

**CBEES Annual Conference 2019:
Central and Eastern Europe 1989-2019:
Orders and Freedoms**

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Towards a Multiple Modernities Approach to Soviet Legacies

Mikhail Maslovskiy

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Session 1A: Soviet Legacies, Patriotism, Ideology

Chair: Ann-Mari Sätre

The issue of Soviet historical legacies remains controversial in studies of post-communist transformations. As Kotkin and Beissinger (2014) argue, long-term trajectories of development of Central and Eastern European states and former Soviet republics might be shaped not only by communist legacies but also by pre-communist history and new factors that emerged after the Soviet collapse. Studies of post-communist politics have returned recently to exploration of historical and cultural contexts and their impact on transformation processes with special focus on cross-border regions and wider 'civilisational' identities on the macro-level (Ekiert 2015). Apparently this approach has much in common with the multiple modernities paradigm in historical sociology. Overall, the multiple modernities perspective is often identified with Eisenstadt's analysis of the impact of world religions on modernisation process. But within that paradigm attempts have been made to overcome the deficiencies of Eisenstadt's approach connected with the path-dependent trend in his work. In particular, Johann Arnason's account of the 'alternative' Soviet model of modernity seems relevant for the study of communist legacies. It will be argued in the paper that application of new versions of the multiple modernities approach allows one to take into consideration both pre-communist and communist historical legacies as well as the instrumental use of these legacies by today's political elites. However, the multiple modernities approach remains mostly on the level of general theory and thus more empirically oriented studies of Soviet legacies on the basis of that approach are needed.

History, Heritage, and Food Regimes in Post Soviet Wine Industries – Impact On Entrepreneurial Challenges and Opportunities in Armenia and Georgia

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Session 2C: Local Identity in the Post-Soviet Space

Chair: Yuliya Yurchuk

The history of the wine sector is closely connected to issues of local and global power, culture, religion, geography, trade and resources/capital. Therefore a fruitful approach to study the wine sector during any historical period is to highlight the geopolitical organization of food and agricultural relations, e.g. *a food regime*. By doing so it is possible to take endogenous and exogenous sources of influence under consideration at the same time as the underlying geopolitical structure and its institutional power base can be included. The food regime approach is rather flexible and can help us understanding interplay between changing societal structures, rules, regulations, market conditions and responses of businesses and industries. Moreover, although food regimes appear during a limited period in time, their structures live on and cast long shadows on the future. Thus, studying the wine industry departing from and developing the concept of food regimes can in a meaningful way help us to understand agriculture and/or food industry and its branches within the structure and/or context in which they act.

The history of wine in Armenia and Georgia has been organized under two regimes, preceded by a history that includes the invention of wine (8000- 6000 years BC), the cultural embeddedness of wine consumption and production. The historical period grasps the invention of vitiviculture, the domestication of vines and development of production and consumption practices. During the historical period production was mainly made for domestic/home consumption and it has been a key element in peasant agriculture, as well as in the creation of traditions, the national identities both in Armenia and Georgia and the articulation of religious ceremonies that date all the way back to christening of the region in the 4th Century AD. The peasantry-based system, combined pastoralism in the mountains and slopes, orchard cultivation, wine making, and cultivation of grains such as wheat has gradually evolved over history. As the

region has been continuously occupied, annexed or in other ways been territorially claimed by foreign forces, the landscapes, but not the least the production and consumption of wines has filled an important role maintaining local identities.

During the first half of the 20th Century, Armenia and Georgia were incorporated within the Soviet food regime. For the wine industries in Armenia and Georgia, this meant central planning, collectivization of vineyards and wineries, establishment basic institutional infrastructure (hygiene regulations, production protocols, etc), territorial organization of production (i.e. wine regions) and the creation of an intra-regional sourcing system which helped promoting production and exports Georgian wines, while Armenian wines were officially left aside in favour of brandy and sherry. Both countries exported their products to the Russian market. At the same time, central (Russian and local) authorities made considerable efforts to eradicate the local wine culture, home-made production of qvevri wines and the traditional social and religious ceremonies connected to the consumption of wine. One important local response from consumers was to maintain production and consumption of local wines as an act of citizenship and a kind of protest against authority decisions. Moreover, the Russian food regime suffocated private initiatives and entrepreneurial development within the agro-food system.

Today both countries try to become international players and especially the Georgian wine industry has managed to insert itself into the on-going global food regime, in which conditions are set by a highly competitive global market, increasingly globalized transnational companies and globally accepted institutions for quality certification, hygiene, production, et cetera. A key feature of the industry in Armenia and Georgia today is that in contrast to the previous period, heritage, culture, religion are now important elements in the modernization of the industry. Ancient production and elaboration methods are being revitalized, ancient vine varieties are promoted and marketing strategies rest firmly on Armenia's and Georgia's role in the invention of vitiviculture. In addition, efforts have been done during the last decade to promote entrepreneurship within the wine sector and although many challenges still need to be overcome, a preliminary view at research results show that some true entrepreneurial responses might be found as business owners in periods have acted under conditions of true uncertainty.

Thus, vitiviculture is historically a corner-stone in the past and present of Armenian and Georgian societies. But, while the ancient history of wine has been well studied, the last 100 years have been neglected, with the exception of some recent articles on the market potential for Georgian wines. In addition, studies about the food system

during the Soviet Union has to a large extent and rightfully so, focused on food shortages, famines and problems until the fall of the Soviet Union. Therefore, understanding opportunities and challenges in a specific industry, such as the wine industry during the last 100 years, contributes with new knowledge about the past and how it influences the present has the potential to contribute with new knowledge.

Departing from a mixed methods case study and phenomenography analysis of interviews this article answers the following questions: How has the wine industry in Armenia and Georgia developed over time? How did and does the history and previous and ongoing food regimes influence the development of the industry in each country? In which way are entrepreneurial responses driven by, or prevented by past and present food regimes? What can we learn by studying the wine industry concerning the short-term and long-term impact of the Soviet food regime on Armenia and Georgia as societies?

Re-Imaging the Russian Armed Forces: Facing the enemy with Stiletto heels

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Session 1A: Soviet Legacies, Patriotism, Ideology

Chair: Ann-Mari Sätre

Since the fall of the Soviet Union the Russian Armed Forces as created in 1992 has been battling the problematic task to re-invent itself. After the involuntary divorce between the Soviet Armed Forces and the Soviet Union the crisis of the organisation became monumental. Lack of ideological orientation, misconduct, theft and shortages combined with post-perestroika public knowledge of these circumstances did little improve the reputation of the armed forces.

In 2015, the Minister of Defence Sergey Shoygu announced that the “image” of the Russian Armed Forces should be strengthened. In a qualitative content analysis this paper investigates one specific case, namely the establishment of the clothing brand *Armija Rossii* – a trademark registered and owned by the Russian Ministry of Defence.

Starting in Jowett & O’Donnell’s (2015) ten point-model for propaganda analysis, the study investigates the communicative methods and messages used by *Armija Rossii*; it also applies theories on communication and marketing as presented by Roland Barthes in *Rhétorique de l’image* (1964).

The study finds a historical continuation in symbolic and rhetorical communication; the plot-twist is that *Armija Rossii* appeals to men, women and children with target group specific products (e.g. stiletto heels for women) merging them into a combined Soviet-Russian Federation military aesthetic, projecting the old Soviet idea of the state and the armed forces as a unit onto modern products. Undoubtedly Western products are also somewhat contradictory re-branded as “patriotic” or “Russian”.

The Breakaways: Revisiting Baltic NATO membership

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Session 4B: Euro-integration

Chair: Thomas Lundén

Fifteen years ago NATO opened its doors for the Baltic states. This symbolic milestone provides us with an opportune moment to reflect on the past and present of Baltic NATO membership. For skeptics, such as leading Cold War strategist George Kennan, Baltic admission was a “tragic mistake”. Those favoring alliances eastward expansion, on the other hand, contended that this would erase old lines of division and create Europe whole and free. Enlargement of NATO remains one of the most contentious and least understood issues, shaping present day realities and relations between the West and Russia. The following paper looks back at the intellectual and political battles surrounding Baltic NATO membership. As such, it traces the ideational roots of their membership, identifies key turning points and shines light on behind the scenes clashes and diplomatic handshakes. In the context of the proposed theme, the paper tackles the following key research questions: Was the journey of the Baltic republics inevitable or might things turned out differently? Who were the intellectual architects and supporters of NATO enlargement in Europe and the US and, equally, who were the loudest opponents of this vision? How do the arguments of expansion opponents in the 90s stack up against today’s realities?

Russia's power projection in the Arctic: Influences of Soviet legacies

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Session 1C: Panel Authoritarian Cooperation in Post-Soviet Space

Chair: Joakim Ekman

Russia's military presence in the Arctic was developed and strengthened during the Soviets. The Soviet Union established air bases, radar stations and anti-air batteries to defend its northern coastline during the Cold War. During that period, the American and Russian naval forces considered the North Pole in terms of shorter routes for the passage of combat ships: destroyers, frigates and nuclear submarines. Moreover, the Arctic Ocean has unique water conditions which complicate both submarine detection and operation. During the Cold War, the Arctic came under intense scrutiny as it represented the shortest flight path for bombers between the Soviet Union and North America. Regarding geographic advantages of the Arctic, the polar route was the shortest distance for Soviet ICBMs and intercontinental bombers directed toward North America. The Arctic Ocean also offers routes into the northern waters of both the Atlantic and the Pacific. All of those reasons also play significant role in contemporary Russia's Arctic security policy. Even Russia's claims about the Northern Sea Route started in the Cold War. Back to 1964, Moscow and Washington exchanged notes of protest because of the Kremlin was against American ships to precede unauthorized along the coast of the USSR.

Moscow's militarization of the polar north has huge economic, geographic and Cold War influences. This paper analyses Russia's power projection in Arctic and how it links to the Soviets experiences. The paper studies influences of Soviet legacies on contemporary Russia's Arctic policies. It tries to explain continuity and changes of the Soviet legacies in Russia's Arctic security policy.

Death of a ‘Common European Home’?

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Session 5A: Legacies of Europe and legacies of Resistance

Chair: Florence Fröhlig

This paper looks to investigate the idea of ‘common European home’ in the early 1990’s. Such rhetoric and political metaphor (Chilton and Ilyan 2006), though utilized in Soviet diplomatic rhetoric as early as the 1950’s, can also be seen as part of Gorbachev’s and different Russian political factions’ attempts to argue for Russia’s sustained place in a post-USSR European security order (Svetlana 2008). The Russia Federation’s potential inclusion into a new European security system wavered after the collapse of the Soviet Union with former Warsaw pact states attempting to assert a politics of memory and political rhetoric of ‘back to Europe’ (Browning 2002; Browning 2008; Heike 2010). As such, this paper asks, in which contexts of a new Europe Russia rhetorically attempted to imagine itself within (Anderson 1983) and conversely, when did perceptions of this common future begin to dissipate in Russia?

Though the ‘common European home’ metaphor was used in relation to the CSCE (Kozyrev 1991, 1992), there are also accounts in the literature forecasting how the CSCE did not seem to be a foreboding forum for achieving this goal (Zagorski 1991, 1992). My larger doctoral research looks at shifts in Russian decision-maker’s perceptions of an inclusive, post-Cold War Europe in the 1990’s. This paper will focus on newspaper sources to look at potential shifts in public usage of ‘common European home’ rhetoric during the early 1990’s. The methods used in this paper will be close readings of Russian newspaper articles (retrieved from Integrum database, cyberleninka, and E-library) from 1989-1995.

Transformation in attitudes about the role of the state in the economic sphere: from paternalism to participatory model

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Session 1B: Attitudes, Legitimacy Models and Reverse Transitions

Chair: Leo Granberg

In the USSR, the state dominance in economic life had formed paternalistic attitudes, which still exist in Russian society as the part of Soviet legacy. Transition to market relations causes a significant shift in values and attitudes of people towards relations with the state. The development of modern economic ideology to a great extent is based on presidential decrees and resolutions in the regulation of competition policy. These governmental initiatives play a role of the key driver for economic development and consumer satisfaction in trade sphere. The paper presents results of annual monitoring research (2014-2018) in a Russian provincial region, and shows the dynamics of population demands towards the bodies, responsible for competition policy development. The process of development of population-authorities interaction had several stages. It started from perception of authorities as fully responsible for any economic processes, went through the denial of any ability of the authorities to influence the processes and then reached the point of interests towards their activity. Public interests to the authorities' agency in developing regional competition policy create the possibility of launching and expanding a participatory model of interactions. Within this approach, consumers consciously influence market competition process development in the region through a wide range of actions. They can make a responsible choice of vendors, participate in the public evaluation of the bodies' agency, and appeal to various organizations for their consumer rights protection. Our finding evaluates different strategies which have been used by different social groups. We outline future tendencies and rise new research questions.

Soviet Linguistic Legacy: Battle for Language Rights, the Case of Ukrainian and Russian Speakers in Ukrainian Social Networks Discussions

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Session 2C: Local Identity in the Post-Soviet Space

Chair: Yuliya Yurchuk

Post-Soviet language order at the time of war: This paper analyses the importance of language in a number of discussions regarding the language rights of Ukrainian and Russian-speakers in the Ukrainian segment of Face Book. The situations in question include new educational law, various cultural discussions and customer service disputes.

This Facebook study relies on the theory of Mediated Discourse and Nexus analysis (Scollon, 2002), followed by Corpus Assisted Discourse study.

The preliminary results of the case study reveal the current mood among Ukrainian and Russian-speaking discussants towards the imperial legacy of Russian language in Ukraine and the inconsistent use of national language in all spheres of official communication. Moreover, Russian military aggression appears to cause anxiety and overestimation of the 'quantity and quality' of "Russianness" and anti-Ukrainian sentiment that really exist among Ukrainian speakers of Russian. Finally, the case study reveals the tension, mistrust and misunderstanding between the language rights activists and the general public revived by the events of 2014 and exacerbated by the refusal of the government to cut all ties and break away from the imperial legacies and the "Russian World" (Kulyk, 2017).

From Communism to Illiberalism, 1989-2019: Totalitarian Legacies, European Integration and Transnational Populism

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Session 1B: Attitudes, Legitimacy Models and Reverse Transitions

Chair: Leo Granberg

My paper provides a causal explanation of the 1989 regime changes, the subsequent democratic transitions and the incipient reverse transitions in East-Central Europe (ECE) focusing on *path-dependence*, *agency* and *contingency*. This author contends that the key political developments, which occurred in ECE during the period 1989-2019 can be explained as a succession of three *reactive sequences*, that is, three chains of temporally ordered and causally connected events – each event in the sequence represents a reaction to previous events and a cause of subsequent events. These three reactive sequences were initiated in 1980-81, 1989-91, and 2004-07.

(1) The Polish crisis of 1980-1981 led to the appearance of new political actors, Solidarity and the “Military” Party, which were the political actors that negotiated the transition to a new political order in Poland in 1989 and pushed the snowball of political changes in ECE downhill;

(2) The 1989 collapse of the communist dictatorships in Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania, and the 1991 dissolution of the Soviet Union initiated a second reactive sequence, which ultimately led to the EU accession of a number of ECE countries and former Soviet republics;

(3) The 2004-2007 accession to the EU of a number of former communist states initiated a third reactive sequence. In 2005, a post-accession political crisis appeared in Hungary and produced an incipient snowballing effect. For instance, the “illiberal turn” in Hungary influenced the processes of authoritarian backsliding conducted by national populists in Poland or by social populists in Romania, where the ruling parties have promoted a similar vision of politics characterized by: (1) emphasis on the nation, united and undivided, as a political community; (2) popular sovereignty as key political principle; and (3) legal resentment: a tendency to shift from rule of law to rule by law.

Military game *Zarnitsa*: soviet practices of “patriotic education” in contemporary Russian school

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Session 1A: Soviet Legacies, Patriotism, Ideology

Chair: Ann-Mari Sätre

Military game *Zarnitsa* (“Heat lightning”) – a competition and a role-playing game, which imitates war and army service – originated in USSR in 1960s. It was associated with soviet “pioneer organization” (communistic scouts), and used to be a preparation phase for the army. *Zarnitsa* was actively practiced in soviet schools and pioneer’s camps until the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Unlike other Soviet pedagogical practices, this military game continued to be relevant in 1990s and 2000s – not only in Russian Federation, but also in some former soviet republics, such as Ukraine and Kazakhstan – although during this time *Zarnitsa* was more marginal than mainstream practice. However, in 2014 Russian government approved the new *Conception of development of children’s additional education*, and in many Russian cities and towns were held military games among schoolchildren and students. These events were supported by local authorities, and were widely covered by the state media.

We can consider the game *Zarnitsa* as a model of “patriotic education” in contemporary Russia and as an attempt by the official authorities to impose on young Russians the desired form of manifestation of civil feelings. In my report I’m going to discuss the reasons for the revival of interest in the game *Zarnitsa* after 2014. I will talk about how the old soviet military game was adapted for the new purposes of political propaganda among children, what sort of “patriotism” school managers are trying to indoctrinate, and is their attempt successful or not.

Siberian regional identity: soviet legacies and post-soviet transformations.

Dr. Alla Anisimova

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Session 2A: Panel Shifting Ideas and Identity in Post- Soviet Russia

Chair: Elias Götz

The collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in a search for new identities all over the post-soviet space. Siberia represents a particularly interesting case due to the ambivalence of its positionality: on the one hand, it is a strategic resource region of national and world importance; on the other hand, due to asymmetrical center-periphery relations, it suffers from underdevelopment in social, economic and demographic terms. This has led to growing dissatisfaction among Siberians and results in protest forms of regional identification, in growing opposition of ordinary citizens (if not regional elites) to the Federal center. This opposition and dissatisfaction are strengthened (in particular for elder generations of Siberians) by the contrast between the position of Siberia in the Soviet State and its role in contemporary Russia. The paper argues that Siberian identity of the Soviet period was seen as an integrative part of the Soviet identity: the Soviet project of exploring and developing Siberia gave Siberians the role of 'frontier men' worthy of respect and recognition within the USSR. In contrast, in Siberia today this Soviet identity has been replaced with a multiplicity of identities which share some commonality in imagining the region as a colony or exploited periphery of Russia. Thus, the paper explores how Siberian regional identification has developed from its Soviet roots to the current period.

The Sovietization of Eurasia

Mark Bassin

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Session 2A: Panel Shifting Ideas and Identity in Post- Soviet Russia

Chair: Elias Götz

The ideology of *Evrasiistvo* was developed in the 1920s and 1930s by nationalist-conservative Russian intellectuals who opposed the Bolshevik revolution and, when they lost, had fled the country. Although there was some softening in the anti-Soviet position of these emigrant Eurasianists in the 1930s, the Soviet Union itself remained officially and implacably opposed to this “renegade,” “bourgeois” and “White-Guardist” doctrine. From the 1960s, however, the historian and geographer Lev Nikolaevich Gumilev began to formulate narratives of Russia's historical development and its current social dynamics that were explicitly inspired by the classics of interwar Eurasianism. At the center of Gumilev's analysis was his concept of “superethnos”—an idiosyncratic adaptation of Oswald Spengler's *Kultur* or civilization. What was striking about Gumilev's formulation was that despite the anti-Soviet origins of Eurasianism, he was able to adapt its precepts to fit the realities of Soviet society and politics, both domestic as well as international. While castigated and scorned for most of his career, Gumilev's experiment succeeded eventually—and remarkably—in laying the basis for the wholesale re-emergence of Eurasianism after the collapse of the Soviet Union, initially as a fringe movement on the extremist Red-Brown right but eventually as one of the principal ideological pillars of mainstream Putinism.

The politics of traditional values in Russia since 2012

Pål Kolstø

Professor of Russian and post-Soviet Studies University of Oslo

Session 2A: Panel Shifting Ideas and Identity in Post- Soviet Russia

Chair: Elias Götz

Putin's return to the presidency in spring 2012 ushered in a markedly more restrictive policy-line in the Kremlin, with harsher reactions against the opposition and a generally more authoritarian rule. This was accompanied by a new rhetoric with emphasis on religious faith; support for the nuclear, heterosexual family; a struggle against moral decay in Russian society, and so on – all under the banner of upholding 'traditional values'. The trigger behind the conservative turn was clearly the perceived need to reach out to a certain segment of society often referred to as 'the silent majority', in order to prop up legitimacy. However, it was also bound to alienate some domestic support groups that the Putin regime had relied on until then, as well as liberal politicians and audiences abroad that had been relatively sympathetic toward Putin's leadership as long as it appeared pragmatic, non-ideological and moderate. To what degree does the Kremlin's new legitimation strategy resonate among Russians? Certain evidence suggests that the conservative turn is resisted by important elements within the Russian cultural and societal elites, for instance in the Public Chamber. At the same time the Kremlin is also confronted by organized groups that push an even more conservative/traditionalist ideology than what the Putin regime is comfortable with. The paper will explore how the new politics of traditionalism is unfolding in Russia today with a particular focus on the inputs from (liberal and reactionary) societal groups.

The 'Soviet' in Popular Historical Memory in Russia today: An unusable past?

Dr. Matthew Blackburn

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Session 2A: Panel Shifting Ideas and Identity in Post- Soviet Russia

Chair: Elias Götz

In sharp contrast to the radical de-Sovietization under way in Ukraine, there is continued ambiguity toward the Soviet past in Russia today, something manifested in the way the centenary of the October Revolution was marked in 2017. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in three Russian cities from 2014 to 2016, this paper examines myths in the Russian popular collective memory. A counter-intuitive finding was that the non-Soviet periods of the twentieth century (1900-1914 and the current Putin era) were most often described as positive eras. In contrast, an overwhelming majority viewed the 1917 October Revolution as the definitive national trauma, a break or rupture (*sлом*) in Russian history. Positive myths in both cases revolve around a clear longing for stability and normality. Indeed, when we consider interview narratives on Soviet periods, a more contested and contentious picture emerges. It is here that thick descriptions can offer a rather different picture to the dramatic numbers provided by quantitative polling on Stalin and Brezhnev. The Stalin and Brezhnev periods are highlighted as desirable pasts only by certain respondents; at the same time this is vigorously contested by those with highly critical views of these eras. The divergent views in these cases appear to be based on social and generational grounds; for example, pro-Stalin/Brezhnev positions were mostly held by respondents over forty with similar family biographies and social backgrounds (beneficiaries of Soviet development, 'losers' of post-1991 transitions). Thus, Soviet periods remain far harder to incorporate into Russia's 'useable past'. While appeals to Soviet periods have a rather divisive affect, myths about 1900-1914 and October 1917 tend to bring a consensus.

The Parade of Victims: East-European War Museums in a Global Context

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Session 4D: Stages and Places of Memory

Chair: Yulia Gradszkova

Recent studies of memorial museums under global conditions refer to several trends that influenced post-1989 redesign of memorial museums and exhibitions in East-Central Europe. Most often, researchers refer to the context of EU accession, “universalization of the Holocaust” and “Europeanization of memorial culture” in the region. In non-EU Eastern Partnership countries, memorial museums, including war museums, also became platforms to appeal to international audiences. To reach this, in the 2000s and 2010s some memorial museums in post-Soviet countries introduced references to WWII as opposed to the 'Great Patriotic War' and started recognizing the Holocaust victims perished on the territories of these countries. At the same time, memorial museums resolve local tasks of memory politics. Therefore, exposure to transnational methods of muzealization of war and genocide did not necessarily lead to appropriating the principles of “universalized memory”. Drawing on several examples of war museums in the capital cities of Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova , the talk will reveal whether, how and why these museums appropriate globally recognizable curatorial solutions.

Re-Imaging the Russian Armed Forces: Facing the enemy with Stiletto heels

Maria Engqvist

M.A. in Russian from Stockholm University

Session 1A: Soviet Legacies, Patriotism, Ideology

Chair: Ann-Mari Sätre

Since the fall of the Soviet Union the Russian Armed Forces as created in 1992 has been battling the problematic task to re-invent itself. After the involuntary divorce between the Soviet Armed Forces and the Soviet Union the crisis of the organisation became monumental. Lack of ideological orientation, misconduct, theft and shortages combined with post-perestroika public knowledge of these circumstances did little improve the reputation of the armed forces.

In 2015, the Minister of Defence Sergey Shoygu announced that the “image” of the Russian Armed Forces should be strengthened. In a qualitative content analysis this paper investigates one specific case, namely the establishment of the clothing brand *Armija Rossii* – a trademark registered and owned by the Russian Ministry of Defence.

Starting in Jowett & O’Donnell’s (2015) ten point-model for propaganda analysis, the study investigates the communicative methods and messages used by *Armija Rossii*; it also applies theories on communication and marketing as presented by Roland Barthes in *Rhétorique de l’image* (1964).

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The Role of Identity in Acculturation and Adaptation of Ethnic Minorities: the Case of Russians in Post-Soviet Latvia and Georgia

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Session 2C: Local Identity in the Post-Soviet Space

Chair: Yuliya Yurchuk

The paper presents the results of a comparative study examining the relationships between different types of social identity (ethnic, national, and place identity), acculturation strategies (assimilation and integration), and psychological adaptation (satisfaction with life and self-esteem) of Russians in two sociocultural contexts: Latvia and Georgia. We applied the acculturation framework (Arends-Toth, van de Vijver, 2006) that differentiates acculturation conditions, orientations, and outcomes. Participants were 320 Russians in Latvia ($M = 42.89$; $SD = 21.19$), and 312 Russians in Georgia ($M = 31.11$; $SD = 11.67$). The study used scales from MIRIPS (Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies) project questionnaire and place identity scale (Droseltis, Vignoles, 2010). We performed the path analyses for integration and assimilation orientations separately. The results showed that national and place identities relate to integration of Russians in Latvia and Georgia. Additionally, we found indirect positive effects of national and place identities on self-esteem through integration. Direct effects of place identity on psychological well-being are universal for the studied countries, while the relationships of national and ethnic identities with well-being are context specific. The results obtained in the study are in line with the view that different types of identity might play an adaptive role in different contexts (Liebkind et al., 2016). We can conclude that place identity, in other words, "sense of home" (Qazimi, 2014) play a compensatory role in psychological adaptation of ethnic minorities.

Buying Soviet or Buying Russian? Towards the Political Economy of Nostalgia the Political Economy of Nostalgia

Tamara Kusimova

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Session 2B: Memory and Identity

Chair: Matthew Kott

The present research is focused on the phenomena of commercialization of nostalgia, which can be defined as an extensive use of Soviet attributes, symbols and artefacts in promotion and branding of consumer goods, especially in contemporary gastronomic culture in Russia.

Gastronomic culture itself transfers basic cultural attitudes, and it becomes commorable within the post-soviet context. The main question is why do consumers tend to return to the Soviet heritage and how does “nostalgia proneness” emerges?

Twenty-seven semi structured interviews were conducted. Sample was represented by two groups of consumers of Soviet-styled goods through screening cards. The sample was also divided in two contrasting age groups: first group was represented by seniors (age 50+), who spent considerable part of their life in USSR and, thus, have a direct experience of Soviet food products. The second group were young adults (16-27 years) who’ve never had a direct experience of living in USSR, but have a vivid image how the things were in those times.

By implementing a constructivist approach and using discourse analysis of all interviews collected, we claim that the common feature of nostalgia proneness is its connection to certain social experience that was shared with either unique family generation or within a single generation of “soviet citizens”. Family stories related to the personal experience of everyday life in USSR affect youngsters’ perceived sense of nostalgia. Moreover, the nostalgic narrative of buying Soviet is overlaps with another, even more prevalent patriotic narrative of buying Russian. From consumer perspective, both in personal histories and media representations, buying Russian was loaded with the idea of resistance to imaginary “West”, as if there was a continuous rivalry between categories of local and imported food. In the context of Russian food embargo policy and general securitization of the economy in Russia, those fieldwork findings allow us to speak about general tendency towards the phenomena of gastronationalism.

East Central academicus in Sweden: away game?

Dr. Svitlana Odynets

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Session 2C: Local Identity in the Post-Soviet Space

Chair: Yuliya Yurchuk

The paper deals with the integration strategies of immigrants from East Central Europe who, before their migration to Sweden already had a research career in humanitarian/social sciences in their countries of origin and sought to continue in the Swedish academy. I will analyse narratives of Ukrainian, Russian, Polish and Czech academics with different reasons for migration, different length of their life and work in Sweden and different gender identities.

The main goal of the paper is to identify the factors which affected their ability to pursue their career in the new country. I would like to trace what kind of limitations as well as potentialities Eastern European academics specify, describing their professional development, how their career goals have developed during their first years in Sweden and which impact (if at all) factors of nationality, formal merits, social networks and acceptability of diplomas from East Central Europe have on these processes.

Thereby I want to analyse which objective and subjective potentialities, shortages and breaks exist in their narratives between the “Western” and “Eastern European” academies after 1991, if they believe in a “common European academy” and how this discourse builds. I am also interested in how different participants interpret their statuses, capitals and knowledge and the role they play in their academic career after emigration.

Russian rap: Masculinity and intellectual flow in the case of Oxxxymiron

Ann Werner

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Session 1D: Transformation and the Role of Media

Chair: Irina Seits

Rap and hip hop are popular music genres in Russia and other post-Soviet countries. At the center of the music culture is battle rap, a type of rapping that is built upon a staged conversation between two rapping opponents, where the performer most liked by the audience wins. Battle rap has become a cultural phenomenon in Russia by gathering millions of spectators on YouTube and influencing political debates and popular talk shows (Denisova & Herasimenka 2019). Vladimir Putin himself has congratulated winners of rap battles marking their importance for politics, also politicians have started 'hiring' rappers to for election campaigns.

One rapper known for skillfully incorporating insulting poetry, witty comments and cultural references is Oxxxymiron, the biggest name in St. Petersburg rap ("peterskiy rap"). He has earned fame for his intellectual rap using complex punch lines and cultural references both to classic literature and Soviet period culture. In this paper we will use multimodal qualitative semiotics to study two music videos by Oxxxymiron ("Город под подошвой" from 2015 and "Reality" from 2019) focusing on the intellectual and cultural references and the constructions of masculinity in lyrics and images. Analysing Oxxxymiron, a well-known and well-liked rapper delivering political critique in his lyrics is used a case study to understand not only contemporary Russian culture and masculinity, but also to begin to make sense of media cultures in post-Soviet countries. Studies of contemporary hip-hop and rap in Russia are rare (Osumare 2007; Helbig 2014; Frolova 2015) which makes this contribution important both to media studies and gender studies.

“The common European home”: dynamics of legitimacy and enforcement

Dr. Ekaterina Mouliarova

The Moscow Lomonosov State University/The Swedish Collegium for Advanced Studies

Session 1B: Attitudes, Legitimacy Models and Reverse Transitions

Chair: Leo Granberg

The collapse of the Soviet block in the 1990's offered a new opportunity to introduce global constitutional standards into legal systems of the newly independent states and to challenge political reform. Twenty five years later it is clear that the results of legal harmonization and legal reforms and the ability of the Western type law to induce stable political change are far from ideal. There may be various explanations for more or less successful adaptation towards globally accepted ideas and norms in Russia. Pragmatism competing with such traditional values as order, respect for hierarchy, reconciliation, conflict resolution on the one hand and participative values of governance, consensus building, accountability, tolerance on the other hand all reflect the specifics of regional and international legitimacy models and the success and dynamics of global legal transplants in the regional cultural context. The particular way the law drawing limits of global constitutional standards reflects the fundamental place normative traditions and values take in political and legal history.

Even formally harmonized law does not guarantee standard outcomes in the area of judicial protection which is strongly involved into political and cultural context. The case-law and dispute resolution are particularly valuable sources of information in investigating the reception of legal transplants and enforcement mechanisms within the domestic constitutional order. Enforcement practices is a significant field to check the effectiveness of transplanted norms and legal transfer as they give an idea of what is coded as law and accepted as a normative rule in a particular cultural context.

Along with morals, religion, tradition, politics and economy, law formulates normative principles of development and social change. The paper will analyze some cases providing for examples of competitive normative logics of Europeanization and “Sonderweg” narratives. It will further question the presence of the Soviet normative legacy in Russian judicial practice. The paper will also focus on comparing of roles and relationship between politics and law in defining legitimacy models.

When Historical Legacies and Memorializations (Deeply) Contradict Each Other: The Case of Azerbaijan

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Session 2B: Memory and Identity

Chair: Matthew Kott

An important anniversary was widely celebrated in Azerbaijan on May 28th of 2018: a 100 years since the establishment of the short-lived Azerbaijani Democratic Republic (ADR) – the first Muslim multi-party parliamentary democracy that officially ceased to exist on April 28 of 1920 and gave way to the formation of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, one of the founding members of the USSR.

Two weeks earlier, on May 9th, the Victory Day – a national non-working holiday commemorating the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany in 1945, thus officially ending the World War II – was also widely celebrated with wreath-laying ceremonies and public marches all around Azerbaijan, where the main foci of the official speeches were on the enormous sacrifices and contributions Azerbaijani people made towards the victory over fascism.

What makes these two official celebrations to greatly contradict each other is that the ADR's surviving leadership cadres, fleeing the country after the Bolshevik takeover, re-organized themselves in Berlin, and were used at great lengths by Nazis before and during the WWII for the purposes of anti-Soviet propaganda as well as for the formation of the infamous *Aserbaidshische Legion*, one of the foreign units of the Wehrmacht, and *Waffengruppe SS Aserbeidschan*.

Within such context this presentation critically explores these competing, and, to say the least, deeply contradicting, legacies and memorializations of the contemporary Azerbaijani society.

Celebrating the past in Central Asia: the past, legitimacy and new identities in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan

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Session 2B: Memory and Identity

Chair: Matthew Kott

Post-Soviet nation-building in Central Asia (CA) was merely a state-generated, political elite-driven national project (Roy, 2000; Hirsch, 2005). Central Asian nation-states, inventions of Soviet ethnic enterprise missed the so-called 'traditional Westphalian State' model or national consciousness, because they did not seek for independence from the Soviets. CA states announced their independence after the Soviet Union's collapse. Prior to nation-state model, Central Asians historically existed in their traditional societal organizations of tribe or kinship. Despite numerous studies have been conducted on nation-building, there is a gap in the literature on how celebrations of the past merely designed for political legitimacy affected and shaped people's identity. The study aims to contribute to this gap by examining impact of state-initiated national celebrations and events celebrating the past aimed at power legitimation, on identity in Kyrgyzstan in the period of 1991-2017. Period between 1991 and 2017 was selected because most of celebrations and events celebrating the past were implemented between this time-frame. The study argues that these celebrations of the past were used mainly to legitimate ruling regimes, while nation-building as such in Kyrgyzstan was 'spontaneous'.

Ukrainian enthusiasm and Polish disillusionment: discourses and practices of Eurointegration and the EU's Common Agricultural Policy in rural Ukraine and Poland

Natalia Mamonova

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Aleksandra Bilewicz

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Session 5C: Engagement and Integration

Chair: Paulina Rytönen

Poland and Ukraine are often compared to each other as these two post-socialist countries had similar starting socio-economic and geopolitical positions after the collapse of the communist regimes. However, while Poland quickly processed with Eurointegration, Ukraine had been struggling between the pro-European and pro-Russian paths of development for more than two decades. The recent turn in Ukrainian politics brought the country closer to the European Union with prospects of the *EU membership*. This turn is very visible in the countryside, where rural Ukrainians became very enthusiastic about Eurointegration, which they believed would result in a fairer, more sustainable agricultural system and a better life for small-scale food producers. *Ukrainian smallholders commonly perceive Poland as a success story of economic reforms of Eurointegration* that resulted in a prosperous agricultural sector, support for small-scale farming and impressive living standards in the countryside. However, this perceptions are far from reality. Although, Polish agriculture has shown remarkable growth since the country joined the EU in 2004 (largely due to the CAP subsidies), more and more farmers get disillusioned by the impact of the EU policies on Polish farming. While 80% of the direct payments budget goes to 20% farms, smallholder farms disappear or stagnate because the payments allow them to survive but not to develop their farms. More and more farms disappear due to the fact that the young generation is not willing to overtake them. CAP contributes to the rapid reduction

of small farms and concentration of land in the hands of largest, industrial farmers. Direct payments in Poland are still lower than in most Western European countries, which makes competition on the common European market even stronger. These factors lead to growing dissatisfaction with the EU agricultural policies among many Polish smallholders.

In this study we analyse discourses and practices of Ukrainian and Polish farmers in regard to the EU, the European policies of agricultural and rural development, and the future of their countries in the EU. We aim to understand when, how and for what reasons Eurointegration and the EU policies became perceived not as a hope but a burden for national development. This study contributes to research on national-conservative challenges to the European integration, rising populism and Euroscepticism in the post-socialist countryside.

Technocratic populism in the East Central Europe as a threat to the liberal pluralism

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Session 3A: Populism in the East European Context

Chair: Ninna Mörner

Enlargement of the European Union in 2004 was promising since it officially returned the East Central European countries of the former Eastern bloc to the European polity and discourse. In comparison with the former Soviet Union countries, trajectories of the former Eastern bloc countries were evaluated as the trajectories of success in both economic and political terms. The EU accession had a positive impact of the former Eastern bloc countries. In the 1990s and early 2000s, they adopted the criteria of democratic governance. All destructive ideologies, including populism as ideology and political strategy, during this period, were rather marginal, although they remained in the discourse.

Consequently, the backsliding of democracy observed in East Central Europe in recent years was a rather unexpected phenomenon. The aim of this paper is an investigation of the political and social causes for emerging of technocratic populism as a type of democracy backsliding in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland. I concentrate on these three countries since they experienced noticeable success in democratization before the democracy backsliding, i.e. it is possible to observe this backsliding. Akin to the Soviet nomenclature, technocratic populism questions the principles of representative democracy, civic engagement, and deliberation. Instead of this, it advances the idea of “running a state as a firm”. Due to its catch-all nature, targeted to the wider layers of the population, the technocratic populism represents an even greater threat to the liberal pluralism than the nativist or economic types of populism.

“Making Tomorrow’s Leaders: Youth Movements of Right-Wing Populist Parties in the Baltic Sea Region”

Ann-Cathrine Jungar

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Peteris Timofejevs

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Session 2A: Panel: Making Tomorrow’s Leaders: Youth Movement of Right-Wing Populist Parties in the Baltic Sea Region”

Since the Europeanization of the Eastern bloc following the collapse of the Soviet Union, numerous economic, social, and political changes have taken place in the ensuing decades. Party systems have changed, becoming more stable in certain countries, and less stable in others, with the presence of democratic backsliding in several states. One notable commonality in Central and Eastern Europe is the rise and persistence of populist radical right (PRR) parties. The general consensus in the literature is that the PRR in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), although fulfilling Mudde’s (2007) criteria of populism, nativism, and authoritarianism, is somehow different, and more radical than their counterparts in Western Europe. Minkenberg (2017) argues that this is the case due to the nature of the post-communist transition process and the unfinished nation-building in the region. One aspect of the literature on this party family which has been neglected is youth organizations. This paper is based on the premise that mapping the youth organizations of PRR parties is crucial for understanding the PRR parties (cf. Hooghe et al. 2004: 195). As part of a larger project spanning several PRR parties in Europe, we seek to answer the following questions: (1) How are the YOs organized and how are they related to the mother parties? (2) Why do young people join YOs and how are they recruited? (3) What activities are members engaged in and how are they socialized into right wing populist movements? (4) Is a transnational right-wing populist elite emerging? The paper presents our research and preliminary findings for the following parties: The True Finns (PS); the Conservative People’s Party of Estonia (EKRE); and, the Latvian National Alliance (NA).

Czechoslovakia and European Integration: Legacies of Václav Havel and Václav Klaus in Comparative Perspective

Dr. Stanislav Tumis

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Session 5A: Legacies of Europe and legacies of Resistance

Chair: Florence Fröhlig

Václav Havel and Václav Klaus have belonged to the most influential politicians and thinkers after the Velvet Revolution and their ideas and legacies have strongly influenced the Czech society until today times. In many respects, they represent two antipodes towards a number of political, economic, or ideal issues of the Czechoslovak (Czech) society after Velvet revolution. As both of them have been active in Czechoslovak (Czech) policy since 1989, their ideas became formative for Czech population and resonate even today. While since the beginning of early 1990s they became irreconcilable opponents in many aspects of policy, ideas etc., they were enforced, as the most influential representatives of the state, to find compromises as well. The paper will deal particularly with their views of European integration which strongly resonated in Czechoslovak (Czech) society both before admission to European Union in 2004, and after the Czech Republic became a member of the European Union. While Havel has represented positive approaches of the Czech society towards the European integration, Klaus has been until today times more sceptic and his scepticism became even stronger when his presidency ended in 2013. Ideas of both politicians towards Europe still play the most important role in approaches of the Czech society and political parties, strongly divided to this topic, principally in the lines of Havel's and Klaus' views to it.

Why Is Populism Rising More in Some but Less in Other CEE Countries? Comparison of Poland and Estonia

Baiba Witajewska-Baltvilka

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Session 3A: Populism in the East European Context

Chair: Ninna Mörner

Populism is on the rise in CEE countries. While in a few countries support for populist parties has remained *relatively* low (e.g. Latvia, Estonia (especially until recently)), the elections of the last decade in several other countries have brought either a victory (Hungary, Poland) or substantial increase of electoral representation of populist parties.

It has been argued that the cause of the current rise of populism in contemporary Europe is two-fold: economic recession (the economic insecurity theory) and immigration (the cultural backlash theory). However, these theories fall short of comprehensively explaining the rise of populism in CEE. There has not been a big inflow of Muslim immigration in the region. Moreover, it is puzzling why, for example, Poland (no economic recession, low socioeconomic inequality) is heading towards illiberal democracy with the populist-led government in power, whereas, for example, Estonia (recent economic recession, high socioeconomic inequality) are one of the most stable democracies in entire Europe with low support for populists (even taking into account the very recent increase of populists' representation in the parliament).

By addressing the question on why populism is on rise in some but not in other CEE countries or, more specifically, **why people have turned to vote for populist parties more in Poland than in Estonia**, I propose the following hypothesis.

H1 on predominant values. Voters in Poland (holding predominantly traditional values) felt insecure about the cultural change proposed by more secular elites. As a result, they were more prone to (right-wing) populist appeal. Voters in Estonia (holding predominantly secular values) did not feel in conflict with the values of the elites, and, therefore, were less likely to vote for the right-wing populists.

H2 on public perception of country's functioning of democracy. Voters in Poland, whose satisfaction about the way democracy works was dropping (prior 2010), were

more prone to vote for (right wing) populist parties than voters in Estonia, whose satisfaction about how democracy works in their country was more stable.

H3 on countries' geopolitical position and strength. Voters in Estonia – a small country with close proximity to Russia – are more aware of their dependency of the key European countries than voters in Poland – a more powerful medium-large country. Consequently, voters in Estonia are more prone to vote for non-populist parties to be in line with their key European allies (which are still governed by non-populists). Voters in Poland, on the other hand, do not have such inclinations.

By applying process tracing as the key method, I conduct a comparative study of Poland (post 2005) and Estonia (post 2005) aimed at analysing the role of each hypothesised variable and control variables (derived from the economic insecurity and cultural backlash theories).

Postmodernism as Anticommunism: Cold War Legacies in (Post) Socialist Romanian Literature

Dr. Adriana Stan

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Session 5D: Bracketing the Concepts in Post-Socialist Literature

Chair: Tora Lane

The paper examines the evolution of anticommunism from the pre-1989 oppositional ethos of East European writers influenced by postmodernism, to an official master narrative that led the competition for political, cultural and literary power after 1989. Emerging in the 1980s as an autocolonial iteration of American theory and fiction, Romanian postmodernism radicalized the Cold War opposition between democracy and communism, and related the antitotalitarian drive of pre-1989 literary intelligentsia to postmodernism's anti-totalizing epistemology.

The two stages undergone by Romanian postmodern literature - a pre-1989 decade of semi-official creativity, and a post-1989 cultural combat for institutional power – relied on homogeneous literary-political values. During the 80s, the postmodern paradigm enabled Romanian writers to channel their frustration with the regime through the metafictional critique of historical truth and representation, and through fictional allegories of the private individual. After 1989, Romanian postmodern writers acted upon the aesthetic choices they had delineated in the 1980s with a sense of political agency, as advocates of cultural synchronisation within a globalized space of "multiculturalism" that was otherwise devoid of real connection with local realities. As such, Romanian postmodernism aligned with ascending neoliberalism of the 1990s, in their attempt to relativize and "culturalize" the social-economical facts of transition. Both narratives, the literary and the political one, projected a public mythology of anticommunism which was closer to the American Cold War dichotomies, than to the partially Leftist French Theory that nurtured the postmodern paradigm.

Private Performances of Cold War Europeanization. Specters of Radio Free Europe

Claudiu Turcuş

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Session 4C: Discourses of the Past in Film and Media Chair: Irina Sandomirskaja

This paper approaches visions of European identity articulated in the anti-communist propaganda of Radio Free Europe Romania (RFER) in the 1980s and traces the way these visions influenced the audiovisual rhetoric of the Romanian culture of the early 1990s. It also outlines how these listener visions of European identity were generated in a context of inner exile and as an imagined political self.

The research considers (i) published texts of former RFER listeners recounting their listening experience, (ii) letters from these listeners sent to RFER, (iii) Radio Free Europe's (RFE) audience research, and, (iv) 12 in-depth oral history interviews conducted by me and professor Constantin Parvulescu (St. Gallen University) with former RFER listeners in 2015, in order to show how RFER listening generated images of Europe and a particular, ideologically loaded, disposition of European belonging, predicated in particular upon anti-communism and middle-class civility. My research questions are reminiscent of the way in which expressionist cinema of interwar Germany has been investigated by film historians such as Siegfried Kracauer and Lotte Eisner—that is, as -haunted screens¹¹ and as reflections of collective-psychological dispositions, ¹² as well as expressions of -fears and hopes ¹³ of a certain historical context.

Thus, the paper traces the side-effects of this living-room Europeanization process: how these visions of European belonging – as a symbolic product of the Cold War, offered by RFE for free in exchange for political loyalty – conflicted with the reality of life under state- socialism, how they created inner exile and a double consciousness.

Battles over History and Culture in Poland, Thirty Years after the Fall of the Communist Rule

Barbara Törnquist-Plewa

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Krzysztof Stala

Associate professor at University of Copenhagen

Anita Pluwak

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Mattias Nowak

Lecturer and a PhD candidate in Central & Eastern European Studies (& EU studies) at Lund University

Session 2C: Panel: Battles over History and Culture in Poland, Thirty Years after the Fall of the Communist Rule

Our panel seeks to analytically address several crucial questions that the so called “cultural war debate” raises in contemporary Poland. The debate is characterized by conflicting interpretations of recent Polish history, of Polish national identity, as well as the country’s role within the enlarged European Union. Two conceptual dichotomies around which the debate circulates are Communism *versus* democracy, and conservatism *versus* liberalism. In the present day public discourse, a large conflict around different perceptions of the Communist past and of the democratization process have been particularly brought to the light. Polish scholars, politicians, journalists as well as large segments of the public disagree in their interpretation of how Poland and other states in East Central Europe went from Communism to democracy. The polarization of opinions and perceptions regarding history have a strong impact on contemporary political developments and deserves large analytical attention.

Krzysztof Stala is going to present a paper on debates on the legacy of Poland’s socialist past demonstrating the unresolved interpretative tensions, visible in these debates. He argues that the conflicts over this legacy has led to the weakness of the liberal, progressive discourse in the post-Communist Poland.

Barbara Törnquist-Plewa will focus in her paper on the conflicting interpretations of the “Round Table” agreement between the “Solidarity” opposition and the Polish Communist regime in 1989, and the consequences of this agreement. She aims to demonstrate how the different uses and misuses of that history are instrumentalized in the current Polish politics.

Anita Pluwak’s paper explores the characteristics and evolving perceptions of arts controversies in post-communist Poland. She draws attention to the central importance that culture has for the processes of democratization and pluralization in post-communist society.

Mattias Nowak aims to demonstrate how the current national conservative government in Warsaw uses particular interpretations of recent Polish history in an attempt to gain popularity and legitimacy for contemporary politics. He argues that a particular discursive connection exists between conservatism, soft euro-scepticism, and a certain understanding of the democratization process in Poland.

1980–1989 Solidarity and the Birth of the 21st Century

Jacek Koltan

PhD, philosopher and political scientist, Deputy Director for Research at the European Solidarity Centre in Gdańsk

Session 5A: Legacies of Europe and legacies of Resistance

Chair: Florence Fröhlig

The 21st century began earlier than expected. Thesis of this paper is that the new century was born around 1980, and that 1989 was an important moment in this process. Based on the analyses of the events in Poland I will show how important was the role of the Solidarity movement and the spectacular fall of communism in 1989. However, it is difficult to understand the turn of 1989 without analysing the profound changes that took place at that time. I would like to draw attention to two problem fields: There is a deep contrast between the strength of the total social mobilisation of the Solidarity movement and the Round Table compromise from 1989. Another contrast arises between the culture of the so-called "anti-politics" from the 1980s, and the politics of representative democracy introduced in 1989. The third contrast is the dominating socialist economic imagination and the neoliberal transformation of 1989. The birth process of the 21st century has had its key "spiritual masters" who had shaped political culture introducing new global paradigm which have a profound impact on the transformations in Central and Eastern Europe. Thatcher and Reagan are introducing a neoliberal market economy model, which will become a reference point for transformation in Central and Eastern Europe since 1989. Pope John Paul II, on the other hand, makes religion a tool of political struggle and having an important impact on the Solidarity movement.

Fascisms and antifascism in Poland since 1989

Grzegorz Piotrowski

European Solidarity Center in Gdańsk

Session 5A: Legacies of Europe and legacies of Resistance

Chair: Florence Fröhlig

Antifascism emerges in response to observed and / or identified threat from groups identified as belonging to the fascist political tradition or putting heavy emphasis on xenophobic views and policies. The main aim of this paper is to present a specific aspect of the Polish 1989 transformation – the creation of the political sphere on the streets' level – from a perspective of radical fascist and antifascist groups. By taking a long time perspective, the paper aims at presenting the dynamics of the two intersected social environments, that – according to social movement scholars – often mimic each other in repertoires of action and other aspects (della Porta 2012: 78). Also the choice of focusing on radical political environments is done to highlight some of the processes that took place within the society and politics during the time of transition, but also to show how these movements have used and adapted cultural frames to mobilise newcomers, and present their claims as 'acceptable' within the society.

The main argument of this paper is that the rise of the interconnected fascisms and antifascism was a result of an acceleration and growing dynamics within Polish society, due to structural changes: perestroika and its local adaptations; weakening repressions towards dissidents; growing significance and importance of youth groups. What was also important was the need to express higher complexity of claims raised by various groups within the society, due to the ideological shift within the dissident sector (Ost, 2006). Like for many other processes and dissident groups in Poland, the turning point is 1989 – first semi-free elections, introduction of freedom of assemblies etc.

Russian Health in Ruins: the demographic crisis of the 1990s

Alina Bykova

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Session 4A: The Post-Socialist Social Sphere

Chair: Helene Carlbäck

In the last 30 years, Russia has experienced an unprecedented transition of power – the downfall of one political system, which operated for nearly a century, and the emergence of another, underscored by vicious capitalism and oligarchy. There have been many accounts of how this development took place at the macro-level and what it means for global politics, but outside of some journalistic works, little has been said about how this turmoil affected the Russian people.

This is a salient topic, considering that Russia is facing arguably the worst demographic crisis in its modern history (despite millions of deaths between 1917 and 1945). During the 1990s, about 7 million Russians died in total, which is approximately 5 percent of the population. This demographic blow was accompanied by a catastrophic drop in average life expectancy, which decreased four years between 1992 and 1994. These losses are of a caliber that would normally be found in a sub-Saharan “conflict or post-conflict” society. The average life expectancy in Russia, especially for men, is now on par with some of the world’s most unstable and impoverished countries, such as Bolivia, Iraq, India, Cambodia, Ghana, and Eretria. These statistics are completely abnormal for a modern, industrialized, relatively wealthy, and highly literate nation in peacetime. My paper analyzes the post-Soviet transition in Russia and the 1990s demographic crisis that ensued, as well as symptoms of severe transitional stress, such as rampant alcoholism, violence, and despair, through the lens of population health.

Domestic Violence in Hungary: A Problem in Flux

Katharine Petty

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Session 4A: The Post-Socialist Social Sphere

Chair: Helene Carlbäck

A disparity exists within perceptions of domestic violence in contemporary Hungary. On the one hand, the number of Hungarian women who have reported experiencing domestic abuse aligns with the EU-wide average of 22%. Yet on the other, numerous reports conducted by NGOs such as Human Rights Watch testify to a prevalence of the issue that far exceeds the official statistic. This paper seeks to account for this disparity. It draws on interviews with numerous Hungarian advocates, lawyers, academics, and activists to build a picture of the composite factors that impede the reporting and prosecution of domestic violence in the country. It firstly considers the rise of “traditional values” within Hungary’s domestic politics and political rhetoric, analysing how such rhetoric affects the perpetration and reporting of domestic violence. It then examines the significance of gender roles within Hungary and expectations of performative femininity and masculinity, and analyses how these factors both influence the rate of domestic violence itself, as well as prevent victims from reporting it, and explain how, even when it is reported, prosecution is rare. The paper then widens its perspective, examining first how the fall of communism in the country affected the problem of domestic violence and the more general context of women’s rights, and second how recent fluctuations in Hungary’s relationship with the EU have been detrimental to women’s domestic safety. The paper concludes not only that these factors are all pertinent to the question at hand, but also that they are, to an extent, interrelated.

Changes in Polish Radio after political transformation in Poland (on an example radio reportage - feature)

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Session 4C: Discourses of the Past in Film and Media

Chair: Irina Sandomirskaja

1989 became a symbol of major geopolitical changes in Europe. Changes that began in Poland. The communist system collapses, bringing about the transformation of political system, accompanied by changes in Polish media. Polish radio is affected as well. All those factors had their impact on journalism genres, radio feature included. Understood as an acoustic work describing the reality in an artistic way, the feature became a specialty of the Polish school of journalism.

The changes affected topics, methods of production and form of the genre.

The most important factors that caused these changes include:

- political transformation; materials previously blocked by the censorship can finally be broadcasted. Feature makers start to focus on subjects that could not be openly discussed before. It is also the time when the democratic system is being born in Poland. The journalists present it as a new phenomenon, sometimes in painful, sometimes in mocking manner.
- Technological changes; development and popularization of technology (quadrophony, digitalization and so on) caused significant changes in the method of broadcast production and presentation of subjects.
- Opening to cooperation with foreign centers; cooperation with Western European broadcasters brought about many substantial changes to the sound feature in the end of the 1990's. Affected elements include the method of composition, production and presentation of themes.
- Convergence phenomenon; omnipresent convergence of media gave birth to new forms of the genre, including photo-casts or features enhanced with (or based on) creation, similar to radio drama.

Capitalizing the Oppressed. Shaping the Anti-Communist Discourse in Romanian Cinema Through the Victims of Communism post-1989

Daniel Iftene

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Session 4C: Discourses of the Past in Film and Media

Chair: Irina Sandomirskaja

Despite common expectations based on the anti-communist themed Romanian films of the 1990's and the 2000s', the public debate in reconfiguring the local filmmaking after the 1989 Revolution was not characterized by an intensive anti-communist discourse, but by a rather mild and underlying perspective articulated by the appraisal for those artists oppressed by the communist regime (Lucian Pintilie, Mircea Saucan, Mircea Daneliuc etc.), regarded even nowadays as artists that openly opposed the communist ruling.

The first post-revolutionary accounts on the most prominent platforms for discussing filmmaking in Romania disclose aspects of the previous intensive oppression, but the anti-communist stance is mostly shaped by this offering of prominent positions to filmmakers that experienced censorship and exile during the Ceausescu regime. Nevertheless, their repositioning as key-artists is rarely doubled by an open discussion about the people behind the state aggression.

Thus, the public discourse regarding the Romanian cinema reflects to some extent the claims of the December Revolution for bringing back those who were forced to leave the country and capitalize their experience, their "European thinking", and their resources, but maintains an ambiguous attitude to disclosing the names and actions of people who acted out as oppressors, mirroring the larger public discourse throughout most of the past 30 years.

This presentation will bring forward the mechanisms of using of the victim-image in the first decades after the fall of the communist ruling in Romania and the effects of these strategies on reshaping the local cinema as an anti-communist one.

When “Gender Equality” Has Arrived to Russia – Nordic Cooperation Around Gender Equality After 1989: Achievements and Problems

Yulia Gradsnova

Södertörn University

“Sveriges ansvar”: The idea of Swedish responsibility towards the post-Soviet Baltic states

Mart Kuldkepp

University College London

Nordic Influence in Estonian Foreign and Defence Policy After 1989

Kaarel Piirimäe

University of Tartu

From an open window of opportunity to a window ajar? Nordic transfer of institutions, policies and norms to the Baltic States and Northwest Russia – success, resistance and pitfalls: The case of gender equality

Ylva Waldermarsson

Södertörn University

Session 2B: New Regionalism on Trial? Assessing the Legacy of 1989 in Nordic-Baltic Policy Transfers and Region-work

Chair: Carl Marklund

The geopolitical shift of 1989 presented a window of opportunity for “new regionalist” cooperation in the Baltic Sea. While the situation certainly was risky at the time, the Nordic countries were soon to use this opportunity, eventually establishing a dense web of bilateral and multilateral contacts and commitments not only with the newly independent Baltic states but also with Northwestern Russia. While the impact of this

outreach in policy fields such as democratization, environment and gender equality is indisputable, there has also been a growing criticism of how this “region-work” (Kuldkepp & Marklund 2015) has wavered between “benevolent assistance” and “cognitive colonization” (Musiał 2015) on the one hand, and evolved into an “alphabet soup” of overlapping “fuzzy” regionalist initiatives and structures on the other (Götz 2016).

Today, as the region is once again confronted with geopolitical risks, diverging social values and growing distrust, it is timely to revisit the experiences of past “new regionalism” in order to assess the prospect of “new visions and practices of solidarity” in the Baltic Sea Region. Bringing together contributions on Nordic-Baltic policy transfers in various policy fields, this panel/roundtable contributes to the main theme of the 2019 CBEES annual conference regarding the Europeanization of the former Second World, what remains of “1989”, and which experiences may be drawn upon in the shaping of the contemporary European order in the social, political and cultural spheres. What are the prospects for low politics and soft diplomacy in today’s region-work, amidst returning geopolitical and societal tensions?

Remembering 1989 in Social Networks: Festival Culture in Czech and Slovak Republics

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Session 3C: Heritage and Legacies

Chair: David Gaunt

In 2014, 25th anniversary of the so-called “Velvet Revolution”, the fall of the communist regime in former Czechoslovakia, was widely celebrated. Many of those people who were symbols of those events and for many years were the face of the Czech and Slovak political elite either had already lost their leading positions in the societies and states, or even had died. But the ideas that they had defended were still alive and successfully operated. In this regard, it is interesting to analyze the means by which the importance of democracy and civil society, as well as the necessity to protect them, for young people who have already grown up in democratic countries were formed. Two festivals were chosen as the subject of the proposed research project – “Freedom Festival” (Czech Republic) and “Matryoshka Festival” (Slovakia), which were first held in 2014 and then became regular.

These are multi-genre international festivals with the goal to remind of the so-called “unfreedom” period in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Through culture and art (discussions, exhibitions, film shows, concerts, etc.), organizers have been trying to prove the necessity to preserve freedom and democracy as the main conditions for a successful development of the society.

The social networks will be analyzed in the proposed research project in order to identify the topics relevant to young Czechs and Slovaks; the images through which the threats to the modern democracy are drawn. It will allow making a comprehensive description of the discourse formed by social networks among youth and their perception of the events related to the “Velvet Revolution” in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Changes in the spatial planning system in Poland after the fall of communism as a threat in the economic, spatial and environmental sphere

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Session 3B: Changes and Social Planning

Chair: Ilja Viktorov

During the socialist period, the spatial planning system in Poland was to be an instrument of efficient implementation of government investments. The state played a superior role, disregarding the opinion and will of the society, environmental conditions or economic consequences of the actions taken. It caused that spatial planning was treated by society as an additional instrument of repression and the primacy of the economic sphere over ecology resulted in the progressive degradation of the environment.

The transition from authoritarian to democratic governments provided an opportunity to create a spatial planning law that, on one hand would respect the will of residents and property rights, on the other hand would effectively counteract the phenomenon of "urban sprawl", fostering friendly public spaces, environmental protection, protection of cultural heritage and would provide municipalities with income for implementing spatial policy.

Spatial policy in Poland has undergone numerous changes during this period. All of them met with great criticism of the urban planners and territorial self-governments. These changes have regressed Poland from the accepted standards in the European Union countries, leading to irreversible transformation of space resulting in losses that can be counted in millions of euros.

The aim of the study is to present the most important, in the author's opinion, shortcomings of the Polish spatial economy, which appeared after the period of transformation and the effects they caused.

Sticking 'Eastern' bodies to European cultural heritage

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Session 3C: Heritage and Legacies

Chair: David Gaunt

“To look into the eyes of another person and see the hopes and anxieties of a brother or sister is to discover the meaning of solidarity.” This quotation by the Pope John Paul II is displayed in the permanent exhibition of the European Solidarity Center, one of the 38 sites that have been awarded the European Heritage Label. This label is supposed to construct a European narrative and enhance citizens' sense of belonging to the EU. In the spirit of the above quotation, this paper scrutinizes belonging from the embodied perspective by analyzing how the permanent exhibition of the Solidarity Center mediates human bodies. The exhibition features a great variety of bodies that 'act' on and simultaneously form partly overlapping scales: the shipyard, Gdansk, Poland, Europe, and the world. I use a non-representational approach to analyze the bodies as 'sticky objects of emotion' saturated with affect (Ahmed 2004). While authors have emphasized the importance of the cultural and historical context of the sticky objects (Sakamoto 2015; Lähdesmäki 2017), this paper shows how 'Eastern bodies' mediated by the exhibition evoke different emotions on different scales. Consequently, to keep the same emotions, the bodies of the people are replaced by 'national bodies' on a European scale. As a result, the universal practice of peaceful negotiations is intertwined in the exhibition with the power dynamics of the Central and East European countries as a liminal Europe.

A group of Belgians mobilizes the entire Europe to save the Romanian villages (1989)

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Session 5C: Engagement and Integration

Chair: Paulina Rytönen

In 1989, in all the countries of the communist bloc, something seemed to change, only in Romania things remained the same. The arrival of Gorbachev on power made that Ceausescu would be no longer popular in the Western world, which led to a deterioration of his image in the West.

In 1989, a new international scandal erupted because of Ceausescu's project of Rural Systemization; the project meant the demolition of 8,000 villages and the relocation of the population to the blocks in *agro-industrial* cities. According to the communist regime, the project was aimed to gain land for agriculture, in fact it was a social engineering project, the regime wanted the uniformisation/control of the population and to create *the new man*.

In the Western world this project meant a grave violation of human rights and a crime to demolish a rural and European patrimony, so in February 1989, a group of 12 young Belgians started a protest movement, called „Opération Villages Roumains” – the „operation” that had as purpose to save the Romanian villages from demolition, by „adopting” them by western villages. This movement started in Brussels and spread in the entire Europe in only a few months. The western public opinion, press and politicians – they all agreed to participate to this movement. The operation was so successful that in January 1990 there were 2.200 western villages participating, which meant 30 million European citizens involved! This Operation remains in the European history as a model for implementing a spontaneous movement of solidarity. There was an extraordinary wave of sympathy for Romania in 1989, one can say that Romania was metaphorically "received" in Europe through this pan-European action, that continued to be active even after 1990.

The cinematic representation of the Wild 90s

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Session 4C: Discourses of the Past in Film and Media

Chair: Irina Sandomirskaja

Moral degeneration, absurd, brutality, disillusion and the experience of survival in harsh economic conditions were a part of the transformation in CEE countries. They prevailed in the cultural representations and films were not an exception. Mariëlle W. Wijermars noted it in her article on the Russian satirical comedy "Dreams" (1993). However, the question about differences and similarities of the phenomenon in various countries until now have remained an unexplored field.

In my paper, I will present the cinematic representation of the transition time depicted in Polish films. I will mention such productions as "Pigs" (1992), "Miss Nobody" (1996) and "The Debt" (1999). They all mirror the characteristic and unique spirit of the transformation time. To place them in a broader Central and East European context I will refer to coproductions like "Brute" (1997) and iconic examples from the region "Brother"(1997). My aim will be to examine the transnational aspect of shared experience depicted in feature films.

The transformation period has become a part of contemporary history. Therefore, we can consider films from that time as a source for social history. A proper methodological approach remains a challenge. Hence, it is necessary to develop a language describing the transformation period in Central and East Europe. Cross-disciplinary research, visual history approach and traditional source criticism may help to set up a link between this period and the present. It's a chance to understand and examine social, economic and cultural changes characteristic for this region.

Social cleavages vs frozen democracy: Western Balkan Case

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Session 3B: *Changes and Social Planning*

Chair: Ilja Viktorov

The paper aim is to explain the relation between social cleavages and political party system in Western Balkan. Thus, since in 1990 the new democracies in Western Balkans often undergo a period of organizational fragmentation. In the region, a large number of political party are part of election but failing to secure electoral support and/or political stability.

This relationship between political parties and social cleavages in Western Balkans will be followed based on two perspectives: a- the historical trajectory of social and political conditions of the region and b- the ability of the political party system to establish the social cleavages.

The features of social cleavages will be treated in this paper, followed by focusing on the main question: "Are the political party system enable to represent the social cleavages in the new democracy in Western Balkans?"

Analyzing the social cleavages in Balkans will show, that the political party system is not enable to establish the representative of electoral goals and/or political stability. By this, political party system in Western Balkans seems to more as a frozen democracy, rather than a representative democracy system.

For analytic purposes, the discussion is organized in two main parts. The first part will be, theoretical approach focusing on key issues that related to social cleavages and political party system, legacy of new democracy, representative institutions in Western Balkans. The second part will examine new democracy in Western Balkans focusing mostly in countries like Republic Kosovo and Northern Republic of Macedonia, were the social cleavages are mostly presented in society, also as countries as Albania.

The Baltic Unity in foreign policy practices since 1989: decay or transformation?

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Session 4B: Euro-integration

Chair: Thomas Lundén

On August 23, 1989 about 2 million people created a human chain connecting Vilnius, Riga and Tallinn – three capitals of then Soviet Baltic republics. Thus they commemorated the 50th anniversary of the notorious Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact that paved the way for incorporation of Baltic states into the USSR. It was unprecedented manifestation of the unity of Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian people in their common struggle for independence and democracy.

But what happened to the Baltic Unity after the independence of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia was finally restored? On the one hand, there were established several trilateral bodies (such as the Baltic Assembly, Baltic Council, BALTBAT, BALTDEFCOL etc.), marking its persistence. On the other hand, as time passed by, the less voices rang out to urge for common Baltic actions and consolidated position and the more skepticism has been expressed on whether Baltic Unity is still required in current political agenda and whether Baltic states are still more allies than competitors on the international arena?

So the purpose of my report is to explore arguments on the both sides and to conclude, if it is still appropriate to perceive the Baltic states as a consolidated regional group with common aims and interests and what happened to the consolidating legacies of the Baltic Unity of 1989?

Always Hard Times? Public and Private Responses to Economic Hardships in Russia

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Session 4A: The Post-Socialist Social Sphere

Chair: Helene Carlbäck

Post-Soviet Russia went through numerous periods of economic downturns. The golden decade of a remarkable economic growth in 1999-2008 ended up abruptly after the global crisis hit the country; since then the economy never returned to its heights. How do Russians respond to the economic hardships? How does the state of economy translate into the potential for mobilization and actual collective actions? Using time-series data on protest attitudes and protest events I investigate the relations between the changes in “objective” socio-economic conditions, “subjective” perceptions of the current state of affairs in the country, and potential/actual level of mobilization. I show that Russians indeed react to the economic hardships in a predictable manner: they are more eager to participate in collective actions when inflation and unemployment are high, and demobilize if they feel that the country sails in the right direction. I substantiate these findings with the results from focus-groups held in four Russian cities in 2017. This study provides an evidence that Russians do not passively submit to the situation in the country but react to the changes in economic situation and calibrate their protest attitudes and behavior accordingly.

Security perspective(s) in the Baltic states

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Session 4B: Euro-integration

Chair: Thomas Lundén

Transnational cooperation and European integration have provided dynamic development in the Baltic countries. It seems that similar political and economic conditions, and historical experience of the states bring them closer in terms of their security perception. However, several examples of the regional projects in the field of economy, information, defence and environmental protection show that the Baltic states define security differently based on other national priorities as well as their individual assessment of the regional and global threats. Differences between the states are seen through the prism of their national and regional projects, methods and actions for the security development, and relations with their neighbours.

The paper is devoted to the analysis of the Baltic security perception, primarily the similarities and intersections between Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The aim is to explore how the states recognize regional and global threats, and what security measures and instruments they apply. Our assumption is that the Baltic states' security perception determines the scope and intensity of the cooperation between the states. Particularly, different security perspective constitutes serious barrier for participation in regional projects and for mutual partnership. In order to examine the issue the argument is structured as follows: first, the security assessment of the states will be analysed according to the national security strategies, documents, reports; secondly, we consider regional projects and fields in which the states cooperate with each other or they cannot do it; finally we define implication (benefits and obstacles) for further regional integration.

Solidarity and Nationalism after the Hungarian Transition

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Session 3A: Populism in the East European Context

Chair: Ninna Mörner

It seems to be that Hungary under the Orbán-era has become one of the main fighters for sovereignty after the Hungarian regime change. In this paper I am trying to challenge this over-simplification and show the many faces of the system. According to my hypothesis under the populist-nationalist surface of the Orbán-regime there is disappointing compromise between the government and the globalized capitalism. The most state direct (subsidies, tax benefits) and indirect (labour law against the employees) aids have been given by the “nationalist Orbán’s governments” since the regime change. In this sense I put an emphasize on the investigation this new form of post-modern nationalism which is based on discursive fight for sovereignty, but at the same time sacrifice it in the context of neoliberal capitalism. In this sense, I will analyse the pact between the Orbán’s governments and neoliberal (especially German) companies. The other face of Orbán’s nationalism is much more brutal and relating to the hate campaign against refugees and migrants which has destroyed the traditionally weak Hungarian solidarity networks after 1989. I am convinced because of the mentioned pact with neoliberal capitalism which damaged the state and national sovereignty, the regime has found a way to over-emphasize the fight for sovereignty. That is why the Hungarian nationalism has been articulated in the last few years in the framework of civilizationism. Emphasizing and analysing this embarrassing phenomenon, the abdication of sovereignty and the brutal fight for it, are the main goals of this paper.

Towards Mapping the Social Landscape of Urban Improvements in Russia's Big Cities (The Case of Nizhny Novgorod)

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Session 3B: Changes and Social Planning

Chair: Ilja Viktorov

The paper aims at mapping the social environment of urban development discussion in a big non-capital Russian city. The mapping includes identifying the key actors, exploring the structure of their relations, and their resources. The methodic approach of the paper is based on the World Resources Institute's 'Mapping Social Landscapes' approach (Buckingham et al. 2018)

In the recent years, big cities of Russia have seen much of political and social activity. They were the scenes of mass political activism, but that's just one aspect of citizens' rising involvement. The sphere of urban development and improvement also attracts a lot of attention from concerned citizens, which results in political actions, as well as in less visible, but highly significant process of negotiations and attempts for cooperation between civic activists and authorities. Moscow gives some of the brightest examples of such a combination of mass protests and mutual adjustment of actions toward improvements. However, other big cities of Russia have their own agenda of urban improvements, involving authorities, active citizens, NGOs (and GONGOs), and expert communities.

Nizhny Novgorod provides a number of cases which can be analyzed from the point of view of various actors' relations. The city is an interesting urban scene itself, with its nearly 800-year history and the Soviet legacy of an industrial 'closed city'. The data of a 2018 regional survey demonstrate that the potential of an active online feedback in the region might potentially exceed 20% of the population. The qualitative data gathered in 2018-2019 suggest that the city by now has a vivid and competitive social

environment of urban discussion, which has been evolving and differentiating through the recent years. However, the existing system of public involvement experiences problems with reaching wider population, both in the sense of participation, and feedback collection.

Transformations of Memory of Christianization of Kievan Rus' in Ukraine since 1988 till 2018

Yuliya Yurchuk

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Session 2D: Uses and Abuses of Memory

Chair: Francesco Zavatti

Just a year before the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Soviet Union celebrated a millennium of “Christianization of Kievan Rus’”. The main commemorative events took place in Kyiv, which was broadly and indisputably presented as the heart of the Orthodox Christianity. Within 30 years since then, the meaning of the celebration of “Christianization of Kievan Rus’” has changed dramatically. From the event that was first staged as the day of “Slavic Unity” to the event that sharply distance the “Russian World” from the rest of the world. Is it the return to the Cold War rhetorics as many commentators see or is it a symptom of something totally new (or, indeed, much older) that we face? In my paper I want to trace the changes of the meaning of Eastern Christianity throughout 30 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall and establishment of the new systems of governance and of the new systems of meanings. The entry point to such discussions are annual celebrations of “Christianization of Kievan Rus’”. I consider these memory events as performance of not only national sentiments and symptoms of political reconfigurations but also the articulations of deep religious contestations and tensions which are not always visible on the surface. I argue that these tensions have a long history that goes back to inter-religious battles but we only see the echoes of these battles reflected in the field of commemoration.

'Windows of Opportunity': The legacy of Waffen-SS and BKA veterans in the Post-Soviet Belarus, ca 1989-1996

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Session 2D: Celebrating Nazi Collaborationists in Post-1989 Eastern Europe
Chair: Yulia Gradszkova

After World War II, pro-Nazi Belarusian veterans were forced into exile, underground, or into the fringe. But they kept their narratives of heroic resistance to Communism alive in exile. The fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War gave them new audience. The veteran diaspora provides these heroes; it is also credited with preserving Belarus' true, pro-Western culture and native language during the Soviet era. Officially, Belarus's WWII pantheon includes only those who fought the Nazis. This reflects Lukashenka's close ties (much resented by pro-West nationalists) with Russia. They champion, instead, a WWII pantheon composed of all those fought the Soviet Union with the Nazis.

The paper examines the use of revisionist World War Two and post-War resistance narratives in the Post-Soviet Belarus. How veterans' narratives were translated, codified, and then redeployed after 1991? The presentation will demonstrate the networks and audiences espousing these narratives, and to what degree martyr' pantheon developed during the 1990s is ready for a post-Lukashenka Belarus.

Memory Work of ‘Germanic’ Waffen-SS veterans in the post-Soviet Space

Madeleine Hurd

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Session 2D: Celebrating Nazi Collaborationists in Post-1989 Eastern Europe
Chair: Yulia Gradska

This paper deals with the memory work of German, Scandinavian, and Flemish W-SS veterans during the decades following the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the 1990s, the Fall of the Wall seemed to confirm the ‘Germanic’ veterans’ revisionist interpretation of WWII as a trans-European struggle against Bolshevism. This approach, still unpopular in Western Europe, found support in the post-Soviet East, where bitter memories of the Nazi occupation are often overlaid by bitter memories of occupation by the Soviet Union.

The opening up of Eastern narratives and spaces thus provided Western European Waffen-SS veterans with new legitimacy, credibility, and mobilizational force. Veteran organizations from Belgium, Denmark, Norway and Germany – still surprisingly active by the early 1990s - were quick to exploit these new sources. They organized pilgrimages to East European battle-grounds and graveyards, joining in Estonian, Latvian and Hungarian commemorations of ‘freedom fighters’, and establishing memorials dedicated to themselves.

Redeploying the Legion. The Iron Guard in early post-communist Romania

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Session 2D: Celebrating Nazi Collaborationists in Post-1989 Eastern Europe
Chair: Yulia Gradska

The fall of the communist regime in Romania in 1989 provided to numerous political groups the unprecedented possibility to return to the public scene and proselytise. Among the groups that returned from the exile as early as 1990, the extreme right movements were present. The Legionary Movement was a Romanian interwar anti-communist and antisemitic movement. In power in the short-lived National Legionary State (1940-1941), it sided with Nazi Germany. In 1941, the Legion was crushed by the Romanian Army with the support of the Germans. The Legionaries were forced into war exile in Germany and continued to collaborate with the Nazis until the end of the war. During the Cold War, the movement did not cease to exist. It survived by the work of several networks of Legionaries dispersed in the Western hemisphere for over four decades. In 1990, the exiled Legionaries returned to Romania and recommenced their activities, with the aim of proselytising among the new generations.

This paper aims at examining the redeployment of the Iron Guard narratives in early-post communist Romania (1990-1996). In order to show the attempt of the veterans to implement a memory grab on a post-totalitarian audience, the paper outlines the main activities performed by the legionaries after the fall of the communist regime. Specific attention will be given to public events, commemoration and speeches held and Guardist symbols and slogans displayed in the nineties. Sources of this study are to be found in the Romanian public libraries and in the archive of the Legionary Movement (Bucharest).

The Bulgarian Gulag in the Post-Communist Public Space: Acts of Remembrance, Ways of Forgetting

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Session 3D: Memory Politics

Chair: Yuliya Yurchuk

Nearly thirty years since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the Eastern European communist regimes, scholars across the disciplines continue interpreting the multifaceted legacy of the communist experience. Consensus on what exactly constituted twentieth-century European communism and how to remember it, however, is difficult to achieve. Simply put, this is because communism as a lived experience proved simultaneously repressive and emancipatory. The initial and outright condemnation of the system as oppressive and totalitarian has given way to a new tide of communist nostalgia and longing for a past that now seems irretrievably discarded to the dustbin of Cold War history. Scholars have embarked on diverse but interconnected paths in their attempts to make sense of these outwardly opposing versions of the socialist past. Reconciling them, however, has turned out to be challenging, with analyses privileging either the modernizing impetus or the totalitarian tendencies of European state socialism. In what follows and considering the conference's goals, I situate the history and memory of the Bulgarian gulag within the broader narrative attempt at rethinking socialism's impact on the present. More specifically, I survey the various forms of public attention, judicial discourse and cultural memory of the Bulgarian gulag that took shape in the post-communist years. The presentation spans the period from 1989 until 2019. I contrast the initial publicity surrounding the memory of violence with the way it exists in the present day. The broad question that I put forth is: what happened in the thirty year since news of the Bulgarian gulag first struck the Bulgarian psyche? Why has the memory of the camp past now receded into silence? I end the presentation with a discussion on how the camps' legacy continues to haunt those few remaining survivors unable to forget and unwilling to relegate their experiences to historical oblivion. Opting for an

interdisciplinary analysis, this study uses a wide variety of primary and secondary sources, including recently declassified archival material from Bulgaria's former Ministry of the Interior (AVMR), the Central State Archive, oral history interviews with former camp and prison inmates that I conducted between 2006 & 2019, along with memoirs, films, and media representations.

Alt-right civil society groups in Russia and their approaches to memory of the Soviet Repressions: Revisionism, re-Stalinization, and the markers of 'civility' of civil society

Selbi Durdiyeva

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Session 4D: Stages and Places of Memory

Chair: Yulia Gradsikova

Much praise has been given to civil society for their engagement with memory and memorization. This implicit positive image of civil society forces commentators to evaluate the work of civil society quantitatively (thus arguing that 'the more – the better'), whereas civil society consists of different groups of population, including far-right nationalistic organizations. These groups engage in revisionism of history, scapegoat marginalized groups of population, appeal to populist agenda, and support precarious policies of the authoritarian state in an attempt to overcome not only Russia's past but also the present. Therefore, the need to analyse 'the textures and temperatures' (Krygier, 2002) of civil society stands apparent. In the attempt to do so, I am examining a far-right group in a Siberian city Surgut in Russia, which resurrected a monument to Stalin. By looking at the posts in social media, official website of the organization 'Russian Spirit,' newspaper articles, and secondary interviews from September 2015 (date prior to the resurrection of the monument) to the present day, I outline the 'qualities' the given group has, and evaluate their behaviour from the stand point of 'civility' thus asking how 'civil' civil society should be when engaged in memory initiatives? I conclude by arguing that the given case raises bigger issues with respect to questions re-Stalinization, political and mnemonic schisms, reframing of the Soviet

past, expressed not only by Kremlin, but also civil society groups dealing with the Soviet repressions.

Converging Minority Trans-Border Mobilization Through Nationalistic and Populistic Frameworks

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Session 5C: Engagement and Integration

Chair: Paulina Rytönen

Since 2011, when the *Citizenship Act* was adopted, more than 200, 000 ethnic Hungarians from Romania became dual citizens, extending the suffrage and political influence of kin-state activism beyond the border. Romania's accession to the EU made the kin-citizenship act lose their practicality. Henceforward, a shift in the Hungarian kin-state activism arose from political actors like László Tőkés who reinstated memory issues as a political claim during protests and festivities to achieve autonomy for the Székelyland. The general timeframe is from 2015-2019.

What are the talking points used by kin-state activists that mobilizes and that are replicated by the national minority during protests when demanding autonomy? This paper will examine these trends twofold. Firstly, it will present a critical discourse analysis of the rhetoric from activists like László Tőkés, drawing in particular on frameworks for the study of populism put forward by Cas Mudde and Ruth Wodok. Secondly, it will categorize in a content analysis the talking points of the kin-state activists and protest banners of the minority into two categories that spin around mnemonic incentives and ethno-political issues. The paper will present two main findings. The first speaks about how kin-state activists are structuring their mobilization strategy around nationalist rhetoric of 'community-building' idiom to convene a populist anti-elite message against the government in Bucharest. The second finding reveals that mnemonic incentives are the most used rhetoric elements by activists.

'Memory laws' and historical memory regulation: the patterns of legislative engagement with the past in Ukraine, Poland, and Estonia 1991-2018

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Session 3D: Memory Politics

Chair: Yuliya Yurchuk

The paper contributes to the field of historical memory and law studies by examining the role of political entrepreneurs in legislative regulation of historical memory in modern Ukraine, Poland, and Estonia. To these end, it, firstly, focuses on the notion of a 'memory law' regulating historical representation of the past and looks at three vignettes of such a law: declarative, regulatory non-punitive, and regulatory punitive (Heinze, 2017). Secondly, the paper assesses memory legislation of the three countries alongside the parameters and demonstrates the trends of historical memory regulation. I argue that in three countries the greater legislative intrusion in historical memory regulation, choosing punitive turn in memory regulation over non-punitive legislative practices in particular, is dependent on electoral successes of political 'memory warriors'. This leads up to different memory regulation regimes in three country-cases. As a contribution of the paper, I advance the notion of memory regulation regime on the one hand and argue that memory laws are conceptually distinct from transitional justice measures on the other.

From one system to another: Voices of the Borovo factory workers.

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Session 3C: Heritage and Legacies

Chair: David Gaunt

1931 is an important year in the former Yugoslavia, and in today's context Croatian history. This year was the defining year in life of the Borovo factory and its residential area. The development was based on the idea of an idyllic garden city with its clear division between the production, residential and recreation zones.

The area was severely damaged during the Yugoslavian war in the 1990s. From 1998 onwards some parts of the factory were rebuilt and today the complex is in the State's ownership, listed as a heritage site, still producing shoes and trying to restore its previous accomplishments.

There are people who are still working in the Borovo factory who have “survived the system”. They witnessed the transformation of the symbols and are creators of the collective memory of what Borovo was once for Yugoslavia. Today, they are in a different political and social context - the Republic of Croatia and, in the wider context, the European Union, where they are now witnesses to the new system.

The focus of this paper is on the cultural memory, or collective memory of the workers, but also their views on the factory life “then” and “now”. The methodological choice of my research is oral history and ethnographic research.

Europeanization of historical narratives?

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Session 2D: Uses and Abuses of Memory

Chair: Francesco Zavatti

The dramatic events in 1989 granted the countries in Central- and Eastern Europe a possibility to shape their own future, but also a possibility to shape their own past. Soviet- style historical narratives, which had held a hegemonic position for decades, were challenged by revived national narratives with roots in early 20th century. This nationalisation of the past was, however, accompanied by europeanization of political life, since most countries in the region aspired for integration with Western Europe.

The question therefore arises, to which degree European narratives and internationalist, democratic values penetrated the historical narratives in Central and Eastern Europe. This question is all the more important since several studies have revealed an interdependence between historical narratives and present political attitudes.

In this position between the dictates of the Soviet Union and the expectations of the European Union, the interpretations of a third union therefore gained renewed relevance: The Polish-Lithuanian Union (1385-1795) was characterised by a multitude of ethnic and religious groups, and its political system contained elements of democracy, tolerance, and freedom.

My presentation includes examples from the four successor states Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine, based on analysis of history textbooks. The examples show that references to Europe as a cultural and ideological space and to the democratic legacy of the Polish-Lithuanian union are found to varying degree and in different forms in the four countries, but a gradual europeanization of historical narratives does seem to take place during the decades following 1989.

Amnesia or Remembrance? The Politics of Memory of the Holocaust in Belarus, Ukraine, and Lithuania 1991–2018

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Session 3D: Memory Politics

Chair: Yuliya Yurchuk

The memory of the Holocaust in Eastern European countries is represented through many spheres – political, educational, cultural, etc. At the present, state institutions and state policies have an impact on the memory of the Holocaust in collective memory. Fundamental change, after the fall of the Soviet Union in Belarus, Ukraine, and Lithuania since 1991, has activated a transformation towards the memory of the Holocaust and the identity of the inhabitants in these regions.

The aim of this paper proposal is to characterize the politics of the memory in Belarus, Ukraine, and Lithuania regarding the Holocaust and to describe how memory of the Holocaust is embedded in the official historical narration of each of these countries. The main topic of the paper proposal – the memory of the Holocaust and its inclusion in official historical narration – bears the weight of impacting new national identities in 21st century Belarus, Ukraine, and Lithuania.

In the paper proposal, I characterize memory politics as an organization's particular understanding of the past, promoted through state and non-state institutions. Also, in the project, I use Jan Assmann's theory of cultural memory, whereby the memory of historical events in society is realized through cultural memorials (monument, cinema, theater, arts and other spheres). The chronological border of the paper proposal – 1991 – marks the fall of the USSR and the beginning of a change in interpreting both the past and state historical policy.

Sticking 'Eastern' bodies to European cultural heritage

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Session 3C: Heritage and Legacies

Chair: David Gaunt

“To look into the eyes of another person and see the hopes and anxieties of a brother or sister is to discover the meaning of solidarity.” This quotation by the Pope John Paul II is displayed in the permanent exhibition of the European Solidarity Center, one of the 38 sites that have been awarded the European Heritage Label. This label is supposed to construct a European narrative and enhance citizens' sense of belonging to the EU. In the spirit of the above quotation, this paper scrutinizes belonging from the embodied perspective by analyzing how the permanent exhibition of the Solidarity Center mediates human bodies. The exhibition features a great variety of bodies that 'act' on and simultaneously form partly overlapping scales: the shipyard, Gdansk, Poland, Europe, and the world. I use a non-representational approach to analyze the bodies as 'sticky objects of emotion' saturated with affect (Ahmed 2004). While authors have emphasized the importance of the cultural and historical context of the sticky objects (Sakamoto 2015; Lähdesmäki 2017), this paper shows how 'Eastern bodies' mediated by the exhibition evoke different emotions on different scales. Consequently, to keep the same emotions, the bodies of the people are replaced by 'national bodies' on a European scale. As a result, the universal practice of peaceful negotiations is intertwined in the exhibition with the power dynamics of the Central and East European countries as a liminal Europe.

“Frozen Charlottes“ The (his-) story of (broken) female figures in present and past in “Pamjati Pamjati” by Stepanova

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Session 5D: Bracketing the Concepts in Post-Socialist Literature

Chair: Tora Lane

The novel “Pamjati Pamjati” by Marija Stepanova (2017) tells the narrative of a Russian family in the 20th century. The author develops the unique family story by presenting photographs, diaries and letters to the reader, which spin a narrative over four generations, which lived over the last hundred years.

Frozen Charlottes are miniature figurines made in Germany, which became popular around 1850. The naked fragile dolls made from china had multifarious functions and disappeared as a cultural phenomenon at the start of the 1920s.

The figures of the Frozen Charlottes link the four different storylines of the novel “Pamjati Pamjati”: the documentation of the 20th century, the family narration, the narrative of the unspeakable cruelty of the 20th century and additionally the Frozen Charlottes initiate a dialogue with famous artists and art-theories of the past.

Stepanova connects past and existence time, absence and present places though storylines. The materiality of the past figures is represented by the Frozen Charlottes, whereas the materiality of memorialization manifests in pictures, letters and diaries.

In my talk, I would like to establish how far the transgenerational and individual (family) remembrance of female figures can be seen as a counterpoint to the (new) official history and remembrance in today’s Russia.

Student Uprisings, democratic ideals, and commemorations: November 17 as a holiday in contemporary Greece and the Czech Republic

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Session 3D: Memory Politics

Chair: Yulyia Yurchuk

On November 17, 1989, a student demonstration in Prague initiated the “Velvet Revolution” which led to the fall of Communism in Czechoslovakia. The upcoming 30th anniversary of this event provides the opportunity to reflect on the meaning of the revolution and the revolution’s impact on Czech society and Czech political culture. This anniversary also offers the opportunity to compare the Czech experience with similar events that influenced democratic transitions in other countries. One of such cases is the Athens Polytechnic uprising of November 1973. Even though this uprising did not lead directly to the collapse of the Greek dictatorship, it did play a central role in discrediting the regime. Both the Velvet Revolution and the Polytechnic uprising began as student demonstrations and are nowadays commemorated as state holidays on November 17. These holidays have become symbolic dates for both the Czech and the Greek public respectively to express their dissatisfaction with the current political situation.

Based on original research conducted in November 2018 in Prague and May 2019 in Athens, the proposed paper seeks to compare the commemorations of November 17 in Greece and the Czech Republic by looking specifically at the cases of the capital cities. The study will first present the geographical spaces in these two cities that were relevant to the events themselves and other places in the cities that have come to be associated with the events of November 17. Then, the study will present how people interact with these spaces in order to keep alive the memory of the respective events.

Between memory and history: ‘difficult issues’ in Moscow museums

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Session 4D: Stages and Places of Memory

Chair: Yulia Gradszkova

Recent developments in Russian memory politics show somewhat ambiguous approach towards ‘difficult heritage’ of the 20th century. Museums and exhibition venues which include one of the most contested periods in Soviet history – Stalin’s Great Purge of the 1937-1938 – into the historic narrative are compelled to take a certain standpoint, be it the objectivistic perspective of ‘neutral history’ or human-rights centered approach which denounces the past atrocities. The latter approach was elaborated during the 1990s: a period of contemporary history which in its own turn is being reassessed both by society and by cultural institutions.

I plan to draw on Jan and Aleida Assmanns’ theory of cultural and communicative memory, where the ‘cultural memory’ is a form of institutionalized relation to the past, the structural system for representing, archiving and constructing historical narrative,¹ whereas the ‘communicative memory’ is the living memory of the recent past that individuals share with contemporaries.² Museums’ traditional domain is the former but recently they are advancing towards the realm of the latter; therefore I want to focus

¹ Redin, J., & Ruin, H. (2016). *Mellan minne och glömska. Studier i det kulturella minnets förvandlingar.*

² Assmann, J. & Czaplicka, J. (1995). Collective Memory and Cultural Identity. *New German Critique* 65, 125–133.

on how the 'difficult' memories of the 1990s are appropriated by cultural memory institutions.

In this paper I will analyze how the 1990s are represented in the display of the 'Russia—my (hi)story' multimedia historical park and what kind of narrative unfolds in the exhibitions of the Museum of Contemporary History of Russia in Moscow.

The “dispositional enemy image” in the coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict by the Polish media in 2014, 2015 and 2018

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Session 1D: Transformation and the Role of Media

Chair: Irina Seits

Due to the Russian-Ukrainian conflict's proximity to Poland, its influence on the country, as well as historical, cultural and political connections between Poland, Russia and Ukraine, the dispute received a lot of interest from the Polish media. Poland has rather ambiguous and at times even hostile relations with the parties to the conflict, especially Russia. Therefore this could lead to the journalists using the “dispositional enemy image” when covering the dispute. In the “dispositional enemy image” theory, the “enemy” is presented through negative national or religious stereotypes, and with linguistic and visual mechanisms that lead to this actor being demonized.

This presentation will show if and by what mechanisms the “dispositional enemy image” was visible in the coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict by six Polish media outlets in 2014, 2015 and 2018. It was decided to analyze materials published at the turn of 2014 and 2015 due to the escalation of the conflict, and in November, 2018 when the Kerch Strait Incident occurred. These time periods will be compared to see if and how the coverage of the event and its parties changed over the years. A content analysis of the most popular daily newspapers, including tabloids and quality newspapers, as well as television news programs, will help to examine how the conflict was presented by various media. The results will show which party to the conflict the media presented as the “enemy” and why, and what visual and linguistic mechanisms were used to demonize a given entity.

Patriarchy vs Feminism: the Role of Memory Politics in Social Mobilization in Post-Soviet Russia

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Session 2D: Uses and Abuses of Memory

Chair: Francesco Zavatti

Moving towards freedom and democracy of the former communist states after the end of the Cold War among other things led to increased interest in ideologies like feminism. However, conservative turn in contemporary Russia, among other things, has led to revival of patriarchal culture. According to this culture, women are “naturally” destined for motherhood and, thus, are expected to become the keepers of traditional families. The whole population of the country, however, does not share these patriarchal views. Oppositional feminist voices claim that women can find their call even outside of family. In the focus of the paper will be attempts of these opposite discourses on femininity to mobilize support for their vision among the population of Russia.

It has been recognized by previous researchers that memory politics has been used by different political agents for social mobilization around their ideology. In the focus of the paper will be uses of history of female terrorism in pre-revolutionary Russia in patriarchal and feminist discourses of contemporary Russia. Female participation in political violence has always been considered as a controversial issue within the patriarchal order since participation in political violence is still seen as the opposite of “normal” femininity. The way history of pre-revolutionary female terrorism has been used in memory politics of conservatives and feminists will help shed new light on contemporary views on the position of women in contemporary Russia.

Issues connected to female participation in pre-revolutionary terrorism have been re-actualized in movies, literary works and works of art during Vladimir Putin’s era. The paper will focus on narratives of pre-revolutionary female terrorists constructed in two

mainstream historical movies by supporters of Putin's policies (Karen Shakhnazarov's *The Rider Named Death* and Filipp Yankovsky's *The State Councilor*) and the narrative constructed in installation *Narodovolki* by feminist artist Mikaela.

Relics of communism: Politics of Memory toward Soviet heritage in the Central European Countries

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Session 3C: Heritage and Legacies

Chair: David Gaunt

After 1989, Central European countries had to face the similar challenges resulting from the political transformation. One of them was the issue of addressing the past, not only in the political and legal dimensions, but also in the cultural and symbolic. The aim of the paper is to analyse actions towards the "relics of communism" – material, "Soviet heritage", after 1989 to, in some cases, nowadays (2019). The scope of my reflection will include the symbolic landscape associated with communism in Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary. These are: objects commemorating World War II Soviet soldiers fighting against Nazism; heroes and leaders of the socialist regimes; objects that express gratitude for the Soviet Union; monuments to the brotherhood between the Soviet Union and the socialist states. I will also examine how the "empty" public space was recreated after 1989. How Central European Countries and its newly established, democratic authorities dealt with this Soviet heritage, says a lot about the transformation processes, which 30th anniversary we are celebrating this year. I will try to answer following questions: what was the social attitude in the Central European Countries to the "relics of communism" after 1989? How did the public space "ideological purification" process go? What was the discussion that accompanied these processes? I will also try to point out the similarities and differences between politics of memory in each country related to the material Soviet heritage.

Retrospective multiculturalism – pre-WWII cultural diversity in Chernivtsi city-branding

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Session 2D: Uses and Abuses of Memory

Chair: Francesco Zavatti

The presentation focuses on how municipal city branding policies in the Western Ukrainian city Chernivtsi (former Austrian Czernowitz) draw on the city's mostly lost pre-WWII cultural diversity. This retrospective multiculturalism focuses not on present but past diversity and intersects with parallel narratives emphasizing Europeanness or native, rurally marked identity markers, in efforts to promote the contemporary Post-Soviet city for Ukrainian and other tourists. The tolerance narrative that is at the centre of local retrospective multiculturalism here serves the purpose of creating a clear image for and a narrative about a city with a feeling of place and tradition. What is selectively remembered and emphasized in these city-branding efforts, and what is forgotten or left aside?