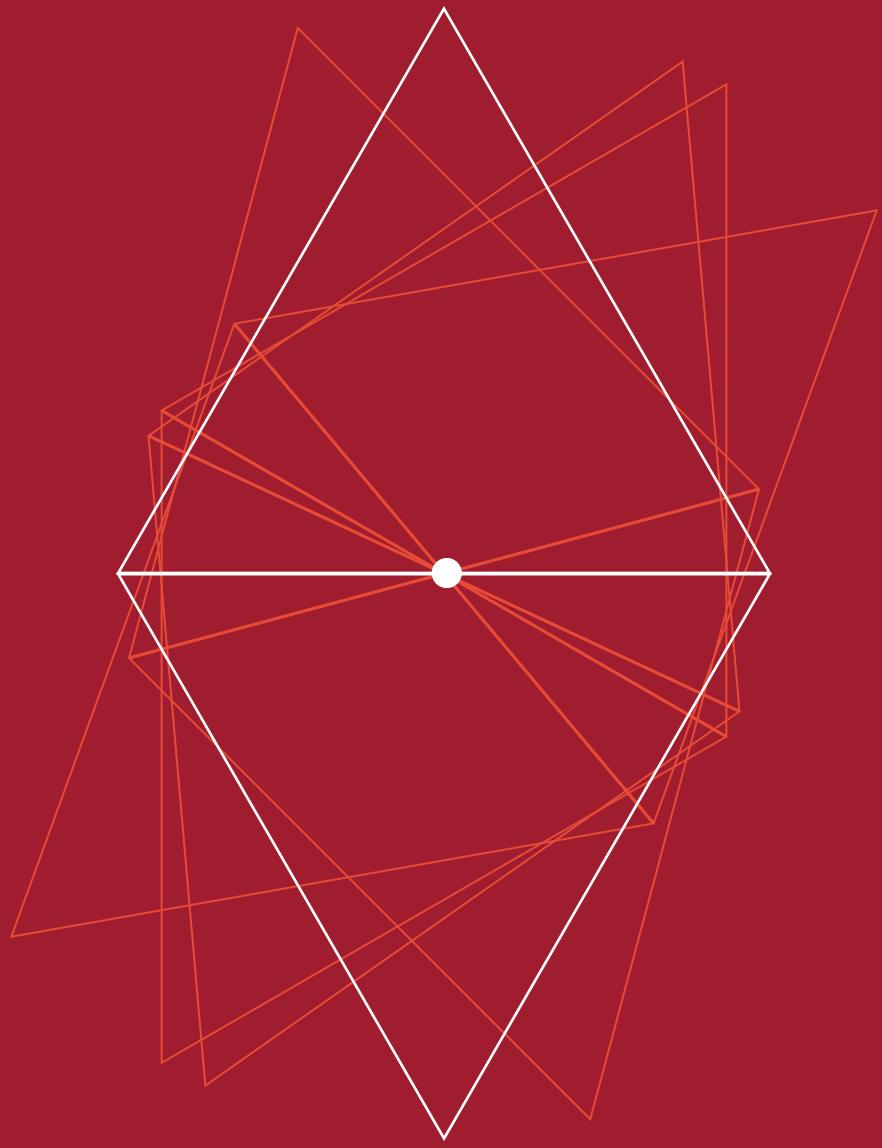




2017  
ANNUAL REPORT







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# Preface

## Dear readers, dear friends of ZOiS,

2017 was very much a foundation year for the Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS). It now has a physical presence in the Mohrenstraße, our team has grown from four to almost 20 staff members, and we were pleased to see how quickly the public began to take an interest in our various events and publications.

Our three main objectives are socially relevant academic research on Eastern Europe, communicating our research findings to policy-makers, the media and the wider public, and supporting the next generation of experts on Eastern Europe.

ZOiS has a broad thematic agenda, and although additional subject areas will undoubtedly be established in time, our research priorities are an indication of how we see ourselves. Our three current research areas *Stability and Change of Political Regimes*, *The Dynamics of Conflict* and *Migration and Diversity* share a common approach, in that we start with developments within the region, often at the local level, focus on the dynamics of the evolving processes, and look at issues which feature prominently not only in the international academic discourse but also in public and political debate.

Our social sciences profile is intentionally broad. Our researchers come from a range of disciplines: sociology, political science, political economy, social anthropology, geography and cultural studies. Although we are a relatively small research institute, this diversity of research approaches gives us a promising basis for the interdisciplinarity which is so often talked about but also is so difficult to achieve in practice.

We think about »Eastern Europe« not in terms of narrow geographical or political boundaries, but as a broad and diverse space which encompasses East Central Europe and also the former Soviet Union. We are very pleased to have already attracted regional specialists whose fields of expertise cover almost every post-Soviet country, including in Central Asia and the South Caucasus.

Based in Berlin, ZOiS aims to serve as a networking hub for German and international researchers who specialise in the study of Eastern Europe. Our coordination activities include a monthly Research Colloquium, held in cooperation with Freie Universität Berlin and Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, an annual international Conference, various workshops and events with university and non-university institutions, and cooperation with the German Association for East European Studies (DGO), the Forum Transregional Studies, and the Higher School of Economics (HSE) in Moscow.

Our first task – besides project managing the refurbishment of the Mohrenstraße site – was to establish the legal and administrative bases for our institution. It was agreed in late 2016 that the Centre should take the legal form of a non-profit organisation. We set up structures and bodies to facilitate and support our research: the Foundation Board, made up of representatives of academia, the German Federal Foreign Office, the Federal Chancellery and the Bundestag; and our Academic Advisory Board, currently comprising nine distinguished international scholars from the USA, Western and Eastern Europe and Germany.

A priority in our first year was to develop our own publication formats to share the outcomes of our research, as well as to publish articles in relevant academic journals, monographs and multi-author works. *ZoS Spotlight*, which appears each Wednesday in English and German, has become a weekly highlight for our team – and we hope also for you. This blog provides a platform for our own researchers and others, to put current events in context, explain the less obvious aspects of seemingly familiar topics, and comment on them from a current research perspective. Two other publications, each with a different focus, are targeted primarily at policy-makers, the media and the interested public: the *ZoS Report* presents fresh project data in a brief and concise format, while *Meet the Author* takes the form of short interviews and offers insights into new publications which merit attention from a wider readership beyond academia. The *Work-in-Progress* format attempts to connect academia and the wider public. At just half the length of a conventional working paper, this format allows our researchers to set out the empirical and conceptual starting points of our individual projects and presents interim results.

Our purpose-built premises offer the space and technical facilities we need to host a variety of events for the research community, policy-makers and the media. These range from academic lectures and discussion panels, our *In conversation with...* series, aimed at a diverse audience from politics, the press, think tanks and academia, media background briefing sessions, and the *ZoS Forum*, which is held monthly and is directed at informing the wider public. The Forum programme is particularly diverse and appealing, and includes exhibitions, documentaries and readings. All our events incorporate elements of our research but they do so in an accessible and interactive manner.

The first year at ZoS has passed very quickly. The structures are in place and now it is about further development. We hope to welcome you again during 2018. If you have not visited us yet, do drop by – come to one of our events, visit our website, or follow us on Twitter or Facebook.

We look forward to meeting you and to our conversation. ▲

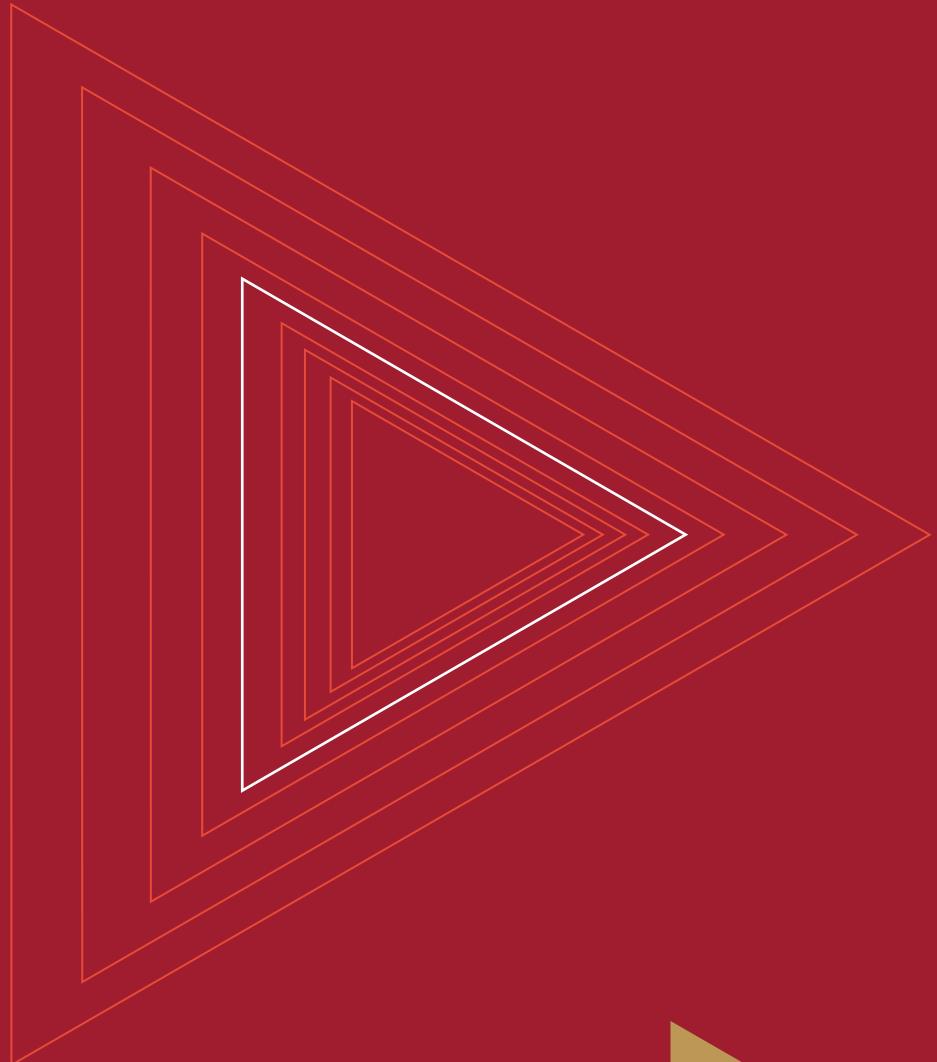
Sincerely,



PROF. GWENDOLYN SASSE  
*Director*



DR CHRISTIAN SCHAIICH  
*Managing Director*



**ZOIS**

# Ethos and Objectives

The Centre for East European and International Studies (ZoIS) is an independent, international and interdisciplinary research institute. It focuses on socially relevant academic research on Eastern Europe and shares the results with policy-makers, the media and the broader public.

Eastern Europe is in a state of flux. This has become particularly apparent in recent years, when supposed certainties have proved fragile in many post-Soviet countries. Not least, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine has shown that a broader perspective is needed to understand and respond appropriately to the diverse processes shaping the region.

Developments in Eastern Europe often follow their own internal logic. The behaviour of the states in the region is shaped by specific perceptions of the outside world, as well as by the distinctive way in which each society is structured and the characteristics of its political system and economic and security interests. Only clearly focused regional research based on longer-term projects can provide the sound knowledge needed to explain these developments.

## Thematic focus

As an independent institute, ZoIS sets its own research agenda. The topics chosen for its initial research priorities and projects reflected its aim of exploring and awakening interest in various aspects of Eastern Europe, with topical relevance and background analysis carrying equal weight here. However, we also think it is important to show that Eastern Europe is not confined to the eastern part of our continent but is present in diverse forms in this country too. With that in mind, one of the projects investigates the realities of Eastern European migrants in Germany.

Detailed analysis of the complex developments taking place in Eastern Europe is only possible with a multi-perspective ap-

proach. ZoIS's researchers therefore come from a range of disciplines, including political science, sociology, social anthropology, economic and social geography, political economy, theology and cultural studies.

## Our vision

Detailed in-country studies are a key element of the basic research conducted at ZoIS. We combine qualitative and quantitative methods, use interviews, surveys and textual analysis, and adopt innovative methods in our fieldwork, for example by engaging with artistic research.

However, ZoIS's work does not begin and end with research. Our aim is to contribute to and inform public debate and current discourses and offer new perspectives on – and from – Eastern Europe. ZoIS's researchers regularly share their findings with policy-makers, the media and an interested public, using a variety of events and publication formats for this purpose. Research on Eastern Europe relies on new perspectives and a willingness to engage with unconventional topics. Supporting young academics is also a priority for ZoIS.

For ZoIS, Eastern Europe is more than just a subject of research. We actively engage with the research being produced in the region itself, for example, by collaborating with Eastern European and international scholars on publications and events. And lastly, ZoIS sees itself as a place for networking and exchange for universities, research institutes, think tanks, foundations and other organisations with a connection to Eastern Europe. ◀



## Gwendolyn Sasse

Director

### What motivated you to look beyond your professorship at the University of Oxford and apply for the post of Director of ZOis?

When I applied the Centre was a work in progress, so it was something I could help to shape. The directorship is also about leadership in research – that was important to me. If ZOis had been set up as a conventional think tank, I might not have applied. But its aim of conducting academic research at a high level – an internationally recognised level – while at the same time thinking about how to present this research to a broader public, in political discourse and in the media, is a challenge that can only be addressed to a limited extent in a university context. But at ZOis, it is the primary task, and that appealed to me.

### Which areas of work at ZOis had you not expected?

I learned a lot about the organisational side during the first year, from project managing a building site to dealing with legal matters. I learned how to set up a new team with a range of responsibilities, from administration to communications and research. This was a completely new challenge for me, which I see as one of the most exciting and fulfilling. If you think back to how we started in October 2016, with far fewer people in temporary accommodation, and look at where we are now: we have a Centre with its own premises, a programme of events and initial publication formats. Continuously monitoring the quality of our work is very important but maintaining the momentum and being able to try out a variety of options is a rare and very valuable experience.

### What were the most important steps and the most memorable moments for you in 2017?

First and foremost, the move into our own premises, which we designed ourselves, in the Mohrenstraße, and our official opening. The Centre is no longer just an abstract idea; it is a real space that is filled with life and people. In the early days, everyone had to deal with issues in their work areas which

would not arise in an established institution. But that creates new scope. I see a sense of creativity, a zest and enthusiasm for everything that we are building here as a team. This was particularly noticeable around the time of the official opening, when the schedule was very tight. Everyone worked hard, and pulled together, to make it happen. For me, that was a unique and really wonderful experience. What's more, from the outset, our events were very well-attended. A lot of what we are doing has been accepted much more quickly than I had expected. I am so pleased to see this positive response to what we offer.

### What are your hopes for the next stage?

During the first year, we had to set up an infrastructure, starting with the legalities and including our work processes and communication formats. Much of this has now been accomplished. As a newcomer on the scene we have encountered a lot of good will from political institutions, academics and the public. Now we have to continue to prove ourselves through our research and maintain our impact over the longer term. That means standing for quality in the academic and public debate.

### And lastly, a personal question: what first inspired your interest in Eastern Europe?

Actually, I always wanted to study medicine, only to change my mind at the last minute. It was the convergence of interest in a region, in history, politics and language with the political events taking place in the early 1990s. I am part of what is known as the Gorbachev generation. The collapse of the Soviet Union happened just as I left school and was heading for university. The »East« of the continent was opening up. The political landscape changed dramatically and I wanted to get to know this exciting space as it evolved. Eastern Europe is such a vast and diverse region; it is always exciting, not only politically but economically, socially and culturally as well, and it will keep me occupied for a long time to come. ◀



## Christian Schaich

Managing Director

### What were the first major tasks and challenges that you had to deal with while ZOIS was being set up?

A very important task, of course, was building the team. At first, there were only four of us, but then the team grew quite quickly. We were keen to avoid rigid and hierarchical bureaucratic structures; we wanted to show that we were a team. Another key task was to establish the administrative and physical infrastructure, whether it was purchasing computers or deciding the day for the weekly team meeting. It took a great many steps, large and small, to get us to the point where the real work of the Centre could begin. That includes talking to our funders and accountants, as well as discussing issues which are substantive rather than purely organisational, for example, meeting with other research institutes here in the Berlin-Brandenburg region or elsewhere in Germany. For me, that's all part of the job if you take the role of academic manager seriously and want to do it well.

### You work on the legal and administrative side of things, while Prof. Sasse focuses on the academic and research aspects. How would you describe your working relationship?

We had never met before: we worked in two different worlds, I would say. But right from the start, it worked very well, because two fundamental elements are in place: first, mutual trust, and, second, respect for the other person and their work. It is excellent and it is also a lot of fun. And we both agree that the aims of the ZOIS Articles of Association, particularly research and supporting young academics, should take absolute priority.

### Which aspect of your work do you find particularly enriching?

What I like most is that we have a good team. I find the people here very interesting, and I think that generally, everyone gets on well. Working together as a group towards a shared goal is

very enriching. It's good to see something grow. Take the posters you see around the universities, publicising programmes of events; to me, that's something very special. And now we are organising these programmes of events ourselves. That's a good feeling.

### What first awoke your interest in Eastern Europe?

When the Soviet Union opened up, I was at an age when I was starting to look outwards into the world. This was a country which had not been accessible before, and now it was suddenly opening up. It was absolutely fascinating. What sparked my personal interest was an experience in 1991, when I took part in a hike to mark the 50th anniversary of the German attack on the Soviet Union, which took us from Brest on the Polish-Belarusian border to Moscow. It's a distance of around 1,000 kilometres and it took us three months. On the way, we passed through villages where the last Germans whom the people had seen, if they were old enough, were actually the soldiers of the Wehrmacht. The country was just opening up. There was incredible poverty and incredible warmth and hospitality. I made so many friends and am still in contact with some of them today. Then I started to study law, and in my very first term, at the introductory lecture, we were told: »We don't need any more lawyers; you're all surplus to requirements unless you specialise in some aspect of the law or immerse yourselves in another language or culture.« That was the moment when I decided to learn Russian. Then I spent a year in Odesa in Ukraine, which was a marvellous experience. And I have written a number of legal articles on Eastern Europe, some of them on Russian law.

### What are your wishes for ZOIS in 2018?

I would like the Centre to continue to make a name for itself as an academic institution in Berlin, in Germany and in Europe, with plenty of partnerships, publications and research results – in other words, my wish is for even more visibility for ZOIS. ◀

# Staff

## MANAGEMENT



### PROF. GWENDOLYN SASSE | Director

Gwendolyn Sasse, director of ZOiS, is Professor of Comparative Politics at the Department of Politics and International Relations and at the School of Interdisciplinary Area Studies at the University of Oxford, a professorial fellow at Nuffield College and non-resident associate at Carnegie Europe. Her academic career spans the study of History, Slavonic Studies and Political Science at the University of Hamburg and an MSc and PhD in Political Science at the London School of Economics. After gaining her doctorate, she first took up a post as assistant professor at the Central European University, and then as lecturer / senior lecturer at the London School of Economics before moving to Oxford in 2007. Gwendolyn Sasse is interested in contemporary art and, in this context, the linkages between science and culture. ◀



### DR CHRISTIAN SCHAIICH | Managing Director

Christian Schaich is responsible for all matters relating to the Centre's administration and finances. He first trained as a bookseller in Cologne, then studied Law in Passau, Odesa (Ukraine) and Berlin from 1992 to 1998. After taking the first state examination in law, he completed a doctorate on an aspect of Russian administrative law at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. From 2004 to 2016, he was an advisor and later director for the Central and Eastern European region at the German Research Foundation (DFG). This included several years as head of the Foundation's Moscow office. From 2011 to 2015, he also worked as a lecturer in Administrative and Constitutional Law at the Foundation for International Legal Cooperation. When not at work at ZOiS, Christian Schaich enjoys spending time with his family; his other interests are reading and cinema. ◀



### LEJLY AGAMURADOVA | Management Assistant

Lejly Agamuradova completed her Master's degree in East European Studies at Freie Universität Berlin in 2015. She then went to work for the German Association for East European Studies (DGO), which had been commissioned by the German Federal Foreign Office (AA) to set up ZOiS. At the DGO, she was responsible for coordinating the ZOiS project. This included supporting current research projects, managing the budget and organising events. In addition to providing management assistance at ZOiS, Lejly Agamuradova is responsible for human resources, data protection and the organisation of research projects and events. She commenced her part-time studies for a Master's degree in Higher Education and Research Management at the German University of Administrative Sciences Speyer in March 2017. From a musical family, she enjoys singing in her free time. ◀

## SENIOR RESEARCHERS AND RESEARCHERS



### MARTIN BRAND | Researcher

At ZOiS, Martin Brand was responsible for editing *Russland-Analysen* until December 2017. Now based at Bielefeld University, he is currently working on his PhD in social policy trends in Russia, Belarus and Ukraine. Martin Brand studied Political Science in Berlin and Kraków (Poland). His fascination for Eastern Europe began after he finished school, when he spent time in the Russian city of Nizhny Novgorod as a civilian service volunteer. As well as conducting research on the region, he leads study visits and writes travel guides to Eastern Europe. He is the co-editor of the book *Russkij Futbol*, a history of the Russian game, which was published ahead of the 2018 FIFA World Cup in Russia. When not researching or travelling to Eastern Europe, Martin Brand enjoys hiking and climbing in Saxon Switzerland. ◀



#### DR TSYPYLYMA DARIEVA | Senior Researcher

Tsypylyma Darieva, a social anthropologist at ZOIS, is developing a research project on the transformation of urban spaces and religious pluralisation in Eurasian cities. She is an associate member of the Caucasus Studies Programme at Friedrich Schiller University Jena and a board member of the Berlin Centre for Independent Social Research. After receiving her PhD from Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Tsypylyma Darieva worked at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle before becoming a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute for European Ethnology at Humboldt-Universität. She then moved to Japan, where she was an associate professor at the University of Tsukuba. Before joining ZOIS, she was based at Friedrich Schiller University, where she coordinated an international research project on the transformation of sacred places in the post-Soviet Caucasus. When not at work, Tsypylyma Darieva enjoys hiking in the mountains and cooking for her friends. ◀



#### DR NADJA DOUGLAS | Researcher

Nadja Douglas's research project at ZOIS focuses on the relationship between public initiatives and state power structures in the post-Soviet region. She studied Political Science at the University of Bonn and International Relations at Sciences Po Paris. She obtained her PhD from Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin in 2016. Nadja Douglas has worked as an advisor on security and defence policy in the German Bundestag, and as a research fellow in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in Copenhagen (Denmark). During the German OSCE Chairmanship in 2016, she worked as a liaison officer for the OSCE Mission to the Republic of Moldova. She has also been a member of the editorial team of *Russland-Analysen*. In her free time, she organises a Café Philosophique in Berlin's Sprengelkiez district. ◀



#### DR REGINA ELSNER | Researcher

Regina Elsner is a Catholic theologian whose research focuses on Russian Orthodox social ethics in post-socialism. At ZOIS, she heads the project *Morality Instead of Peace*, which investigates the dynamics of Russian Orthodox social ethics since the demise of the Soviet Union. From 2010 to 2013, she was a research associate at the University of Münster's Ecumenical Institute. She has also worked as a research analyst for German MP Katrin Göring-Eckardt. Fluent in Russian and with deep insights into Russian life from Kaliningrad to Kamchatka, she was well-placed for her role as coordinator of a nationwide addiction project for Caritas Russia in St Petersburg from 2006 to 2010. In her free time, she is active in Quarteera, a non-profit volunteer association working for LGBTI\*-sensitive refugee and foreign policies. ◀



#### DR BEATE ESCHMENT | Researcher

Beate Eschment obtained her PhD in Russian history at the University of Hannover in 1992. Since then, her research has focused on the history and, above all, the contemporary development of the former Soviet republics of Central Asia. She has worked at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), the Central Asia Seminar at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, the Institute for Oriental Studies at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, and the Research Centre for East European Studies at the University of Bremen. In 2008, Beate Eschment became the editor of *Zentralasien-Analysen* and has continued to edit this publication since its affiliation to ZOIS, where she is now a researcher, in 2017. In her free time, Beate Eschment enjoys choral singing and going to concerts and the opera. ◀



#### DR NINA FRIESS | Researcher

Nina Friess studied Political Science and Slavonic Studies in Heidelberg, St Petersburg and Potsdam. From 2009 to 2016, she was a research fellow at the Department of Eastern Slavic Literatures and Cultures at the University of Potsdam, where she was responsible for the International Bachelor's programme in interdisciplinary Russian studies. In 2015, she completed her doctorate on the contemporary memory of Stalinist repression in Russia. Her thesis was awarded the Klaus Mehnert Prize of the German Association for East European Studies (DGO). In 2017, she completed her Master's degree in Science Marketing at Technische Universität Berlin. The title of her project at ZOIS is *Literature and Power in the Post-Soviet Space*. In her free time, she loves to cook and especially enjoys making good food for her friends. ◀



#### DR TATIANA GOLOVA | Researcher

At ZOIS, Tatiana Golova is working on a research project on public political mobilisation in Russia's regional centres. She studied Sociology at St Petersburg State University, the University of Bielefeld and the European University at St Petersburg. She gained her first research experience at the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences in the field of youth sociology. In 2009, she was awarded a doctorate at the Otto von Guericke University in Magdeburg for her thesis on the link between spatial and identity construction in radical left-wing milieus. She then worked as a researcher at the Institute of Sociology in Magdeburg and at the Institute for East European Studies at Freie Universität Berlin. In addition to her research and teaching activities, she has been engaged in developing international academic contacts. When not at work, Tatiana Golova enjoys listening to classical music, especially the works of Dmitri Shostakovich. ◀



#### DR JULIA LANGBEIN | Researcher

Julia Langbein is a researcher at ZOIS and scientific coordinator of the EU-STRAT research project at the Center for European Integration at Freie Universität Berlin. She has a degree in Political Science from Freie Universität Berlin and a Master's in Russian Studies from the European University at St Petersburg. After receiving her PhD from the European University Institute in Florence, she was a postdoctoral fellow at the Kolleg-Forschergruppe *The Transformative Power of Europe* at Freie Universität Berlin. She also held visiting fellowships at the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels, the International Centre for Policy Studies in Kyiv and the Higher School of Economics in Moscow. In her free time, Julia Langbein likes escaping to the countryside and cooking for family and friends. She also enjoys Eastern European cinema, especially at Cottbus Film Festival. ◀



#### DR SABINE VON LÖWIS | Senior Researcher

Sabine von Löwis studied Geography at Technische Universität Dresden and obtained a doctorate at HafenCity University in Hamburg. From 2011 to 2017, she was a postdoctoral researcher at the Centre Marc Bloch in Berlin, where she was involved in a joint research project about phantom borders in East and Eastern Central Europe. Her research investigates stability and transformation in social and spatial structures in urban and rural Central and Eastern Europe. As a geographer, she naturally has an interest in exploring and understanding new countries and contexts, especially daily life in local communities. At ZOIS, she is developing a project on microgeographies of conflict constellations in the southwestern post-Soviet space. When not in the office, Sabine von Löwis enjoys sewing and experimenting with textiles. She sees fashion and clothing traditions as an expression of social self-awareness, with great relevance to the analysis of cultural geographies. ◀

## COMMUNICATIONS



### DR STEFANIE ORPHAL | Communications Director

Stefanie Orphal studied German Literature, Media Studies and Business Management and completed internships in editing and publishing. She then decided to pursue her research interest in poetryfilm, a genre of short films based on poetry. In 2013, she completed her PhD at Friedrich Schlegel Graduate School for Literary Studies at Freie Universität Berlin and then switched to academic public relations. From 2013 to 2016, Stefanie Orphal worked at Halle Institute for Economic Studies (IWH) as a public relations officer. Now communications director at ZOIS, she manages the publications / PR interface and develops the events programme. When not at work, she enjoys reading, mainly literature from Eastern Europe at present. ◀



### STEPHANIE ALBERDING | Communications Coordinator

Stephanie Alberding is responsible for managing ZOIS's social media presence and supporting its governing bodies. She read History, Drama, Film and Television Studies and German Philology at the University of Cologne and also spent a semester reading East and Central European Studies at Prague's Charles University, which sparked her interest in Eastern Europe. She completed her studies with a Master's degree and a thesis on the political death cult in National Socialism. The early part of her career was spent working for a foundation. This won her over to the non-profit sector and motivated her to sign up for an Executive Master's programme in Non-Profit Management and Governance in Münster, which she completed in February 2017 with a thesis on civil society organisations in the culture of remembrance. She acquired her skills as a communications professional in the Jewish Museum Berlin's Press Department. In her free time, Stephanie Alberding is a keen museum goer. ◀



### ANJA KRÜGER | Communications Coordinator

Anja Krüger's main areas of work are event organisation, managing ZOIS's social media presence, internal communications and diversity issues. After being awarded her Bachelor of Arts in East Slavic Studies, Media Sciences and Politics at the University of Leipzig, she completed a Master's degree at the Institute for East European Studies at Berlin's Freie Universität in 2014. She also gained experience in project coordination and the planning and management of overseas trips. An internship in the German-Russian meeting centre in St Petersburg, Russia, gave her a first insight into the work of foundations. During her student work experience at the German Bundestag, she became familiar with the parliamentary routine and the working practices of a large administration. A Berliner by choice, Anja Krüger is interested in politics and society, media / communication and digitalisation. ◀



### YVONNE TROLL | Communications Coordinator

Yvonne Troll studied Cultural Anthropology, Early Modern and Modern History and English Language and Literature at the University of Freiburg. In 2010, she was awarded a Master's degree for her thesis on cultural identity in a globalised work environment, based on research she conducted for several months in multinational companies in Mexico City. She has also lived in London and Ecuador where she worked for a non-governmental organisation. She spent two years as a trainee in the Public Relations Department at the University of Freiburg. There, she qualified in editorial and PR work, and gathered experience in managing events. As a communications coordinator at ZOIS, Yvonne Troll's main responsibilities are publications, website editing and events. Her leisure interests include street art, poetry and going to concerts. ◀

## **ADMINISTRATION**



### **THOMAS BERTHOLD | Head of Finance**

Thomas Berthold is responsible for finance, accounting and procurement at ZOiS. After vocational training in wholesale and export trade, he worked in the private sector. He then moved to Fachinformationszentrum Chemie GmbH, one of the organisations in the Leibniz Association, where he initially worked as a bookkeeper and then served as executive manager of the administration for many years. His leisure interests include economics, Scandinavia and numismatics. ◀



### **TETIANA FARCHMIN | Administrator**

Tetiana Farchmin is responsible for finance, accounting, travel organisation and travel expenses at ZOiS. From 1999 to 2003, she studied Business Administration at Volodymyr Dahl East Ukrainian National University. In 2007, she completed a further course of study in Public Administration. She then worked at the registry and trade supervisory authority in the city of Severodonetsk in Eastern Ukraine. She was born and grew up in Eastern Ukraine and has lived in Germany for some years. She is interested in Eastern European politics, travel and sport. ◀



### **THOMAS JUNGE | Chief Information Officer**

Thomas Junge is a qualified IT systems specialist and has worked in IT for over 20 years. From 2009 to 2016, he played a key role in several IT projects for the restructuring and migration of various IT infrastructures and the implementation of IT security concepts at eurosprint Deutschland GmbH and CLS 4-Text GmbH – A Lionbridge Company, two leading language services providers. At ZOiS, he is responsible for establishing and maintaining the IT infrastructure and IT operations. Thomas Junge's leisure interests include cooking and listening to music. ◀

## **RESEARCH AND STUDENT ASSISTANTS**

- ▶ ALICE LACKNER
- ▶ IRINA MOGELNITZKI
- ▶ JILE SOROUT
- ▶ MARYNA VOITSEKHOVSKA

## **INTERNS**

- ▶ VIKTORIA BRUHL
- ▶ ILJA KOBRIN

## **FORMER MEMBERS OF STAFF**

- ▶ KATERYNA BESSONOVA | Research Assistant
- ▶ JULIA GLATHE | Editor of Russland-Analysen
- ▶ VALERIJA HEIDEMANN | Research Assistant
- ▶ KAI-OLAV HUELZER | Head of Finance
- ▶ URSZULA SADLOWSKÁ | Research Assistant
- ▶ PAVLA HOMOLOVÁ | Intern

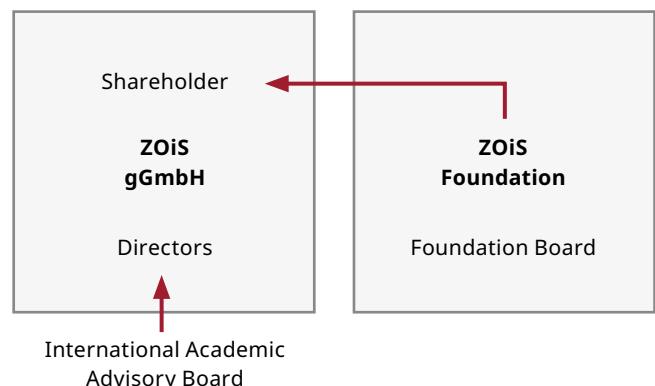
# Structure and Boards

ZOiS was founded on the basis of a decision by the German Bundestag and is funded by the Federal Foreign Office. It is set up as a non-profit enterprise (charitable LLC) under German law and operates under an independent ZOiS Foundation. The Centre also has an Academic Advisory Board, whose task is to provide guidance on all aspects of its research.

»The Foundation is a legal entity under German civil law and was established in order to function as the shareholder of ZOiS Charitable LLC, in German gGmbH,« Christian Schaich explains. »If the Federal Foreign Office had taken on the role of shareholder in accordance with the Private Limited Companies Act, this might have given the impression that academic freedom was not guaranteed. So the Foundation was set up, consisting not only of representatives of Parliament and the ministries but also of academia.« The Chair of the Foundation Board is Jan Kusber, Professor of East European History at Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz.

In addition to the Directors and the shareholder, the Centre has an international Academic Advisory Board. According to the ZOiS Articles of Association, the Academic Advisory Board must have a minimum of five and a maximum of twelve members. It currently has nine members, all of whom are academics of international standing, and is chaired by Timm Bechelt, Professor of European Studies at European University Viadrina Frankfurt / Oder.

The Academic Advisory Board convened for its constituent meeting on 27 March 2017 and has been kept continuously informed about current developments at ZOiS since then. The aim is to foster a lively culture of debate among Advisory Board members, who are based in different countries, despite the geographical distances between them. The Advisory Board members' participation in the new Centre's strategic development, events, publications, and networking is expressly welcomed and encouraged. ◀



*At ZOiS, there is also scope to focus on research questions which take time and patience to answer. This means that ZOiS can address topics that are sometimes neglected by other institutions. And with its interdisciplinary approach linking geography, history and cultural studies, deeper insights can be gained into the societies in the post-Soviet space.*

*Timm Bechelt*



*ZOiS offers a great opportunity to develop a research-based body of knowledge about the societies in Eastern Europe, working with researchers from these countries. I want to help ZOiS establish itself as an independent institution that is an integral element of the European academic landscape. I want ZOiS to be successful in building a bridge between an ambitious research agenda and accessible dialogue with society at large.*

*Sebastian Lentz*

#### **Academic Advisory Board members**

► **Prof. Margarita M. Balmaceda**

Professor of Diplomacy and International Relations,  
Seton Hall University, USA  
Research Associate, Ukrainian Research Institute,  
Harvard University, USA

► **Prof. Timm Beichelt (Chair)**

Professor of European Studies, European University  
Viadrina, Frankfurt / Oder, Germany

► **Prof. Mark Beissinger**

Henry W. Putnam Professor of Politics, Princeton  
University, USA

► **Prof. Katharina Bluhm**

Professor of Sociology, Institute for East European  
Studies, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

► **Ivan Krastev**

Chairman of the Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia,  
Bulgaria  
Permanent Fellow at the Institute for Human Sciences,  
Vienna, Austria

► **Prof. Sebastian Lentz**

Director of the Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography  
and Professor for Regional Geography at the University  
of Leipzig, Germany

► **Prof. Mikhail Minakov**

Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies,  
Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine  
Editor-in-Chief, Ideology and Politics Journal

► **Prof. Catherine Poujol**

Director of the French Institute for Central Asian Studies,  
Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan

► **Prof. Silvia von Steinsdorff**

Chair of Comparative Political Sciences and the Political  
Systems of Eastern Europe, Humboldt-Universität zu  
Berlin, Germany



*Germany is an important player in Eastern European politics and economy. However, for a long time there was evidence of a lack of understanding of national, international and transnational issues for the post-Soviet region. I expect ZOiS to become a reliable source of information and research in German policy making and a centre of excellence in research. Even though scholars or one research centre cannot solve all issues, we can deal with some.*

*Mikhail Minakov*

# Infrastructure and Finance

Appropriate facilities and organisational structures are essential in enabling ZOiS to carry out its research, so putting these in place was one of the priority tasks during its start-up phase. This was accompanied by the production of a business plan as the basis for allocating the annual budget in accordance with the Centre's objectives.

When ZOiS opened in October 2016, it initially occupied temporary space in a business centre in Rungestraße while its permanent premises were being refurbished to bring them up to the required standards for a new research institute. From carpets to office furniture, computers to telephones, coffee cups to cutlery – countless decisions had to be made and orders placed. This involved a vast amount of planning by the purchasing team. In March 2017, a few days before the official opening and the ZOiS Conference, the new premises in Mohrenstraße were finally ready and ZOiS moved in. The premises form part of Quartier 110 – a complex of buildings which were given protected status as architectural heritage in 1998. The historic buildings have been fully renovated and fitted out to meet today's living and workplace needs. ZOiS is located in

Berlin's political district, close to Gendarmenmarkt, with many of its partners nearby, including the Federal Foreign Office and Humboldt-Universität. Some of Berlin's libraries, such as the State Library and the Grimm Centre, are not too far away – a great advantage for our research team.

The Centre occupies two floors, covering almost 1,300 square metres in total, and has 40 work stations. At present, most of ZOiS's day-to-day activities are still focused on the second floor, where there are three rooms for events in addition to the 16 offices. The largest of these rooms – the Library – has space for up to 80 people and is used for presentations, lectures, panel discussions, conferences, film screenings and readings, which are open to the general public as well as academics. A reference



*Just arrived: new furniture waits to be set out at Mohrenstraße.*



*ZOiS's communications coordinator Anja Krüger sorts and tides the first batch of books and journals for the Library.*



*The Library: not only a store of literature on Eastern Europe but also ZOiS's main room for events.*

library for ZOiS staff is also being established here, with anthologies, monographs, dictionaries and literature of relevance to Eastern Europe. The Centre also subscribes to various specialist journals and newspapers. In addition, there are a number of seminar rooms, which are used for workshops, meetings or events for specific target groups, including background discussions for journalists and the ZOiS Research Colloquium.

### **Finance**

The Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS) is funded by an annual institutional grant of €2,475,000 from the German Federal Foreign Office. A further amount of €25,000 is provided for the ZOiS Foundation, which functions as the

shareholder. The funds are allocated to research, communications, administration and general management. Research is a priority for ZOiS, so some of the funding was spent on field visits and on producing publications and organising events to share its research findings. A key event in 2017 was the move from temporary accommodation in Rungestraße to permanent premises in Mohrenstraße. This involved various major purchases to equip around 40 work stations and set up a new IT system suitable for the Centre's needs. At the start of 2017, ZOiS had just nine employees; by December, this had risen to 23, including student assistants, with a correspondingly rapid increase in spending on human resources. In future, ZOiS plans to secure external funding for its research projects in addition to the resources from the federal budget. ◀

# Three questions to...



**Lejly Agamuradova**  
Management Assistant

**Which aspects of your work do you find particularly fulfilling?**

I started working at ZOiS when it was still being set up. The work was wide-ranging and that was very exciting. Being in at the start isn't only about providing support – it means you can play an active role in shaping the process.

**What is your biggest challenge at ZOiS?**

In any new institution, structures and processes have to be put in place. The challenge, though, is to ensure that everyone »owns« and applies them. I have been studying part-time for a Master's degree in Higher Education and Research Management since March 2017. Studying alongside a full-time job is sometimes extremely challenging, so discipline and good time management skills are important.

**What does Eastern Europe mean to you?**

My roots are in Eastern Europe. I was born in Turkmenistan and after we emigrated to Germany, I grew up speaking both languages – German and Russian. I have a Bachelor's in East Slavic Studies and a Master's degree in East European Studies and I find it fascinating to visit the Eastern European countries. For many people it's largely unknown territory. So I think research and knowledge-sharing about Eastern Europe are really important. ▶



**Tetiana Farchmin**  
Administrator

**Which aspects of your work do you find particularly fulfilling?**

For one, I'm learning a lot, especially about the differences between the legal systems in Germany and Ukraine. The areas of work outside my own field of accounting, such as the events, are also of interest to me and equally enjoyable. And there's also a very positive atmosphere at work. Every day, I go to work feeling good, and that's worth a lot.

**What is your biggest challenge at ZOiS?**

It was new territory for us to a large extent at first. New structures had to be set up, including the accounting systems. It was a learning by doing process, but gradually, we put the necessary framework in place.

**What does Eastern Europe mean to you?**

When I saw the job advertisement for ZOiS in the newspaper, my first thought was that it would be my dream to work for an institute that conducts research on Eastern Europe, including Ukraine, where I grew up. ▶



**Thomas Junge**  
Chief Information Officer

**Which aspects of your work do you find particularly fulfilling?**

The technical challenges, the day-to-day focus on Eastern Europe and the good atmosphere in the team.

**What is your biggest challenge at ZOiS?**

For me, the biggest challenge is making the IT infrastructure as user-friendly as possible for my co-workers and raising their awareness of IT issues, including security.

**What does Eastern Europe mean to you?**

I have travelled around Eastern Europe and already got to know some of the countries and had some wonderful holidays. My partner spent six months studying in Poland so we have a lot of contacts there and we visit frequently. I also have many friends from some of the other Eastern European countries. ▶



**Thomas Berthold**  
Head of Finance

**Which aspects of your work do you find particularly fulfilling?**

The feeling of being involved in setting up and developing a new institution.

**What is your biggest challenge at ZOiS?**

As a »bean counter«, I have to try and accommodate every department's requests without losing sight of the criteria set by the funding providers.

**What does Eastern Europe mean to you?**

When I first started working at ZOiS, this wasn't one of my main concerns, but as time has gone on, I have begun to familiarise myself with some of the issues and find them interesting. ▶

# Cooperation and Support of Young Researchers

The Centre for East European and International Studies (ZoIS) has various objectives. In addition to undertaking basic research and sharing its findings on Eastern Europe with the public, ZoIS has two further core tasks: cooperating with national and international universities and research institutions, and supporting young academic talent.

## Cooperation

### Seed funding for external projects

In preparation for its own institutional development, ZoIS provided funding to academics from university and non-university institutions for their research project proposals with a thematic focus on *Power Resources and the Public Sphere*. The following projects were selected:

- ▶ Centre for Independent Social Research (CISR)  
*New Practices of Russian NGOs in Social Sphere*  
Project coordinator: Elena Belokurova
- ▶ Freie Universität Berlin, Otto Suhr Institute of Political Science  
*Reformen der Finanz- und Steuerverwaltung in Russland, Ukraine und Kasachstan*  
Project coordinator: Sabine Kropp
- ▶ Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Central Asian Seminar  
*Transformationen urbaner Metropolen als Bühnen regionaler Macht: Kaukasus und Zentralasien im Vergleich*  
Project coordinator: Tsypylma Darieva
- ▶ Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (IOS)  
*Vom Homo Sovieticus zum Staatsbürger. Dimensionen des gesellschaftlichen Wandels in der Ukraine*  
Project coordinator: Katrin Boeckh
- ▶ University of Bremen, Research Centre for East European Studies  
*Medienkontrolle als politische Machtressource. Die Rolle von Oligarchen in der post-sowjetischen Region*  
Project coordinator: Heiko Pleines
- ▶ University of Bremen, Research Centre for East European Studies  
*Data hub for protest related research in East European societies*  
Project coordinator: Anastasia Stoll

- ▶ University of Münster, Institute for Ecumenical Theology  
*»Orthodoxie« als Machtressource in der aktuellen russischen Innen- und Außenpolitik*  
Project coordinator: Thomas Bremer

### Funding for research reports

ZoIS allocated funding for the preparation of research reports on selected topics as a means of identifying potential future areas of research. The funds were awarded to Tetyana Malyarenko (National University ‘Odesa Law Academy’, Ukraine) and Stefan Wolff (University of Birmingham) for their report *Understanding the Dynamics of Emerging De-facto Entities*.

### Joint lecture series with Freie Universität Berlin

In the 2016/17 winter semester, ZoIS and the Institute for East European Studies at Freie Universität Berlin organised a joint lecture series on *Revolution – Transformation – Globalization. Russia 1917–2017*, which was designed primarily for students on the Master’s programme in East European studies. ZoIS provided funding for the lecture series and Gwendolyn Sasse took part in the panel discussion *What Next for Russia: Returning to the Imperial Past or Rethinking Modernization?*

### Reforming Ukraine with Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

ZoIS works closely with Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a foreign policy think tank, and provided financial support for Carnegie’s *Reforming Ukraine* project. In 2017, three new issues of the *Ukraine Reform Monitor* were published, offering assessments of the Ukrainian reform efforts. ZoIS also organised briefings on the *Ukraine Reform Monitor* at the German Federal Foreign Office, the Federal Chancellery and the Bundestag. This collaboration will continue in 2018.

### **Agreement with the DGO**

ZOIS's cooperation with the German Association for East European Studies (DGO) began in October 2017 and has the following objectives: exchange of information on current and planned activities, joint consultations on knowledge-sharing with the public, and support for institutional networking. The purpose of the collaboration is to enable the two institutions to better fulfil their respective statutory remits.

### **Memorandum of understanding with the HSE**

In October 2016, ZOIS signed a memorandum of understanding with the Higher School of Economics (HSE) in Moscow, one of the pre-eminent economics and social sciences universities in Russia. The partnership, initially established for five years, involves the exchange of academic staff, cooperation on joint conferences, workshops and projects, and support for young researchers. Under the agreement, graduates of HSE Moscow have an opportunity to undertake an internship at ZOIS. The two institutions also agreed to provide mutual support on visa-related issues.

### **Cooperation with the Kennan Institute**

From 5 to 7 November 2017, ZOIS hosted the Alumni Conference of Kennan Institute, whose topic was *Populism under a Spotlight*. The Kennan Institute is part of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C., USA, and is committed to improving American expertise and knowledge about Russia, Ukraine, and other states in the region. The Institute provides scholarships to academics and specialists from government, the media and the private sector. ZOIS made its conference facilities available to the Kennan Institute and provided logistical, organisational and visa-related support. ZOIS also developed and organised a panel discussion for the Conference, which explored *Transnational Perspectives on the*

*Right-Wing Populism in Germany*. The discussion on 8 November 2017 with Kennan experts William Pomeranz, Andrian Prokip and Maxim Trudolyubov on *The Dynamics of the Russia-Ukraine-US Triangle* was also organised in conjunction with the Kennan Institute.

### **Cooperation with Prisma Ukraïna**

ZOIS is a member of the Prisma Ukraïna network, which is based at the Forum Transregional Studies in Berlin. As a research network, Prisma Ukraïna focuses on current developments in Eastern Europe, particularly Ukraine. The network invites research fellows from Eastern Europe to spend several months as visiting fellows in Berlin, some of whom are affiliated to ZOIS. During their time at ZOIS, the fellows undertake research for their current projects and organise events such as workshops and guest lectures.

### **Guest researchers**

Alexandr Osipian from Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Ukraine, in cooperation with the Forum Transregional Studies, was affiliated to ZOIS from April to June 2017. During this period, an interview with the historian was published in ZOIS's *Meet the Author* series, focusing on his paper about historical myths, enemy images and regional identity in the Donbas. During the Long Night of the Sciences on 24 June 2017, he joined a discussion on *Migration in Research and Art*. He also organised a workshop on *Donbas Identities in Context: From Industrial Region to Zone of Conflict* at the Forum Transregional Studies; on that occasion, Gwendolyn Sasse presented some of the findings of ZOIS's research in the Donbas in her talk on *Attitudes and Identities during War and Displacement*.

From October to December 2017, Julian G. Waller, a PhD student in the Department of Political Science at George Washington University, USA, was a guest researcher at ZOIS. During



*I am very grateful to ZOIS for the excellent working conditions and the opportunity to discuss a wide range of topics concerning recent developments in post-Communist Europe. Through these discussions, I improved my understanding of how Ukraine is perceived in the German academic discourse and which particular themes are regarded as important in Ukrainian studies.*

*Alexandr Osipian (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Ukraine)*  
*Guest Researcher*



*The work at ZOIS is the perfect complement to my Business Management studies at Humboldt-Universität. It gives me the chance to use quantitative techniques from my degree programme and to improve my research skills, for example in statistical analysis. What I find particularly exciting is ZOIS's international focus and its close cooperation with such a diverse range of institutions, be they universities around the world, political bodies or the media.*

Irina Mogelnitzki (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)  
Research Assistant

this time, he wrote a *ZOIS Spotlight* on *The early run-up to the Russian election* and an article for *Russland-Analysen No. 346* (15.12.2017) entitled *Personalisierung und die Gefahr geschwächter autoritärer Institutionen: Putins Zentralisierung und die Krise institutioneller Politik in Russland*.

#### Support of Young Researchers

##### Dissertation completion grants for PhD students

In 2016, a decision was taken to award one-off dissertation completion grants for PhD students conducting research with a thematic focus on *Power Resources and the Public Sphere*. A total of 12 candidates were selected to receive the grants, which were awarded for a maximum of six months. The recipients had an opportunity to showcase and discuss their research projects at the ZOIS PhD Colloquium in December 2016, which was chaired by Gwendolyn Sasse, and in some cases were able to present to a larger audience at ZOIS's Launch Conference on 28 March 2017.

##### ZOIS Research Colloquium

In May 2017, ZOIS, in cooperation with Freie Universität Berlin and Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, held its first Research Colloquium. This multidisciplinary Colloquium serves as a discussion forum for work in progress by PhD students, post-docs and established researchers whose work in the social sciences focuses on Eastern Europe. The aim is to establish a permanent meeting point in the Berlin-Brandenburg area for those engaged in research on Eastern Europe. The Research Colloquium takes place at ZOIS every second Wednesday in the month during term-time and enters its third round in the 2018 summer semester.

#### JOE Conference

Together with the German Association for East European Studies (DGO), the University of Bremen's Research Centre for East European Studies and the Cologne-Bonn Centre for Central and Eastern Europe (CCCEE), ZOIS helped to fund and organise the *Conference of Young Eastern European Experts (JOE)*, which took place in Cologne in June 2017 on the theme *Linkages, Transfers and Contact in and with Eastern Europe*. Gwendolyn Sasse gave a keynote on *Social and political remittances of migrants: concepts and empirical analysis* and took part in the discussion about students' work. JOE conferences have been held regularly with various partners since 1996. They provide a cross-disciplinary overview of the situation of young researchers engaged in Eastern European studies and offer junior scholars opportunities to discuss new projects and engage in interdisciplinary exchange and networking.

#### Research assistants

Providing employment opportunities for research assistants also plays an important role in supporting young researchers. Kateryna Bessonova provided initial contacts for the ZOIS database, which was the basis for sending out invitations to the Launch Conference and is now an important tool for managing various mailing and contact lists.

Valeria Heidemann and Urszula Sadlowská worked on the research project *Eastern Europe Is Here: Transnational Linkages Among East European Migrants in Berlin*, coordinated by Tatiana Golova and Gwendolyn Sasse. They helped to prepare and coordinate focus group events and interviews with Polish- and Russian-speaking migrants in Berlin and helped out with research on organisations and relevant statistics.

Alice Lackner assisted ZOiS's Director Gwendolyn Sasse with the project *The Influence of War, Annexation and Displacement on Political Identities in Ukraine*, mainly by evaluating the ZOiS surveys conducted in the Donbas and among displaced persons from the region.

Irina Mogelnitzki worked on two projects: *The Influence of War, Annexation and Displacement on Political Identities in Ukraine*, coordinated by Gwendolyn Sasse, and *Eastern Europe Is Here: Transnational Linkages Among East European Migrants in Berlin*. She also conducted background research on various topics.

Maryna Voitsekhovska was responsible for collecting and processing data from social networks for the projects *Eastern Europe Is Here: Transnational Linkages Among East European Migrants in Berlin* and *Grassroot Public Spheres and Activism in Russian Federal Cities*, coordinated by Tatiana Golova.

Jile Sorout undertook various IT-related tasks and supported Thomas Junge, Chief Information Officer, with day-to-day work.

#### Interns

In order to improve students' prospects of future employment, ZOiS offers internships which include work on research pro-

jects as well as the possibility to contribute to its communications activities. While completing her PhD, Pavla Homolová from Prague's Charles University undertook a three-month internship at ZOiS. She contributed to Nadja Douglas's project *Public Initiatives and State Policies – a Post-Soviet Comparison*, conducting analyses of public confidence in state institutions, particularly law enforcement agencies in Armenia, and working on two country-wide surveys. She also provided support for the project *The Influence of War, Annexation and Displacement on Political Identities in Ukraine*, analysing Ukrainians' identities and attitudes towards political issues, producing background research and assisting with quantitative data analysis and its visualisation.

Viktoria Bruhl supported the communications team with website maintenance, writing, editing and translating texts in English and German, photo and background research, and production of infographics for the social media platforms and the newsletter.

Ilja Kobrin's internship focused mainly on research. He translated academic publications, conducted literature searches, and processed and analysed data for various ZOiS projects. He also provided support to Martin Brand, editor of *Russland-Analysen* until December 2017, by carrying out research on a range of topics, text editing and timeline preparation. ◀



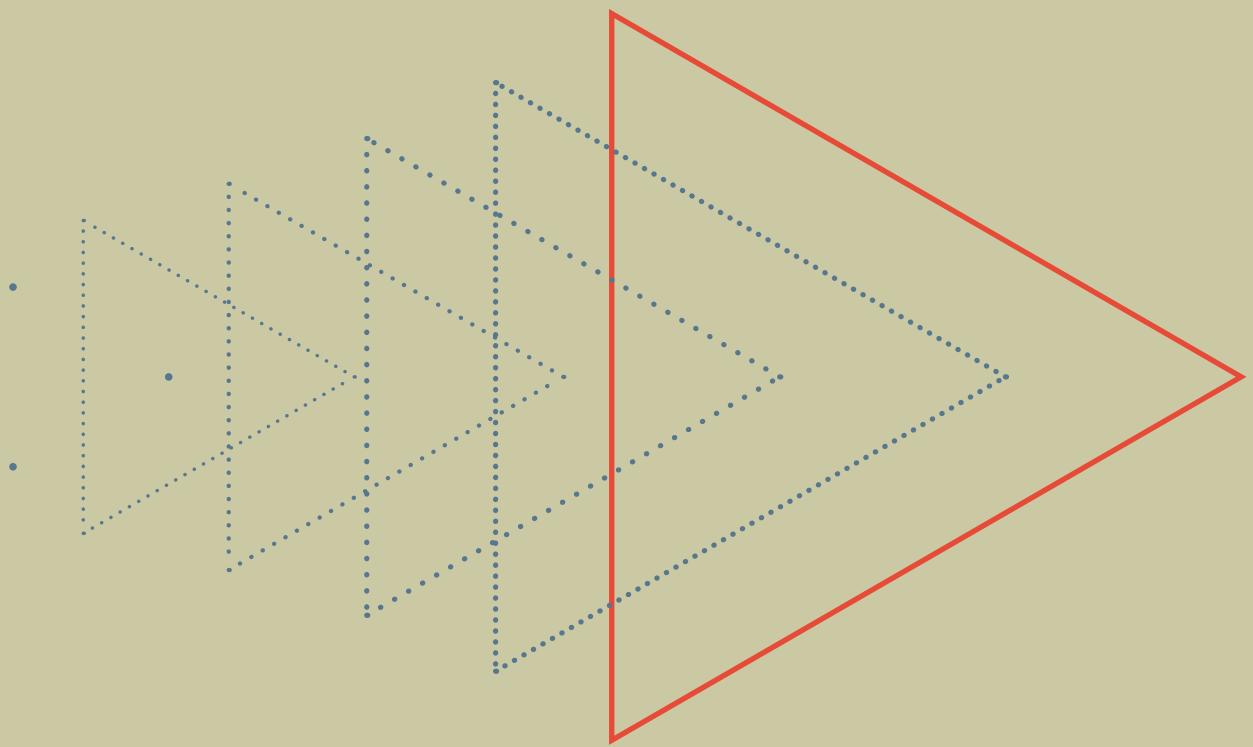
*My internship at ZOiS gave me the opportunity to develop my professional skills and thus improve my prospects of finding a good academic position in my own country or abroad. I was able to build my network of contacts and gain a clearer idea of what kind of career profile I need for employment at a German research institute. In parallel, I had the chance to give presentations on my dissertation and received some valuable feedback. Thanks to the ZOiS team, I gained a fresh insight into sociopolitical perspectives in research on the former Soviet states. I was also able to explore innovative ways of bringing research findings to a wider public.*

*Pavla Homolová (Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic)*

*Intern*



INAUGURATION



# Opening Ceremony

The Centre for East European and International Studies (ZÖiS) held its Opening Ceremony on 27 March 2017. It was attended by around 250 invited guests from academia, politics and the media and took place in the Leibniz Hall of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities on Gendarmenmarkt, just a few minutes' walk from ZÖiS.

»When we first arrived in our temporary premises in early October, there were only four of us«, Christian Schaich, ZÖiS Managing Director, recalled in his opening remarks. »The telephones hadn't been connected and we had to bring in our own computers.« Since then, a great deal has happened. Shortly before the official opening, ZÖiS and its staff – now numbering 19 and working in research, communications and management – had moved into permanent accommodation in Mohren-

straße. In her opening remarks, Director Gwendolyn Sasse also looked back to the time of ZÖiS's founding and recalled the intensive efforts involved. She thanked everyone who had supported ZÖiS with their vision, perseverance and commitment during the project's development and in the early days. »Many of you who are here today made an active contribution to setting up ZÖiS. Without you, we would have nothing to celebrate«, she said.



On 27 March 2017, about 250 guests gathered at the Leibniz Hall of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities to celebrate the opening of ZÖiS.

Since then, as Christian Schaich noted, ZOIS had become part of the academic landscape in Berlin-Brandenburg and beyond. It had also been well-received by the major German organisations which engaged in or provided funding for research: »We are delighted to see so much interest in our still relatively small institution.« As he said, ZOIS would continue to grow. After providing a brief overview of ZOIS's structure and research projects, Gwendolyn Sasse looked to the future and announced that one of ZOIS's specific goals was to set up a junior researcher and guest scholar programme in order to bring new voices from Eastern Europe into the debate here in Germany. She also reminded the audience of another of ZOIS's key tasks, namely to make the diversity and relevance of Eastern Europe – backed by academic research – accessible to the public and to meet policy-makers' and the media's need for reliable information.

#### **Official remarks by Walter Lindner and Jan Kusber**

In his official remarks, State Secretary Walter Lindner from the Federal Foreign Office emphasised the importance of East European studies. »The founding of the Centre sends a clear message about the significance of these countries and the need for relevant expertise«, he said. There was, he continued, a

growing demand for information and analysis relating to Russia and Eastern Europe, not only in response to developments in Ukraine. His aspiration for ZOIS was that it would become a centre of academic excellence and a hub for international networking, based on a user-friendly approach which enabled the findings of its research to be applied in politics, academia and the media.

According to Jan Kusber, Chair of ZOIS's Foundation Board, the formal opening of the Centre had been eagerly anticipated by the academic community with an interest in contemporary Eastern Europe. The events of late 2013 and early 2014 had taken many people by surprise and showed how vital it was to establish an independent research institution focusing on the region. »There is at least one lesson to be learned from history: the unexpected, the surprising, is actually the norm. However, the greater the academic expertise and the more detailed and accurate the understanding of issues, not only in the context of international relations, but also as regards societies, economies, social transformation, demographic trends and political governance, the less likely we are to be puzzled by events«, he said. This also applied to Eastern Europe, with all its diversity and complexity. »Providing this expertise is precisely what ZOIS has been set up to do.« ◀



*ZOIS's founding comes at a time when tensions in East-West relations are higher than they have been for a while, and this coincides with an erosion of consensus on values, even in established democracies.*

*Gwendolyn Sasse*

Silvia von Steinsdorff, Professor of Comparative Political Science and Political Systems of Eastern Europe, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin



Viatcheslav Morozov, Silvia von Steinsdorff, Gwendolyn Sasse, Ingo Mannteufel and Ivan Krastev (from left) discussed whether authoritarian and democratic regimes are becoming more alike.

This observation was followed by the academic element of the evening, which consisted of a panel discussion on *Destruktive Konvergenz: Sind Demokratien und autoritäre Regime ähnlicher geworden?* The panellists – experts from academia and the media – were Ivan Krastev, Ingo Mannteufel, Viatcheslav

Morozov and Silvia von Steinsdorff. The discussion was chaired by ZOIS Director Gwendolyn Sasse.

Ivan Krastev is Chairman of the Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia, and Permanent Fellow at the Institute of Human Sciences, Vienna. Ingo Mannteufel heads

the Department for Europe and Russia at Deutsche Welle. Viatcheslav Morozov is Professor of EU-Russia Studies at the University of Tartu. Silvia von Steinsdorff is Professor of Comparative Political Science and Political Systems of Eastern Europe at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. ◀



# ZOiS Conference 2017

## A New Research Agenda on Eastern Europe

Which new research perspectives are opening up on Eastern Europe? This question was addressed by the approximately 80 guests and more than 30 participants from research, the arts and media at the first ZOiS Conference. All the programme elements linked in thematically with ZOiS's three research areas.

A packed conference programme awaited visitors to ZOiS – which had recently moved into its new premises in Mohrenstraße – on 28 March 2017. In the morning, there were presentations on *Conflict Dynamics in the Post-Soviet Region* and *Politics from Below*. In the afternoon, the focus shifted to *Migration in/from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union*, with three parallel events exploring the topic from different perspectives: through the lens of sociology, literature and cultural studies, and the arts. This was followed by presentations by doctoral candidates on methodological challenges in the study of authoritarian regimes. A highlight in the late afternoon was a panel discussion on the key question *Quo Vadis Area Studies?* The Conference ended with a conversation about the *Displaced Ukrainians* exhibition by British photographer Mark Neville, which opened after the Conference and remained on display at ZOiS until early 2018.

### Conflict dynamics

The first panel turned the spotlight on the current conflicts in Ukraine and Transnistria. ZOiS Director Gwendolyn Sasse and research assistant Alice Lackner presented initial findings of surveys conducted among Ukrainians displaced from the Donbas – a previously under-researched group. Their presentation considered to what extent the war in Eastern Ukraine has influenced political identities. Oleg Zhuravlev and Natalia Savelyeva from the Public Social Laboratory focused on a different aspect of the Ukraine conflict: their team conducted interviews with pro-Russian rebels in the Donbas and Russia. Their analysis provided a complex picture of the motives, social backgrounds and mobilisation channels among separatists, whose motivations have hitherto been viewed largely in terms of personal gain, either financial or social. Stefan Wolff (Univer-



@AFDeighton (*Anne Deighton, University of Oxford*)  
politics, art and culture. Terrific innovation in Berlin  
research institute, ZOiS



The ZOI S team was delighted by the great response to its first conference.

sity of Birmingham) and ZOI S researcher Nadja Douglas reviewed some of the attempts at conflict settlement in the case of Transdniestria, where confidence-building measures (CBM) in the field of security and trade play a significant role. Recent statements by the negotiators in the 5+2 format were analysed as a basis for identifying new areas in which CBMs can be more efficiently deployed.

#### Politics from below

Which forms of political engagement by the civilian population in post-Soviet states exist, and what conclusions can be drawn from them? These and other questions were addressed by the second panel. The Ukrainian partners with whom Gwendolyn Sasse collaborates on her project *Political Change from Below? Local Politics in Ukraine* – Dmytro Ostapchuk (VoxUkraine),

Pavlo Myronov (Centre UA / Chesno), Viktor Pashchenko (Pridneprovsk International Research and Cooperation Centre) and Yevgen Popov (International Renaissance Foundation) – presented the findings of a pilot study on the current dynamics of local politics in Ukraine, which investigated issues such as local and regional council composition, local voting patterns and media discourses. Kerstin Jacobsson (University of Gothenburg) looked at political activism at grassroots level, with a focus on urban spaces. From her perspective as a sociologist, the field of urban activism is illustrative of a new phase in the development of post-socialist civil societies characterised by grassroots activism and mobilisation from below. In her presentation, Olga Onuch (University of Manchester) considered the impact of protests in post-Communist societies. She hypothesised that mass mobilisation – although having great potential for democratisation – can also have the opposite effect, refer-



@Campus\_EEGA (*Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Eastern Europe – Global Area*)

Exciting Conference today @ZOIS\_Berlin – New Research Agenda on Eastern Europe



Patrick Köllner, Mark Beissinger, Katharina Bluhm, Markku Kivinen, Sebastian Lentz and Gwendolyn Sasse (from left) discuss the development of Area Studies.

ring to several cases (Poland, Russia and Ukraine) which have experienced post-protest electoral polarisation, significant democratic »backsliding« and even ethno-linguistic or sectarian conflict.

#### Migration in / from Eastern Europe

At simultaneous interactive roundtables, discussants then considered the topic of migration in / from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union from an interdisciplinary perspective. ZOIS researcher Tatiana Golova and migration expert Magdalena Nowicka (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) examined the issue through the lens of sociology, while Adrian Wanner (Pennsylvania State University) and Dirk Uffelmann

(University of Passau) provided a literature and cultural studies contribution. Photographer Mark Neville and comic artists Elke Steiner and Aleksander Zograf adopted a rather different approach: they explore the issues of refugees and migration through art, examples of which were shared with the audience.

#### Authoritarian regimes

The specific challenges arising when researching authoritarian regimes were highlighted by doctoral candidates who had received dissertation completion grants from ZOIS. How do researchers gain access to the field in Kazakhstan and Russia? What challenges affect data collection in Belarus? How should a researcher study economic policy in Russia? The speakers



@GER\_OSCE (*Germany in the OSCE*)

And one day after #ZOis\_opening the first #ZOiS\_Conference has already gathered experts on Eastern Europe in Berlin.

were Ewa Dabrowska (University of Amsterdam), Rebecca Fradkin (University of Oxford), Janis Kluge (Witten/Herdecke University and the German Institute for International and Security Affairs) and Mariya Rohava (University of Oslo).

#### The future of area studies

What kind of answers can area studies provide to urgent contemporary questions? What does the future hold for this »minor discipline« at universities and research institutes? Gwendolyn Sasse was joined by a panel of distinguished guests for a discussion about the alleged theoretical weakness of area studies and the potential of a serious approach to interdisciplinarity. The panellists were Mark Beissinger (Princeton University), Katharina Bluhm (Freie Universität Berlin), Markku Kivinen (Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki), Patrick Köllner (German Institute of Global and Area Studies,

Hamburg) and Sebastian Lentz (Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography, Leipzig).

#### Displaced Ukrainians

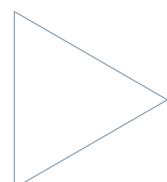
At the final event of the day, ZOiS researcher Nina Frieß talked to British photographer Mark Neville, Radka Rubilina from the OSCE Office in Yerevan, Armenia, and Daniel Schulz, journalist at German daily newspaper taz, about the situation of people displaced by the war in Eastern Ukraine to other areas of their own country or to Russia. The discussion centred on Mark Neville's *Displaced Ukrainians* project, produced in collaboration with ZOiS and consisting of photographs and videos which bring these life histories to light. The photos selected for inclusion in the exhibition at ZOiS are located at the intersection of art and documentary and focus on children as one of the most vulnerable groups affected by displacement. ◀



## Research Area

# Stability and Change of Political Regimes

Concepts such as »democracy« and »authoritarianism« suggest clear defining criteria and boundaries, but they ultimately fall short of capturing the nature of political regimes. Both concepts and the societies they are trying to describe are currently in flux – in Eastern Europe and beyond. This research area focuses on the grey zone between the two regime classifications. The two concepts of stability and change highlight, on the one hand, dynamic societal, political, social, economic, and cultural changes and, on the other hand, the processes that prevent or limit change. The ZOIS research projects in this area are varied and multidisciplinary in their outlook. They provide a basis both for an exploration of a wide range of themes that are underrepresented in current academic and public debates and for an analysis of the conceptual and empirical linkages between them.



## Public Initiatives and State Policies – a Post-Soviet Comparison

In one of ZOIS's first research projects, which began in December 2016, political scientist Nadja Douglas is exploring the dynamics and interaction between public initiatives and state policies in the post-Soviet space, with particular reference to various recent social protests. In times of accelerated social change, there are growing demands for transparency, accountability and participation in post-Soviet countries, as well as elsewhere. While civic actors are seeking wider freedoms, the state often resorts to traditional forms of repression. The research project focuses on three main questions:

- 1) With regard to social policy issues, where do state policies diverge from the paradigm preferred by society at large?
- 2) The generational issue: how does socialisation in the Soviet vs. post-Soviet era affect individual behaviour towards the state and its policies / responses?
- 3) Do explanatory models rooted in the Western social movement literature provide an adequate basis for investigating triggers of social protest in the post-Soviet space?

The concept of »contentious politics« (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001) provides a theoretical lens for the analysis, which is based on three case studies

from structurally diverse members of the Eastern Partnership: Armenia, Belarus and Moldova.

Nadja Douglas undertook research visits to all three case study countries in 2017. In March and April, she spent two weeks in the Armenian capital Yerevan, conducting interviews with members of civil society who were involved in the »Electric Yerevan« protests against the Armenian government's planned electricity price rises. The interviewees included members of established non-governmental organisations as well as grassroots activists. Meetings with ex-

perts and scholars gave her a deeper understanding of state-society relations in Armenia's current political context. She also held discussions with various international organisations and human rights lawyers. The interviews were supplemented with surveys by a local sociological institute on trust in the police and law enforcement agencies.

In September, Nadja Douglas spent two weeks collecting data in Minsk, Belarus. Here, she focused mainly on interviews with members of civil society organisations, NGOs (some with close links to the government, some independent),



*Electric Yerevan: the announcement of electricity price hikes sparked mass protests in Armenia in 2015.*



Protesters in Belarus carry a banner that reads: »Who's the real parasite? The President!«

political associations and trade unions, and with activists involved in the protests against the government's plan to introduce a »parasite tax« for the unemployed. She also held meetings in Minsk with experts, scholars, human rights activists and representatives of government institutions and pensioners' groups in order to gain a deeper understanding of state-society relations in Belarus's current political context. The interview data were supplemented by an analysis of extensive material (publications) from various Belarusian organisations.

In November, Nadja Douglas spent ten days in Chisinau, the capital of the Republic of Moldova. The country has experienced a wave of protests in recent years, leading to the formation of numerous political parties and grassroots initiatives. She conducted interviews with representatives of new initiatives and well-established NGOs, focusing particularly on activists involved in the protests against the bank fraud scandal and the »stolen billion« looted from the country's three largest financial institutions. She also met with human rights

advocates, government representatives and staff from the People's Advocate (Ombudsman), a formally independent body set up by Parliament to monitor human rights. As in Armenia and Belarus, the visit to Moldova – and particularly the discussions with experts, scholars

and representatives of international organisations and donors – gave Nadja Douglas deeper insights into state-society relations. The interview data were supplemented by periodic survey data from a local think tank on trust in the police and law enforcement agencies. ◀



Protest camps in Moldova after the banking scandal. The slogans are critical of the government, which is seen as corrupt.

## **Confidence-Building and Conflict Settlement: The Case of Transnistria**

### ► Joint project with Stefan Wolff

Nadja Douglas also made use of her time in Moldova to conduct interviews with representatives of the Joint Control Commission responsible for supervising the security zone between Moldova and the breakaway region of Transnistria. The interviews took place in Chisinau and in the Transnistrian city of Tiraspol as part of the data-gathering for the joint project *Economic Confidence-Building Measures and Conflict Settlement: The Case of Transnistria* with Prof. Stefan Wolff (University of Birmingham).

## **ACTIVITIES 2017 | NADJA DOUGLAS**

### ► Publications

- *Public Control of Armed Forces in the Russian Federation*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- 'Leadership Norms as a Form of Internal (Self-)Control of the Armed Forces'. In: Leadership in Extreme Situations, edited by Michael Oscar Holenweger, Michael Karl Jager and Franz Kernic, pp. 131–147. Springer International Publishing Switzerland, 2017.
- 'A challenge of diverging interests'. ZOIS Spotlight 35 / 2017 (13 December 2017).
- 'Postscript to Zapad-2017'. ZOIS Spotlight 24 / 2017 (27 September 2017).
- 'Is the NATO-Russia Founding Act still relevant?'. ZOIS Spotlight 11 / 2017 (24 May 2017).

- 'Armenia after the elections'. ZOIS Spotlight 7 / 2017 (26 April 2017).
- 'Moldovan President Dodon and the Russian role model'. ZOIS Spotlight 3 / 2017 (29 March 2017).

### ► Conferences

- **22nd Annual ASN World Convention at the Columbia University (New York, USA, 5 / 2017)**  
Presentation *Top-down or Bottom-up? Public Control as a »Civic Duty« in post-Soviet Russia* in the panel *Inside Out: Domestic Drivers of Russian Security Policy*

### ► Lectures / presentations

- **Book presentation (ZOIS, Berlin, 10 / 2017)**  
On the occasion of the publication of *Public Control of Armed Forces in the Russian Federation*
- **Berlin Summer School on Social Sciences at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (Berlin, 7 / 2017)**  
Lecture *Public initiatives and state power structures in the post-Soviet region – linking theory and empirical research* in the panel *Democracy at the crossroads*
- **Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Geschwister-Scholl-Institut für Politikwissenschaft (Munich, 7 / 2017)**  
Lecture *Rolle von Regionalkonflikten in der russischen Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*
- **ZOIS Conference 2017 (ZOIS, Berlin, 3 / 2017)**  
Presentation *Big or Small Bridges? Confidence-Building Measures and Conflict Settlement in the Case of Transnistria* (with Stefan Wolff) in the panel *Conflict Dynamics in the Post-Soviet Region*

► Panel discussions

► ZOIS Forum (Berlin, 12 / 2017)

*Between art and protest: Street art in Georgia and Armenia.* Short presentation on the protest movement in Armenia

► Working group Russische Sicherheitspolitik (Berlin, 9 / 2017) on Russia's security services: changes, tasks and challenges

► Other activities

- Review activities for the German Foundation for Peace Research: Preparation of an expert report for a grant application for a scientific conference (8 / 2017).
- Review activities for the journal *Nationalities Papers* based on peer-review (12 / 2017).

## Three questions to...



Nadja Douglas  
Researcher

### How did you pick your research topic?

I am particularly interested in the countries located at the interface between East and West. My three case study countries have highly disparate political regimes and yet their social dynamics are quite similar. I was particularly interested in finding out more, on the ground, about the social protests of recent years and about the state's response in each case.

### What was the most exciting moment on any of your research visits so far?

For me, the most interesting aspect is always the first moment after you have agreed a meeting with an interviewee. What's the best route to the meeting point? That's never easy in an unfamiliar city. How do you break the ice when you first meet? And the greatest challenge, every time: what's the most elegant way to bring the interview to a close? ◀

### Have you learned anything surprising from your research this year?

I would never have thought that so many men would struggle to come to terms with the idea that at a research institute whose main focus is not (!) gender studies most of the employees are women. ◀

Dr Nina Frieß

## Literature and Power in the Post-Soviet Space

In her project, which began in October 2016, Nina Frieß – a scholar of Slavic literatures and cultures – is investigating the role of Russian-language literature in the contemporary post-Soviet space. She starts from the premise that relevant discourses in society continue to be reflected in its literature. The question of which function these literatures perform today is of particular interest, bearing in mind that literature has lost its status as a key form of societal communication – a role which, it is hypothesised, would allow it, particularly in non-democratic regimes, certain freedoms which are absent in film, TV and the Internet.

Taking three countries – Kazakhstan, Latvia and Belarus – as examples, the project begins by taking stock. What literature exists? Who is writing? What are the circulation figures? This is followed by an analysis of the topics and functions of selected texts, based on more detailed

study of their content and social dimension. The first of these processes is performed using text analysis; the second involves a study of the discourses around the texts and, for better categorisation, interviews with experts and writers.



*During her research trip to Kazakhstan, Nina Frieß spoke to the poet Kanat Omar.*

Since the project began, Nina Frieß has immersed herself in the research on post-Soviet literatures. In the process, she has observed that the extant literary and cultural research focuses primarily on developments in Russia. This Russia-



*Poet Pavel Bannikov at a reading in Astana, Kazakhstan.*



*To this day, the former capital Almaty is the literary centre of Kazakhstan.*

centrism can be seen both in the theoretical discourses (e.g. on the topic of post-colonialism) and in the literature itself. Russian-language literature produced outside Russia since the demise of the Soviet Union is rarely studied. By exploring this under-researched area, the project attempts to close this gap. In late 2016, soon after starting the project, Nina Fries also visited Russia for research purposes. As well as attending the NonFiction Book Fair in Moscow, she conducted an interview with Aleksandr Ébanoidze,

the then editor-in-chief of the journal *Druzhba Narodov*.

#### **First case study: Kazakhstan**

The project's first case study focuses on Kazakhstan. A literature review, which also aimed to provide country background, was followed by a three-week field visit in May and June 2017, mainly to meet with writers, literary administrators and activists, to gain insights into the Russian-language literature land-

scape in Kazakhstan, and to collect material in the form of literary texts. Nina Fries also held meetings with academics, which sparked the idea of a workshop on the Russian-language literature found outside Russia (planned for spring 2019 at ZOIS). Before she went on parental leave in October 2017, Nina Fries evaluated the material she had collected on her visit and summarised her preliminary findings in a ZOIS Spotlight article on Russian-language literature in Kazakhstan. ◀

# Three questions to...



**Nina Frieß**

Researcher

## **How did you pick your research topic?**

I have been interested in multinational Soviet literature, as it is called, for some time. Very little research was done on this topic after the collapse of the Soviet Union, so most of the studies we have available date back to the Soviet era and are strongly ideological in tone. While researching the topic, I noticed that literature was still being written in Russian outside Russia but was receiving almost no attention from scholars. With my project, that's something I want to change.

## **What was the most exciting moment on any of your research visits so far?**

The meetings in Almaty and Astana with Kazakhstani authors, who welcomed me very warmly and gave me valuable insights into Kazakhstan's literary and cultural landscape. I could have done without my somewhat tense encounter with the Kazakhstani traffic police, though!

## **Have you learned anything surprising from your research this year?**

I would not have expected the distinction between Russian and Russian-language literature and the question of belonging to the Russian cultural space to spark discussions as heated as those I experienced in Kazakhstan. This showed me yet again that the debates about a theory of Russophone literature – in contrast to other philologies – are still in their infancy. ▶

## ACTIVITIES 2017 | NINA FRIESS

### ► Publications

- ▶ »Inwiefern ist das heute interessant?« Erinnerungen an den stalinistischen Gulag im 21. Jahrhundert, 2. Aufl., Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2017 (1. Aufl., Leipzig: Biblion Media).
- ▶ 'Dear Ivan Denisovich...': ZOIS Spotlight 31 / 2017 (15 November 2017).
- ▶ 'Kazakhstan on the map of Russian literature'. ZOIS Spotlight 27 / 2017 (18 October 2017).
- ▶ 'A cautious look back'. ZOIS Spotlight 20 / 2017 (26 July 2017).
- ▶ 'Critical voices engage too little in the public discourse'. Interview published in the ZOIS series Meet the Author (9 May 2017).
- ▶ 'It's Pushkin's fault. Politicised literature and writers in Russia'. ZOIS Spotlight 6 / 2017 (19 April 2017).
- ▶ 'Russia's tentative approach to the revolutionary year of 1917'. ZOIS Spotlight 2 / 2017 (29 March 2017).

### ► Lectures / presentations

- ▶ **Book presentation (ZOIS, Berlin, 7 / 2017)**  
On the occasion of the publication *Inwiefern ist das heute interessant? Erinnerungen an den stalinistischen Gulag im 21. Jahrhundert*
- ▶ **ZOIS Research Colloquium (ZOIS, Berlin, 6 / 2017)**  
Presentation *Placing Kazakhstan on the map of Russian literature* as part of the ZOIS research project *Literature and Power in the Post-Soviet Space*
- ▶ **Conference Investigation – Rekonstruktion – Narration. Geschichten und Geschichte im Krimi in der Slavia at the University of Potsdam (Potsdam, 4 / 2017)**  
Organisation of the conference  
Lecture '*From Russia with Blood*'. *Stalinistische Repressionen in William Ryan's New Soviet Crime Novels*

- ▶ **Workshop Potemkinsche Dörfer der Idylle. Imaginationen und Imitationen des Ruralen at the University of Potsdam (Potsdam, 12 / 2016)**  
Presentation *Wieder alles im Fluss: die 'Rückkehr von Matëra' in der russischen Literatur am Beispiel von Roman Sencins 'Zona zatoplenija'*

### ► Moderation / panel discussions

- ▶ **Junges Forum Slavistische Literaturwissenschaft at Universität Hamburg (Hamburg, 9 / 2017)**  
Participation in the panel discussion *Slavistik als soft power? Zur Relevanz der literaturwissenschaftlichen Forschung*
- ▶ **Long Night of the Sciences (ZOIS, Berlin, 6 / 2017)**  
Chair of the reading and discussion with Dmitrij Belkin on *Eastern Europe Is Here*
- ▶ **Conference Investigation – Rekonstruktion – Narration. Geschichten und Geschichte im Krimi in der Slavia at the University of Potsdam (Potsdam, 4 / 2017)**  
Chair of the evening event together with the author William Ryan
- ▶ **ZOIS Conference 2017 (ZOIS, Berlin, 3 / 2017)**  
Chair of a round table about the perspective of Literary and Cultural Sciences in the panel *Different Perspectives on Migration in/from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*  
Chair of the evening event *The Displaced Ukrainians: Discussion with Artist Mark Neville*

### ► Other activities

- ▶ Completion of Master's degree in Science Marketing at Technische Universität Berlin (9 / 2017).
- ▶ On parental leave since 3 October 2017.

Dr Tatiana Golova

## Grassroot Public Spheres and Activism in Russian Federal Cities

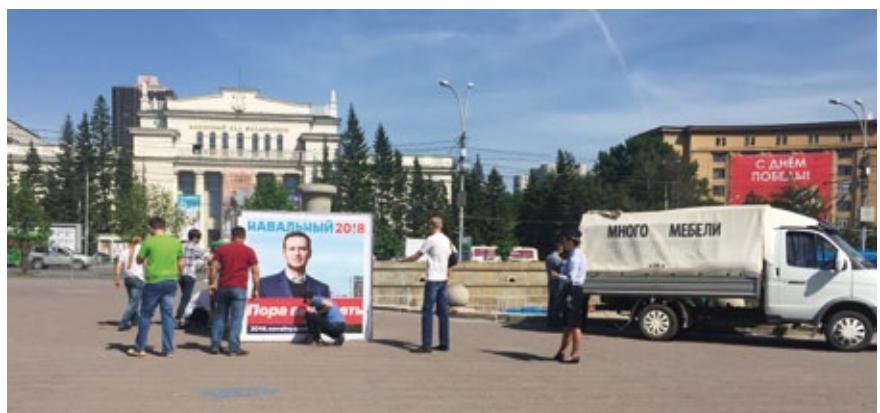
How are civic engagement and public mobilisations in large Russian cities structured by communication processes that are embedded in everyday life? This question is not only of relevance to mobilisations that are explicitly pro-democratic or focus pragmatically on local mismanagement or abuses. In her project, which began in October 2016, sociologist Tatiana Golova starts from the premise that action by conservative and loyalist campaigns can be better understood by analysing how horizontally organised communication processes, beyond top-down mobilisation via state-controlled mass media and co-optation, influence the willingness to become engaged.

The research project explores this key question by analysing three dimensions:

1. **Everyday life:** Which collective interpretive frames are being (re-)constructed in the day-to-day communication by members of different socio-cultural milieus?

2. **Mobilisation:** How do mobilised public spheres, i.e. communication networks which are oriented towards collective action for specific causes, emerge? How do such networks relate to each other?
3. **Hybridisation:** How are different offline and online arenas for public communication and mobilisation connected?

The project focuses on large federal cities, which are significant in representing the periphery compared to Moscow and are regional power centres which concentrate human, financial, and administrative resources. With a diverse population and a less complex local activist scene, they allow communication networks within and between the various activist milieus to be traced, both in their symbolic connections and in their practical interactions.



*Supporters of leading Russian opposition activist Alexei Navalny in Novosibirsk in May 2017.*



*Activists stage a street protest in Novosibirsk's central Lenin Square against construction projects and tree felling.*

The empirical research uses a range of methods and data sources to provide a variety of perspectives on the development of public groups in a federal Russian city. First, as part of the fieldwork, Tatiana Golova conducts interviews with activists from various political and socio-cultural milieus. The documentary method of analysis is used to reconstruct the participants' shared knowledge, which serves as orientation for social action. The discussions are analysed in relation to the topics discussed and the framework used to deal with them. Second, the analysis of online communication focuses on local discussions and mobilisations on issues at the Russian and the transnational level. This involves network analysis to identify influential actors and areas of intensive communication and is followed by man-

ual qualitative analysis focusing on the shared interpretive frameworks. Third, expert interviews help to explore the wider context of the case study.

#### **Research in Novosibirsk**

Novosibirsk was selected for the in-depth case study. The third largest city in Russia and largest city in Siberia, Novosibirsk is a regional centre of almost unrivalled significance and has been shaped by diverse forms of activism and political campaigns in the past and present. In May 2017, Tatiana Golova spent three weeks in Novosibirsk, meeting with representatives of citizens' organisations and activists engaged in protest campaigns and social initiatives. In all, she conducted 30 qualitative semi-structured interviews with activists from a

variety of political backgrounds and issue-driven campaigns and with experts. In addition, she observed several public events, including small-scale street campaigns by environmental activists and opposition groups and a discussion event on waste management involving activists and regional representatives. The interviews explored how the interviewees interpret their personal mobilisation and own activities, which specific forms their activism takes, and what resources they have at their disposal. Other issues included networking with and attitudes towards other actors, including government agencies. There are plans to broaden the scope of the project to include further case studies in future. ◀

# Three questions to...



**Tatiana Golova**  
Researcher

## **How did you pick your research topic?**

We need to take a deeper look at what life is like for people in Russia, including those who live a long way from Moscow, and about where and how they talk to one another, the issues that concern them and how they become engaged in protest activities and social initiatives.

## **What was the most exciting moment on any of your research visits so far?**

It was when I opened the curtains one May morning in Novosibirsk and it was snowing. I had two interviews arranged in Akademgorodok, which is a long way out of the city centre, and I didn't have any warm clothes with me. But the weather was a great ice breaker topic at my meetings!

## **Have you learned anything surprising from your research this year?**

Novosibirsk is sometimes compared to the »Wild West« in local identity discourses. Viewed in terms of the history of Russian colonisation, that makes sense, but I hadn't expected it to be used by local people. ▶

# Political Change from Below? Local Politics in Ukraine

This project, which started in October 2016, seeks to systematically analyse the new political balance of power at the regional/local level in Ukraine. The project is based on three regional case studies (Dnipro, Kharkiv and Odesa). To date, these regions have in most cases been presented in research and in the Western media in an undifferentiated way as part of »(south-)eastern Ukraine«. With the political changes since 2014, such an understanding is not sustainable, and yet the current political dynamics at the local level remain largely unknown. Such local dynamics are critical for the academic analysis of a country in transformation which is characterised by regional diversity. The research provides a better foundation for German and European policy through its assessment of local actors and the potential for reform. One fact that is frequently overlooked is that the 2015 municipal elections resulted in a far higher degree of political diversity. In many south-eastern regions, the gap between a conglomerate of reformist forces and the opposition parties was far narrower than was generally assumed. Furthermore, the patterns of cooperation or confrontation behind policy-making at local and regional level are particularly relevant in light of the progress being made with decentralisation reforms in Ukraine.

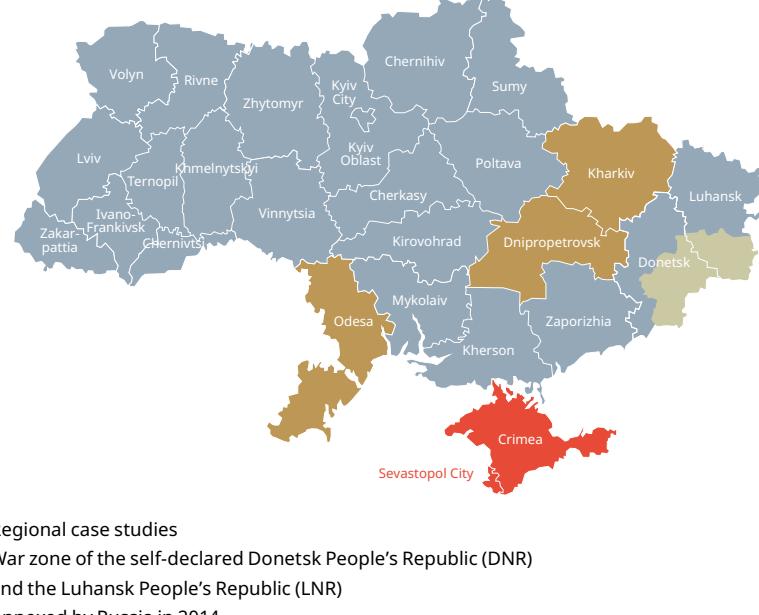
How do the representatives of the different parties and interest groups negotiate at the local level? Do these dynamics change with the political and economic incentives created by the reform of local government? Where do the differences lie between local, regional and national decision-making processes? From these

empirical questions, larger conceptual issues emerge regarding democratisation »from below« and possible tensions between national and regional/local politics.

In methodological terms, this project combines a detailed analysis and visualisation of voting behaviour in local as-

form VoxUkraine, Viktor Pashchenko, a lecturer at Nizhyn Gogol State University and co-founder of the NGO Pridnepransk International Research and Cooperation Centre, and Yevgen Popov, head of the South Ukraine regional office of the NGO International Renaissance Foundation. They collected quantitative and qualitative data with the aim of

Ukraine



semblies, as compared with the Ukrainian Parliament (Verkhovna Rada), with a contextualisation through qualitative interviews with regional/local politicians, journalists and experts. During her field research in 2017, Gwendolyn Sasse collaborated with various Ukrainian partners: Pavlo Myronov from the civic movement Chesno, Dmytro Ostapchuk from the independent analytical plat-

modelling the composition and voting behaviour of local and regional assemblies. They also analysed the local media and Internet sources and conducted interviews with local experts and politicians to obtain information about local party structures and policy-making. They then contributed to the process of compiling the results for presentation at ZOIS's first annual conference. ◀

## ACTIVITIES 2017 | GWENDOLYN SASSE

### ► Publications

- ▶ 'High Time to End the War in Ukraine'. Blog article for Strategic Europe (4 December 2017).
- ▶ 'What Is the Public Mood Like in Crimea?'. Blog article for Strategic Europe (6 November 2017).
- ▶ 'Terra Incognita – The public mood in Crimea'. ZOIS Report 3 / 2017 (November 2017).
- ▶ 'Ukraine's Poorly Timed Education Law'. Blog article for Strategic Europe (2 October 2017).
- ▶ 'A UN Mission for Ukraine's Donbas?'. ZOIS Spotlight 22 / 2017 (13 September 2017).
- ▶ 'A Reminder to Continue Ukraine Reforms'. Blog article for Strategic Europe (4 September 2017).
- ▶ 'Little Success for Little Russia'. Blog article for Strategic Europe (24 July 2017).
- ▶ 'The G20 and Eastern Europe: more than a handshake?'. ZOIS Spotlight 18 / 2017 (12 July 2017).
- ▶ 'Ukrainians Travel Visa Free'. Blog article for Strategic Europe (26 June 2017).
- ▶ 'New hope in Ukraine conflict?'. ZOIS Spotlight 13 / 2017 (7 June 2017).
- ▶ 'The Two Parts of Ukraine's Donbas'. Blog article for Strategic Europe (16 May 2017).
- ▶ 'The Donbas – Two parts, or still one? The experience of war through the eyes of the regional population'. ZOIS Report 2 / 2017 (May 2017).
- ▶ 'The Annexation of Crimea in 2014'. ZOIS Spotlight 1 / 2017 (15 March 2017).
- ▶ 'Ukraine Takes Russia to Court'. Blog article for Strategic Europe (14 March 2017).
- ▶ 'The Displaced Ukrainians. Who are they, and what do they think?'. ZOIS Report 1 / 2017 (March 2017).
- ▶ 'What Do Ukrainians Actually Think?'. Blog article for Strategic Europe (16 January 2017).

### ► Conferences

- ▶ **22nd Annual ASN World Convention at the Columbia University (New York, USA, 5 / 2017)**  
Participation in the round table *Identity in Times of Crisis and Conflict in Ukraine*  
Presentation *Identities and the War in Ukraine: Surveying the Displaced and the Inhabitants of Donbas*
- ▶ **Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde e. V. Annual Conference (Berlin, 3 / 2017)**  
Presentation of ZOIS together with Christian Schaich

### ► Lectures / presentations

- ▶ **Launch Conference and Opening Ceremony of the LOEWE focus on Konfliktregionen im östlichen Europa at the Justus Liebig University Giessen (Giessen, 7 / 2017)**  
Keynote *Neue Akzente in der Konfliktforschung: Was lehrt uns die Region Osteuropa?*
- ▶ **Annual Conference of Junge Osteuropa Expert\*innen (Cologne, 7 / 2017)**  
Keynote *Die sozialen und politischen Transfers von Migrant\*innen: Konzepte und Empirie*  
Discussant for panel on *Geographische und mentale Grenzüberschreitungen*
- ▶ **Universität Hamburg (Hamburg, 6 / 2017)**  
Guest lecture *Das ZOIS in Berlin: Neue Akzente in der Osteuropaforschung*
- ▶ **Opening of the Leibniz ScienceCampus Eastern Europe – Global Area (Leipzig, 1 / 2017)**  
Keynote lecture *Rethinking Migrant Remittances in an Interconnected World*
- ▶ **Policy Seminar Series of the University of Oxford / ZOIS at the House of Commons (London, UK, 1 / 2017)**  
Presentation *Understanding the Local Dynamics in Ukraine and Eastern Europe*

### ► Workshops

- ▶ **Workshop The Displaced Ukrainians (ZOIS, Berlin, 12 / 2017)**  
Discussion of draft papers for a special issue of a peer-reviewed journal
- ▶ **Foresight Ukraine Project at Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Berlin, 11 / 2017)**  
Presentation of scenario workshop results of the FES office Vienna
- ▶ **Workshop University of Warwick (Coventry, UK, 9 / 2017)**  
*Beyond the territorial state: Diaspora mobilizations and contested sovereignty in the European neighbourhood*  
*Paper Remittances as a Cross-Cutting Cleavage in Political Preferences and Behaviour: The Case of Ukraine*  
(with David Doyle)
- ▶ **Workshop Identities in Ukraine (ZOIS, Berlin, 9 / 2017)**  
Discussion of draft papers with authors of a special issue of a peer-reviewed journal on new survey-based research on Ukraine

- ▶ **Workshop *Donbas Identities in Context: From Industrial Region to Zone of Conflict*** at Prisma Ukraina (Berlin, 5 / 2017)  
Paper *Attitudes and Identities during War and Displacement* (based on ZOIS survey data)
- ▶ **Workshop at the Princeton University (Princeton, USA, 5 / 2017)**  
*After The Revolution: Reform and Identity in Ukraine*  
Paper *The Attitudes and Identities of Ukrainians during War and Displacement*
- ▶ **Moderation / panel discussions**
  - ▶ **Formate des Politischen: Medien und Politik im Wandel** at Haus der Bundespressekonferenz (Berlin, 11 / 2017)  
Participation in the panel discussion *Der Globale Wandel des Politischen und die Versuchung des Autoritären*
  - ▶ **Event Series Geisteswissenschaft im Dialog** from the Max Weber Stiftung at the German Historical Museum (Berlin, 11 / 2017)  
Participation in the panel discussion *Russland in Europa – Europa in Russland*
  - ▶ **Festive Event of the Deutsch-Russische Historiker-kommission at the German-Russian Museum Berlin-Karlshorst** (Berlin, 11 / 2017)  
Chair of the panel discussion *Deutschland und Russland – Konflikt und Kooperation in historischer Perspektive*
  - ▶ **Russland in Europa – Conference of the Körber-Stiftung** (Hamburg, 11 / 2017)  
Participation in the panel discussion *Geschichte als Waffe? Wie sich die Renationalisierung von Geschichtsschreibung auf die internationale Verständigung auswirkt*
  - ▶ **Körber History Forum** (Berlin, 6 / 2017)  
Participation in the panel discussion *Ist Russland auf dem Weg in das posteuropäische Zeitalter?*
  - ▶ **165. Bergedorfer Gesprächskreis** of the Körber-Stiftung (St Petersburg, Russia, 5 / 2017)  
Participation in the discussion *Friends, Foes or None of the Above? Russia and Europe in a New Age of Uncertainty*  
Video interview on the field of action *Internationale Verständigung*
- ▶ **Berlin Wall Memorial (Berlin, 4 / 2017)**  
Participation in the panel discussion *Die vertane Chance? Mittelosteuropa – ein Vierteljahrhundert nach dem Aufbruch*
- ▶ **Fourth Congress of Research on Poland at the European University Viadrina** (Frankfurt / Oder, 3 / 2017)  
Participation in the panel discussion *Grenzen im Fluss? Was können Wissenschaft und Medien tun?*
- ▶ **Book Presentation at Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Berlin, 3 / 2017)**  
Discussant at the book presentation *Everyone Loses: The Ukraine Crisis and the Ruinous Contest for Post-Soviet Eurasia*, Samuel Charap
- ▶ **Brookings Institution (Washington D.C., USA, 3 / 2017)**  
*The future of the European security order*  
Participation in the panel discussion *European challenges, European answers?*
- ▶ **Closing of the Lecture Series Russland 1917–2017: Revolution – Transformationen – Globalisierung** at the Institute for East European Studies, Freie Universität Berlin (Berlin, 2 / 2017)  
Participation in the panel discussion *What next for Russia: Return to the Imperial Past or New Answers to the Problem of Modernization?*
- ▶ **Other activities**
  - ▶ Participation in the founding meeting of the »Ukrainian-German Expert Dialogue«, German Council on Foreign Relations (Berlin, 6 / 2017).
  - ▶ Presentation of ZOIS survey results conducted among displaced Ukrainians and the population of the Donbas and Crimea in the Federal Foreign Office and in the Federal Chancellery.
  - ▶ Participation in discussion panels with Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel, with Federal President Frank-Walter Steinmeier and with two delegations from Finnish Members of Parliament and State Secretaries.
  - ▶ Briefings in various embassies in Berlin.

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

Theologian Regina Elsner's project at ZOIS began in September 2017 and investigates the dynamics of Russian Orthodox social ethics since the demise of the Soviet Union. The project analyses the interaction between the changing positions and priorities of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC), on the one hand, and socio-political developments in Russia, on the other.

The project's starting point is the observation that Russian Orthodox social ethics – in other words, the theological discourse about social welfare – has changed dramatically since the collapse of the Soviet Union. This applies, firstly, to its thematic priorities: until the 1980s, peace – partly dictated by the state – was the dominant motif, giving way in the 1990s to a focus on freedom of religion and conscience. However, since the 2000s, its social and ethical positions have been increasingly influenced by

the discourse around traditional moral values.

Secondly, the dynamics of the ROC's social and ethical discourse also impact on socio-political processes. From a social ethics perspective, an orientation towards the society in which the ROC is embedded is constitutive, but at the same time, the Church seeks to bring influence to bear on this society with its Christian message. The opportunities and limits of this interaction are mutable and depend on how the Church positions itself in the nexus between state, (civil) society and the private sphere. This position has changed considerably since the fall of the Soviet Union, accompanied by shifts in the ROC's stance on social and ethical issues.

The purpose of the research project is to conduct a systematic analysis of the dynamics of the ROC's social and ethical

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



*Orthodox Easter: believers and their children attend evening mass in Roshcha, roughly 100 km south-west of Moscow.*



*Patriarch Kirill leads prayers in support of the Orthodox Church after protest punk band Pussy Riot – which is critical of the Russian government and the Church – staged a »guerrilla« performance in the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow.*



*First the church, then the housing: in Pargolovo in St Petersburg, a new Orthodox church was built in 2017.*

## ACTIVITIES 2017 | REGINA ELSNER

### ► Publications

- ‘Are two Christmases better than one?’  
ZOiS Spotlight 36 / 2017 (20 December 2017).
- ‘Politisierte Theologie? Neue theologische Entwicklungen in der ROK’.  
RGOW 10 / 2017: pp. 7–10.
- ‘Getrennte Wege? Russische Orthodoxe Kirche und Staat 100 Jahre nach der Revolution’.  
Neue Wege 10 / 2017: pp. 20–24.
- ‘A loss of control and the politics of memory’.  
ZOiS Spotlight 28 / 2017 (25 October 2017).
- ‘Bedingt einsetzbar. Die Russische Orthodoxe Kirche in Russlands Außenpolitik’.  
Osteuropa Zeitschrift 9–10 / 2017: pp. 205–217.
- ‘Eine Grenze mitten in Russlands unendlichen Weiten: Der Ural’.  
Ost-West Europäische Perspektiven (OWEP) Nr. 1 / 2017: pp. 23–30.
- ‘Staat und Kirche in Russland: Alter Wein in neuen Schläuchen?’.  
Russland-Analysen Nr. 335 / 2017: pp. 2–5.

### ► Presentations

- Annual Conference 2017 of G2W-Deutsche Sektion e.V. (Stuttgart, 11 / 2017) Presentation *Die unverarbeitete Tragödie. Russische Revolution und Orthodoxe Kirche 1917 und 2017*

### ► Panel discussions

- ZOiS Forum (ZOiS, Berlin, 11 / 2017)  
Chair at the reading and discussion of the book *Osteuropaexpress: Die Lebenssituation von LGBTQ*

### ► Other activities

- Interview for Deutsche Welle about the position of the Russian Orthodox Church on the film »Matilda« (26 October 2017).

# Three questions to...



**Regina Elsner**  
Researcher

## **How did you pick your research topic?**

This topic brings together my theological interest in social ethics and my personal connection to Russia. What is happening in the Church with its new-found freedom after decades of repression? How does it reconcile numerous and often conflicting interests in order to find its place in today's world? To me, it is always important to look not only at the official statements from the Church's leadership but also at the less audible movements at its grassroots and to recognise that they too are an expression of theology and social ethics.

## **What was the most exciting moment on any of your research visits so far?**

I have yet to undertake my first research visit, but one of my most abiding memories from earlier visits is of the moment when I – a woman – was allowed to enter the library at the Theological Academy. That was always exciting: the astonished and curious glances from the priests studying there, and then the fascinating discussions about every conceivable subject – quite literally, about God and the world – once the ice was broken.

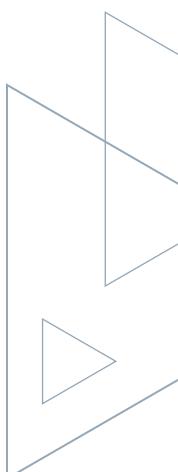
## **Have you learned anything surprising from your research this year?**

I have learned not only a surprising but also an encouraging lesson: that theology has a place at an interdisciplinary research institute like ZOIS. Not only is the influence of religion in the Eastern European countries recognised as a subject of social science research; the way in which faith perceives itself is explicitly addressed as a topic of scholarly enquiry. ▶

## Research Area

### The Dynamics of Conflict

The transition processes in parts of Eastern Europe have been shaped by ethnoterritorial conflicts. The widely used term »frozen conflicts«, meant to describe the post-Soviet conflicts, is misleading in this respect, as it deflects from the political, social, and economic dynamics in conflict regions whose status is contested. This is the starting point for this ZOIS research area, which focuses on local state and non-state actors and structures that are affected by a conflict and shape its further development but are neglected in social science research. For example, the internally and externally displaced, local populations and everyday life in contested regions, and local decision-makers are included in the analysis. The diverse and changing interactions between local and external actors in the conflict regions in Eastern Europe also form part of this analysis. Conflict studies typically analyse retrospectively what factors caused the outbreak of violence and concentrate on conflict regulation. A more comprehensive understanding of conflicts needs to include the as yet unsystematically researched dynamics of conflict potential and conflict prevention, in particular in cases that have not (yet) experienced violent clashes.



Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse

# The Influence of War, Annexation and Displacement on Political Identities in Ukraine

This research project, which began in October 2016, examines the effects of war, annexation and displacement on the affected population. Based on a series of surveys, the project focuses on the Donbas region, Crimea and the areas in Ukraine and Russia where there is a high concentration of displaced persons from the Donbas. It thus generates data on regions and people who currently tend to be overlooked in most surveys and debates, even though they are potentially of great importance for society and politics in Ukraine, as well as for external actors who support the reform processes. According to official estimates, the total number of displaced is approximately 2.5 million; in reality, the figure may be higher. The ZOIS survey is one of the first studies on the demographic and political profile of those who fled the conflict zone. Furthermore, the surveys assess the everyday lived experiences and identities in the Donbas region, including the territories outside Kyiv's control, and Crimea. The analysis of the Donbas data is primarily concerned with the question whether war leads to a

polarisation of identities and whether there are differences in terms of political attitudes and preferences between the four parts of the former Donbas – i.e. the population of the Kyiv-controlled Donbas, the self-declared Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics (DNR / LNR) and the internally / externally displaced.

## ZOIS Reports 2017

The first findings of the surveys conducted in Ukraine in cooperation with an international survey company were published in three *ZOIS Reports* in 2017. The first report, entitled *The Displaced Ukrainians: Who are they, and what do they think?* (ZOIS Report 1 / 2017), was published in March 2017 and is based on data collected in November and December 2016. The Report provides comparative data on the attitudes and identities of the people displaced by the war in Eastern Ukraine. Through their displacement to other areas of Ukraine or to Russia, these individuals – whose lives have been severely affected by the war – fall outside standard opinion polls and

are primarily seen as a social policy or humanitarian aid issue. The second ZOIS Report, entitled *The Donbas – Two parts, or still one? The experience of war through the eyes of the regional population* (ZOIS Report 2 / 2017), followed in May 2017. It focuses on a two-part ZOIS survey conducted in the Donbas in December 2016, which provides insights into life and attitudes across the frontline between the Kyiv-controlled Donbas and the occupied territories, the self-declared Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics (DNR / LNR). The survey reveals the differentiated public opinion in the DNR / LNR and similarities in views shared across the frontline. The most recent Report, published in November 2017, is entitled *Terra Incognita: The public mood in Crimea* (ZOIS Report 3 / 2017). Since its annexation by Russia in March 2014, the peninsula has, by and large, become inaccessible. The ZOIS survey conducted in Crimea and the city of Sevastopol from March to May 2017 provides a rare glimpse into everyday life and the public mood in the region. ◀

Mark Neville

## Displaced Ukrainians

*Displaced Ukrainians*, an exhibition of photographs by British artist Mark Neville, opened at the ZOIS Conference in 2017 and remained on display at ZOIS until the end of the year. Neville explored the lives of people who have fled the war in Eastern Ukraine, with a par-

ticular focus on children as one of the most vulnerable groups affected by displacement. The artist's work is located at the intersection of art and documentary and required long periods of fieldwork. Through the artist's collaboration with ZOIS, fresh data have been incorpo-

rated from the opinion polls among the displaced which were conducted as part of the ZOIS project *The Influence of War, Annexation and Displacement on Political Identities in Ukraine*. The inclusion of these data helps to contextualise the personal stories. ◀



Displaced children in a rehabilitation camp close to Kyiv.



Tatiana and her family in a rehabilitation centre for women and children in the Kyiv region.

# Three questions to...



**Gwendolyn Sasse**

Director

## **How did you pick your research topic?**

In comparative conflict research, we generally lack direct insights into the dynamics of ongoing wars. This type of data is difficult to collect but is very important in order to understand the impacts of war in terms of lived experiences. Only on this basis can we reassess common hypotheses about the polarisation of identities in conflict situations. When the ZOIS survey project started in Ukraine, very little data had been collected systematically about the population directly affected by the war in the Donbas and the annexation of Crimea.

## **What was the most exciting moment during your research?**

Finally obtaining the data from the surveys after various pilot phases and »hearing« the voices of the people directly affected by war and annexation was a very special moment.

## **Have you learned anything surprising from your research this year?**

The surveys conducted in the Donbas itself and among the displaced persons from the region show that war is not always associated with a polarisation of identities. Within the population most directly affected by the war in Eastern Ukraine, mixed ethnic identities or self-identification with the shared Ukrainian state have been preserved or even strengthened. This finding challenges the conventional hypothesis about the polarising effect of war and is therefore of interest for the wider comparative study of conflict. ▶

Dr Sabine von Löwies

## Microgeographies of Conflict Constellations in the Southwestern Post-Soviet Space

Sabine von Löwies' project started in December 2017 and explores how conflicts in the post-Soviet space, which are mainly negotiated and monitored at the international level and in geopolitical discourse, are reflected in the every-day lives of affected communities and what role they play there.

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

attitudes. This project therefore focuses on the micro level and analyses everyday life in conflicts. How does every-day life continue in conflict settings, and what is its relationship to the relevant conflict-related geopolitical discourses?

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

also seek to identify the frameworks that these governance structures establish for every-day life. Guiding the research is the question whether and how the findings will change attitudes towards these conflicts and contribute to their resolution.

Based on an empirical approach, Sabine von Löwies will conduct microgeographical analyses in case study regions in the southwestern post-Soviet space. This will involve spending longer periods in-country for the purpose of conducting participatory observation, guideline-based surveys, open discussions, expert interviews and source research. ◀



*Side by side: conflict and everyday life co-exist in Donetsk in Eastern Ukraine.*



*Life in a war zone: at a school near the front line in Eastern Ukraine, sandbags are handed out as protection from gunfire.*

# Three questions to...



**Sabine von Löwisch**

Senior Researcher

**How did you pick your research topic?**

I developed the topic out of my previous research. I think my work on the two local case studies in Western Ukraine offers a greater understanding of the complex social conditions in Ukraine than general quantitative studies can provide on their own. I hope that the project gives people living with the conflict a voice, which often goes unheard in the international negotiations.

**What was the most exciting moment on any of your research visits so far?**

It is always an exciting moment to choose a case study and start contacting people. In terms of progressing with the research, so much depends on how people respond and whether they accept you.

**Have you learned anything surprising from your research this year?**

I am always surprised by the incredible complexity of the life stories of people in the post-Soviet space. This often makes it impossible to assign them to the kind of clearly defined categories that academics tend to use. ▶

## Research Area

# Migration and Diversity

Migration and diversity issues are closely interconnected, but the extent to which life is transnational and the different forms this takes in the case of individual migrants and societies shaped by migration are not yet fully understood. This ZOIS research area considers the simultaneity and multidimensionalism of personal identities, networks, practices, and political engagements. It focuses, on the one hand, on migrants in Germany with an East European background and, on the other hand, migratory processes and their effects on migrants within Eastern Europe. The internal diversity of so-called migrant groups, the varying conditions and dynamics of spaces shaped by migration, and non-linear integration and identification processes over longer periods of time are critical issues in this regard.



## Eastern Europe Is Here: Transnational Linkages Among East European Migrants in Berlin

The starting point for this project, which began in October 2016, are three current developments in German and European politics:

1. The foreign and domestic policy resonance of the alleged rape of a female ethnic German immigrant from Russia has drawn attention to this group of migrants. The group is socially heterogeneous and frequently overlooked in debates about migrants, yet it is of significance, numerically and politically, for both Germany and Russia. It has a lived experience of transnationalism between these two countries and has relevance for the Russian regime.
2. The Brexit referendum in Britain has demonstrated that certain political conditions can promote a political, media and social mobilisation against a group of immigrants. In the case of the UK it was against Poles, as the largest group of immigrants over the past ten years. Lessons can be learned from the Brexit episode, as it reveals how quickly – in the absence of balanced and nuanced analysis and reporting – these conditions can be instrumentalised for political purposes, challenging the political values and social foundations of a country long accustomed to immigration.

3. Recent developments in Turkey have mobilised migrants and citizens of Turkish background in Berlin and elsewhere, revealing political and other »cleavages«.

The project is informed by the transnationalism debate being conducted in the field of migration research in the social sciences. The simultaneous nature of the interrelationships in the direction of the original homeland and between it and the country of emigration has been emphasised in more recent research. Migrants are frequently analysed from an overly homogenising perspective. The realities of socially diverse individ-

uals and sub-groups is inadequately empirically researched.

More detailed analysis is required, for example, on the question of how migrants process political events and crises in their country of origin and their »imagined homeland«, and how these processes are filtered by personal networks and hybridised media use in the national and transnational context. The self- and external classification of a »group« of migrants under an ethnic banner and their relationships with migrants of other »groups« and mainstream society are also analysed.



Russian souvenirs in a supermarket in Berlin.



A travel agency in the Berlin district of Marzahn advertises in both German and Russian.

The empirical pilot study uses a combination of methods to investigate these issues. First, focus groups and interviews were conducted with Russian-speaking, Ukrainian and Polish migrants in Berlin. Both qualitative methods concentrated on issues relating to personal networks and media use in a national and transnational context. In particular, the narrative interviews contextualised these issues in relation to the individual's migration backstory. As a second step, interviews were conducted with experts

who themselves have a relevant migration background and are active in various associations and parties. These interviews are an important source for the analysis of the potential for self-organisation and politicisation. The third part of the project, conducted by Tatiana Golova, looks at Russian-speaking migrants' use of social media in daily life. Here, the project focuses mainly on the analysis of interaction via VK.com, a Russian social networking site (SNS). It also looks at how groups and public

pages connected to Russian-speaking migrants in Germany interact with other collective resources in Germany, Russia and the rest of the post-Soviet space. The lead question in this part of the project – how and to what extent transnational and, where relevant, politicised Russian-German public spheres are constructed – has gained relevance, particularly since the 2017 Bundestag elections, when attempts were made by right-wing populists to mobilise ethnic German immigrants from Russia. ◀

## ACTIVITIES 2017 | TATIANA GOLOVA

### ► Publications

- ▶ 'Russian-Germans and the surprising rise of the AfD'. openDemocracy (9 October 2017).
- ▶ 'Russian Germans after the Bundestag election'. ZOIS Spotlight 25 / 2017 (5 October 2017).
- ▶ 'East European Migrants'. ZOIS Spotlight 5 / 2017 (12 April 2017).

### ► Lectures / presentations

- ▶ **Kennan Alumni Conference (Berlin, 11 / 2017)**  
Presentation (*Post-)Soviet migrants and German elections: »Bring your own long-distance nationalism?«* in the panel *Transnational Perspectives on German right-wing populism*
- ▶ **Workshop Raumaneignung und lokale Transformationsprozesse im Kontext russischsprachiger Migration. Russische und deutsche Wissenschaftssysteme im Dialog at the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies at the University of Osnabrück (Osnabrück, 10 / 2017)**  
Lecture *Raum und Identität: Perspektiven der Migrationsforschung* and supervision of the field excursion for junior researchers from Germany and Russia
- ▶ **General Conference European Consortium for Political Research (Oslo, Norway, 9 / 2017)**  
Presentation *How do quite ordinary people support a quite ordinary hybrid regime, and do they?*
- ▶ **ZOIS Conference 2017 (ZOIS, Berlin, 3 / 2017)**  
Presentation on the sociological perspective in the panel *Different Perspectives on Migration in/from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*

### ► Panel discussions

- ▶ **Long Night of the Sciences 2017**  
*Osteuropa bei uns – Lesung und Gespräch mit Dmitrij Belkin* on post-Soviet identities

Organisation of the event, discussant, presentation of *Wie transnational leben MigrantInnen aus postsowjetischem Raum und Polen in Berlin?* on the history and current status of this migration and the everyday anchoring of transnational communication flows (based on preliminary research results from the project *Eastern Europe Is Here*)

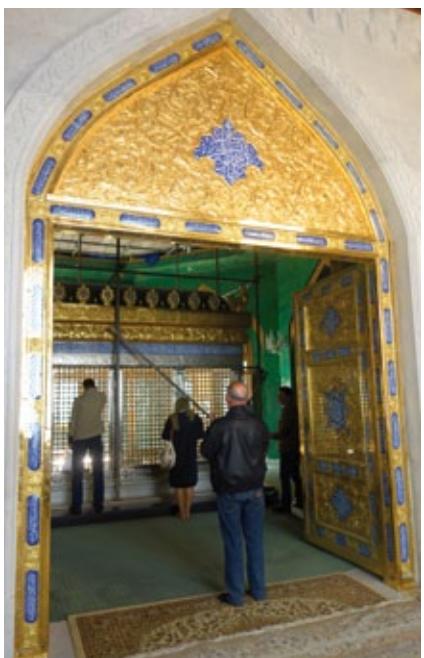
### ► Other activities

- ▶ **Expert discussion at the Federal Agency for Civic Education (Bonn, 12 / 2017)**  
Input on *Social Media bei postsowjetischen Migrant\*innen* to prepare the content of the conference on post-Soviet / Russian-German migration in Cologne in May 2018.
- ▶ **Expert discussion at the Institute for East European Studies at Freie Universität Berlin (Berlin, 11 / 2017)**  
Participation as a representative of the professional practice for the evaluation of the new double degree master programme »Osteuropastudien / Comparative Social Research« of the Freie Universität Berlin and the Higher School of Economics in Moscow
- ▶ **Media background briefing session (ZOIS, Berlin, 7 / 2017)**  
*Proteste in Russland* (with Félix Krawatzek) with a focus on protest mobilisations in Novosibirsk
- ▶ **ZOIS Conference 2017 (ZOIS, Berlin, 3 / 2017)**  
Supervision of the PhD student panel *Understanding Authoritarian Regimes from Within*.
- ▶ Seminar *Qualitative Methoden* for the master's degree programme *East European Studies and European Societies in Comparison* at the Institute for East European Studies at Freie Universität Berlin, winter semester 2016/17.
- ▶ Supervision of the master thesis of Manuel Rommel on *Raum, Identität und Biographie: Bildungskarrieren postsowjetischer MigrantInnen* (Institute for East European Studies at Freie Universität Berlin), 2017.

Dr Tsypylma Darieva

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

In her project, which started in October 2017, social anthropologist Tsypylma Darieva aims at developing new research impulses at the intersection of urban and religious studies in post-Soviet Central Eurasia. Urban space functions both as a stage where political power is manifested and as a laboratory

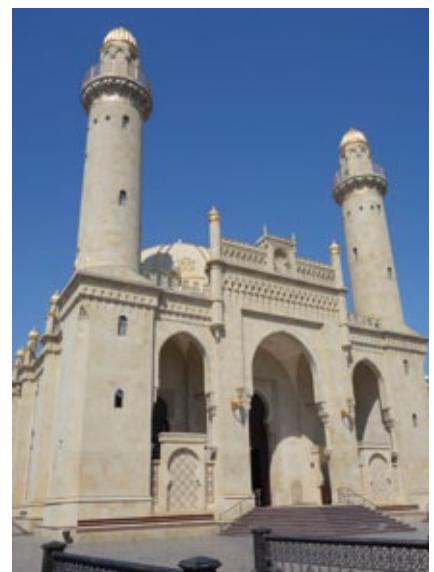


*Worshippers at the Bibi-Heybat shrine, an important place of pilgrimage and Shia prayer room in Azerbaijan's capital city Baku.*

of social change. Post-Soviet regional metropolises in the South Caucasus are crucial arenas for the manifestation of centralised state power-arenas in which religion is a new resource but also a source of tension.

Tsypylma Darieva seeks to define different patterns of religious pluralisation. Over the last two decades, religious pluralisation in this region has found its expression not only in a visible revival of traditional mainstream faiths and institutions (Orthodox Christianity and Sunni and Shia Islam), which underwent significant changes during the Soviet period, but also in the arrival of new promises and practices, such as protestant and charismatic churches, new »purist« Muslim communities, popular folk beliefs, or small »foreign« communities such as Krishna or Bahai.

On the one hand, the project will investigate the trend of creating spectacular new places of worship such as megamosques or mega-churches in regional metropolises. On the other hand, the project will explore informal practices and the ways urban infrastructures and sacred places are used in everyday life as a set of alternative, hybrid, and more flex-



*The Taza Pir Mosque, completed in 1914 and renovated in 2011, is the seat of the Administration of the Caucasus Muslims (QMI) and one of the most significant religious centres in Baku.*

ible ways of religious practice. How do local authorities regulate emerging religious diversity in cities? How are places of worship and re-sacralised sites in cities appropriated and experienced by religious and secular actors as venues of contact, tension, and affirmation of local and transnational identities? ◀



*The Russian Orthodox Church of Michael the Archangel was built in the mid-19th century. Located in central Baku, it nestles among apartment buildings from the socialist era.*

## ACTIVITIES 2017 | TSYPYLMA DARIEVA

### ► Publications

- *Sakralität und Mobilität im Kaukasus und Südosteuropa*, ed. by T. Darieva, T. Kahl and S. Toncheva, Wien: Verlag für Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017.
- ‘Einleitung’. In: *Sakralität und Mobilität im Kaukasus und Südosteuropa*, ed. by T. Darieva, T. Kahl and S. Toncheva, pp. 5–16. Wien: Verlag für Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017.

- ‘Der knochenlose Heilige aus Baku: Zur Bedeutung muslimischer Wallfahrten in einer säkularen Stadt’. In: *Sakralität und Mobilität im Kaukasus und Südosteuropa*, pp. 201–222. Wien: Verlag für Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017.
- ‘Journey to the Future. Imaginaries and Motivations for Homeland Trips to Armenia’. *Global Networks Journal* Vol. 17, No. 3: pp. 423–440, 2017.

### ► Lectures / presentations

- **Österreichische Orient-Gesellschaft (Vienna, Austria, 11 / 2017)**  
Lecture *Transformation sakraler Räume, Wallfahrten und Hybriditätskonzepte im post-sozialistischen Südkaukasus*
- **Yerevan State University (Yerevan, Armenia, 11 / 2017)**  
Presentation *A New Generation of Diasporic Organizations* at the Department of Sociology, Center for Migration Studies
- **Collaborative Research Centre »Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood« (Berlin, 11 / 2017)**  
International workshop on *Diasporas and Homeland Governance: Decentering the State as an Analytical Category*  
Presentation »Get Rooted!« *New Pathways of Homeland Engagement among Diasporic Armenians*

### ► Moderation / panel discussions

- **ZOiS Forum (ZOiS, Berlin, 12 / 2017)**  
*Between art and protest: Street art in Georgia and Armenia*  
Chair of the panel discussion
- **ZOiS Guest Lecture (ZOiS, Berlin, 11 / 2017)**  
Chair of the guest lecture *Islam between adaptation and radicalization in Central Asia* (Catherine Poujol, Director of the French Institute for Central Asian Studies in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan).

### ► Other activities

- Research trip to Armenia as part of a DAAD partnership with the Yerevan State University and the Friedrich Schiller University Jena (11 / 2017).

# Three questions to...



**Tsypylma Darieva**

Senior Researcher

## **How did you decide on the topic of your research project?**

I came across this topic through my earlier research on transformation of sacred places in the post-Soviet Caucasus and the transformation of urban cultures in post-socialist societies. This intersection between the urban and the religious, the modern and the »exotic« breaks new ground, in some ways, in current research in Eastern Europe and Eurasia and this generates many new questions.

## **What was the most exciting moment on any of your research visits so far?**

Conducting field research in social anthropology is both exciting and exhausting. I am always fascinated by the diversity, independence and pragmatism of local actors and their responses to global processes and challenges.

## **Have you learned anything surprising this year?**

2017 brought the interesting insight that the impact of the Russian Revolution on societies in the Caucasus, Central Asia and the non-European areas of Russia has yet to be dealt with and researched. There's certainly enough work for the next five years, and I'm looking forward to inspiring and unexpected discussions. ▶





**EVENTS**

# Events

We hold a wide range of events at which we not only discuss our research with the academic community but also make it accessible to a broader audience and offer a platform for current developments and issues with an East European dimension. To that end, we cooperate with international researchers, writers, students and other individuals and institutions that focus on Eastern Europe. In this way, ZOIS aims to become a place of information and dialogue where networks are created and strengthened.

## ACADEMIC EVENTS

### ► ZOIS Research Colloquium

In the 2017 summer semester and the 2017 / 2018 winter semester, the Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOIS), in cooperation with Freie Universität Berlin and Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, hosted a new multi-disciplinary Research Colloquium. The Colloquium serves as a discussion forum for work in progress by PhD students, postdocs and established researchers whose work in the social sciences focuses on Eastern Europe. The aim is to offer a permanent meeting point in the Berlin-Brandenburg area for those engaged in research on Eastern Europe.

### ► Guest lectures

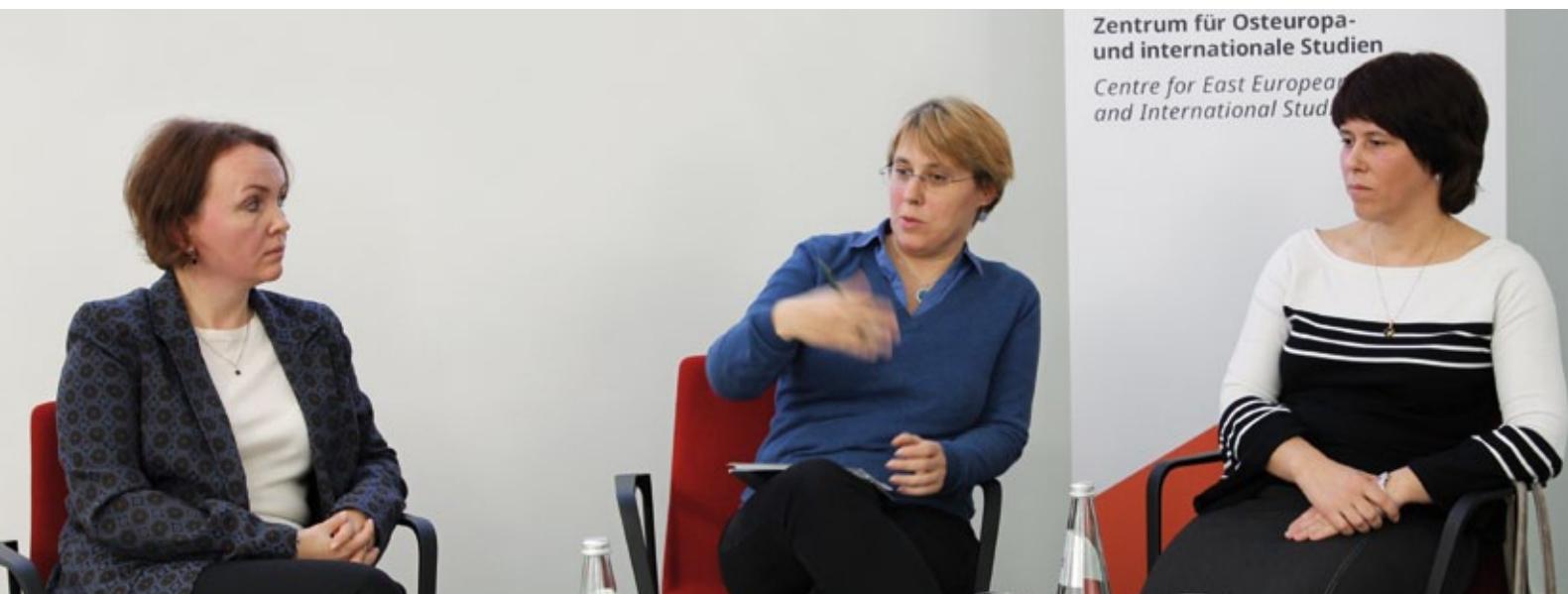
Our programme of academic events includes not only the ZOIS Research Colloquium and the annual ZOIS Conference but also lectures and panel discussions, aimed primarily at academics and students at the Berlin and Brandenburg universities.

The talk on 11 July 2017 by Grzegorz Ekiert (Harvard University) about the return of authoritarian politics in East Central Europe proved particularly popular. Among other things, he considered why the current massive erosion of the rule of

law and the fundamental values of the European Union is especially striking in countries such as Poland and Hungary, which were at the forefront of the democratic revolution in 1989. Ekiert analysed the current situation in the region, focusing on the various problems of post-communist transformations and the role of divisions within political elites as explanatory factors.



*Guest speaker Grzegorz Ekiert talked about the return of authoritarian politics in East Central Europe.*



A panel discussion with Irina Kuznetsova, Viktoriya Sereda and Hanna Vakhitova (from left) focused on the background and situation of displaced persons from the Donbas – the subject of their own research projects.

Catherine Poujol, Director of the French Institute for Central Asian Studies in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, and a member of ZOIS's Academic Advisory Board, visited ZOIS on 20 November 2017. In her talk, she explored the position of Islam between adaptation and radicalisation in Central Asian societies. She emphasised how important it is to differentiate between radicalisation and social problems and pointed out that the five Central Asian countries represent different models of state-society relations influenced by the practices and politics of Islam.

#### ► Panel discussions

On 25 April 2017, a panel discussion with Anastasiya Leukhina, Valerii Pekar and Balázs Jarábik (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) was held at ZOIS to mark the publication of a new edition of Carnegie's *Ukraine Reform Monitor*. Together with Gwendolyn Sasse, the panellists considered why the progress of the reforms in Ukraine was slower than many people had hoped. The event was part of

Carnegie's *Reforming Ukraine* project, which is supported in part by ZOIS and the Open Society Foundation (see Co-operation).

For her book »*Inwiefern ist das heute interessant?« Erinnerungen an den stalinistischen Gulag im 21. Jahrhundert, Nina Frieß investigated contemporary stagings of the Gulag in popular culture. She discussed her findings with Jan C. Behrends (Centre for Contemporary History Potsdam), Konstantin Kaminskij (University of Konstanz) and Félix Krawatzek (University of Oxford) on 6 July 2017.*

On 26 October 2017, ZOIS researcher Nadja Douglas launched her new book *Public Control of Armed Forces in the Russian Federation*. She discussed her research approach and the scope for civil society control of the armed forces in Russia with panellists Timm Beichelt (Viadrina European University Frankfurt / Oder), Wilfried von Bredow (Emeritus Professor, Philipps-Universität Marburg) and Eric Sangar (Université de Namur).

At a panel discussion on 5 December 2017, ZOiS turned its attention once again to the important issue of displaced persons from the Donbas. Irina Kuznetsova (University of Birmingham), Viktoriya Sereda (Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv) and Hanna Vakhitova (Kyiv Economic Institute) reported on their research projects on this group of people, who are severely affected by the war in the Donbas region but are often forgotten in the public debate. The discussion looked at the demographic and socio-economic profile of the internally displaced, a range of political, socio-economic, and legal issues connected to the issue of displacement, and the attitudes and identities of the displaced.

#### HOSTED EVENTS

##### ► In conversation with...

The *In conversation with...* series is aimed primarily at practitioners from public institutions, the media and foundations who are interested in exploring current developments in Eastern Europe. After a short presentation, there is time for questions and in-depth discussions with academic experts.

The series started with a very special event: a political breakfast with Georgian Minister of Foreign Affairs Mikheil Janelidze, who talked about the progress made by his country and its prospects for the future and also discussed foreign policy issues with the guests. Indeed, the events in this series often focused on foreign policy issues, examples being the presentation by Eugene Rumer and Andrew S. Weiss on the *Task Force on U.S. Policy toward Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia* set up by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the discussion with William Pomeranz, Andrian Prokip and Maxim Trudolyubov about the dynamics of the Russia-Ukraine-US triangle, which was organised in conjunction with the Kennan Institute. In some cases, the discussions focused on highly topical developments. For example, shortly after the elections in France, David Cadier (LSE IDEAS) analysed the country's foreign policy towards Russia, and immediately after the Eastern Partnership Summit, Richard

Youngs (University of Warwick) discussed the shifts in European Union foreign policy in the wake of the Ukraine crisis. Another event, entitled *Identities in Flux*, also looked at Ukraine and, more specifically, changing political identities. Henry Hale (George Washington University), Volodymyr Kulyk (Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine), Olga Onuch (University of Manchester) and Graeme Robertson (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) provided brief insights into current research projects on the issue. Central Asia also featured as a topic at the *In conversation with...* programme. In October, ZOiS offered an opportunity to find out about Uzbekistan's first year under a new president. B. Tursunov and R. Khurramov (Institute of Strategic and Interregional Researches under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan) reported on recent developments.

#### PUBLIC EVENTS

##### ► ZOiS Forum

In the second half of the year, ZOiS launched the ZOiS Forum, a new series of events aimed at making the diversity of Eastern Europe accessible to a broad audience. The ZOiS Forum brings guests from culture and civil society together with academic experts, thus offering a variety of perspectives on the issues driving Eastern Europe today.

The first in the series, entitled *Approaches to 1917: 100 years of Russian Revolution*, offered a contemporary perspective on the Russian Revolution in its centenary year. Curator Kristiane Janeke presented possible approaches with the help of the exhibition *1917: Revolution. Russia and Europe* at the German Historical Museum. With reference to three case studies, Andrei Zavadski (Freie Universität Berlin) discussed what role the events of 1917 play in the politics of memory and museum management in Russia today. They were then joined by historian Jan C. Behrends (Centre for Contemporary History Potsdam) for a panel discussion about revolutionary myths and political motives in approaches to 1917.

The second ZOiS Forum looked at *The lives of LGBTQ people*. Author Marianne Zückler and editor Carsten Schmidt gave a reading from their book *Osteuropaexpress. Erzählungen über Freiheit, Liebe, Sexualität und Ausgrenzung*. The stories are based on numerous interviews by the author with LGBTQ people. Zückler offered some insights into her documentary and artistic approach to the creation of these narratives. Together with Richard Mole (University College London) and the audience, she then discussed the historical and political conditions for LGBTQ people in Central and Eastern Europe and various literary and research perspectives on the issue.

At another Forum event, Charlotte Bull and Claudia Eggart, students at the Institute for East European Studies at Freie Universität Berlin, presented visual impressions of street art in the capitals of Armenia and Georgia. For their project *Talking Walls*, they conducted in-country research and interviewed artists and activists. Together with Georgian-born journalist Edita Badasyan and Armenia expert Nadja Douglas (ZOiS), they looked at the artworks in the two countries' political and social contexts and discussed street art and other forms of protest with the audience.

The ZOiS Forum in the 2017/18 winter semester continued in early 2018 with a reading from the novel *Touristenfrühstück* by writer Zaza Burchuladze, which was also attended by Georgian filmmaker Zaza Rusadze. The series ended with an event on civil society in Siberia before the Russian presidential election. It included a screening of extracts from the film *Russia as Phantasma*, which explores the lives of Russians who live far from the capital, and a discussion with film-maker Nadya Bakuradze and Tatiana Golova (ZOiS).

#### ► Long Night of the Sciences

The Long Night of the Sciences has become an established event in Berlin's cultural landscape and offers research institutions an outstanding opportunity to showcase their activities to a broader public once a year. In its inaugural year, ZOiS participated with a diverse programme of events which focused particularly on migration. One of the highlights combined an autobiographical and literary perspective with the findings of sociological and anthropological research. First, author Dmitriy Belkin gave a reading from his book *Germanija: Wie ich in Deutschland jüdisch und erwachsen*

wurde. This was followed by a discussion on the topic of migration with researchers Alina Gromova (Jewish Museum Berlin) and Tatiana Golova (ZOiS), who presented preliminary findings of the ZOiS pilot study *Eastern Europe Is Here*.

Photographer Mark Neville gave a presentation about his *Displaced Ukrainians* project and exhibition, which was produced in collaboration with ZOiS. Regular guided tours through the exhibition were held in German, English, Rus-



Long Night of the Sciences: at a poster session around the samovar, visitors gained insights into ZOiS's research projects.



1917: Revolution. At the first ZOIS Forum, Kristiane Janeke, Andrei Zavadski and Jan C. Behrends (from left) discussed possible approaches to the Russian Revolution in its centenary year.

sian and Ukrainian. There was also a poster session around the samovar, which gave visitors an opportunity to relax and talk to the ZOIS researchers about their current projects. ZOIS also offered a children's programme with a geopuzzle, memory game and quiz about Central Asia, which proved to be something of a voyage of discovery for adults as well.

#### ZOIS EVENTS 2017

##### ► Public lectures and panel discussions

- *Inwiefern ist das heute interessant? (6 July 2017)*  
Book presentation by Nina Frieß (ZOIS)  
Jan C. Behrends (Centre for Contemporary History Potsdam), Konstantin Kaminskij (University of Konstanz) and Félix Krawatzek (University of Oxford)
- *The return of authoritarian politics in East Central Europe (11 July 2017)*  
Grzegorz Ekiert (Harvard University)

- *Armed Forces and Civil Society in the Russian Federation (26 October 2017)*  
Book presentation by Nadja Douglas (ZOIS)  
Timm Beichelt (Viadrina European University Frankfurt / Oder), Wilfried von Bredow (Prof. em., Philipps-Universität Marburg) and Eric Sangar (Université de Namur)
- *Islam between adaptation and radicalization in Central Asia (20 November 2017)*  
Catherine Poujol (French Institute for Central Asian Studies, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan)
- *Displaced from the Donbas – The forgotten from the war in Ukraine (5 December 2017)*  
Irina Kuznetsova (University of Birmingham), Viktoriya Sereda (Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv) and Hanna Vakhitova (Kyiv Economic Institute)



One of the artworks that were presented at the ZOIS Forum event about street art in Armenia and Georgia. Georgian street artist Dr.Love highlights the problem of air pollution in the capital Tbilisi.

#### ► Presentations

- *Ukraine Reform Monitor: Ukraine's Slow Struggle for Reform* (25 April 2017)  
Balázs Jarábik, Anastasiya Leukhina and Valerii Pekar (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace)

#### ► In conversation with...

- *Political Breakfast* (27 April 2017)  
With Georgian Minister of Foreign Affairs Mikheil Janelidze
- *Task Force on U.S. Policy toward Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia* (8 May 2017)  
Eugene Rumer and Andrew S. Weiss (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace)
- *France's Russia policies after the presidential elections* (7 June 2017)  
David Cadier (LSE IDEAS)

#### ► *Ukraine: Identities in Flux* (22 September 2017)

Henry Hale (George Washington University), Volodymyr Kulyk (Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine), Olga Onuch (University of Manchester) and Graeme Robertson (Chapel Hill)

#### ► *Uzbekistan one year under a new president* (24 October 2017)

Beate Eschment (ZOIS), R. Khurramov and B. Tursunov (Institute of Strategic and Interregional Researches under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan)

#### ► *The Dynamics of the Russia-Ukraine-U.S. Triangle* (8 November 2017)

William Pomeranz, Andrian Prokip and Maxim Trudolyubov (Kennan Institute)

#### ► *Europe's Eastern Crisis* (29 November 2017)

Natalia Shapovalova and Richard Youngs (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace)

## ► Media background briefing sessions

- ▶ *Political Islam in Central Asia (9 May 2017)*  
Jeanine Dağyeli (Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient) and Beate Eschment (ZOiS)
- ▶ *Protests in Russia (7 July 2017)*  
Tatiana Golova (ZOiS) and Félix Krawatzek (University of Oxford)

## ► ZOiS Forum winter semester 2017 / 18

- ▶ *Approaches to 1917: 100 years of Russian revolution (2 November 2017)*  
Kristiane Janeke (curator), Jan C. Behrends (Centre for Contemporary History Potsdam) and Andrei Zavadski (Freie Universität Berlin)
- ▶ *Osteuropaexpress: The lives of LGBTQ people (14 November 2017)*  
Marianne Zückler (author) Carsten Schmidt (editor) and Richard Mole (University College London)
- ▶ *Between art and protest: Street art in Georgia and Armenia (12 December 2017)*  
Charlotte Bull and Claudia Eggart (Project Talking Walls, Freie Universität Berlin), Edita Badasyan (journalist) and Nadja Douglas (ZOiS)

## ► Conferences

- ▶ *ZOiS Conference 2017: A New Research Agenda on Eastern Europe (28 March 2017)*

## ► Workshops

- ▶ *Identities in Ukraine (22 September 2017)*  
Discussion of draft papers with authors for a special issue of a peer-reviewed journal on new survey-based research on Ukraine
- ▶ *The Displaced Ukrainians (6 December 2017)*  
Discussion of draft papers with authors for a special issue of a peer-reviewed journal

## ► ZOiS Research Colloquium

- ▶ *Russia's conservative revolts. Actors and concepts (10 May 2017)*  
Katharina Bluhm (Freie Universität Berlin)

## ► *Placing Kazakhstan on the map of Russian literature (14 June 2017)*

Nina Frieß (ZOiS)

## ► *Local policy-making in the Russian Federation.*

*The case of Kaliningrad (12 July 2017)*

Joanna Karasińska-Vogenbeck (Freie Universität Berlin)

## ► *State capacity and tax administration in Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan (8 November 2017)*

Rafael Mrowczynski (Freie Universität Berlin)

## ► *In the triangle of East Turkey, Northern Kurdistan and Western Armenia – collective memory between national myth and multiculturalism (13 December 2017)*

David Leupold (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

## ► Other events

### ► *Press briefing in order to introduce ZOiS as a new institution (17 January 2017)*

Presentation of the vision and first research projects of ZOiS with Gwendolyn Sasse, Christian Schaich, Nadja Douglas, Nina Frieß and Tatiana Golova

### ► *ZOiS Opening Ceremony (27 March 2017)*

Leibniz Hall of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities

Opening remarks by Gwendolyn Sasse, Christian Schaich, Walter Lindner and Jan Kusber

Panel discussion *Destructive Convergence: Are Democracies and Authoritarian Regimes becoming more alike?*

With Ivan Krastev (Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia), Ingo Mannteufel (editor at Deutsche Welle), Viacheslav Morozov (University of Tartu), Silvia von Steinsdorff (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) and Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOiS)

### ► *Long Night of the Sciences (24 June 2017)*

With Dmitriy Belkin (author and publicist), Alina Gromova (Jewish Museum Berlin), Alexandr Osipian (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv), Mark Neville (artist) and ZOiS researchers

### ► *ZOiS Birthday Celebration (12 October 2017)*

With welcoming remarks from Christian Schaich and Gwendolyn Sasse as well as a music contribution by Alice Lackner, Tobias Koltun and Lejly Agamuradova



**PUBLIC RELATIONS**

# Online Communication

ZOiS uses various tools for communication and networking with individuals and institutions in the worlds of academia, politics, culture and the media. These tools are, first and foremost, the ZOiS website, the Newsletter and social media channels Facebook and Twitter.

## Website

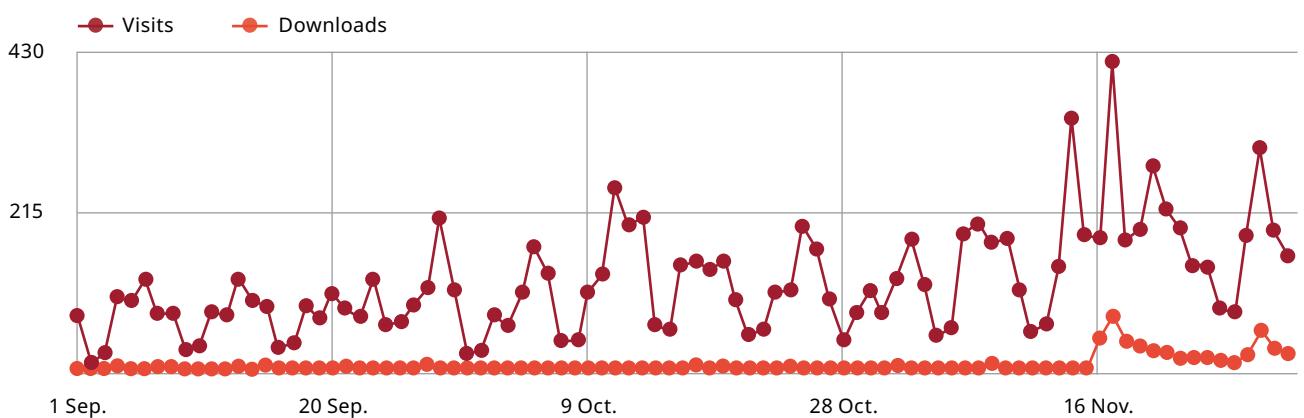
The website is ZOiS's main communication platform, providing full information about its publications and events. Another key function of the website is to offer transparent information about ZOiS's terms of reference, structure and funding, and give an overview of its research activities. The website, which is available in English and German, is maintained by the communications team and updated regularly. A Russian-language version of the website is planned in order to raise ZOiS's profile in the target region.

On weekdays, the website attracts between 100 and 200 visitors. The user figures show that the weekly ZOiS Spotlight

and public events generate a particularly high level of interest. Media coverage of ZOiS's activities tends to push up the number of visits to around 400 a day.

## Newsletter

In November 2017, ZOiS launched a monthly Newsletter about the latest publications, events, vacancies, media reports and other news. The information is presented in the form of newsflashes, which are linked to more detailed content on the website. The layout is responsive, which means that it detects the mobile device being used and adapts the appearance of the Newsletter accordingly. By the end of 2017, around 300 subscribers had signed up for the Newsletter.



*The launch of the ZOiS Newsletter and the publication of ZOiS Report 3/2017 'Terra Incognita: The Public Mood in Crimea' in November 2017 increased the number of visits and downloads.*

## Social media

On 14 March 2017, shortly before ZOIS's official opening, its Twitter platform was launched and ZOIS introduced itself to the Twitter universe with the following tweet:

*Hello! #ZOIS\_Berlin just joined twitter! We tweet about research on #EasternEurope #myfirsttweet*

By 31 December 2017, ZOIS had 530 followers on Twitter and had posted 1,198 tweets. Twitter is an important communication tool for sharing information about publications, events and other news from ZOIS and engaging in dialogue with the public. ZOIS also tweets live at events so that followers who are unable to attend in person stay up to date.

Since June 2017, ZOIS has also maintained a Facebook page with 916 followers (correct as of 31 December 2017). Facebook is mainly used to draw attention to new publications and forthcoming events. However, Twitter and Facebook are not only used to share academic content: during the summer break, ZOIS staff posted their recommendations for holiday reading with an Eastern European flavour.

Both the Twitter platform and the Facebook page are maintained by the communications team, with Stephanie Alberding taking the lead here.



New ZOIS Spotlight: followers of ZOIS on Twitter and Facebook are notified whenever a new publication is placed online.

Analyses show that on both Twitter and Facebook, ZOIS is reaching relevant target groups. In all, 95 per cent of our Twitter followers say that they are interested in politics and current affairs (source: Twitter Analytics). Our Facebook followers mainly speak German, English, Russian and Ukrainian (source: Facebook Insights). ◀



*Our first year on social media had its ups and downs: we had shitstorms and fake news to deal with, but we also received some interesting contributions and a few of the posts in our community made us smile.*

# Publications

Sharing the outcomes of its research with policy-makers, the media and the public is one of ZOiS's three core tasks and is dealt with mainly by the communications team. ZOiS's public relations activities are aimed at a diverse range of target groups, so its communications strategy provides for a variety of publication formats.

ZOiS publishes the outcomes of its research in academic journals, edited volumes and monographs. These external publications disseminate the results of ZOiS's research to the academic community and build its reputation for scholarly excellence. In addition, ZOiS has various publication formats of its own, which distribute research outcomes and expertise from ZOiS and its network.

## ZOiS PUBLICATIONS

### ► ZOiS Spotlight

*ZOiS Spotlight* features analyses, insights and background information on current developments in Eastern Europe by ZOiS researchers and guest contributors. *ZOiS Spotlight* is published on the ZOiS website each Wednesday in English and German and is shared on Twitter and Facebook.

### ► ZOiS Report

The *ZOiS Report* is aimed at an expert readership in politics, administration, education and the media. Produced in medium-length format, this English-language publication presents current data from ZOiS studies and surveys through graphics and short explanatory texts, making research findings with societal relevance quickly accessible on the ZOiS website.

### ► Meet the Author

For *Meet the Author*, the communications team conducts short interviews with authors and researchers, based on five questions about a publication or project. 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 English and German on the ZOiS website.

## PUBLICATIONS EDITED BY ZOiS

### ► Russland-Analysen and Zentralasien-Analysen

*Russland-Analysen* and *Zentralasien-Analysen* – part of the *Länder-Analysen* journal series, which is published in German – were edited by ZOiS in 2016 / 17. Aimed at readers in politics, business, the media and an interested public, they provide a research-based understanding of developments in the post-Soviet region. Julia Glathe was the editor of *Russland-Analysen* until March 2017, with Martin Brand taking over from April until ZOiS's editorial term ended in December 2017. The *Zentralasien-Analysen* series is edited by Beate Eschment at ZOiS. ◀

## ZoIs PUBLICATIONS 2017

### ► ZoIs Report

- ▶ *The Displaced Ukrainians: Who are they, and what do they think?*  
ZoIs Report 1 / 2017 by Gwendolyn Sasse (March 2017)
- ▶ *The Donbas – Two parts, or still one? The experience of war through the eyes of the regional population*  
ZoIs Report 2 / 2017 by Gwendolyn Sasse (May 2017)
- ▶ *Terra Incognita: The public mood in Crimea*  
ZoIs Report 3 / 2017 by Gwendolyn Sasse (November 2017)

### ► Meet the Author

- ▶ »*Neither Russian nor Western policies were formulated in a vacuum*«  
Meet the Author with Samuel Charap (21 March 2017)
- ▶ »*Critical voices engage too little in the public discourse*«  
Meet the Author with Nina Fries (9 May 2017)
- ▶ »*History is important to understand the Ukraine crisis*«  
Meet the Author with Alexandre Osipian (6 June 2017)

### ► ZoIs Spotlight

- ▶ *The Annexation of Crimea in 2014*  
ZoIs Spotlight 1 / 2017 by Gwendolyn Sasse  
(15 March 2017)
- ▶ *Russia's tentative approach to the revolutionary year of 1917*  
ZoIs Spotlight 2 / 2017 by Nina Fries (22 March 2017)
- ▶ *Moldovan President Dodon and the Russian role model*  
ZoIs Spotlight 3 / 2017 by Nadja Douglas  
(29 March 2017)

### ► *Romanian Protests*

ZoIs Spotlight 4 / 2017 by Grigore Pop-Eleches  
(5 April 2017)

### ► *East European Migrants*

ZoIs Spotlight 5 / 2017 by Tatiana Golova  
(12 April 2017)

### ► *It's Pushkin's fault*

ZoIs Spotlight 6 / 2017 by Nina Fries  
(19 April 2017)

### ► *Armenia after the elections*

ZoIs Spotlight 7 / 2017 by Nadja Douglas  
(26 April 2017)

### ► *Enraged young Russians?*

ZoIs Spotlight 8 / 2017 by Félix Krawatzek  
(3 May 2017)

### ► *The real populist challenge from insiders in Europe's East*

ZoIs Spotlight 9 / 2017 by Cas Mudde (10 May 2017)

### ► *An incomplete rainbow*

ZoIs Spotlight 10 / 2017 by Robert Deam Tobin  
(17 May 2017)

### ► *Is the NATO-Russia Founding Act still relevant?*

ZoIs Spotlight 11 / 2017 by Nadja Douglas  
(24 May 2017)

### ► *Macron's Russia policy*

ZoIs Spotlight 12 / 2017 by David Cadier  
(31 May 2017)

### ► *New hope in Ukraine conflict?*

ZoIs Spotlight 13 / 2017 by Gwendolyn Sasse  
(7 June 2017)

### ► *Ambition versus Achievement*

ZoIs Spotlight 14 / 2017 by Neil MacFarlane  
(14 June 2017)

# Three questions to...



**Stefanie Orphal**  
Communications Director

**Which aspects of your work do you find particularly fulfilling?**

What I find particularly fulfilling is working with a dedicated and approachable team from a variety of academic backgrounds who share a sense of common purpose. I also appreciate the many opportunities to contribute my own ideas.

**What is your biggest challenge at ZOiS?**

The work in the communications team covers a very wide range of areas – from producing the events diary to writing press releases and programme flyers – and it's a challenge to maintain an overview. But there's also plenty of variety.

**What does Eastern Europe mean to you?**

Previously, I mainly associated Eastern Europe with great literature, revolutionary art and dramatic political upheavals. Since I started working at ZOiS, I have focused more on what's happening in the region now. ▶



**Yvonne Troll**  
Communications Coordinator

**Which aspects of your work do you find particularly fulfilling?**

As ZOiS is still a very young institution, there is plenty of scope to help shape its development, and that's a lot of fun. I'm also excited by the broad range of topics and the interdisciplinary approach.

**What is your biggest challenge at ZOiS?**

Dealing with a multitude of issues that define good academic communication can be quite challenging at times.

**What does Eastern Europe mean to you?**

Previously, I didn't have many points of contact with the region beyond my general interest in its politics and culture. So I'm really happy that every day, my work at ZOiS enables me to broaden my horizons much more intensively than before. ▶

- ▶ *Russia's response to football hooliganism*  
ZOiS Spotlight 15 / 2017 by Julia Glathe  
(21 June 2017)
- ▶ *The illusion of terrorism in Crimea*  
ZOiS Spotlight 16 / 2017 by Dominique Arel  
(28 June 2017)
- ▶ *Emergency volunteers*  
ZOiS Spotlight 17 / 2017 by Hannah Heyenn  
(5 July 2017)
- ▶ *The G20 and Eastern Europe: more than a handshake?*  
ZOiS Spotlight 18 / 2017 by Gwendolyn Sasse  
(12 July 2017)
- ▶ *The populists' prospects in the Czech election*  
ZOiS Spotlight 19 / 2017 by Pavla Homolová  
(19 July 2017)
- ▶ *A cautious look back*  
ZOiS Spotlight 20 / 2017 by Nina Fries  
(26 July 2017)
- ▶ *Is democratic rhetoric in Russia just a decoration?*  
ZOiS Spotlight 21 / 2017 by Anna Litvinenko  
(6 September 2017)
- ▶ *A UN Mission for Ukraine's Donbas?*  
ZOiS Spotlight 22 / 2017 by Gwendolyn Sasse  
(13 September 2017)
- ▶ *Managing regional elections in Russia*  
ZOiS Spotlight 23 / 2017 by Tomila Lankina  
(20 September 2017)
- ▶ *Postscript to Zapad-2017*  
ZOiS Spotlight 24 / 2017 by Nadja Douglas  
(27 September 2017)
- ▶ *Russian Germans after the Bundestag election*  
ZOiS Spotlight 25 / 2017 by Tatiana Golova  
(5 October 2017)
- ▶ *Russian history and realities in 2017*  
ZOiS Spotlight 26 / 2017 by Jan C. Behrends  
(11 October 2017)
- ▶ *Kazakhstan on the map of Russian literature*  
ZOiS Spotlight 27 / 2017 by Nina Fries  
(18 October 2017)
- ▶ *A loss of control and the politics of memory*  
ZOiS Spotlight 28 / 2017 by Regina Elsner  
(25 October 2017)
- ▶ *Kyrgyzstan's presidential election*  
ZOiS Spotlight 29 / 2017 by Beate Eschment  
(1 November 2017)
- ▶ *The early run-up to the Russian election*  
ZOiS Spotlight 30 / 2017 by Julian Waller  
(8 November 2017)
- ▶ *'Dear Ivan Denisovich...'*  
ZOiS Spotlight 31 / 2017 by Nina Fries  
(15 November 2017)
- ▶ *Lev Gudkov and the Levada Centre*  
ZOiS Spotlight 32 / 2017 by Alexander Libman  
(22 November 2017)
- ▶ *No fuss, no glory*  
ZOiS Spotlight 33 / 2017 by Julia Langbein  
(29 November 2017)
- ▶ *Finland's relationship with Russia*  
ZOiS Spotlight 34 / 2017 by Markku Kivinen  
(6 December 2017)
- ▶ *A challenge of diverging interests*  
ZOiS Spotlight 35 / 2017 by Nadja Douglas  
(13 December 2017)
- ▶ *Are two Christmases better than one?*  
ZOiS Spotlight 36 / 2017 by Regina Elsner  
(20 December 2017)

# Three questions to...



**Stephanie Alberding**  
Communications Coordinator

**Which aspects of your work do you find particularly fulfilling?**

Working with academics from such a range of disciplines broadens my mind. The work in the communications team is very varied and my colleagues and I are involved in all the institute's activities.

**What is your biggest challenge at ZOiS?**

Because I'm responsible for social media, I sometimes find it difficult to switch off after work. Twitter and Facebook never sleep. And keeping track of all the topics of relevance to ZOiS is sometimes a challenge as well.

**What does Eastern Europe mean to you?**

Since working at ZOiS, I learn something new about Eastern Europe every day. I find that very enriching. ▶



**Anja Krüger**  
Communications Coordinator

**Which aspects of your work do you find particularly fulfilling?**

2017 was ZOiS's first year. We had to start from scratch and that was both a blessing and a curse. Being part of this new team is great fun. We gelled very quickly and we trust each other.

**What is your biggest challenge at ZOiS?**

From my perspective, the biggest challenge is achieving some degree of harmonisation across the three departments – research, communications and administration / IT. Their work processes and methods are all very different.

**What does Eastern Europe mean to you?**

I first visited St Petersburg when I was 16 and I have been fascinated by the region ever since. After I left school, I read East European studies and politics at university and have visited the region regularly in recent years. I am now working for an institute which researches developments in Eastern Europe, and that's something I greatly appreciate. ▶

# ZOiS in the Media

In the course of 2017, numerous media reported on ZOiS as an institution, the work of the researchers and first results of the research projects. ZOiS expert opinions on specific topics were also regularly in demand.

- ▶ ***Neues Institut für Osteuropaforschung. Arbeitsfeld mit Perspektive?***  
Deutschlandfunk Kultur (13 January 2017)  
On Deutschlandradio Kultur, Gwendolyn Sasse presents ZOiS and the surroundings at the time of the institute's formation (German).
- ▶ ***What Do Ukrainians Actually Think?***  
Carnegie Europe (16 January 2017)  
Gwendolyn Sasse depicts the general opinion and mood of the Ukrainian citizens in polls at Carnegie Europe (English).
- ▶ ***ZOiS займется изучением Восточной Европы, но не только***  
Deutsche Welle (17 January 2017)  
Deutsche Welle showcases the Centre's work and the research project »Literature and Power in the Post-Soviet Space« coordinated by ZOiS Researcher Nina Frieß (Russian).
- ▶ ***Neuanfang für vernachlässigte Osteuropa-Forschung***  
Ostpol (18 January 2017)  
Ostpol on ZOiS and the centre's first research priorities (German).
- ▶ ***Judy Asks: Can Fake News Be Beaten?***  
Carnegie Europe (25 January 2017)  
Gwendolyn Sasse answers the question »Can Fake News Be Beaten?« at Carnegie Europe (English).
- ▶ ***The Voices of the Displaced in Ukraine and Russia***  
Carnegie Europe (14 February 2017)  
Gwendolyn Sasse presents first results from a rare two-part survey of internally displaced persons in Ukraine and of people who fled to Russia, conducted by ZOiS (English).
- ▶ ***Переселенці з Донбасу краще влаштувалися в Росії, ніж в Україні – дослідження***  
Radio Svoboda (14 February 2017)  
Radio Svoboda on the ZOiS survey of displaced people in Ukraine and Russia (Russian).
- ▶ ***»Нормандский формат«: движение по кругу без «дорожной карты»***  
Deutsche Welle (18 February 2017)  
Report on Deutsche Welle about the talks in the Normandy format with quotes by Gwendolyn Sasse (Ukrainian and Russian).
- ▶ ***Die Krim – ewiger Zankapfel***  
Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk (20 February 2017)  
In the programme »Today in the East«, the MDR conducts an interview with Gwendolyn Sasse on the eternal dispute over Crimea (German).
- ▶ ***»Мороз по коже«: Как в ФРГ восприняли идею «подмосковного Рейхстага»***  
Deutsche Welle (23 February 2017)  
A report on Russia and its way of remembering the war in Patriot Park with commentary quotes by Nadja Douglas (Russian).
- ▶ ***Angst vor Fake News, Lügen und Verleumdungen***  
Deutschlandfunk (2 March 2017)  
A report on the German radio channel Deutschlandfunk on the fear of Russian hacker attacks during the German election 2017 with quotes by Gwendolyn Sasse (German).
- ▶ ***Die Ukraine verklagt Russland im Krim-Konflikt vor dem UN-Gericht***  
Südwestrundfunk (6 March 2017)  
Interview on the radio channel SWR2 with Gwendolyn Sasse about Ukraine's lawsuit against Russia (German).
- ▶ ***Ukraine Takes Russia to Court***  
Carnegie Europe (14 March 2017)  
At Carnegie Europe, Gwendolyn Sasse explains why the pending court case between Ukraine and Russia is more important than many might think (English).
- ▶ ***Дожить до ноября, или Весеннее обострение в киргизской политике***  
Deutsche Welle (15 March 2017)  
Report by Deutsche Welle on the current political crisis in Kyrgyzstan with an assessment by Beate Eschment (Russian).
- ▶ ***Берлин критикует Киев: смена курса?***  
Deutsche Welle (16 March 2017)  
Report by Deutsche Welle about Berlin criticising Ukraine with quotes by Gwendolyn Sasse (Russian).
- ▶ ***В Берлине будут внимательнее изучать РФ и Восточную Европу***  
Deutsche Welle (27 March 2017)  
Video by Deutsche Welle including an interview with Gwendolyn Sasse about ZOiS and about the photo exhibition by British photographer Mark Neville at ZOiS (Russian).
- ▶ ***ZOiS в Берлине будет изучать Россию и восточных соседей***  
Deutsche Welle (28 March 2017)  
Report by Deutsche Welle on the Opening Ceremony of ZOiS on 27 March 2017 (Russian).

- ▶ *Im Kampf: EU gegen Desinformation*  
Norddeutscher Rundfunk (29 March 2017)  
Gwendolyn Sasse talks about the European struggle against disinformation from Russia in »Zapp – Das Medienmagazin« on NDR (German).
- ▶ *Гендолин Зассе о том, почему нужно продолжать диалог с РФ*  
Deutsche Welle (12 April 2017)  
Gwendolyn Sasse speaks about the research at ZOIS, German-Russian relations and the Ukraine crisis on the Russian channel of Deutsche Welle (Russian).
- ▶ *Кто из президентов в Центральной Азии «круче»?*  
Deutsche Welle (28 April 2017)  
The report by Deutsche Welle discusses the wide range of power granted by constitution to presidents in Central Asia and includes comments by ZOIS researcher Beate Eschment (Russian).
- ▶ *Как оценивают в Берлине встречу Меркель с Путиным в Сочи*  
Deutsche Welle (3 May 2017)  
Gwendolyn Sasse evaluates the meeting between Angela Merkel and Russian President Vladimir Putin on 2 May 2017 in Sochi in an article on Deutsche Welle (Russian).
- ▶ *Eurovision 2017: UK gets excuses in early but is tipped to avoid nul points*  
The Guardian (13 May 2017)  
In view of Brexit, the Guardian has contemplated the role of national politics and identity in the Eurovision Song Contest 2017 featuring analyses by Gwendolyn Sasse and others (English).
- ▶ *The Two Parts of Ukraine's Donbas*  
Carnegie Europe (16 May 2017)  
For Judy Dempsey's Strategic Europe, Gwendolyn Sasse explains two important insights from the ZOIS survey in the Donbas (English).
- ▶ *Gegen Putin und den Westen*  
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (30 May 2017)  
In its printed edition, German newspaper FAZ publishes an article on the ZOIS survey about how the war affects the people in the Donbas (German).
- ▶ *Zwei ähnliche Seiten eines Krieges*  
ZEIT Online (30 May 2017)  
The article is based on the ZOIS survey about how the war affects the people in the Donbas. With evaluations by Gwendolyn Sasse (German).
- ▶ *Опрос показал сходство жителей Донбасса независимо от власти*  
Deutsche Welle (30 May 2017)  
Report on the results of a survey that was conducted by ZOIS among the population of the Donbas (Russian).
- ▶ *Ostukraine: Kein tiefer Graben in den Köpfen*  
Deutsche Welle (2 June 2017)  
Deutsche Welle reports on the ZOIS survey conducted on both sides of the front line in the Donbas with comments by Gwendolyn Sasse (German).
- ▶ *Что говорят в Берлине об аресте Навального?*  
Deutsche Welle (13 June 2017)  
Report on Deutsche Welle on the recent anti-corruption protests in Russia with comments by Gwendolyn Sasse (Russian).
- ▶ *Eine Frontstadt ist das Las Vegas des Ukraine-Kriegs*  
Die Welt (online 14 June 2017, print 26 June 2018)  
The newspaper »Die Welt« reports on couples from occupied parts of the Donbas travelling to Mariupol for their wedding and mentions the latest issue of the ZOIS Report (German).
- ▶ *Starke Fotos: Wenn Kinder in Kriegsgebieten spielen*  
Der Tagesspiegel (15 June 2017)  
Tagesspiegel portrays photographer Mark Neville and his exhibition »Displaced Ukrainians« that could be seen at ZOIS (German).
- ▶ *Die mutigen Frauen von Mariupol*  
Die Welt (19 June 2017)  
The newspaper »Die Welt« reports online on split families in Eastern Ukraine and mentions the latest issue of the ZOIS Report (German).
- ▶ *Ukrainians Travel Visa Free*  
Carnegie Europe (26 June 2017)  
Gwendolyn Sasse's piece on the impacts of the new visa-free arrangements for Ukrainians traveling to the EU for the blog Judy Dempsey's Strategic Europe (English).
- ▶ *Донбасс, который гуляет сам по себе*  
Kommersant (3 July 2017)  
Article about the ZOIS Report 2 / 2017 on war experiences of the population in the Donbas by Russian newspaper Kommersant. With evaluations by Gwendolyn Sasse (Russian).
- ▶ *»In den 1990ern war die Krim ein Fall von Konflikt-prävention«*  
ostexperte.de (5 July 2017)  
In an interview for the news portal ostexperte.de, Gwendolyn Sasse speaks about research at ZOIS, Crimea and the situation in Eastern Ukraine (German).
- ▶ *Проект «Малороссия» является нежизнеспособным – немецкий эксперт*  
Ukrinform (20 July 2017)  
Ukrinform reports on the proposed state of »Malorossiya« (Little Russia) in Eastern Ukraine quoting a survey that ZOIS has conducted in the Donbas region (Russian).

- ▶ *Little Success for Little Russia*  
Carnegie Europe (24 July 2017)  
In her contribution to Carnegie Europe's blog, Gwendolyn Sasse gives some insight into the political context of the declaration of independence in Ukraine's eastern occupied territories (English).
- ▶ *Ukraine, Russland, postsowjetischer Raum*  
Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg (24 July 2017)  
A radio feature on Kulturradio investigates the situation of East European Studies in Germany, mentioning ZOIS as a sign that the discipline regains importance (German).
- ▶ *A Reminder to Continue Ukraine Reforms*  
Carnegie Europe (4 September 2017)  
In her contribution to Carnegie Europe's blog, Gwendolyn Sasse evaluates the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement (English).
- ▶ *Почему Россия – не тема для Меркель и Шульца?*  
Deutsche Welle (6 September 2017)  
Gwendolyn Sasse comments on the question why the foreign relations to Russia have been hardly an issue in the election campaigns of Angela Merkel or Martin Schulz (Russian).
- ▶ *Die Situation in der Ukraine*  
Tagesschau24 (23 September 2017)  
A conversation with Gwendolyn Sasse on the current situation in Ukraine on tagesschau 24 (German).
- ▶ *Judy Asks: What Next For Europe After the German Election?*  
Carnegie Europe (26 September 2017)  
What do the German election results mean for Europe, Judy Dempsey asks. An assessment by Gwendolyn Sasse for the case of Russia (English).
- ▶ *Кто из соседей может повлиять на выборы президента Киргизии*  
Deutsche Welle (27 September 2017)  
Deutsche Welle on the upcoming presidential elections in Kyrgyzstan with comments by Beate Eschment (Russian).
- ▶ *Ukraine's Poorly Timed Education Law*  
Carnegie Europe (2 October 2017)  
For Judy Dempsey's Strategic Europe, Gwendolyn Sasse writes about Ukraine's latest education law and its political risks (English).
- ▶ *Асоціацію з Україною на вимогу Угорщини не переглядатимуть – європейський експерт*  
Radio Svoboda (10 October 2017)  
Interview with Gwendolyn Sasse for Radio Svoboda about the new education law in Ukraine and Hungary's reaction (Ukrainian).
- ▶ *Почему выборы президента Киргизии интригиуют и пугают*  
Deutsche Welle (15 October 2017)  
Interview with Beate Eschment about the presidential elections in Kyrgyzstan published on Deutsche Welle (Russian).
- ▶ *Выборы в Киргизии: не честные, но спокойные?*  
Deutsche Welle (16 October 2017)  
Beate Eschment and other experts comment for Deutsche Welle on the results of the presidential elections in Kyrgyzstan (Russian).
- ▶ *Im Osten was Neues? Kirgisien nach der Wahl*  
Hessischer Rundfunk (16 October 2017)  
Beate Eschment comments on the the results of the presidential elections in Kyrgyzstan for hr2 Kultur radio (German).
- ▶ *Немецкий теолог: РПЦ сложно дистанцироваться от противников «Матильды»*  
Deutsche Welle (26 October 2017)  
An interview with ZOIS theologist Regina Elsner about the Russian Orthodox Church and its difficulties with the violent protests against the film »Matilda« (Russian).
- ▶ *Армия России: за кулисами военной реформы*  
Deutsche Welle (27 October 2017)  
Deutsche Welle reports on the presentation of the book »Public Control of Armed Forces in the Russian Federation« by Nadja Douglas (Russian).
- ▶ *What Is the Public Mood Like in Crimea?*  
Carnegie Europe (6 November 2017)  
For Judy Dempsey's Strategic Europe, Gwendolyn Sasse writes about the results of a survey she conducted in Crimea (English).
- ▶ *Почему Москва не вмешивается в конфликт Астаны и Бишкека*  
Deutsche Welle (9 November 2017)  
Deutsche Welle elaborates on why Russia does not interfere in the conflict between Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. With comments bei Beate Eschment (Russian).
- ▶ *Опрос: контакты крымчан с остальной Украиной резко сократились*  
Deutsche Welle (16 / 17 November 2017)  
Based on the ZOIS Report 3 / 2017, Deutsche Welle describes the situation in Crimea and the population's ties to Ukraine (Russian and Ukrainian).
- ▶ *Abgerissene Verbindungen*  
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (18 November 2017)  
Based on the ZOIS Report 3 / 2017, FAZ writes about the Crimean people and how they see the world (German).
- ▶ *Mythos Krim. Russisch, ukrainisch, tatarisch*  
Deutschlandfunk (2 December 2017)  
Radio broadcast Deutschlandfunk on »the myth Crimea« quoting the ZOIS Report 3 / 2017 by Gwendolyn Sasse (German).
- ▶ *High Time to End the War in Ukraine*  
Carnegie Europe (4 December 2017)  
In Judy Dempsey's Blog Strategic Europe, Gwendolyn Sasse warns that political conditions for a resolution of the war in Donbas are deteriorating (English).

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