engagement*
- ▶ Congress | Sabine von Löwis
IGU International Geographical Congress
 International Geographical Union (Paris, 18–22/07/2022)
 Organisation and chair of the panel *Traces of the Past: Between Experiences and Spatial Imaginations* (with Béatrice von Hirschhausen)
- ▶ Conference | Tsypylma Darieva, Piotr Goldstein
EASA 2022: Transformation, Hope and the Commons
 European Association of Social Anthropologists (Belfast, 26–29/07/2022)
Tsypylma Darieva
 Presentation *Claiming the City. Muslim Faith-based Activism in Post-Soviet Georgia*
Piotr Goldstein
 Presentation *‘Spółdzielnia/Cooperative’: Using Visual Ethnography to Show Social and Economic Imaginaries from Below*
 Organiser of the panel *Times of Crisis, Times of Hope? Movements and Collaborations between Transformative Potential and Reification [Anthropology and Social Movements Network]*
 (with Marion Naeser-Lather)
- ▶ Convention | Regina Elsner
Glaubensgeschwister im Krieg
 Evangelische Akademie Sachsen-Anhalt (Wittenberg, 26–28/08/2022)
 Presentation *Die Auseinandersetzung der Russischen Orthodoxen Kirche mit der Moderne*
- ▶ Conference | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
Global History Collaborative: Summer Institute 2022
 Global History Collaborative (Paris, 29/08/2022)
 Presentation *(Ab)uses of History in the Ukrainian-Russian Conflict: From the Orange Revolution to the Annexation of Crimea to Russia’s Full-Scale Invasion*
- ▶ Conference | Beril Ocaklı
8th APA Congress
 Portuguese Association of Anthropology (online, 08/09/2022)
 Presentation *Taking the Discourse Seriously. Rational Self-Interest and Resistance to Mining in Kyrgyzstan*
- ▶ Convention | Regina Elsner
Zurück zur „natürlichen“ Ordnung? Theologische und theopolitische Dimensionen des Anti-Gender-Diskurses
 Ruhr University Bochum, Marie Jahoda Center for International Gender Studies
 (Bochum, 12–13/09/2022)
 Presentation *Binaritäten und Immunisierung im Umgang mit Geschlecht in der Russischen Orthodoxen Kirche*

- ▶ Conference | Piotr Goldstein, Félix Krawatzek
The 18th Polish Sociological Association Congress. Society of the Future: Recompositions
 Polish Sociological Association (Warsaw, 14–17/09/2022)
Piotr Goldstein, Félix Krawatzek
 Presentation *Identities, Local Legacies, and Young Poles Attitudes towards Refugees*
Piotr Goldstein
 Presentation *Siostrzeństwo Migrantek Aktywistek: Polskie i Argentyńskie Sieci Solidarności i Wsparcia w Berlinie* (with Karolina Lebek, Ana Martínez Fernández)
- ▶ Conference | Félix Krawatzek
2022 APSA Annual Meeting & Exhibition
 American Political Science Association (Montreal, 15–18/09/2022)
 Presentation *Evaluating the Normalization Thesis: Measuring Extreme Right Language*
 (with Matthias Dilling)
 Presentation *Conflicts over History: Russia and Ukraine* (with George Soroka)
- ▶ Conference | Regina Elsner
Gesamtkonferenz der katholischen Militärseelsorge
 Katholische Militärseelsorge (Hamburg, 20/09/2022)
 Presentation *Die Rolle der Kirchen in Russlands Krieg gegen die Ukraine*
- ▶ Workshop | Félix Krawatzek
The Future of Social Research in and on Russia and Ukraine
 Hanse-Wissenschaftskolleg (Delmenhorst, 20/09/2022)
 Presentation *The Future of Research on Memory in Russia*
- ▶ Conference | Nina Frieß
14. Deutscher Slavistiktage 2022
 Ruhr University Bochum (Bochum, 21–24/09/2022)
 Organiser of the panel *Imaginierte Gemeinschaften in den slavischen Kinder- und Jugendkulturen*
 (with Eva Kowollik, Karoline Thaidigsmann)
- ▶ Workshop | Piotr Goldstein
4th Political Imagination Laboratory ‘Utopias of Sustainability – The Sustainability of Utopias’
 University of Perugia (Perugia, 30/09–02/10/2022)
 Film screening and discussion *Spółdzielnia / Cooperative*
- ▶ Conference | Regina Elsner, Sabine von Löwis, Gwendolyn Sasse
Congress of Central and East European Studies – ceecon 22
 German Association for East European Studies (Berlin, 06–07/10/2022)
Regina Elsner
 Presentation *Praying for Peace, Blessing Weapons: Post-Soviet Orthodoxy on War and Peace*
Sabine von Löwis
 Presentation *The Ukrainian-Transnistrian Border Between Fear and Trust. Local Responses to Geopolitical Dynamics*
Gwendolyn Sasse
 Roundtable *In Front of Closing Doors: Research and Academic Collaboration in Times of War*
 (with Alexander Libman, Thomas Remington, Annette Werberger)
- ▶ Conference | Valentin Krüsmann
Zustand und Perspektiven der Entwicklung der Transport- und Logistikinfrastruktur der Länder Zentralasiens als wichtiger Faktor der Gewährleistung der Interkonnektivität in der Region
 Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (online, 20/10/2022)
 Presentation *China-orientierte Konnektivität und Geopolitik in Zentralasien*

- ▶ Convention | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
EU Migration Talks: Trendbarometer Migration und Asyl 2022 – Integration im Rahmen des temporären Schutzes für vertriebene Personen aus der Ukraine
 The European Migration Network Austria (online, 21/10/2022)
 Keynote lecture *Der Krieg in der Ukraine und seine gesellschaftlichen Folgen*
- ▶ Conference | Félix Krawatzek
History and Memory in International Relations
 European Network Remembrance and Solidarity (Warsaw, 26–28/10/2022)
 Chair of the panel *Actors, Communication and Narratives*
 Panel commentary *Studies on Memory in International Relations: Cases and Approaches*
 Panel discussant *Memory, International Relations and Disinformation*
- ▶ Conference | Beate Eschment
Prospects for the Development of Diaspora Studies in the Era of Globalization, Transnationalism and Digitalization
 Al-Farabi Kazakh National University (Almaty, 28–29/10/2022)
 Presentation *Reflections on the Adaptation of the Triadic Nexus Model on Stateless Diasporas*
- ▶ Conference | Regina Elsner
Listening to the East: Synodality in the Orthodox Church
 Pontifical University Saint Thomas Aquinas (Rome, 02–05/11/2022)
 Chair of the panel *Practices of Synodality*
 Chair of the workshop *Liturgy, Communion, and Synodality*
- ▶ Workshop | Kostiantyn Fedorenko
#EUmeetsEurope – eine transdisziplinäre Annäherung an Europa
 Genshagen Foundation (Ludwigsfelde, 02–05/11/2022)
- ▶ Conference | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
2022 AAA Annual Meeting
 American Anthropological Association (Seattle, 09–13/11/2022)
 Roundtable *On Loss and Response: Ethnographic Reflections on Ruptured Lives in Russia's War on Ukraine* (with Anna Balasz, Oksana Dovgoplova, Marina Sapritsky-Nahum, Simon Schlegel, Inna Tereshchenko)
- ▶ Conference | Claudia Eggart, Nina Frieß, Piotr Goldstein, Beril Ocaklı
54th ASSEES Annual Convention
 Association for Slavic, East European, & Eurasian Studies (Chicago, 10–13/11/2022)
Claudia Eggart
 Presentation *Troubling Trauma Theory. Female Shuttle-Traders Telling their Own Stories of the 'Greatest Geopolitical Catastrophe of the 20th Century'*
Nina Frieß
 Discussant at the roundtable *'Precarious Languages' in Post-Soviet Space: Cross-lingual Interaction, Social Status, and Language Discourse after 1991*
 Presentation *Broken Russian, 'Our' Russian Language, and 'Tylech': Language Discourses in Contemporary Kazakhstani Literature*
Piotr Goldstein
 Presentation *Everyday Activism, Activist Agency, and Democratic Backsliding in Serbia*
 Film screening and discussion *Spółdzielnia/Cooperative*
Beril Ocaklı
 Presentation *Gold Extractivism and Socionatural Justice in Kyrgyzstan*
- ▶ Convention | Regina Elsner
Religionsfreiheit und Populismus
 Missio / Justitia et Pax (online, 14/11/2022)
 Presentation *The Protection of (Supposedly) Christian Values as a Pretext for Illiberal Politics*

- ▶ Workshop | Beate Eschment
Hegemonies and Alliances: Central Asia: A Continent Forgotten?
 Bruno Kreisky Forum for International Dialogue, Ministry of Defence Austria, International Research Center for Cultural Studies (Vienna, 18/11/2022)
 Presentation *Authoritarians Only? Central Asia's Post-Soviet Reality*
- ▶ Conference | Regina Elsner
AAR American Academy of Religion 2022
 Eastern Orthodox Studies Unit (Denver & online, 19/11/2022)
 Panel *Religion & the War in Ukraine*
- ▶ Workshop | Beril Ocaklı
Extractivism in Comparison: Reflections on Trans-regional Research Concepts and Methods
 University of Kassel (Kassel, 24–25/11/2022)
 Presentation *Thinking Extractivism through Infrastructures. In Central Asia and the South Caucasus*
- ▶ Conference | Regina Elsner
Dies Academicus
 Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (Munich, 01/12/2022)
 Presentation *Was ist Frieden? Zur aktuellen ökumenischen Herausforderung der Friedensethik*
- ▶ Conference | Beate Eschment
Fragen und Herausforderungen bei der Gestaltung zivilgesellschaftlicher Beziehungen in Zentralasien
 Bundesverband Deutscher West-Ost-Gesellschaften, Stiftung West-Östliche Begegnungen (Berlin, 13/12/2022)
 Chair of the panel *Perspektiven zivilgesellschaftlicher Zusammenarbeit zwischen Zentralasien und Deutschland*

Other events

- ▶ Colloquium | Kostiantyn Fedorenko
Von Molotowcocktails zu Abschiedsfeiern: Warum Teilnehmende der ukrainischen Euromaidan-Protteste 2013/14 sich für eine Auswanderung entscheiden
 Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences (Berlin, 14/01/2022)
 (with Silvia von Steinsdorff, Gwendolyn Sasse)
- ▶ Colloquium | Tatiana Zhurzhenko
Ukrainian Studies Online Colloquium
 European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder) (online, 17/01/2022)
 Presentation *Ukraine in Border Studies, Border Studies in Ukraine*
- ▶ Tandem tour | Beril Ocaklı
Gold Rush, Exploitation and Conflicts. How Mining is Dividing Societies
 Curated tour of the exhibition *After Nature* by the Humboldt Lab (Berlin, 12/03/2022)
- ▶ Roundtable | Sabine von Löwis
Russland / Ukraine
 Berlin University Alliance (Berlin, 14/03/2022)
- ▶ Seminar | Beate Eschment
Ungelöste Regionalkonflikte: Zentralasien und Afghanistan
 Akademie für Politische Bildung Tutzing (online, 18/03/2022)
 Presentation *Kasachstan 2022. Wie lassen sich die die aktuellen Ereignisse erklären?*
- ▶ Film festival | Piotr Goldstein
SEE Film Festival
 Film screening and discussion *Active (Citizen)* (Los Angeles, 27/04–04/05/2022)
- ▶ Seminar | Beate Eschment
Der Wunsch nach alter Größe? Russlands imperiale Ansprüche und die Folgen für seine Nachbarn
 Fritjof-Nansen-Akademie (Ingelheim, 02/07/2022)
 Presentation *Herausforderungen für Kasachstan durch den Ukraine-Krieg*



The 2022 ZOIS Annual Conference featured the ethnographic documentary 'Active (citizen)' produced by Piotr Goldstein and Jan Lorenz – a portrait of a Roma refugee from Kosovo who collects rubbish on the streets of Novi Sad (Serbia).

- ▶ Film festival | Piotr Goldstein
Capital Filmmakers Festival Berlin
 Film screening and discussion *Spółdzielnia/Cooperative* (Berlin, 05/09/2022)
- ▶ Film festival | Piotr Goldstein
VISION: Envisioning Convivial Europe
 German Centre for Integration and Migration Research (Berlin, 07/09/2022)
 Film screening and discussion *Active (Citizen)*
- ▶ Film festival | Piotr Goldstein
Vizantrop Festival of Engaged Ethnographic Film
 Film screening and discussion *Spółdzielnia/Cooperative* (Belgrade, 08/09/2022)
- ▶ Film festival | Piotr Goldstein
International Social Change Film Festival
 Film screening and discussion *Active (Citizen)* (Chicago, 01/10–12/11/2022)
- ▶ Film festival | Piotr Goldstein
23rd Polish Film Festival Los Angeles
 Film screening and discussion *Spółdzielnia/Cooperative* (Los Angeles, 20–30/10/2022)
- ▶ Film festival | Piotr Goldstein
Capital Filmmakers Festival Madrid
 Film screening and discussion *Spółdzielnia/Cooperative* (Madrid, 28–29/10/2022)
 Award for the Best Short Documentary
- ▶ Film festival | Piotr Goldstein
BalkanCanKino Symposium 'Roma Stories'
 Film screening *Active (citizen)* (Athens, 21/11/2022)
- ▶ Colloquium | Sabine von Löwis
Das Phantom der alten Grenze am Zbruč. Kontinuitäten und Brüche sozialräumlicher Strukturen in der Westukraine
 Leipzig University, Faculty of Physics and Earth Sciences (Leipzig, 28/11/2022)
 In the context of the habilitation procedure

Consultations and Expert Talks

- ▶ Briefing | Gwendolyn Sasse
International Media Briefing on Crisis Diplomacy
Carnegie Europe (online, 11/01/2022)
- ▶ Background briefing | Nina Frieß
On the protests in Kazakhstan and the role of cultural actors for the ARD broadcast *ttt – titel, thesen, temperamente*
(online, 12/01/2022)
- ▶ Expert talk | Gwendolyn Sasse
11. Wirtschaftspolitische Gespräche
Ostinstitut Wismar (online, 14/02/2022)
- ▶ Expert talk | Regina Elsner
Parlamentariengespräch Religionsfreiheit Russland / Ukraine
Missio / Renovabis (online, 29/03/2022)
(with Markus Grübel, Axel Müller)
- ▶ Expert talk | Gwendolyn Sasse
DAAD Policy Talk: Science Diplomacy in Krisenzeiten: Was tun für die Ukraine, wie weiter mit Belarus und Russland?
German Academic Exchange Service (online, 31/03/2022)
(with Andrea Gawrich, Joybrato Mukharjee, Martin Schulze-Wessel, Alexander Wöll)
- ▶ Expert talk | Tsypylma Darieva
Participation in a steering group of the initiative ‘Urban Futures at Risk’
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Georg-Simmel Center for Metropolitan Studies (Berlin, 01/04/2022)
- ▶ Expert talk | Tsypylma Darieva
Emerging Religious Infrastructures and Transnational Connections
University of Fribourg, Polish Academy of Sciences (online, 05/04/2022)
Meeting for the preparation of a grant application in the DFG Weave funding programme
- ▶ Expert interview | Kostiantyn Fedorenko
International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
Expert input for the publication *Supporting Ukraine’s Democracy after the War: Key Issues, Comparative Experience and Best Practices*. The Global State of Democracy, No. 14
(online, 19/04/2022)
- ▶ Expert talk | Regina Elsner
Der Heilige Krieg der Orthodoxen
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom (online, 20/04/2022)
Discussion with Meinhard Schmidt-Degenhard
- ▶ Consultation | Regina Elsner
Ethische Debatten zur Friedensverantwortung aus christlich-orthodoxer Perspektive
Forschungsstätte der Evangelischen Studiengemeinschaft (Heidelberg, 09/05/2022)
Part of the consultation process *Religion, Diplomatie, Frieden*
- ▶ Expert | Beate Eschment
Landesanalyse Kasachstan
Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit (23–26/05/2022)

- ▶ Consultation | Regina Elsner
Religion, Diplomatie, Frieden
Protestant Institute for Interdisciplinary Research (Heidelberg, 03–04/06/2022)
- ▶ Consultation | Beate Eschment
ESKA 2023. Escalation potential analyses for Tajikistan and Kazakhstan
Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (16/09/2022)
- ▶ Expert assessment | Tsypylma Darieva
Research project Peace Formation in Central Eurasia
German Foundation for Peace Research (21/09/2022)
- ▶ Expert talk | Irina Mützelburg
Erste Bilanz: Herausforderungen und Chancen bei der Aufnahme von ukrainischen Kindern in das deutsche Bildungssystem
Save the Children, National Coalition Germany (Berlin & online, 24/11/2022)
- ▶ Consultation | Regina Elsner
Staatliche militärische Gewalt und Formen ihrer religiösen (De-)Legitimierung
Protestant Institute for Interdisciplinary Research (online, 01/12/2022)
Part of the consultation process *Religion, Diplomatie, Frieden*
- ▶ Expert talk | Gwendolyn Sasse
Working Group Russia
German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Berlin, 08/12/2022)
Chair of the Panel *Russia's Political System and Society*
(with Fabian Burkhardt, Sabine Fischer, Nikolay Petrov)
- ▶ Expert roundtable | Beril Ocaklı
Perception of Chinese Investment Projects in Kazakhstan
PaperLab Public Policy Research (online, 14/12/2022)
- ▶ Expert talk | Christian Schaich
Runder Tisch zur Cybersicherheit im vorpolitischen Raum
Goethe-Institut, German Academic Exchange Service, Humboldt Foundation,
Mercator Institute for China Studies (01/03/2022, 11–12/05/2022 and 19–20/10/2022)
- ▶ Briefings | **Tsypylma Darieva**
German Federal Foreign Office
Media representatives
- ▶ Briefings | **Nadja Douglas**
Media representatives
- ▶ Briefings | **Regina Elsner**
Bertelsmann Stiftung
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
German Bishop's Conference, Ecumenical Commission
Central Committee of German Catholics
Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom
Protestant Institute for Interdisciplinary Research
Conference of European Churches
World Congress of Churches General Assembly 2022
- ▶ Briefings | **Beate Eschment**
Embassy of the Republic of Uzbekistan in the Federative Republic of Germany
Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the Federative Republic of Germany
EU representatives



In a talk at ZOIS in December 2022, freelance journalist Denis Trubetskoy from Ukraine gave background information on developments in the war against his country.

- ▶ Briefings | **Félix Krawatzek**
 German Federal Ministry of Defence
 German Federal Foreign Office
 Bundeswehr
 Embassy of the Republic of Korea in the Federal Republic of Germany
 Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
 The United Nations in the South Caucasus
 Media representatives
- ▶ Briefing | **Julia Langbein**
 German Federal Foreign Office
- ▶ Briefings | **Sabine von Löwis**
 German Federal Foreign Office
 Members of German parliament
 Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
 German Federal Ministry of Defence
 Evaluator for the German Research Foundation
- ▶ Briefing | **Beril Ocaklı**
 German Federal Foreign Office
- ▶ Briefings | **Gwendolyn Sasse**
 German Federal Foreign Office
 Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
 Federal Academy for Security Policy
 German Federal Ministry of Defence
 Members of German parliament
 German Academic Exchange Service
 Evaluator for the German Research Foundation



ZOiS is located in Quartier 110 near the underground station Stadtmitte.

Membership of Advisory and Executive Boards

Tsypylma Darieva

- ▶ Member of the Academic Advisory Board of the project *Resilience in the South Caucasus: prospects and challenges of a new EU foreign policy concept (Jena-Cauc)*

Regina Elsner

- ▶ Advisor to the Ecumenical Commission of the German Bishops' Conference
- ▶ Official Dialogue of the German Bishops' Conference with the Russian Orthodox Church
- ▶ Pro Oriente Steering Committee for the Orthodox-Catholic Dialogue
- ▶ Co-speaker of the Religion Section of the German Association for East European Studies (DGO)

Piotr Goldstein

- ▶ Co-convenor of the Anthropology and Social Movements Network, European Association of Social Anthropologists

Gwendolyn Sasse

- ▶ Nonresident Senior Fellow, Carnegie Europe
- ▶ Member of the Executive Board of the German Association for East European Studies (DGO)
- ▶ Chair of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Leibniz ScienceCampus 'Eastern Europe – Global Area'
- ▶ Member of the Advisory Board of the Ukrainian Research Network in Switzerland (URIS), University of Basel
- ▶ Member of the Advisory Board of the Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Vienna
- ▶ Member of the Advisory Board of the Berlin Wall Foundation

Tatiana Zhurzhenko

- ▶ Member of the Advisory Board of the University of New Europe (UNE) book series *New Europes*
- ▶ Member of the Academic Council of the project *Świadectwa wojny* at the Centre for Urban History of East Central Europe

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

Lead editor: Yvonne Troll
Texts: Stephanie Alberding, Tsypylma Darieva,
Félix Krawatzek, Julia Langbein, Sabine von Löwis,
Stefanie Orphal, Gwendolyn Sasse, Yvonne Troll
Editorial assistance: Joschka Hofmann,
Alexandra Nowicky, Noah Ziegler

Translations

Anne Boden
Hillary Crowe

Following a decision by the German Bundestag,
ZOiS receives institutional funding from the
Federal Foreign Office. Additional funding is
obtained for third-party projects

Design

ultramarinrot
Büro für Kommunikationsdesign

Printed by

vierC print + mediafabrik GmbH & Co.KG

ISSN

2625-3097

Photo credits

p. 4 Annette Riedl
pp. 6–9 Annette Riedl / Yvonne Troll
pp. 12/13 Annette Riedl
p. 20 IMAGO / ITAR-TASS
p. 21 Piotr Goldstein
p. 24 IMAGO / Ukrinform
p. 26 Elizaveta Sokovnina
p. 27 Diana Bogishvili
p. 28 Beate Eschment
p. 30 Mariam Nikuradze / OC Media
p. 31 IMAGO / ZUMA Wire
p. 33 Beril Ocaklı
p. 34 Beril Ocaklı
p. 36 left Claudia Eggart
p. 36 right IMAGO / IPON
p. 37 IMAGO / Russian Look
p. 41 IMAGO / Jürgen Ritter
p. 49 Annette Riedl
p. 51 Annette Riedl
p. 61 Yvonne Troll
p. 71 Yvonne Troll
p. 86 Annette Riedl
p. 89 Yvonne Troll
p. 90 Annette Riedl



Auswärtiges Amt

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

www.zois-berlin.de
+49 (30) 2005949-12
info@zois-berlin.de