

TRANSFORMATION GROUP NEWSLETTER

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CONFERENCE PAPERS

Vikki presented work focussing on the methodological aspects of conducting cross-cultural research in November 2009. She attended the AAASS Annual Conference in Boston 12-15 November delivering an impulse paper, 'Possibilities for knowledge transfer and impact in feminist research practice: reflections from conducting research across disciplinary and geographical boundaries', as part of a roundtable, entitled 'Ideas that never meet? Navigating interdisciplinary knowledge and practice', that she co-organised with colleagues from the Departments of Central and East European Studies and Slavonic Studies at Glasgow.

Vikki was also invited to deliver a keynote address in Helsinki 26-27 November 2009 at a postgraduate workshop entitled, 'Understanding Russia: critical reflections on method, practice and knowl-

edge creation', that was co-organised by the universities of Glasgow, Manchester and Helsinki. Vikki's paper was entitled 'The tensions and contributions of conducting cross-cultural feminist research: reflections from research on women's human rights in contemporary Russia'.

Bill reports as follows:

14 July: Presented paper to 2009 World Congress of Political Science in Santiago, Chile. My paper was: 'Culture, Context and Behaviour: the Law-breaking, Law-abiding Public'. The paper was based on approximately 1000 interviews in each of five countries: England, Norway, Poland, Bulgaria and Ukraine. Amongst other findings it looked at eight scenarios in which 'generally law-abiding people' would 'knowingly break the law'. Some of these proved to be amongst the 'most pan-European' elements of popular

legal culture – such as breaking the law 'in an emergency', 'in self-defence', and 'if they were unlikely to get caught' or 'would do no harm to others' (the J. S. Mill principle). At the other end of the scale, actions such as 'giving bribes under pressure' were at the 'most country-specific' end of the scale. The paper also discussed how various elements of popular legal cultures varied across Europe – some conforming to the familiar 'east-west' pattern, others conforming to the less frequently cited 'core-periphery' pattern.



Above: "It's been cold in Yakutsk as well (courtesy of Katsu)"

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In October Bill presented another paper to the Norwegian Research Council's annual "Changing Europe" conference, at the NRC headquarters in Oslo. His paper was: 'Public attitudes towards European and International Standards in Law and Law-enforcement'. The paper was based on the same interviews. Amongst other findings it concluded: (1) that a 'predominantly-European identity' is a *sufficient, but not a necessary condition for welcoming* and supporting European and International Standards; and (2) that a 'predominantly-Country identity' is a *necessary, but not a sufficient condition for rejecting* the application of European and International Standards.

Jane presented a paper on 'China's changing health governance' at a workshop on Urban Governance in China at the University of Turku, Finland, 12-14 August, combining the trip with a wonderful family holiday in Helsinki and exploring the south-western archipelago. She organised a panel at the APSA meeting in Toronto, 3-6 September, at which she presented a paper on 'Health Politics in China: Explaining State Retrenchment, 1978-2003'. She presented another paper, on 'Economic Crisis and China's 2009 Health Reform

Plan: Rebuilding Social Protections for Stability and Growth?', at an international workshop on 'Dealing with Economic Crisis: Chinese Approaches and Experiences' organised by the Association for Social Science Research on China at Trier, Germany, on 27-28 November – a very generously hosted event that allowed us to sample ancient Roman cuisine and wines of the Mosel as well as visit Karl Marx Haus (his birth-place). In November Jane also gave a keynote lecture on 'Health Reform and the PRC Government's Promotion of 'Social Harmony' at a conference on 'The Impact of the Global Economic Crisis on Social Development: Social Policy Responses in Greater China', held at the University of Hong Kong. She combined this trip with a visit to an of post-1949 Chinese materials at the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Jane also participated in a cross-UK government strategy meeting, 'Scenarios for China in 2025 and their Implications for UK Defence, Diplomacy and Development Objectives', organised by the Cabinet Office, DfID, Ministry of Defence, London, on 6 November. She delivered a lecture, 'The China Challenge: Models, Visions and Global Futures', at the University of Edinburgh & Con-

fucius Institute on 29 October.

Stephen spoke (with Valentina) at a day conference on Russia in Hutcheson's Grammar School, Glasgow, in September, and in October in Khar'kiv at the First Congress of Ukrainian Sociologists, where he presented a paper on 'Coloured Revolutions: Is there a Pattern?' and took part in a panel discussion on 'Independent Sociology: Myth or Reality?

In November he spoke at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in Boston on 'People and Politics in Post-Communist Belarus', drawing in part on our 2009 national survey.

Cristian writes from Turin: 'In November 2009 I took part to a conference in Livorno about the 20th anniversary of the events of 1989 and the post Cold War world. I presented a paper about Russian elite approaches toward the West from the late 1980s to the late 1990s and the political development of post-Soviet Russia. It was instructive for me to discuss this topic with other experienced historians and to present my paper to such a large audience including young students as well as experienced academics.'



Above: "Stephen, Grigori Ioffe and Andrei Korobkov explore Beacon Hill after the AAASS meeting in Boston"

FIELDWORK

Sam has been carrying out fieldwork in Moscow for a couple of months. He has been working in the Library of the State Duma and the 'Leninka' or Russian State Library as part of his thesis which looks at the Russian military in contemporary politics. In addition to his research, he has been dabbling in the murkier depths of Russian cuisine and struggling to stay upright on icy pavements. As yet he hasn't bumped into Medvedev or Putin but has seen at least one 'minigarch'. In the

coming months he will continue to locate documents for his thesis and complete some interview work.

Vikki began work on her new project that explores women's access to legal advice as one of a variety of means used by women to access rights in 2009. She spent July in Ul'yanovsk conducting fieldwork for her pilot study entitled 'Mapping access to legal advice in provincial Russia', which was funded by an Adam

Smith Foundation Seedcorn Grant (£1200). The data generated from this study forms the basis of several conference papers that have been accepted for presentation in 2010. Vikki will present at BASEES in March, at the British Sociological Association annual conference in April as part of a roundtable on the 'Sociology of rights' with a colleague from the Sociology Department at Glasgow, and at ICCEES in July on a panel with Studies.

colleagues from Helsinki and Glasgow.

Stephen was in Moscow again in September 2009, for library research and project-related discussions with Olga Kryshtanovskaya, and in Ukraine in October. He continued to visit the Johns Hopkins Bologna Center during the autumn term as Adjunct Professor of European

TRANSFORMATION GROUP SYMPOSIUM

The Group organised a departmental symposium in November 2009. Stephen spoke on 'Explaining "coloured revolutions"', Sarah on 'Politics and the Internet' and Valentina on 'Russia as a Normative Power'.

We expect to organise a second symposium later in the current term.

VISITORS

Visitors during the past six months included Kate Horner of the UK Cabinet Office, who was here in November to discuss current Russian elite politics with Stephen and Valentina.

GRANTS

Valentina and Stephen were awarded £3500 to assist in organising a 'crisis conference' in May 2010 (see below). Additional support was made available by the Centre for Russian, Central and East European Studies, courtesy of Richard Berry.

Stephen's latest ESRC award began in September, entitled 'The Putin Succession' (£139,068, 2009-2012), and is based again on collaboration with Olga Kryshtanovskaya. As the abstract explains, 'Previous work by the present applicant and his Russian collaborator has established

that the relatively small group that takes Russia's key decisions is increasingly composed of *siloviki* with a military or security background. This distinctive ruling group faces a serious challenge as it seeks to manage a succession to the all-powerful presidency at the end of Vladimir Putin's second term. The central question for the project is the changes that will take place in the Russian political elite as this succession proceeds. We will ask, in particular: Will the existing level of representation of the *siloviki* be maintained,

or even increased? How will the *siloviki* and other strategic groups be distributed across the presidential administration, within a government that will be chaired by a more influential prime minister, within the newly-elected legislature, and in the eighty-odd regions? How will these strategic groups be represented within the informal 'court' where the most crucial of all decisions are made? What are the implications of their representation and known opinions for Russia's domestic and foreign/security policy?

We propose to examine such matters on an annual basis in successive cross-sections, from January 2008 to January 2011 inclusive.'

PUBLICATIONS

Vikki published a coauthored article based on findings from her doctoral research on women's perceptions of human rights and how the findings relate to 'western' conceptualizations of women's work life choices in the journal *Gender, work and organization*. See Turbine, V. & Riach, K. (2010) 'The right to choose or choosing what's rights? Women's conceptualization of work life choices in contemporary Russia',

Gender, Work and Organization, published online 30 November 2009 and available at: <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/123193808/abstract>

Stephen's coedited collection came out in December: Stephen White, Richard Sakwa and Henry Hale, eds., *Developments in Russian Politics 7* (Palgrave Macmillan and Duke Uni-

versity Press). It includes a chapter by Sarah and Gillian McCormick on the media and political communication.

Stephen's coauthored paper with Ian McAllister on 'Rethinking the "Orange Revolution"' appeared in the *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 25: 2-3 (June-September 2009), and he also contributed a concluding paper on 'Is there a

pattern?'. A separate book version, coedited by Stephen and David Lane, will appear in due course.

Stephen also coauthored a short paper on 'After Pitkalevo' (with Visiting Professor Olga Kryshtanovskaya) which appeared in *Baltic Rim Economies* No. 5 (October 2009). A more substantial paper, intended to take further their discussion of the role of the *siloviki*, appeared as

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'The Sovietization of Russian Politics' in *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 25, no. 4 (October-December 2009).

Sarah has just published *Terrorism, Elections, and Democracy: Political Campaigns in the United States, Great Britain, and Russia* (with L.L. Kaid and M. Berry, Palgrave, 2009). She writes: 'The politics of fear have

come to dominate much of the political agenda in many countries in the wake of 9/11. *Terrorism, Elections, and Democracy* examines how the fear of terrorism affected how elections were fought and won in 2004 and 2005. The book finds original and compelling evidence for how security issues dominated elections in the

United States and Russia, while discussing why British politics were relatively unchanged. The findings suggest that the democratic intentions of elections can be overwhelmed when politicians, journalists, and the public focus on fear rather than politics in a campaign. The data come from two grants under the ESRC New

Security Challenges programme.'

RUSSIA AND ITS "IMAGES"

Valentina's thesis abstract is as follows:

This study seeks to analyse the impact of the perceived, projected and self-images of a state on its foreign and domestic policies. It approaches this problem by exploring the evolution of international images of the Russian Federation in the 'West' in the years of Vladimir Putin's presidency (2000-2008) and by examining attempts by the Russian authorities to improve them with the help of foreign propaganda. Russian political elites have always been very sensitive to perceptions of Russia in Western Europe and later in the United States of America. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia's images in Western countries underwent significant transformation. Although relatively posi-

tive in the early 1990s, they became more negative towards the end of Boris Yel'tsin's presidency before reaching their negative 'peak' during Putin's second presidential term. The energetic efforts of the Russian authorities in the years of Putin's presidency to promote a more favourable image of the country provide extremely rich material for analysis, which has largely not yet been utilised in the academic literature.

To facilitate the analysis of Russia's perceived images and the effectiveness of foreign propaganda, the thesis includes two case studies that examine the issues at question in greater detail in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Federal Republic of Germany. Based on extensive primary re-

search (elite interviewing and discourse analysis), the study seeks to make a three-fold contribution to the academic literature. Firstly, it is the first systematic examination of Russian foreign propaganda in the post-Soviet period. By analysing Russia's attempts to improve its image in the international arena, the thesis contributes to the literature in the field of International Political Communication that has already examined public diplomacy campaigns conducted by other, mainly Western, countries. Secondly, it aims to provide a deeper insight into the role of subjective, non-material factors in Russian foreign policy. Finally, it seeks to make a contribution to the social constructivist IR literature by presenting a theoretical analysis of the role of

national images in international relations.

RUSSIAN STUDIES IN KOREA

Seongjin Kim completed his PhD here in 2000, and had already begun to publish his work (for instance, in *Pacific Focus* and *Regional and Federal Studies*) before he had left. He writes as follows:

Korea and Russia are celebrating the 20th anniversary of the normalization of diplomatic relations after the long confrontation of the Cold War. The end of the Cold War also normalized studies in this field: research on the Soviet Union was strictly controlled for much of the Cold War due to the anti-communism of South Korea's authoritarian regime.

In terms of volume Russian Studies has grown during the last 20 years: there are now around 30 undergraduate departments in Russian Studies, and Russian Lan-

guage and Literature. The number of members of the Korean Association of Slavic Studies has also increased from a total of about 100 initially to some 300 in the social sciences and 350-400 in language and literature. About 60-70 of these members in the social sciences and 50 in literature/language are research active (i.e. having produced more than three publications during the last five years). Not surprisingly, all of those who undertook their doctoral studies at the University of Glasgow under the supervision of Stephen White fall into this category. The educational background of the researchers has also changed markedly. The proportion of US PhD-degree holders (traditionally dominant numerically) has decreased since the 1990s

with the return of those who completed their higher degrees in the UK, Germany, and particularly Russia.

Russia Studies also receives its fair share of the research funds provided by the Ministry of Education. The author, for instance, has recently received a grant to conduct public opinion surveys on migration issues in the Russian Far East. Such funding contributes, of course, not only to a dramatic increase in publications, but also to academic exchanges (attendance at conferences, research trips etc).

The East Asian Conference of Slavic Studies, jointly organized by the Korean, Chinese, and Japanese associations, is an important development in the internationalization of Slavic Studies in Asia. The first EA Conference was held in Sap-

Sapporo, Japan in 2009; the second will be held in Seoul, Korea in March 2010.

Stephen White will be in attendance as one of three eminent scholars (the others are Graham Gill and Peter Rutland) invited as special guests.

Unfortunately not all of the news is good. Difficulties in securing an academic position are no longer a surprise at all in Korea and this has become a prime obstacle in recruiting postgraduate students and the next generation of Russian/Slavic specialists. Indeed, a growing number of young scholars are exploring the new frontier of Central Asian studies in the hope of breaking through on the job market.

CRISIS CONFERENCE, 13-14 MAY 2010

Coorganised by Stephen and Valentina, and intended to give rise to a double special issue of the *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* (and a subsequent edited book). The provisional programme is appended below; all will be welcome to attend.

PANEL 1 [2.-3.30]

David Lane (Cambridge), 'Global economic crisis and the CIS'

Robert Bideleux (Swansea), 'Contrasting Responses to the global crisis in the CIS and the new EU member states'

Neil Robinson (Limerick),

'The limits of authoritarian developmentalism in Russia: patrimonial capitalism and the global credit crunch'

Richard Sakwa (Kent), 'The politics of krizis'

PANEL 2 [4-5.30]

Richard Rose (Aberdeen), 'How Important are Economic Evaluations for Political Attitudes?' (provisional)

Phil Hanson (RIIA London), 'Russia: Crisis, Exit and...Reform?'

Elizabeth Teague (FCO London), 'The Politics of Crisis and Russian Workers'

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PANEL 3 [Friday 9.15-11]

Mikhail Korostikov (MGIMO),

'The Russian and Chinese
Leaderships and the Crisis'

Olga Kryshtanovskaya
(Moscow), 'Krizis i tandem
[The crisis and the tandem]'

Valentina Feklyunina/
Stephen White (Glasgow),
'Reading the Krizis in Rus-
sia'

Ian McAllister (Canberra)/
Stephen White, 'The Crisis,
the Public and the Parties'

PANEL 4 [11.30-1]

Nat Copsey (Aston), 'The
effect of the global eco-
nomic crisis on Ukraine's

path towards European inte-
gration'

Vlad Mykhnenko/Adam
Swain (Nottingham),
'Depression, devaluation
and divergence: The burst-
ing of the Orange bubble
and Ukraine's space-
economy'

Marco Bocjun (London Met-
ropolitan), 'International
economic crisis and the
2010 presidential elections
in Ukraine'

Elena Korosteleva
(Aberystwyth), 'Financial
Crisis and Belarus' Foreign
Policy'

Yulia Korosteleva (SSEES/

UCL), 'The implications of
the global recession for the
Belarusian economy: reveal-
ing cracks in the economic
model'

Alena Kropacheva
(Hamburg), 'Presidential
Elections in Ukraine and
Foreign Policy Choices'

Christian Haerpfer
(Aberdeen), Moldova and
the crisis

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PANEL 6: ROUNDTABLE [4-
5.30]

Marie Mendras (LSE/Paris)

Roy Allison (LSE)

Peter Duncan (SSEES/UCL)

Margot Light (LSE)

CONGRATULATIONS

To *Valentina* on successfully
passing her PhD viva in De-
cember 2009! The internal
examiner was Sarah, and
the external Dr Peter Dun-
can of the School of Sla-
vonic and East European
Studies/UCL, himself a Glas-
gow PhD. The award was an
'A' (unconditional).

To *Elena*, on an Aberystwyth
Teaching Excellence Award
(July 2009), and Higher Edu-
cation Academy/ BISA rec-
ognition of Teaching Excel-
lence in International Poli-
tics (December 2009)

To *Stephen*, on becoming
coeditor of the *Journal of
Eurasian Studies*, based in
South Korea and published
by Elsevier (the first issue
will appear in 2010).

And to *Valentina* again, on
the wonderful news that she
has just been appointed to a
Lectureship in Politics at
Newcastle University!

WHO WE ARE AND WHAT WE DO

The Transformation Group was established in 2004 as a
framework for cooperation among those in the Department
of Politics, University of Glasgow, who work wholly or in sub-
stantial part on political change in Eastern Europe, the For-
mer USSR and China. It includes staff members of the De-
partment in various capacities, and research students. Its
co-convenors are Professor Stephen White and Professor
Jane Duckett. The other members and associates are:

Staff: Dr Tom Lundberg, Prof Bill Miller, Prof Sarah Oates
and Prof Chris Thornhill and Dr Vikki Turbine

Research staff: Tanya Biletskaya and Valentina Feklyunina

Graduate students: Daniel Hammond, Ariel Ko, Sam Robert-
shaw, Anke Schmidt-Felzman and Alison Swain.

Associates and former staff and students: Dr Katsuto Furu-
sawa, Dr Caroline Hoy, Dr Derek Hutcheson, Dr Tom John-
son, Dr Elena Korosteleva, Dr Yulia Korosteleva, Dr Chris
Lamont and Dr Guohui Wang