



BEAR NETWORK



UNIVERSITY
OF TARTU



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BEAR Narva Summer School 2021
July 5 - 10, 2021
Narva College, University of Tartu
Narva, Estonia

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The ‘Soft Power’ of the EU and Russia in Divided Societies

COVID-19 pandemic related restrictions

Participation in person in Narva will depend on the travel restrictions applied at the time of the travel by Estonian state authorities and on the restrictions applied by home country of a participant. The organisers will reserve the right to move all participation into online format based on changing COVID-19 pandemic situation and travel restrictions.

Description

Since the beginning of state- and regime transformations in post-communist Central and Eastern Europe, a central issue of democratic governance and regional security has been the design of inclusive democratic institutions and policies. The existence of various minorities, including those that have kin-states (Russia), has made this task particularly urgent. A rich body of scholarship has emerged about these questions, influenced significantly by Rogers Brubaker’s model of the “triadic nexus” between what he calls nationalizing states, national minorities, and external homelands. Most studies have also recognized the significance of European institutions, and some have adopted what David Smith (2002) called a “quadratic nexus” to include the European framework. In recent years, the question of the overlapping influences of both the EU and Russia in the region has attracted significant scholarly attention. The interplay of EU’s and Russia’s “soft power” produces tensions, but also engenders new identities among borderland communities.

This Summer School, organized the Jean Monnet BEAR Network (“Between the EU and Russia: Dimensions of Diversity and Contestation”) will address the dynamic of identity and the interplay of “soft powers”, paying close attention to the social and ethno-political movements and contestations in the region. Focusing on this zone of contact and contestation between the EU and Russia, the summer school’s main questions are the following:

- How does the “soft power” of the EU and Russia affect local perceptions of belonging and formation of identities of various minorities in the borderlands?

- How does EU integration or Russia's attempts to reclaim the "compatriots" affect protest dynamics and the likelihood of conflict?
- To what extent are the claims and dynamics of social movements in one state in the region affected by those in neighbouring states, and with what ramifications for European integration?
- What are the similarities and differences in how societies in the EU, Russia and neighbouring countries cope with domestic social change, external threats and global challenges?

The one-week summer school programme consists of lectures and seminars, including thesis and research workshops for graduate students as well as lectures and discussions for civil society activists and the general public. Instructors will come from BEAR network universities and collaboration partners in Russia and the EU. The school will take place in Narva (at the University of Tartu Narva College), which is a border community between the EU and Russia, but also the most Russian-speaking city in the EU.

Students are expected to attend the full programme, including students who participate remotely. Local Narva participants can register for individual sessions only. Participants who have completed the full programme, including the assignments, will be awarded 3 ECTS, confirmed by a certificate.

READINGS

Readings are mandatory for all students. We expect that students will have read the assigned articles and chapters before the start of the summer school in order for them to be able to actively participate in the discussions. Readings will be made available through our Moodle site, the University of Tartu online platform.

EVALUATION

Course requirements for the 3-credit summer school include the following elements:

- **Two reading reports (2 x 15%):** These are analyses of 750 words each on the theme of an am or pm session of the student's choice, based on the required readings. This is not a summary of the texts; it offers a critical reflection on the debates proposed by the texts and is organized around a question and an argument. It should link the texts and compare/contrast their arguments. Reports are due in Moodle at the beginning of the chosen session.
- **Research Paper (50%):** The research paper must be maximum 4,500 words long (excluding the bibliography) on a topic approved by the instructors. Students are expected to submit a paper proposal in Moodle by **June 28**. The proposal should be maximum 2 pages long, and it should include the following: the research question and brief explanation of its significance; brief justification of case selection, where appropriate; an explanation for the method through which the research question will be answered; and a preliminary list of sources. The papers are due in Moodle by **July 18**. Submit everything in editable Word files, and the file name should always include your name. Excellent papers may (with permission) be featured on the BEAR website.
- **Active participation (20%):** Students are expected to have done the assigned readings before class and to participate actively in class discussions.

SCHEDULE & READINGS

Sunday, July 4

Arrival of participants. Accommodation.

Monday, July 5

12:00 Welcome

Location: Tartu university Narva College, Raekoja plats 2

Welcoming by **Ms Kristina Kallas**, Tartu University Narva College

Welcoming by the mayor of Narva **Ms Katri Raik**

Orienting around the college.

Sandwich lunch

13.30-16.00: Session 1

Mikhail Suslov (remotely), University of Copenhagen

The "Russian world" Project: Diaspora Politics, Spatial Ideology and Soft Power

In this class, we will discuss the construction of the Russian speaking diaspora by the Russian political regime in the past 20 years. We will address the question, why the diaspora is important for the current regime, how the "Russian world" infrastructure was created, and which political ideas support the ideological structure of the "Russian world". The central goals of this class is to understand the "Russian world" as a social phenomenon, politics and ideology, and to practice analytical tools for interpreting the diaspora politics. The key concepts for this class will be "diaspora", "critical geopolitics", "spatial ideology", "soft power", "conservatism", "communitarianism", "populism", "cultural nationalism", "large space", and "sphere of influence".

Readings:

Suslov, Mikhail. "Russian World" concept: Post-Soviet geopolitical ideology and the logic of "spheres of influence." *Geopolitics* 23.2 (2018): 330-353.

Pieper, Moritz. "Russkiy mir: the geopolitics of Russian compatriots abroad." *Geopolitics* 25.3 (2020): 756-779.

18:00 Dinner

Tuesday, July 6

09.00-12.00: Session 2

The normative deadlock in EU–Russia relations: Hegemony without influence?

Viacheslav Morozov, University of Tartu

In this session, we will focus on the fundamental unevenness underlying the normative contestations between the EU and Russia. The EU's role remains hegemonic: it continues to define the meaning of Europe and thus the universal norm for its neighbourhood, including Russia. The latter embraces a Eurocentric outlook: even the conservatives are unable to define 'the Russian idea' in an independent way, trying to prove instead that Russia is the embodiment of truly European values. Hegemony,

however, is not easily translated into influence: as a structural condition, it constrains both parties. The lack of trust and the irreconcilable normative disagreements indicate that Europe is looking towards a protracted period of heightened tensions.

Readings:

Morozov, V. (2021). 'The normative deadlock in EU–Russia relations: Hegemony without influence?', in *The Routledge Handbook of EU-Russia Relations: Structures, Actors, Issues*, ed. by Tatiana Romanova and Maxine David (London: Routledge), pp. 48–57.

12:00 Lunch

13.30-16.30: Session 3

**From Soft Power to Health Diplomacy: Geo- and Biopolitics of the Russia – EU Disconnections
Andrey Makarychev, University of Tartu**

This class discusses how the coronavirus crisis affected the state of Russia's relations with the EU and individual member states. It offers a biopolitical interpretation of the drastically re-actualized concepts of health diplomacy, vaccine diplomacy and bio-diplomacy, combined with a particular focus on countries sharing border with Russia and therefore sensitive / vulnerable to Russia's geopolitical projections. The session aims to unpack both bio- and geopolitical dimensions of the crisis in Moscow's relations with Brussels, paralleled by the pandemic restrictions and, more specifically, the border lockdown.

Readings:

Alexandra Yatsyk. Podcast N 4 of the Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies, available at

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dfC4Ecpkps0&list=PLwKKYQNXZI4n9sEAPof1Jo_Y9-gQCdbW_&index=1&t=16s

Andrey Makarychev. CSGS Lecture N 4: COVID-19, Biopolitics and Policy Legitimation" Lessons from Russia, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZiDtOPsYmqI&t=1517s>

18:00 Dinner

Wednesday, July 7

09.00-12.00: Session 4

**Russian Soft Power and Ukraine
Ammon Cheskin, University of Glasgow**

In this session we will firstly explore the concept of 'Soft Power' from various theoretical perspectives, critically exploring the nature of power and asking if power can ever be 'soft'. Following from this, we will try to apply our theoretical understanding to the case of Russian soft power (or absence thereof), specifically focusing on Ukraine. Working in groups we will try to identify Russia's soft power strategies and resources using different conceptualisations of soft power. We will even tentatively attempt to assess the potential and effectiveness of Russian soft power in Ukraine. Throughout these discussions and activities, we will see if it is possible to disentangle other related (but equally contested) concepts such as 'disinformation', 'hybrid warfare', and 'maskirovka'.

Readings:

Szostek, J. (2017). The Power and Limits of Russia's Strategic Narrative in Ukraine: The Role of Linkage. *Perspectives on Politics*, 15(2), pp. 379-395. (doi:10.1017/S153759271700007X).

12:00 Lunch

13.30-16.30: Session 5

Moldova: “in-the-between” and torn into pieces

Magdalena Dembinska, University of Montreal

Since the breakup of the USSR, Moldova is literally torn between Europe/Romania and Russia. On the one hand, there is the pro-Russia separatist region of Transnistria over which Chişinău lost control after a war in 1992, and the autonomous region of Găgăuzia, willing to join or at least stay within Russia's sphere of influence and *Russkiy Mir*, and linked to Turkey. On the other hand, Moldovan identity per se is a contested issue, oscillating between Romanianism and Moldovanism. Dependent on both the West and Russia, Moldova's foreign policy orientation is also dual: it is simultaneously a member of Moscow-centered CIS, observer in the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) and part of Brussels-centered Association Agreement (including DCFTA). Building on previous sessions' discussions on soft power, geopolitics and biopolitics, we will address the case of Moldova from “inside-out”, by looking into the extreme fragmentation of narratives and linkages among political actors and at the society level. This will help our understanding of why Moldova pursues a “dual alignment” and how local actors may exploit the ambiguities and turn them into opportunities.

Readings:

Dembińska, Magdalena and David Smith (forthcoming), “Navigating Between the EU and Russia”, introduction to a special issue, *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 62:3.

Kosienkowski, Marcin (2020), “The Russian World as a legitimation strategy outside Russia: the case of Gagauzia”, *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, DOI: 10.1080/15387216.2020.1793682.

Marandici, Ion (2020), “Multiethnic Parastates and Nation-Building: The Case of the Transnistrian Imagined Community”, *Nationalities Papers* 48:1, 61-82. DOI: 10.1017/nps.2019.69.

18:00 Dinner

Thursday, July 8

09.30-12.00: Session 6

Claiming the diaspora: Russia's compatriot policy and its reception by Russian speakers in post-Soviet space

Kristina Kallas, University of Tartu Narva College

The session will focus on the various concepts and policy practices of Russia as a kin-state in relation to Russian-speaking populations in neighbouring countries and beyond. First, concepts such as “Russia as a divided nation” and “Russian World” will be discussed to highlight the various drivers that lead Russia's diaspora policies. Russia's internal political struggles to define the borders of post-Soviet Russian nation have resulted in contested concepts that also impact the geopolitical positioning of Russia as well as claiming the diaspora. Second, Russia's diaspora policies towards its rather

diverse diaspora populations will be discussed. First, policies towards Russian-speakers in Baltic countries will be contrasted with policies towards Russian-speakers in Central Asia. Additionally, policies towards Russian diasporas in Western democracies such as Finland, Germany and USA as well as Israel will be addressed. The lecture will open the discussion about whether Russia has “a diaspora policy” or rather “diaspora policies”?

Readings:

- Kristina Kallas (2016) Claiming the diaspora: Russia’s compatriot policy and its reception by Estonian-Russian population. *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* 15:3, 1-25.
- Vera Zakem, Paul Saunders, and Daniel Antoun, Mobilizing Compatriots: Russia’s Strategy, Tactics, and Influence in the Former Soviet Union, *Center for Strategic Studies* (November 2015).

12:00 Lunch

13.30-16.00: Session 7

Regimes of ethnopolitics: from segregated parallel societies to the integrated whole? The case of Estonia and its Russian-speaking minorities

Kristjan Kaldur, University of Tartu and Institute of Baltic Studies

This session consists of two parts. The first part focusses on the age-old question of multiethnic state governance – what are the best ways to manage ethnically diverse or divided societies? For this, we will focus on the theoretical framework of different ethnopolitical regimes and in working in groups, we will try to come up with different solutions to different case-studies. The second part of this session applies this framework to the case of Estonia. Over the last 80 years, Estonia has experienced at least four types or stages of ethnopolitical regimes. In this session, we will focus on the most recent stage – on the policy and politics of integration. Based on the fresh data from the Estonian Integration Monitoring survey (2020), we will discuss what implications have different types of regimes had on the today’s situation of Russian-speaking minority in Estonia. How equal do they perceive themselves to be compared to ethnic Estonians? How do they feel towards Russia, or towards recent Russia-related geopolitical crises? Do they live in the same media and communication sphere as ethnic Estonians? Are there any prospects for the Estonian society to become truly integrated whole in the near future? These are only a few examples of the questions we will provide answers to in the second part of this session.

Readings:

- McGarry, J., & O’Leary, B. (1993). “Introduction: The macro-political regulation of ethnic conflict” in McGarry, J., & O’Leary, B. (Eds.). (1993). *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation: Case Studies of Protracted Ethnic Conflicts* (1st ed.). Routledge.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315003641>
- Estonian Integration Monitoring (2020). *English summaries of chapters*.

17:30 – 18:30

**Roundtable discussion with Narva Russian-speaking youth
Evening with Narva youth**

Friday, July 9

09.00-12.00: Session 8

Media Effects, Political Polarization, and Political Institutions in Democracies and Autocracies

Maksim Alyukov (remotely), University of Tyumen

Since the outbreak of the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2013, politicians and experts alike have been arguing that Putin's regime "weaponized" media to shape domestic public opinion and undermine the democratic process abroad. However, this idea is at odds with most accounts of media effects in communication research which discarded the concept of the powerful media influence long ago. In this session, we will consider social and psychological mechanisms of media effects and political cognition in democracies and autocracies. Drawing on several case studies, such as the reception of the Russia-Ukraine conflict in Russia and Ukraine and fake news consumption in the wake of the 2016 U.S. Election, we will investigate the major factors which crucially affect the impact of the media on political cognition in different institutional and political contexts.

Readings:

Guess, A.M., Nyhan, B. & Reifler, J. Exposure to untrustworthy websites in the 2016 US election. *Nat Hum Behav* 4, 472–480 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-020-0833->

Szostek, J (2018). Nothing Is True? The Credibility of News and Conflicting Narratives during “Information War” in Ukraine. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* Vol 23, Issue 1, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161217743258>

12:00 Lunch

13.30-15.00: Session 9

Guest speaker: **Marina Kaljurand**

Member of European Parliament Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Estonia

18:00 Dinner

Saturday, July 10

Departure

PREVENTION OF PLAGIARISM

Tartu University pays particular attention to the fight against plagiarism, copying or fraud during examinations. Plagiarism is the total or partial use, literal or disguised, of another person's text as a reference or a reference in the context of a job, an examination or an activity that leads to subject of an evaluation. This fraud is heavily sanctioned.