CAPRN & MOBILISE WORKSHOPS PROGRAM

PhD Workshop: June 6, 2019 (13:00-18:00, Williamson Building, Room G.33)
CAPRN/MOBILISE Methods Workshop: June 7, 2019 (10:30-18:00, Beyer Lecture Hall)
CAPRN/MOBILISE Methods Workshop: June 8, 2019 (10:30-14:00, University Place 5.206)
ALL Staff and Students WELCOME

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MEMORIES AND CONTENTIOUS MOBILISATION IN NEW EUROPE: A GRADUATE WORKSHOP IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Thursday June 6, 2019, 12:20-18:00, Williamson Building, Room G.33,
ALL STAFF AND STUDENTS WELCOME
Organized by Ms. Anna Glew, Mr. Craig Proctor and Dr. Olga Onuch. Funded by JMCE and CAPRN.

ABOUT THE WORKSHOP

How do we remember the past? Does the way remember the past contribute to or inform our national identity formation? Do the ways we remember the past and the ways we understand our nationalized identities drive contentious politics, specifically of a right-wing populist nature? And how does context in 'old' and 'new' Europe affect these processes/phenomena? This workshop seeks to bring together early career scholars, and specifically PhD students, from across the UK who study three interconnected themes: memory politics (acts of commemoration), identity politics, and the rise of radical right populist movements in so-called 'New' Europe. The workshop will be divided into three intensive sessions.

WORKSHOP SCHEDULE

12:20 – 13:00   Light canape lunch and registration

13:00 – 13:05   Opening remarks (Onuch, Glew, Proctor)

13:05 – 14:20   PANEL ONE: RADICAL RIGHT IN 'NEW' EUROPE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

The first session will include presentations that tackle the major social science question: what accounts for the rise, expansion and influence of radical right populist movements in contemporary societies (Mudde 1996; Rydgren 2006; Zaslove 2011). Assumed to be spurred on by the economic crises and mass migration flows of the 2000s in the EuroZone, as well as Brexit and Trumpian rhetoric in the UK and US, research on radical right populist movements has recently received significant attention in the so-called 'west' or in 'old' Europe from scholars such as Givens (2005), Eatwell & Goodwin (2018). However, as noted by Mikenberg (2017), Bustkikova and Kitschelt (2009) this trend has also been observed and analyzed in 'new' Europe.[1] Orban's Hungary, Kaczynski's Poland and Slovakia have been highlighted as potential breeding grounds for populist right wing organizations (Pytlas 2013, 2017). In neighboring Ukraine, some scholars argue that the aftermath of the EuroMaidan mass mobilization and specifically Russia's annexation of Crimea and initiation of conflict in the Donbass has presented clear opportunities for the transformation of Ukraine's radical right, from a marginal political faction to a well-trained and increasingly visible paramilitary force, even if these actors have been largely overlooked in mainstream politics (Aliyev 2016; Sakwa 2016). Even further east, an increasingly unstable Russia, considered to be threat not only to the democracy of its eastern neighbors, but also to that of 'old' Europe and the US, is believed to be engaged in both clandestine and open support of populist Eurosceptic and radical right parties (Shekhovtsov 2018).

The perceived rise of the right has received wide coverage in the mainstream media, however, much of this coverage, has often been partisan, hyperbolic, and simplistic leading to more confusion and at times raising more questions than it answers (Eatwell & Goodwin 2018). Questions such as: *What explains the rise of the radical right in 'new' Europe? Given the different historical and current context of 'new' and 'old' Europe, are different explanatory factors at play? Are populations moving increasingly towards the radical right? Or If not, what does this mean for the EU project?* But first, it is necessary to ask *what, if anything, do these movements have in common?* And*, can we treat the movements in question as part of a wider trend, or should we take a more nuanced look at different organizations, their ideologies, grievances and aims?*

Chair: Prof. Jacquelien van Stekelenburg, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
1. **Presenter: Mr. Craig Proctor,** PhD Student, University of Manchester
   - **Presentation title:** Radical Right SMOs in Ukraine
   - **Abstract**: Social scientists have for decades struggled to explain what accounts for the rise, expansion and influence of radical right nationalist (RRN) social movement organisations in contemporary societies. Confronted with a recent pattern of political and economic crises concurrent to a seeming rise of RRN we are forced to ask: What explains the rise and fall of Radical Right Nationalists in times of crisis? Employing the comparative case of Ukraine's Right Sector and Azov movement as a critical case study, this paper applies theoretical expectations from political opportunity structures proposing that crisis contexts (political and economic) can result in the rise of RRN organisations.

2. **Presenter: Ms. Carolin Ida Heilig**, PhD Student, UCL
   - **Presentation title:** Linkages between civil and political society in Poland: women's mobilisation and liberal democracy
   - **Abstract:** The main objective of my project is to take a relational approach to investigating the role of civil society actors and political parties in the democratic regression and the struggle for sustaining liberal democracy in Poland. The project wants to examine the linkages between civic and political actors, using women's mobilisation as a specific field of civil society that stretches across the whole ideological spectrum.

3. **Presenter: Ms. Marta Kotwas,** PhD Student, UCL, School of Slavonic and East European Studies

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[1] Which, for the purposes of this application we understand to be comprised of the post-Soviet and post-Communist states

- **Presentation title:** Right-wing turn of public culture and the rise of populism in Poland: March of Independence as a ritual of national identity building
- **Abstract:** This paper seeks to explain the rising legitimacy and popularity of the increasingly vigorous right-wing populism in Poland by analysing a powerful cultural-political feedback loop. A gradual symbolic shift, based on the intensification of Catholic and nationalist discourses, has resulted in the strengthening of an exclusionary vision of national identity. Instead of a 'symbolically thin' identity, potentially attractive to a large, heterogeneous group of people, its currently dominant version offers a more restrictive understanding of this collective identity. Additionally, this shift results in the expansion of the discursive opportunity structure, which allows for a further thickening of right-wing populist ideologies.

14:20 – 14:40   Coffee Break

14:40 – 16:00 PANEL TWO: MASS IDENTITIES AND ETHNIC NATIONALISM IN 'NEW' EUROPE

In 1972 Leonid Brezhnev announced that "the national question, which we inherited from the past, has been solved successfully in the Soviet Union." However, with the collapse of Communism the question of national and other identities has become extremely topical (Arel 2006). Today we see 'New' Europe as a region where an increasingly important role is played by various identities, including those rooted in ethnic, linguistic, socioeconomic, historical, religious and political factors (Taras 1995; Rampley 2012; Louyest & Roberts 2015; Cebotari 2016). According to Judy Batt, the region's tendency to resort to the politics of identity is "reawakened … by the extraordinary demands of reconstituting the state out of the post-communist debris" (Batt 2001). Furthermore, there is a growing academic interest in possible links between identities and outcomes in such areas as economics (Easterly and Levine 1997; Habyarimana et al. 2007), voting (Philpot & Walton 2007; Barreto 2010), civil conflict (Montalvo & Reynal-Querol 2010) and politics (Fisher et al. 2015; Nathan 2016; Pop-Eleches & Robertson 2018). As identity politics comes to the fore in most post-Communist states, it is essential for scholars to explore such questions as: *What is the role of identity politics and specifically ethno-nationalist identity in shaping attitudes and behavior in contemporary Europe? How are these processes similar or different in 'new' and 'old' Europe? How useful are traditional economic based explanations for the rise of the radical right? What are the key grievances and frames deployed by radical right parties and how salient are they with the wider public?*

Chair: Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse, Director at the Centre of East European and International Studies (ZOiS) and Professor of Comparative Politics, University of Oxford

1. **Presenter: Ms. Jasmin Dall'Agnola,** PhD Student, Oxford Brookes University
   - **Presentation title:** Erosion or Reinforcement of Post-Soviet citizens' identity in today's globalized world?
   - **Abstract:** After the collapse of the USSR, the successor states faced two profound tensions: the need to adapt to general rules of globalisation simultaneously to preserve their nation's originality. It is under these circumstances that some former Soviet citizens develop a stronger attachment to their national identity. As a case sui generis, the current study employs a multilevel approach relying on survey data from the 2011 WVS and the 2013 ISSP National Identity III, to analyse how a former Soviet Republic's level of globalisation is related to its citizens' national identity. The results confirm, globalisation influences partially post-Soviet peoples' national identity.

2. **Presenter: Mr. Lorenzo Canepari,** PhD Student, The University of Edinburgh
   - **Presentation title:** Memories, Narrations, and Identities: the Istrian and Dalmatian Cases
   - **Abstract:** After WWII, following the redefinition of the borders between Italy and Yugoslavia, about 250.000 ethnic Italians from Istria and Dalmatia migrated. They dispersed but succeeded in making their communities survive. Many have never blended completely into the rest of the Italian population and have constantly renegotiated their displaced regional identities. The process has been accompanied by an intense associational activity and by the intergenerational transmission of memories within families and associations.

3. **Presenter: Ms. Deanna Soloninka**, PhD Student, University of Edinburgh
   - **Presentation title:** Uncertain Identities: Modelling the Majority in Post-Soviet Hybrid Regimes

- **Abstract**: In the post-Soviet context, the 'nationalizing states' model originally proposed by Brubaker implies a number of associations: between the titular nation and the majority, between the majority and the state, and between the state and nationalizing policies and practices. This paper addresses the applicability of the 'nationalizing states' concept to Ukraine and Moldova on the basis that these cases pose a tough test for the model. The paper departs from the literature by combining a traditional critique with the challenge of reconceptualizing the model through a comparison of empirical timelines to account for when the states deviate from nationalizing trajectories.

16:00 – 16:20   Coffee Break

16:20 – 17:40 PANEL THREE: REMEMBERING REVOLUTION & WAR IN 'NEW' EUROPE

The collapse of Communism in 1989 marked significant changes in the area of memory in 'New' Europe. As the newly-formed countries started their transition to democracy, they also saw transformation of their mnemonic regimes: from the monopoly of the state as the main memory actor during the Communist period to the post-Communist plurality of actors (Miller 2012). Furthermore, the opening of archives and revisioning of history led to the re-surfacing of previously hidden and censored memories, which raised important but also painful questions about nations' involvement and roles during such key historical events as the First and Second World Wars and local revolutions (Pakier & Wawrzyniak 2016). Such topics as the fight against and collaboration with the Nazi regime, and citizens' agency during the Communist rule and their struggle against it have been brought to the fore.

When implementing memory politics, state authorities in 'New' Europe often demonstrate a trend toward "politicizing and instrumentalizing of history" (Torbakov 2011) aimed at the construction of a cohesive national identity, and also toward exclusion of the problem of guilt. At the same time, other memory actors (such as political parties and civil society) often conduct their own work in the area of memory. As a result of these "top-down" and "bottom-up" approaches to memory, the post-Communist region has a become a space with conflicting images of the past, which are often used as a tool by interested parties in domestic and foreign affairs.

The third session of the workshop will explore such questions as: How do we remember and commemorate significant and polarizing events like revolution and war in in contemporary Europe? Who are the central actors of these commemoration processes (ordinary citizens, activists, politicians or all three) and are these processes contentious in nature? What role do such memory politics play in national identity formation? Have memory politics been coopted by radical right populist movements in Europe?

Chair: Prof. Maria Popova, is Jean Monnet Chair and Associate Professor of Political Science at McGill University

1. **Presenter: Ms. Anna Glew**, PhD Student, University of Manchester
   - **Presentation title:** Contentious memories in post-EuroMaidan Ukraine
   - **Abstract:** The Ukrainian Revolution, a period of sustained warlike conflict, lasted from 1917 to 1921 and resulted in the establishment of a Ukrainian republic – later a part of the Soviet Union as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. During this historically important period Ukraine saw intense political and military struggles of a whole range of groups: from the forces of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Bolsheviks, to Ukrainian anarchists and the White movement of the Russian Civil War. During the Soviet times, the state strictly censored historical memory of these events, focusing on commemoration of the Bolshevik forces and their heroism. After Ukraine's independence, and particularly after the Euromaidan protests (2013-2014) and the adoption of the so-called 'de-communisation laws' (2015), commemoration of the 1917-1921 events has become a source of heated debates and polarised opinions. While focusing on the activity of ordinary people, this presentation will seek to highlight key issues associated with the commemoration of the Ukrainian Revolution in post-Euromaidan Ukraine.

2. **Presenter: Ms. Anna Balazs**, PhD Student, University of Manchester
   - **Presentation title:** Memory in the time of Decommunisation: Remembering World War II in Eastern Ukraine

- **Abstract:** Following the Maidan Revolution and the outbreak of the Donbas conflict in 2014, the politics of memory in Ukraine have become the focus of far-reaching debates that point towards broader questions of national identity-formation and geopolitical futures. The ambiguities of historical memory are especially prevalent in the Eastern regions of Ukraine, where "neo-Soviet" historical narratives have a defining power among large segments of the population. My presentation traces how official memory politics of the post-Maidan Ukrainian state, signified by the decommunisation policy in particular, are played out in the complex memory landscape of Eastern Ukraine.

3. **Presenter: Ms. Allyson Edwards,** PhD Student, Swansea University
   - **Presentation title:** Militarisation through Memory: Russia's commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Great Patriotic War.
   - **Abstract:** This paper focuses on Russia's commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Great Patriotic War, arguing that the particular attention paid to the occasion maintained the achievements of the military in the popular memory of the nation. The paper analyses videos of the 1995 parade and the symbolisms behind the monuments and commemorative collectables constructed for the event, which acted as subtle reminders of the military's importance to society. The glorification of the Great Patriotic War significantly aided the maintenance of societal militarisation in Russia in the 1990s, creatively drawing upon memory to recover the military's standing within society.

18:00 – 18:50   Casual walking tour to/through city centre for presenters, MOBILISE and CAPRN members only.

19:00 – 20:30   CAPRN DINNER @ Don Giovanni Restaurant, for presenters, MOBILISE and CAPRN members only.

WHAT QUESTIONS SHOULD WE ASK WHEN WE STUDY PROTEST COMPARATIVELY: ASSESSING SURVEYS, INTERVIEWS, FOCUS GROUPS AND SOCIAL MEDIA BASED RESEARCH OF PROTESTERS

A CAPRN and MOBILISE Project Workshop
Friday June 7, 2019, 10:30-18:00, Beyer Lecture Hall and Saturday June 8, 2019, 10:30-14:00, University Place 5.206
ALL STAFF AND STUDENTS WELCOME

ABOUT THE WORKSHOP

The event will focus on innovations in how we ask questions in surveys, interviews, and focus groups when researching protest participation. What are the best survey techniques? How do we compare across contexts? How do we ask questions about protest in authoritarian or semi-authoritarian contexts? What are the best types of questions to ask and how should we analyse them? If we can't conduct on-site protest surveys - what is the best way to use National Representative surveys? How do we combine the two? How can we combine social media research with survey, interview and focus group research?

ABOUT COMPETITIVE AUTHORITARIAN PROTEST RESEARCH NETWORK (CAPRN)

Mass protests have become an increasingly important element of the political environments of Europe (Spain, Greece, Ukraine, Georgia, Serbia, Latvia, Moldova and Russia), the Middle East & North Africa (MENA) (Egypt, Syria and Israel), Latin America (Chile, Brazil, Venezuela and Nicaragua) and North America (Mexico, United States and Canada). In each case we watch in amazement as a sea of previously disengaged people join in protests *en masse* (Onuch 2014a). And although study of protest is not new to Political Science, over the last decade we have not only seen a rise in mass protests around the globe, but also a rise in scholarly interest in the topic.

There is an abundant literature on the mechanisms of protest mobilization at the macro level and on the divers of mobilization at the micro-level (Andrews and Biggs 2006; Ash 2011; Beissinger 2013; Beissinger and Sasse 2013; Bennett 2012; Benson and Rochon 2004; Bunce and Wolchik 2011; Diani and McAdam 2003; Greene 2014; Greskovits 1998; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001; Meirowitz and Tucker 2013; Meyer 2004; Nilson and Nilson 1980; Robertson 2004, 2010; Rosenfeld 2017; Tarrow 1994; Tilly 2003). The most recent scholarship is pushing the

boundaries of accepted theories by collecting and combining a variety of new data (protest event data, on-site survey data, and developing new questions on protest for nationally representative surveys) whilst adapting or developing new methods of analyzing this data.

Furthermore, major contributions in Political Science to in the field of contentious politics have come specifically from scholars focusing on so-called *competitive authoritarian* contexts, these include: Russia, Ukraine, Egypt, Turkey, and more recently, Venezuela and Nicaragua (see: Beissinger 2002, 2013; Beissinger, Jamal, and Mazur 2015; Bunce and Wolchik 2007; Ketchley 2017; Meirowitz and Tucker 2013; Onuch and Sagarzazu 2017; Pop-Eleches and Robertson 2014; Roberts 2009; Robertson 2007; Rosenfeld 2017). Specifically, contributions focusing on Ukraine or Russian published in leading political science journals like the American Political Science Review and the Journal of Democracy, have challenged our theoretical assumptions about protest coalitions (Beissinger 2013), empirical expectations around the role of socio-economic class in mass protest (Rosenfeld 2017), and have pushed forward the use of orthodox methodological tools in unorthodox settings (Onuch 2014b) sending waves through the field of contentious politics.

But one major problem remains, this work is rarely comparative across regions and thus, lacks coordination beyond major regional divides (within MENA, within Latin America and within Eastern Europe). This is significant as recent research has highlighted patterns, which may (or may not) be specific to the context of competitive authoritarian regimes more broadly and not to particular regions. These potential patterns require us to revisit: how we study moments of mass mobilization in competitive authoritarian contexts? And ask:

- Are the mechanisms and processes explaining mass mobilization context specific? If so, what is specific to mass protest in competitive authoritarian contexts?
- What are the new ground-breaking methods of studying what motivates and mobilizes ordinary citizens to join in protest event *en masse?*
- What data do we/can we use in competitive authoritarian contexts and what are the methodological limitations of this data?
- And finally: How has the study of mass mobilization in competitive authoritarian contexts changed empirical and theoretical expectations of how ordinary citizens come to join in mass protest?

The *Competitive Authoritarian Protest Research Network* (CAPRN) seeks to collectively investigate the above questions by bringing together leading scholars in the field in of both contentious politics (Graeme Robertson, Grzegorz Ekiert, Bryn Rosenfeld, Mark Beissinger, Neil Ketchly, Tomila Lankina) and comparative politics (Joshua Tucker, Grigore Pop-Eleches, Timothy Colton, Steven Levitsky, Nancy Bermeo, Henry Hale) who are mainly based in in four institutions which have developed international acclaim for their study of protest in competitive authoritarian contexts: New York University (specifically on the use of big data/social media in mass protest, but also protest in Eastern Europe and the MENA region), Princeton University (specifically on new statistical and survey methods for the study of protest as well as comparative revolution in Eastern, MENA and Latin America), Harvard University (specifically on Latin American and Post-Communist Protest and protest event analysis) and University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill (more broadly on comparative protest politics). Furthermore, because several members of the proposed CAPRN are also members of PONARS, we hope to make use of this leading US based network of top scholars in social science to enable further collaborative activities.

ABOUT MOBILISE

Determinants of 'Mobilisation' at Home and Abroad: Analysing the Micro-Foundations of Out-Migration & Mass Protest of MOBILISE (see: www.mobiliseproject.com) is a €2,002,039 project is funded through the Open Research Area (ORA) Scheme with direct support of the ESRC in the UK, the DFG in Germany, the ANR in France and the NWO in the Netherlands. The MOBILISE project asks: When there is discontent, why do some people protest while others cross borders? Connecting theoretical expectations from the migration and protest literatures, we examine: a) whether similar factors drive the choice to migrate and/or protest at the individual level; b) how context affects this mobilisation; c) whether these choices are independent of each other or mutually reinforcing/ undermining. MOBILISE employs a multi-method (nationally representative face-to-face panel surveys, online migrant surveys, protest participant surveys, focus groups, life-history interviews, social media analysis) and a

multi-sited research design. It covers Ukraine, Poland, Morocco and Brazil, which have recently witnessed large-scale emigration and protests. It follows migrants from these countries to Germany, the UK and Spain.*The project offers four key innovations:*

1. it combines protest and migration;
2. it captures all the relevant groups for a comparative study (protesters, migrants, migrant protesters and people who have not engaged in migration or protest);
3. it tracks individuals over time by employing a panel survey;
4. it includes the use of social media data providing real time information on the role of networks and political remittances.

These features allow the project to make a major contribution to theory development in both migration and protest studies and offer key insights to policy makers on factors influencing political and economic stability. Our project is collaborative and is composed of four country teams.

1. Prof. Gwendolyn Sasse (ZOIS/Oxford) is PI in Germany,
2. Dr. Olga Onuch (University of Manchester) is PI in the UK and Dr. David Doyle (Oxford) is Co-I,
3. Dr. Sorana Toma (ENSAE) is PI in France,
4. Dr. Jacquelien Van Stekelenburg (VU) is PI and Dr. Evelyn Ersanilli (UVA) is Co-I in the Netherlands.

WORKSHOP SCHEDULE

DAY 1, FRIDAY JUNE 7, 2019 PROGRAMME (10:30-18:00, BEYER LECTURE HALL)

09:00 – 09:45   Peterloo Massacre Tour for Presenters

10:00 – 10:20   Pastries, coffee and registration (Keeper Room, Whitworth Building)

10:20 – 10:30   Welcoming remarks

10:30 – 11:30   SESSION ONE: MOBILISE PROJECT PRESENTATION

Chair: Prof. Yoram Gorlizki, Professor of Politics, University of Manchester

1. **Presentation title:** About MOBILISE (MOBILISE Presentation)
   Presenter: Prof Jacquelien Van Stekelenburg, Professor in Sociology, Vrije Universiteit, j.van.stekelenburg@vu.nl

2. **Presentation title:** Surveying About Protest and Surveying About Migration: Fresh Results From Ukraine (MOBILISE Presentation)
   Presenter: Dr. Olga Onuch, Senior Lecturer in Politics, University of Manchester, olga.onuch@manchester.ac.uk and **Prof David Doyle**, Associate Professor of Politics, University of Politics.

3. **Presentation title:** Surveying Migrants About Protest & Surveying About Migration (MOBILISE Presentation)
   Presenter: Dr. Evelyn Ersanilli, Senior Researcher, University of Amsterdam, e.f.ersanilli@uva.nl

4. **Presentation title:** Focus Groups and Interviews on Protest & Migration (MOBILISE Presentation)
   Presenter: Dr. Piotr Goldstien, Post-Doctoral Researcher, MOBILISE Project, ZOiS

11:30 – 11:50   Coffee Break

12:00 – 13:00   SESSION TWO: PROTEST EVENT ANALYSIS IN EE

Chair: Prof. Rachel Gibson, Professor of Politics, University of Manchester

1. **Presentation title:** *Unknown Unknowns: How Uncertainty Undermines Protest in Russia*

Presenter: Dr. Samuel Greene, Reader in Russian Politics, King's College London, samuel.greene@kcl.ac.uk

Abstract: What impact do unexpressed opinions have on contentious politics? In most studies of political opinions, researchers focus on the (relatively) unambiguous categories of 'yes' and 'no', 'approve' and 'disapprove', and so on; less often do researchers focus on the other option available to respondents, i.e. to express no opinion at all. In this paper, we explore the phenomenon of non-response to direct political questions in Russia. Drawing on nationally and sub-nationally representative surveys, as well as on a database of protest activity from the 2011/12 electoral protest wave, the paper suggests that using expressed uncertainty as a way of avoiding open dissent may act more powerfully to suppress protest than actual open support for the incumbent regime. By depriving citizens of the ability to know where they stand vis-à-vis prevailing opinions in their community, the paper argues, a prevalence of unexpressed opinions in a given community may make it more difficult for disaffected citizens to make a reasoned decision about whether to protest.

2. **Presentation title:** Protest in Electoral Autocracies: A New Dataset
   Presenter: Prof. Tomila Lankina, Department of International Relations, LSE, t.lankina@lse.ac.uk and **Dr. Katerina Tertytchnaya,** Lecturer in Comparative Politics, UCL, k.tertytchnaya@ucl.ac.uk
   Abstract: A growing literature explores the causes and consequences of dramatic political protests in electoral autocracies. Yet, we know comparatively little about other forms of protests in these regimes. Nuanced analysis of protest going beyond the singular, or the political and violent event requires a systematic understanding of the wider mobilization picture in time and across the various protesting constituencies. LAruPED, a new protest-event dataset, facilitates the investigation of protest dynamics in Russia, a classic example of an electoral authoritarian regime. The data, which are human-coded and rely on evidence from Russian-language opposition websites, identify, in wave one, protests across Russia's regions from 2006 until 2016. Unlike other datasets, which focus on political, or electoral protests, LAruPED covers a wide range of social and economic protests and imposes no limitations on the minimum number of protesters involved in each event as a pre-requisite for the event to be included in the dataset. We introduce LAruPED and discuss how it differs from currently available data. We also present a number of examples to show how the new data could be used to explore questions of authoritarian stability and resilience, highlighting important variation in the type of violently suppressed events in electoral autocracies.

3. **Presentation title:** What Happens to the Cause When the Rebel Wins? A Case Study of Ukraine's 2014 EuroMaidan Movement
   Presenter: Prof. Henry Hale, Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, George Washington University, hhale@gwu.edu and **Dr. Olga Onuch,** Senior Lecturer in Politics, University of Manchester, olga.onuch@manchester.ac.uk
   Abstract: What drives support for the central public demands of a mass protest movement (its master narrative) once the protesters win? The largest, most successful episodes of protest (sometimes called "revolutions") are often thought to have lasting effects on political preferences, becoming crucial reference points that redefine or consolidate preexisting cleavages around the master narrative. Developing a logic that distinguishes among protest aims, means, and ends, we argue post-victory politics is likely to be characterized more by continuity than transformation but that this continuity is not adequately characterized as the falling apart of a "negative coalition." To show this, we employ original survey research from mid-2014 on Ukraine's EuroMaidan, a large victorious protest movement widely regarded as transformative of public opinion. We find that actually having protested, having supported the protest, and even thinking that the protest itself had net positive results are virtually all unrelated to post-protest support for the protest's dual master narrative of backing European Union integration and supporting the former president's resignation. Instead, attitudes toward the master narrative are best predicted by the "same old" factors that have long shaped political preferences in Ukraine.

13:00 – 14:00   Light canape lunch

14:00 – 15:30   SESSION THREE: PROTEST IN TIMES OF CRISIS

Chair: Prof. Maria Popova, Professor of Politics, McGill University

1. **Presentation title:** Designing Studies of Protest Participation: The Benefits of Panels and Case-Control
   Presenter: Dr. Bryn Rosenfeld, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Southern California and **Prof. Grigore Pop-Eleches**, Professor of Politics and Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, gpop@princeton.edu
   Abstract: Studies of individual protest participation must confront several inferential challenges. Representative surveys capture few protest participants, are biased by respondent recall, and provide only post-hoc measures of other covariates. Surveys of protesters offer a larger sample size, minimize problems of recall, and effectively verify participation, but select on the dependent variable. Thus alone they are inadequate for studying the determinates of protest participation. We will discuss how panel surveys and a variant of the standard case-control design (the case-control with contaminated controls) enable researchers to better address problems of recall and post-treatment bias as well as low statistical power.

2. **Presentation title:** Maximizing Comparablity: Research Design and the Study of Individual-level Protest
   Presenter: Prof. Regina Smyth, Professor. Regina Smyth, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Indiana University, rsmyth@indiana.edu
   Abstract: Individual-level study of protest participation is challenging because of congratulation and repression effects that are shaped by state response, outcomes, and defeat narratives that circumscribe the timing of data collection. This presentation will discuss the strengths and weaknesses of three sampling and research design strategies in terms of preserving sincere information and maximizing the capacity to compare across social groups, events, and cases. In the presentation, I pay special attention to how the variation in the catalyst of protest (election, policy, and event) creates unique challenges that have to be considered in research design.

3. **Presentation title:** Perceptions from below: How Protesters See the European Union (with Madelaine Moore, University of Kassel)
   Presenter: Dr Silke Trommer, Lecturer in Politics, University of Manchester, silke.trommer@manchester.ac.uk
   Abstract: The sustained and varied protest activities witnessed across the EU since the Global Financial Crisis have been widely studied in the literature. Yet, scholars have not paid systematic attention to how protesters perceive the EU, and its institutions, as political actors in their own right. Under-researched questions include: do protesters support, reject or have nuanced views of the EU?; how do protesters understand the interplay between European and domestic politics?; do protesters hold European identities?; and do any of these elements change over time? We develop a methodology building on EU external relations and social movement literatures that allows studying protesters' EU perceptions across issue areas and across time.

15:30 – 15:45   Coffee Break

15:50 – 16:50   SESSION FOUR: PROTEST EVENTS IN MENA

Chair: Ms. Emma Mateo, DPhil Student, University of Oxford

1. **Presentation title:** Unpopular Protest: Mass Mobilization & Attitudes to Democracy in Post-Mubarak Egypt
   Presenter: Dr. Neil Ketchley, Lecturer in Middle East Politics, King's College London, neil.ketchley@kcl.ac.uk
   Abstract: Political science has long debated the significance of protest during a democratic transition, but attention has been largely confined to its impact on elite support for democracy. Contributing to scholarship on the attitudinal consequences of mobilization, we examine how protest shaped popular perceptions of democracy during the post-Mubarak transition in Egypt. We do this by matching Wave II of the Arab Barometer survey with geo-referenced protest events reported in Arabic-language newspapers. For identification we use an instrumental variable. Our results show that Egyptians came to hold less favourable attitudes to democracy following sustained protest in their district. We find that this relationship was especially pronounced in areas where protestors launched more longer-lasting, static street protests that targeted public space. Qualitative

case details suggest that such tactics could disrupt everyday life and impact livelihoods. These findings highlight one way in which popular support for democracy can be eroded during a transition.

2. **Presentation title:** The Parochial Logics of Online Action: Evidence from the Tunisian Revolution
   Presenter: Mr. Christopher Barrie, PhD Student, Nuffield College, University of Oxford
   Abstract: How does information shared online impact on the diffusion of protest? An influential literature argues that new ICTs function to transcend geographical constraints, giving birth to "networked public spheres" and new logics of "connective action." This article shows that, contrary to the expectations of this scholarship, activity online has an underappreciated parochial logic: information on protests shared online did contribute to protest diffusion but only to nearby districts. I demonstrate this with an event history analysis of original protest event data, as-yet-unused Twitter data, and field interviews. I conclude that geographical proximity and physical copresence are crucial for bridging online and offline action.

16:50 – 17:00   Coffee Break

17:00 – 18:00   SESSION FIVE: PROTEST EVENTS IN MENA AND ASIA
Chair: **Prof. Peter Gries**, Professor of Politics, University of Manchester

1. **Presentation title:** Practicing Protest: Lessons from Khimki for Social Movements in Russia
   Presenter: Dr. Elizabeth Plantan, China Public Policy Postdoctoral Fellow, Ash Center for Democratic Governance & Innovation, Harvard Kennedy School
   Abstract: What happens when a protest movement ends, but fails to reach its goals? What lessons do activists draw from this experience? Do participants continue their activism? To answer these questions, I re-evaluate the movement to protect Khimki forest. While Khimki activists failed to reach their goals of stopping construction of a highway, they succeeded in other ways. Using interview material from members of the group as well as other activists, I show how former members of the Khimki movement have shared "best practices" by indirect example and direct coaching of protest groups not only in Moscow, but across Russia's regions. This learning could create stronger challenges to the regime if these practiced activists participate in future cycles of electoral mobilization.

2. **Presentation title:** Beyond Trade Unionism? Popular Perceptions of the Tunisian General Labor Union
   Presenter: Dr. Dina Bishara, Assistant Professor, University of Alabama
   Abstract: In October 2015, the Tunisian General Labor Union (UGTT) was one among four Tunisian civil society organizations awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their contribution to peaceful democracy building following the mass protests that led to the ouster of former President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali in 2011. Despite this high-profile political role, the UGTT eschewed other forms of political participation, such as forming a political party, or joining the government during the transition. How do UGTT members perceive the organization's role in politics and society? Findings from a nationally representative survey in Tunisia indicate that UGTT members overwhelmingly support its engagement in national politics but oppose its participation in electoral politics. This project seeks to develop a more nuanced understanding of UGTT members' perceptions of the UGTT's engagement in Tunisian politics through a representative survey of union members.

18:00 – 18:50   Casual walking tour to/through city centre

19:00 – 20:30   CAPRN DINNER (Albert's Chop House, *for presenters, MOBILISE and CAPRN members only***)**

DAY 2, SATURDAY JUNE 8, 2019 PROGRAMME (10:30-14:00, UNIVERSITY PLACE 5.206 ALL STAFF AND STUDENTS WELCOME)

10:00 – 10:30   Pastries, coffee and registration (University Place, 5.206)

10:30 – 11:30 SESSION SIX: PROTEST IN COMPETITIVE AUTHORITARIAN REGIME

Chair: Dr. Tetyana (Tanya) Lokot, Assistant Professor in Media Studies, Dublin City University

1. **Presentation title:** Studying protests using "local" social media: The cases of Russia and Belarus
   Presenter: Mr. Aliaksandr Herasimenka Research Associate, University of Westminster
   Abstract: The presentation focuses on the research strategies of data collection on "local" social media platforms such as Vkontakte, Odnoklassniki and Telegram to learn about social movements and political mobilisation in authoritarian settings. I discuss what innovative qualitative and quantitative approached can be used to study these platforms. I use the examples from my fieldwork in Belarus and Russia that covered the two prominent protest movements in 2017 to argue that the scholars of authoritarian regimes need to think more like detectives when studying protest movements.

2. **Presentation title:** Government Responses to Protest under Patronal Presidentialism
   Presenter: Ms. Katherine Crofts-Gibbons, PhD Student, King's College London
   Abstract: My research seeks to understand how and why nondemocratic governments in former Soviet Central Asia respond to street protest, and to explore the implications of these findings for our understanding of the relationship between state and society in non-democratic contexts. So far, I have collected data on Kyrgyzstan, 1991-2010, using news data from the LexisNexis news aggregator and a Protest Event Analysis (PEA) methodology. I have found that the Kyrgyz government frequently responded to protest with concessions and negotiations, indicating the possibility that protest functioned as an information mechanism between state and society.

3. **Presentation title:** When triggers cause unrest: Explaining new revolutions in the post-Soviet region.
   Presenter: Mr. Stas Gorelik, PhD student, Department of Political Science, George Washington University
   Abstract: Can revolutions happen without long-term grievances and why do most protests catch us by surprise? To answer these questions, this work provides an analysis of the most recent significant protests in the post-Soviet region: Ukraine's Euromaidan, Moldova's anti-corruption protests in 2015-16, and Armenia's Velvet Revolution. It posits two hypotheses. First, very blatant abuses of power through the mechanism of moral shock created propitious conditions for rapid mobilization in each case. This happened even despite the absence of truly popular opposition leaders and prior waves of protest. Second, opposition politicians and civil society activists in the successful cases of Ukraine and Armenia, in contrast to Moldova's ad hoc coalition of activists, cooperated and possessed necessary skills and experience to manage popular mobilization. However, these activities were largely spontaneous and unplanned. The paper further develops the "democracy by mistake" framework and questions the role of long-term planning and formal structures in successful protests.

11:30 – 11:50 Coffee Break

12:00 – 13:30 SESSION SEVEN: NEW DIRECTIONS IN PROTEST RESEARCH - PROTEST AFTER EXIT

Chair: Prof. Henry Hale, Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, George Washington University

1. **Presentation title:** The Rapport-Balance Dilemma in Fieldwork and Interviewing
   Presenter: Mr. Felipe Gonzalez Santos, Research Associate, MOBILISE Project, University of Manchester
   Abstract: When qualitative researchers go to the field, they face the dilemma of how close or distant they should be from their object of study. Too much attachment may bias one's conclusions, while too much distance may present an artificial picture of phenomenon under study. The answer to this question depends on the epistemological position of the researcher and the type of data that will be gathered. In this presentation I make the case for a 'minimal disturbance' approach, where researchers should be mindful of the relations they are developing and the context where they gather the data. I illustrate the argument with some of the dilemmas I faced while studying the Platform of Those Affected by Mortgages.

2. **Presentation title:** Everyday Activism at Home and Abroad
   Presenter: Dr. Piotr Goldstein, Post-Doctoral Researcher, MOBILISE Project, ZOiS

Abstract: This presentation takes as a point of departure quiet 'everyday' activism of individuals which happens outside of the framework of NGOs, charities and foundations but also outside of protest movements. Activism of people like Anna, who against anti-refugee policies of the Polish government and ignoring her own financial insecurity, arranges for Syrians to enter Poland as her private guests; or like Ilona who without any organisational framework 'volunteers' tutoring for several hours every day a neighbourhood child from a deprived family. It aims to understand how these individuals situate their 'acts of citizenship' (Isin 2008) (or perhaps rather 'acts of humanity'?) performed beyond, against or in parallel to their engagement with others in formal NGOs and associations, informal groups and social movements. In this research, I draw parallels with my findings from Novi Sad, Serbia, where I studied how owners of independent (and often short-lived) bookshop-cafés oppose the 'economic moment' of today's life and place ethos over profit (Goldstein 2017). They do so for instance by 'selling' books in languages of ethnic minorities, which they know hardly ever sell, but which they insist to have for the sake of keeping these languages present in the public space. There, I found that their acts contributed to an entire network of largely invisible activist endeavours motivated by individuals' feelings of responsibility and intents to (re)create different 'everyday utopias' (Cooper 2014). One particular focus of my research is the role played in such networks by members of ethnic minorities and migrants who engage in activism not for their own community's but for the 'majority'/'general' cause. I am interested in understanding why they engage in such activism and how their motivations and positioning are different from these of others. Are they driven by responsibility, a need to re-affirm their (social) citizenship, or yet by something else?

3. **Presentation title:** Exploring the impact of spatial factors upon young Moroccans' mobilization choices: the cases of Rabat, Tangier and Nador
   Presenter: Ms. Astrid Bodini, PhD candidate, MOBILISE Project, University of Amsterdam, a.bodini@uva.nl
   Abstract: This study creates a dialogue between literatures of protest and migration, by focusing on Moroccan youth. It asks: When moved by political and/or socioeconomic discontent, why are some young Moroccans protesting, while others prefer migration or inaction? It argues that individuals' interaction with/through spatial factors affect reasons, means and opportunity to migrate, protest, or none of them. It is based on two waves of life-history interviews and focus groups in Rabat, Tangier, and Nador, cities with diverse positions in Morocco's center-periphery cleavage, urban environment configuration, access to Internet, and protest and/or migration history.

13:30 – 14:30   Light canape lunch

Afternoon   Craft Brewery Crawl TBC

PRESENTER BIOGRAPHIES

ARKWRIGHT Cressida, is a Research Assistant MOBILISE, PhD Student University of Manchester (ESRC CASE Studentship British Council), Research Associate at Harvard University. She completed her M.A. in Eurasian Studies at Harvard as a Kennedy Scholar, and also holds a B.A. in Modern Languages from the University of Cambridge. Her current research investigates forced displacement and conflict survival, and is based on fieldwork with communities in Eastern Ukraine.

BALAZS Anna, finished her Bachelor in art and design theory in Budapest, then she completed a Masters degree in Baltic Sea Region Studies at the University of Tartu, Estonia, and a Masters in Sociology and Social Anthropology at Central European University, Hungary. Currently Anna is working on her PhD dissertation on urban change in Eastern Ukraine after the start of the Donbas war. Between 2017-2018, Anna conducted a 12 months fieldwork in Mariupol, Eastern Ukraine. Her research interests are post-Soviet space, urban ethnography, infrastructure and collective memory.

BARRIE Christopher, is a DPhil Student in Sociology at Nuffield College, University of Oxford. From September 2019, he will be Postdoctoral Prize Research Fellow in Sociology at Nuffield. He is interested in protest, conflict, and nationalism and has a particular focus on the MENA region. He is working on a book manuscript on the Tunisian Revolution.

BISHARA Dina, is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Alabama. Her research interests include authoritarianism, state-labor relations, social and protest movements, and transitions from authoritarian rule. Her book, Contesting Authoritarianism: Labor Challenges to the State in Egypt, has been published with Cambridge University Press (2018). Her articles have been published or are forthcoming in Comparative Politics, Perspectives on Politics and Middle East

Law and Governance. She has been awarded research fellowships from Harvard University, the University of Oxford, and the German Institute for International and Security Affairs.

BODINI Astrid, her research is part of the MOBILISE project. It explores how spatial factors, such as a city's urban environment or its tradition of migration and/or protest, affect individuals' mobilization choices between migration, protest or inaction. She holds an undergraduate degree cum laude in political science with a focus on migration and homeland-diaspora interaction. Her BA thesis assessed the dynamics of East African low-skilled women's migration by comparing the cases of Eritrea, Ethiopia and Yemen. She obtained my MA cum laude at Leiden University, where she studied migration focusing on the Middle East, and the power dynamics shaping Western Europe-MENA relations from political, economic and cultural angles. Her MA thesis examined the impact of a country's socio-political changes on an individual's perception of national belonging before and after migration.

CANEPARI Lorenzo, finished his Master's Degree in Law at La Sapienza University of Rome in 2017. In September of that same year he moved to Scotland and started a one-year Master programme in Nationalism Studies at the University of Edinburgh. Currently, he is still in Edinburgh as a PhD student in Sociology, with a project about the transmission of memory in the communities born from Istrian and Dalmatian exodus in the aftermath of WWII.

CROFTS-GIBBONS Katherine, began her PhD, with ESRC funding, at KCL's Russia Institute in October 2018. Prior to this, she worked for a security consultancy. She holds an MPhil in Russian and East European Studies and a BA Hons in History and Politics, both from Oxford University.

DALL'ANGOLA Jasmin, is a PhD student and an Associate Lecturer at the Centre for Global Politics, Economy and Society at Oxford Brookes University. She received her Master in Political Science and Russian Linguistics from the University of Zurich. She currently holds a three-year, full-time PhD studentship from Oxford Brookes University. As a case sui generis, her PhD project discusses the reality of the two concepts globalization and national identity within the context of the former Soviet Union. Her main research interests include the debates on Globalisation, Populism and Nationalism, the Reminiscence of Soviet practices and the combined use of Quantitative and Qualitative methods in Political Science. Jasmin acts as Treasurer for the BASEES Caucasus Study Group and as one of the main founders and Chair of the Eurasian, East and Central European Studies Women Academics' Forum.

DOYLE David, is an Associate Professor of Politics in the Department of Politics and International Relationsat the University of Oxford, and a Fellow of St Hugh's College. He is a member of the Latin American Centre. His general research and teaching interests include comparative politics and comparative political economy. He is currently working on a number of projects. These include a project on taxation and tax morale in Latin America and a project on the political effect of migrant remittances. He is an Associate Editor of Oxford Development Studies and as of January 2019, he will be on the editorial board of the Journal of Latin American Studies. For the last five years, he was a regular contributor to the blog Presidential Power on news and issues related to Latin America and he was also the co-convener of the ECPR Standing Group on Latin American Politics. His research has appeared in journals such as the *American Political Science Review*, the *Journal of Politics,* the *British Journal of Political Science* and *Comparative Political Studies*, among others. He is the UK CoI of MOBILISE.

EDWARDS Allyson, is a third year PhD Student at Swansea University. Her doctoral research, on Militarism in Post-Soviet Russia: War, Culture and Identity, 1990 -2000" is fully funded by the Economic and Social Research Council Wales DTP. She is primarily interested in the mechanisms behind latent militarisation during the 1990s. Allyson spent a total of 7 months in Russia carrying out research. She uncovered interesting sources from the State Archives of the Russia Federation, the Russian State Library and Yeltsin Centre. She is an active member with her department at Swansea, organising and chairing the Political and Cultural Studies weekly seminar series, and running the Reading Group for the Conflict, Reconstruction and Memory research group. Beyond Swansea University, Allyson is Vice Chair and social media head of the Eurasian, East and Central European Studies Women Academics Forum, and Social Media head for the UK-based Defence Research Network.

ERSANILLI Evelyn, is a Senior Researcher at the Department of Political Science at the University of Amsterdam. Her research focuses on migration policy development and immigrant integration, in particular citizenship, identity, migrant families. Most of her work takes an international comparative perspective. In 2017 she was awarded a Starting Grant by the European Research Council (ERC) for the RIGHTS project (2018-2023). This project takes a novel approach to the issue of low skilled migrants' rights by examining the influence of the governments of origin countries. Most of her teaching has been on research methods and statistics. She enjoys thinking about ways to encourage student learning and help students become critical consumers and producers of social scientific research. In 2014, she was awarded a Teaching Excellence Award by the Social Sciences Division of the University of Oxford. In 2014 and 2015 she was also short-listed for the Most Acclaimed Lecturer award of the Oxford University Student Union (OUSU). Both were in recognition of her teaching on research methods and statistics. She obtained a PhD in Sociology from the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and an MSc in Interdisciplinary Social Sciences from Utrecht University. Previously she was an Assistant Professor in Sociology at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, a Research Officer and Departmental Lecturer on the MSc in Migration Studies at the University of Oxford and an associate member of Nuffield College, University of Oxford and a Senior Researcher at the WZB Berlin Social Science Research Centre. She is the Dutch Co-I of MOBILISE.

GIBSON Rachel, Rachel Gibson joined the University of Manchester as Professor of Politics in the Institute for Social Change December 2007. In 2016 she was appointed as Director of the Cathie Marsh Institute for Social Research. She has worked previously at the University of Leicester, the Australian National University, and the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research. Her research focuses on the impact of new information and communication technologies on political parties, particularly with regard to their activities in the elections and campaigning sphere.

GLEW Anna, is a second year PhD Student in Russian and East European Studies at the University of Manchester. She has a BA and MA from the National Pedagogical University in Poltava, Ukraine, and MA from the University of Manchester. Her research focuses on the commemorative activity of ordinary people in Ukraine, particularly in the area of commemoration of the Euromaidan victims and the Russia-Ukraine war.

GOLDSTEIN Piotr, (PhD, Manchester) is an interdisciplinary social scientist working at the Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS) in Berlin, Germany and Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Manchester, UK. His research interests encompass the diversity of contemporary civic activism in Eastern Europe, everyday activism, the role of ethnic minorities and migrants as co-creators of local civil societies and the East-West paradigm in research. Together with a colleague, he has recently completed a 30-minute ethnographic documentary "Active (citizen)" about invisible activism of a Roma refugee from Kosovo who makes his living collecting trash on the streets of Novi Sad, Serbia.

GORELIK Stas, primary research interests are protests and elections in authoritarian regimes, as well as tactics incumbents and opposition organizations use when contesting power. He focuses on the post-Soviet countries. He speaks Russian and Belarusian.

GORLIZKI Yoram, has been at the University of Manchester since 1994, as a Professor since 2006. He did my undergraduate degree at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, before going on to a one year postgraduate Russian language diploma at the University of Strathclyde and a doctorate at St Antony's College, Oxford, under the supervision of Mary McAuley. From 1991-1994 he held a Junior Research Fellowship at Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge. He has been the sole principal investigator on two ESRC grants (R00022676, R000230880), the outputs of both of which were rated "outstanding" by ESRC assessors, and the recipient of numerous small grants from the British Academy and other bodies. In 2005 his co-authored book *Cold Peace* won the Alec Nove Prize of the British Association of Slavic and East European Studies for its "outstanding contribution to the field" and was selected as a CHOICE "Outstanding Academic Title." He is on the Editorial Board of the journal *Government and Opposition* and was, from 2001-2007, its review editor. He has been a member of the ESRC Politics, Economics and Geography Research College and was, from 2000-2005, Chair of the Validation Panel for the Moscow School of Social Sciences.

GREENE Samuel, is Director of the Russia Institute at King`s College London and a Reader in Russian politics. Prior to moving to London in 2012, he lived and worked in Moscow for 13 years, most recently as director of the Centre for the Study of New Media & Society at the New Economic School, and as deputy director of the Carnegie Moscow Center. His most recent book, co-authored with Graeme Robertson, Putin v. the People: The Perilous Politics of a Divided Russia, was published in April 2019 by Yale University Press. His previous book, Moscow in Movement: Power and Opposition in Putin's Russia, was published by Stanford University Press in 2014. He holds a PhD in political sociology from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

GRIES Peter, Peter Gries 葛小伟 joined the University of Manchester as Professor of Chinese Politics in August 2017. After a fall of fundraising and a £5M donation endowing a new Manchester China Institute, in December 2017 he became the Lee Kai Hung Chair and MCI Director. Peter was born in Singapore and grew up in Hong Kong, Washington, DC, Tokyo, and Beijing. He later earned bachelors and masters degrees in Asian Studies at Middlebury and Michigan, and a PhD in politics from Berkeley. After a two year postdoc at Ohio State, he was assistant professor of politics at the University of Colorado, Boulder for five years. He then spent eleven years at the University of Oklahoma, where he founded and directed the Institute for US-China Issues, and its two signature programs, the Newman Prize for Chinese Literature, and the US-China Diplomatic Dialogue. Peter is the author of *The Politics of American Foreign Policy: How Ideology Divides Liberals and Conservatives over Foreign Affairs* (Stanford, 2014) and *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy* (California, 2005), and dozens of peer reviewed journal articles. He is also co-editor of *State and Society in 21st Century China* (Routledge, 2004) and *Chinese Politics* (Routledge, 2010). He studies the political psychology of international affairs, with a focus on China and the United States.

HALE Henry, is Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at George Washington University (GW) and author of the books Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective (Cambridge, 2015), The Foundations of Ethnic Politics (Cambridge, 2008), and Why Not Parties in Russia? (Cambridge, 2006). His work, which focuses on issues related to political regimes and identity and involves both qualitative and quantitative research, has won two awards from the American Political Science Association (APSA). He is currently editorial board chair of *Demokratizatsiya*: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization and Vice President of the APSA's section on Qualitative and Multi-Method Research. During 2009-12, he was director of the Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies (IERES) at GW's Elliott School of International Affairs.

HEILIG Carolin Ida, is a MPhil Student and an Early Stage Researcher in the Horizon 2020 "FATIGUE: Delayed Transformational Fatigue in Central and Eastern Europe: Responding to the Rise of Illiberalism/Populism" project. In 2018, she

graduated from St Antony's College, University of Oxford, where she studied Russian and East European Studies (MSc) at the School of Interdisciplinary Area Studies and where her research focused on women's rights activism in Poland. She is interested in civil society, liberal democracy and political parties in Central and Eastern Europe.

HERASIMENKA Aliaksandr, is a research associate at Westminster School of Media and Communications, University of Westminster. His work lies at the interface of communication, political science and technology and focuses on changes that social media platforms bring in political organising and communication. He specialises in the areas of political activism, digital methods and social movements.

KETCHLEY Neil, is Lecturer in Middle East Politics in the Department of Political Economy at King's College London. His first book Egypt in a Time of Revolution (CUP, 2017) won the Charles Tilly Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship Book Award awarded by the American Sociological Association. His research has appeared in the American Political Science Review and Mobilization.

KOTWAS Marta, is a doctoral student at UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies. She holds a Philosophy MA from University of Lodz, Poland. Her current research focuses on socio-cultural interpretations of the rise of right-wing populism in CEE as well as modern Polish Catholicism and its influence on politics and representations of patriotism. As a pro-choice activist she is engaged in the public debate on reproductive rights and women's rights in Poland. Her recent article, co-authored with Jan Kubik, is entitled "Symbolic Thickening of Public Culture and the Rise of Right-Wing Populism in Poland" (EEPS 33:2).

LANKINA Tomila, Tomila Lankina's current research focuses on comparative democracy and authoritarianism, mass protests and historical patterns of human capital and democratic reproduction in Russia and other states. Recent publications include articles in the American Journal of Political Science, British Journal of Political Science, Comparative Political Studies, World Politics, The Journal of Politics, Comparative Politics, Demokratizatsiya, Europe-Asia Studies, Post-Soviet Affairs, Problems of Post-Communism among others. She is also author of Governing the Locals: Local Self-Government and Ethnic Mobilization in Russia (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006); and Local Governance in Central and Eastern Europe, with Anneke Hudalla and Hellmut Wollmann (Palgrave and University of Oxford St. Antony's Series, 2008). She received her DPhil from the University of Oxford (St Antony's and Balliol Colleges), an MA in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University in America and a BA in linguistics (Urdu and Hindi) from the Tashkent Institute of Oriental Studies in Uzbekistan. She has held research appointments at the Humboldt University in Berlin, Stanford University, the Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars in Washington, DC and De Montfort University in Leicester. She has been a co-investigator and lead investigator on ESRC and British Academy funded research projects. Presently, she is working on a book on the long-term patterns of reproduction of social structure in Russia and why it matters for democracy, development and social inequalities.

LOKOT Tetyana, is Assistant Professor and Chair of MA in Social Media Communications at Dublin City University. She researches protest and digital media in Ukraine and Russia, as well as internet freedom, censorship and internet governance in Eastern Europe. Until 2016, she wrote the Ukraine chapter for Freedom House's Freedom on the Net report, and she currently contributes to the Ranking Digital Rights Corporate Accountability Index. Her research has appeared in *Information, Communication and Society,Digital Journalism*, and *Irish Studies in International Affairs*. She is currently working on a book about protest and digital media in Ukraine and Russia.

MARTINEZ FERNANDEZ Ana, PhD Student in Politics at The University of Manchester.

MATEO Emma, DPhil Student, Sociology, The University of Oxford.

MICHIELS Sébastien, Sébastien Michiels holds a PhD in development economics from the University of Bordeaux (UMR GRETHA). He is currently associate researcher at DIAL (Paris, France) and at the French Institute of Pondicherry (Pondicherry, India). After two postdocs completed under the programme "Labour, Skills, Social networks and Mobilities in India (LAKSMI)" between 2016 and 2018, he recently joined the MOBILISE project as a postdoctoral fellow.

NYCHYK Alina, PhD Student in Politics at The University of Manchester.

ONUCH Olga, (DPhil Oxford 2010) is a Senior Lecturer [Associate Professor] in Politics. She joined the University of Manchester in 2014, after holding research posts at the University of Toronto (2010-2011), University of Oxford (2011-2014) and Harvard University (2013-2014). She is an Associate of Nuffield College (Oxford) and of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. Onuch was also a Research Fellow at the Davis Centre (Harvard) in 2017. Onuch's comparative study of protest (as well as elections, migration & identity) in Eastern Europe and Latin America has made her a leading expert in Ukrainian and Argentine politics specifically, but also in inter-regional comparative analysis. She is the author of several scholarly articles (in *Journal of Democracy, Europe-Asia Studies, Problems of Post-Communism, Post-Soviet Affairs, GeoPolitics* among other journals), book chapters, and policy briefs. Onuch is currently UK Principle Investigator of MOBILISE *"Determinants of 'Mobilisation' at Home and Abroad: Analysing the Micro- Foundations of Out-Migration & Mass Protest".* A three year project (2018-2021) funded through the Open Research Area (ORA) Scheme with direct support of the ESRC in the UK, the DFG in Germany, the ANR in France and the NWO in the Netherlands (€2,002,039 total (£595,369 to UoM)). Her research regularly appears in leading media outlets (The Washington Post, The Times, The Guardian, BBC, ITV, Al Jazeera, AFP, among others). Onuch's research on protest politics in Ukraine has resulted in her consulting policymakers in Canada, Ukraine, the UK and US. Her research received praise and awards placing her on the map as one of the foremost experts on protests and activism in Ukraine.

PLANTAN Elizabeth, is a China Public Policy Postdoctoral Fellow at the Ash Centre for Democratic Governance and Innovation at Harvard Kennedy School. Her research focuses on state-society relations under authoritarianism, particularly environmental activism in China and Russia. She holds an MA and PhD in Government from Cornell University, an MA in Russian & East European Studies from Indiana University Bloomington, and a BA in Government and Russian & East European Studies from Wesleyan University.

POP-ELCHES Grigore, is Professor of Politics and Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. Grigore Pop-Eleches' main research interests lie at the intersection between political economy and comparative political behavior, with a particular interest in Eastern Europe and Latin America.He has worked on the politics of IMF programs in Eastern Europe and Latin America, the rise of unorthodox parties in East Europe, and on the role of historical legacies in post-communist regime change. His first book, entitled "From Economic Crisis to Reform: IMF Programs in Latin America and Eastern Europe" was published by Princeton University Press in February 2009. He recently completed a second book, "Communism's Shadow: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Political Attitudes" (joint with Joshua A. Tucker), which is forthcoming at Princeton University Press. His work has also appeared in a variety of academic journals, including The Journal of Politics, World Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Quarterly Journal of Political Science, International Studies Quarterly, Journal of Democracy, Studies in Comparative International Development, and East European Politics and Societies.

POPOVA Maria, (PhD Harvard) is Jean Monnet Chair and Associate Professor of Political Science at McGill University. She has lived and conducted research across Eastern Europe and Eurasia and its various regime incarnations—from growing up in Bulgaria before 1989, through interviewing judges and lawyers in Russia and Ukraine for dissertation research in the 2000s, to her current attempt to disentangle real from fake anti-corruption efforts in Bulgaria, Romania, and Ukraine. Popova's work explores the intersection of politics and law in the region, specifically the rule of law, judicial reform, political corruption, populist parties, and legal repression of dissent. Popova's book, Politicized Justice in Emerging Democracies (Cambridge UP, 2012), won the American Association for Ukrainian Studies prize for best book in the fields of Ukrainian history, politics, language, literature and culture. Popova has published articles in Comparative Political Studies, Europe-Asia Studies, Problems of Post-Communism, Demokratizatsiya, Journal of East European Law, book chapters and occasionally writes for the Washington Post's Monkey Cage, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy and the Globe and Mail.

PROCTOR Craig, is a third year PhD Student in at the University of Manchester. He has a MA of Arts from the University of Glasgow in Polish and Slavonic Studies, and an MA form Jagiellonian University and the University of Glasgow in Russian, Central and Eastern European Studies. His current research is focused on the Radical Right Nationalist Movement in post-Euromaidan Ukraine.

ROSENFELD Bryn, is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Southern California and will join the faculty of Cornell University's Department of Government in fall 2019. Her research interests include comparative political behaviour, with a focus on regime preferences and voter behaviour in nondemocratic systems, development and democratization, post-communism, and survey methodology. Her work has appeared in the American Political Science Review, the American Journal of Political Science, and Sociological Methods & Research. She is a recipient of the Juan Linz Prize for Best Dissertation and a Best Article Award honourable mention, both by the American Political Science Association's Comparative Democratization Section. From 2015-2016, she was a Postdoctoral Prize Research Fellow at Nuffield College, University of Oxford. She earned her Ph.D. at Princeton University.

SANTOS Felipe Gonzalez, is a Research Associate at the School of Social Sciences of the University of Manchester, working as part of the MOBILISE project. He is also a PhD fellow at the Doctoral School of Political Science, Public Policy and International Relations of the Central European University. His academic interests lie in the fields of social movements, migration studies, as well as multi-methods methodology for the social sciences. Felipe is also a podcast host at the New Books Network, where he interviews authors of academic books about social movements. His latest research explores how activists care for each other and how social movement organizations empower oppressed collectives. Within this context, he has done one year of fieldwork in Barcelona, being an engaged observer and interviewing members of the Platform of Those Affected by Mortgages, the biggest housing organization in Spain.

SASSE Gwen, is the Director of the newly founded Centre for East European Research and International Studies in Berlin (*Zentrum für Osteuropa- und internationale Studien*, ZOiS in German; https://en.zois-berlin.de/). She is Professor of Comparative Politics in the Department of Politics and International Relations and the Oxford School of Global and Area Studies at the University of Oxford, a Professorial Fellow at Nuffield College, and a non-resident Senior Fellow at Carnegie Europe. Her research interests include post-communist transitions (with a particular focus on Ukraine), the comparative study of democracy and authoritarianism, ethnic conflict, and migration. She has just completed a project funded by the Leverhulme Trust on 'Political Remittances: The Political Impacts of Migration'. The first results of this project have been published in *Comparative Political Studies*, the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Comparative Migration Studies, Migration Studies* and *Comparative Studies in Society and History.* She is currently writing an OUP monograph provisionally titled *Voice through Exit: The Political Remittances of Migrants.* Her current research projects at ZOiS concentrate on original survey data related to the war in Eastern Ukraine and youth attitudes in Russia. Her monograph *The Crimea Question: Identity, Transition, and Conflict* (Harvard University Press 2007; paperback 2014) won the Alexander Nove Prize of the British Association for

Slavonic and East European Studies. She is a regular contributor to the blogs *Strategic Europe* and *ZOiS Spotlight*, has written for the *Monkey Cage* and *In Conversation*, and frequently comments on East European affairs in the German and international media. She is the German PI of MOBILISE.

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