# ABSTRACTS





## 6<sup>th</sup> Annual RUCARR Conference, 10-11 November, 2021

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## Turkic-Origin Inhabitants of North Caucasus; An Obstacle for Sustaining Russian Image as a Soft Power in the Region

**Dr. Muhammad Asim<sup>1</sup>** E-Mail: asimsheikh62@yahoo.com

## Abstract

Besides the political history of North Caucasus, currently Turkic-origin inhabitants of the region have been highly influenced by the Russian art, beliefs, culture, language, lifestyle, literature, philosophies and traditions (due to either the part of Russian federation or Russia as a major regional power). And, this influence makes the Russia as a soft power in the region. However, their Turkic roots still encourage numerous segments within Kumyks, Balkars, Karachays, Nogais, Azerbaijanis, Meskhetians and Turkmens to trace religio-cultural romanticism with Turkey. Therefore, region sometimes experiences different sorts of ethnonational movements on the bases of Turkic identity. This study examines the movements for Karachay-Balkar Republic and Kumyk Republic (as the autonomous federated units within Russia or sovereign states), and investigates the reasons that triggering Turkic-origin inhabitants of North Caucasus to stand against Russian federation and idealize Turkey over Russia as a soft power. Moreover, political economy of both movements assists the study to find the ways why majority of Turkic-origin inhabitants are still inclined towards Russia culturally, materialistically, politically and socially.

Keywords: North Dagestan, Armin Vambery, Salau Aliev, Tenglik movement, Pan-Turkism, Akhmed Zakayev,

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Recently, he has also been associated with Pak-Iran Intellectuals Forum (Islamabad and Qom) as a Vice-President, and Director at Young Women for Change in Caucasus (YWCC). Previously, he has also been served as Honorary Director at Center for Afghanistan, Iran and the Caucasus Studies (Islamabad and Multan). His Mobile/WhatsApp no. is +923007809262.

## RUCARR Conference Paper 2021

Nick Baigent Malmö University PhD

## Hydro development and local resistance in the Republic of Georgia

### **Reading Notes:**

This is a paper written specifically for the RUCARR conference 2021. It is aimed to introduce my research to the community, and it has attempted to conversationally lay out what I am doing. Many things have been left underdeveloped as a result of this, but I hope that what I have put down clearly outlines what it is that I am hoping to achieve in this research.

## Abstract

This paper is aimed at introducing my research to the RUCARR community. It outlines the goals, concepts, situation, and challenges of the work in the hopes to build dialogue around what I am undertaking. Briefly put, my work examines local resistance to international hydro-power development in the Republic of Georgia. The project looks to contextualize this situation in its international, national, and local contexts, but it focuses on developing understanding of the local element of this situation. It posits that the agency and power displayed by local populations in the face of internationally funded mega-projects is under-represented in political analysis of international development. Literature that specifically looks at resistance/responses to international development does a good job of accounting for how populations exercise power in the face of globalized development, however, this is not widely accounted for in political writings (in this I refer to International Relations and Political Science) of the phenomenon. This is problematic because it creates, potentially, a false ascription of power in our understanding of events, by taking approaches that focus purely on the actions of states, institutions, and international business, analysis can often focus on the agreement to undertake development, which is theoretical, and loses sight of the reality of completing development. My work looks to engage with why there has been challenges in Georgia in realizing the reality of what has been agreed upon by multiple international actors. There are myriad factors to this at all levels international, national, and local – however, my work aims to produce original data on the last while engaging with desk research with some supporting interviews with experts to illuminate the first two. The primary field work will be ethnographic and will take place in Svaneti (Nenskra and Khudoni dams), Racha (Namakhvani dam) and Adjara (Shuakhevi) (and potentially in Pankisi). The goal of this ethnographic field work is threefold. First, to provide direct first-hand account of the lived experience of populations faced with the development of these hydro-power plants. Second, to develop understanding of the organization and execution of anti-dam movements and, specifically, to develop knowledge of the community foundations which provided a base from which movements could build. Thirdly, to build connections between this local level of power and more

national and international comprehensions of structural power in the world. This requires the work to engage with conceptualizations of power and work to build links between more structural understandings of the concept based on the idea of power from resources and the more abstract understanding of the idea based on the idea of power as relational. Furthermore, the work looks to go beyond examining the resistance to these dams as social movements, it looks to engage with them as pre-existing communities and aims to engage with the base of what collectivised actions against the dams. In this it will look at resistance in two forms, the first is institutional, what are the actions that have been taken that are institutional in nature against hydro-development (legal actions, formal meetings, organized and approved protests etc). The second form examined is extrainstitutional, these are methods of resistance that exist outside of the legal parameters of a location. It is not that they are implicitly illegal (though they can be), they just exist within local parameters and have value in the location in which they take place. These take the form of ties built through acts of collective identity (oath-taking in Svaneti for instance), informal acts of protest, acts of vandalism, intimidation, or violence not orchestrated by a state institution, and knowledge of events that is tied to experiences existing in the location in question rather than formalized by an institution. This paper will look to provide a short overview of the PhD and outline where the work is going, it will refrain from going to deep into any specific area, but instead will opt for brevity (or at least some facsimile of the concept) in explaining the general ideas of the project. This is done in the hope of receiving broad feedback about the project and suggestions of relevant readings and approaches to consider.

Europeanization and The Labour Safety in Georgia: A Case of Coal Mining Town of Tkibuli

Giorgi Beridze: Department of Political Science, Tbilisi State University<sup>1</sup>

(This is the ongoing work which will be published as an article in a peer-reviewed academic journal in near future)

This work, which I am currently concluding examines the influence of The European Union on the labour policy-making of Georgia. The research explores how the Europeanization of the country has structured a new paradigm of labour relations and brought back the state in the relationship between labour and business. The study follows the transformations driven by The 2014 Association Agreement between Georgia and The EU through document analysis and in-depth interviews. The article inquires into the recent events in the Tkibuli coal-mining community, which is particularly problematic because of the catastrophic labour safety conditions. My work follows the voyage of Georgia from the Soviet past to the European integration through the story of the formerly luxurious periphery of the Soviet industrial network, which has experienced sensible improvements since the Association Agreement.

The motivation of this study is to observe the impact of Europeanization on the coal mining town of Tkibuli. Remarkably, this community is an intriguing example of Post-Soviet hardships and power competition. In the beginning, Tkibuli was affected by the Soviet dissolution, then by the privatization and finally, by the emergence of a new capitalist class which established control upon the entire coal-mining industry. By sampling Tkibuli as the representative case to observe the influence of Europeanization upon labour policy-making of Georgia, I choose the most suitable story. To encourage my suggestion, I have three arguments: Firstly, Tkibuli was vulnerable to the withdrawal of the Soviet economy. Secondly, Tkibuli citizens were vulnerable against the new capitalist class and thirdly because only Europeanization has introduced positive changes in the economy and politics of the town.

The research question that has to be tackled is:

-How does the Association Agreement between Georgia and the EU shape the labour politics of Georgia?

To be more specific, in each of the sections we try to find out:

- How does the conditionality concept interact with the Europeanization concept in the setting of Georgia's EU association odyssey?
- How has the Association Agreement impacted the legal framework of labour relations in Georgia?
- How did the new regulations reflect on the labour safety in Tkibuli coal-mines?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>GiorgiBeridze is a PhD fellow at Tbilisi State University, Department of Political Science. Giorgi was a visiting PhD fellow at the University of Tartu, Estonia during Spring Semester, 2020. Giorgi Beridze is currently working on a dissertation regarding the influence of the European Union on the transformation of Labour Politics in Georgia. Contact: Beridze.gigi@gmail.com

Elizaveta Gaufman University of Groningen

While a 'morality turn' was a tool to mobilize domestic legitimacy in Russia, allying with conservative populists in Europe can serve Russian foreign political goals as well, with conservative European governments potentially helping to remove EU sanctions and derail a unified EU Russia policy. Moreover, the morality turn could be and is already seen as an attractive alternative to a supposedly hegemonic liberal discourse. It is not surprising that Russia is thus seen as particularly appealing for Identitarians, New Right and Alt-Right movements that are usually familiar with only a fraction of Russian ultraconservative thought. In some cases, ultra-conservatives might be willing to turn a blind eye to Russian foreign policy transgressions (such as the Crimea annexation) as long as a country they perceive as white, Christian, anti-gay and anti-feminist positions itself as such. At the same time, the lack of Islamophobia in the Russian state rhetoric can be a hindrance for some ultra-conservative fractions in the West but can leave a door open for cooperation with non-Western reactionary movements.

## "Role of Russian soft power in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict"

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## Abstract: (190 words)

Two centuries ago, Russians proudly proclaimed that they liberated Armenians from the rule of Ottoman Turkey and Persia. Right after World War II, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin planned to invade and annex eastern Turkey to expand Soviet Armenia and get access to the Mediterranean. In the history of the last two centuries in the Caucasus, Russia has tried to highlight its soft power in the culture and religion till to accompany the Caucasian societies, and even in the case of decades-old conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, a mountainous breakaway region of Azerbaijan dominated by ethnic Armenians since the early 1990s, reopened in late September, it was Russia that stepped in as a peacemaker and a mediator. Many scholars may argue that this presence and role is just a hard power, but in this article, I want to prove that Russia plays a role with its necessary tools, with its soft power such as religious influence, social influence, cultural influence, media and linguistic influence in both countries. In this research, I try to analyze the role of Russian soft power based on the above factors in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict by providing different cultural and historical facts.

#### Nino Kukhianidze

#### PhD Student, Maria Curie Sklodowska University in Lublin

#### Conflict, Education and Russia's Soft Power in Georgia

According to a leading voice in critical pedagogy Paolo Freire, education is designed to serve political agendas. In other words, as long as the state controls and mandates education, it cannot be seen as a neutral disseminator of knowledge but rather as a tool to promote particular political agendas in order to affect the minds of new generations. Education can be seen as an instrument to implement nationalist policies aimed at building enemy images, as well as a tool to promote shifting mindsets of war to the mindsets of peace. Education can also be seen as a soft power instrument used by states in order to achieve their goals and interests. This paper intends to discuss and expose elements of Russia's soft power in the Georgian context, particularly through the use of education and the education system. Russia's soft power policy capitalizes on the problems and frictions in their target area in order to undermine the credibility of democracy and the idea of the "West". Through implementing soft power mechanisms, Russia aims to strengthen its traditionalist and anti-Western image in Georgia, while also emphasizing the lengthy historical, cultural and religious mutual ties. This paper intends to offer a discussion on education as one of the soft power instruments of Russia's policy towards Georgia, which is being implemented in parallel to their aggressive foreign policy following the August 2008 war and their occupation of two of Georgia's breakaway regions.

## *I will not Learn Ukrainian Just for You*! Language Politics in Battles for Language Rights in Ukrainian Segment of Facebook at the Time of War

## Abstract

This paper analyses language ideological debates in the Ukrainian segment of Facebook. The importance of language choices is investigated in language-related and non-language-related discussions collected between the years 2016 to 2021.

This social network study focuses on social action and relies on language management and ethnolinguistic identity theories. The methods of critical ethnography, discursive approach to language policy studies, and Nexus analysis are applied to the research of small specialized corpora coded in N'Vivo.

The analysis of language-related debates reveals intense dissatisfaction of Ukrainian speakers with largely declarative state language politics, disregard for the new state language law by the Russian speakers, and thus inconsistent use of national language in all spheres of the official communication. Russian speakers perceive the new language law as discriminating and destructive to the country's already fragile unity. Moreover, the ongoing military aggression appears to cause anxiety among Ukrainian speakers and overestimate the quantity and quality of the anti-Ukrainian sentiment among Ukrainian speakers of Russian, resulting in sharp debates about identities and language, questioning its importance at the time of hardship. Furthermore, the close analysis reveals tension, mistrust, and misunderstanding between the ethnic nationalism-oriented language rights activists and the speakers of the two main languages in Ukraine revived by the events of 2014, exacerbated by the indecisive language politics and the inability of the government to cut ties the with the imperial legacies and he" "Russian World".

Keywords: language politics, language ideological debates, mediated discourse, nexus analysis, qualitative methods, Ukraine

## Title: Eventalization of Russian's Niche Soft power: Reshuffling of Bio-Politics between 'Conservatism' and 'Conservative shift'

Dr. Samina Noor<sup>1</sup> Email: sameena.noor786@yahoo.com

## Abstract

As an alternative model for analyzing the reshuffling of conservatism and 'Conservative shift' in Russia, this article proposes a Foucault's governmentality with micro-techniques of Eventalization as a methodology. This study emerged to analysis Russian soft power under Putin's presidency as reshuffling from its 'soft power' through the lens of governmentality. It is suggested that biopolitics may serve a variety of purposes as a tool for constructing Russian national (and imperial) identity and distinguishing Russia from the West, as well as a route for contact with conservative forces throughout the world.

**Key Words:** Foucault, Governmentality, Biopolitics, Soft Power, Conservativism, Eventalization.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Samina Noor completed her Ph.D. at The Islamia University of Bahawalpur, Pakistan. Her research interest is Discourse Analysis, Foucauldian Discourse Analysis and working women issues, and international Relations. She takes a multidisciplinary approach that encompasses the fields of media, history, gender, culture, and neoliberal-globalization. Parallel to her academic career, she has been working as visiting lecturer at The Islamia University of Bahawalpur. She is a Research fellow at Fatema Zahra Society for Women Development in Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan. She also working as a Research Associate at Pak-Iran Intellectuals Forum (Qom & Islamabad). She has been Research and content advisor at Young Women for Change in Caucasus.

## Ukraine's interactions with the EU and Russia during the annexation of Crimea Alina Nychyk, PhD student, the University of Manchester, alina.nychyk@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

Why do international conflicts erupt and how do individual policy-makers direct them via their foreign policy decisions and interactions? This paper attempts to answer this question with reference to the annexation of Crimea, utilising a game theory perspective to capture the strategic relations between Russia, the European Union and the Ukrainian government. I aim to explain what factors shaped the response of Ukrainian policy makers in their interactions with Russia and the EU between 22nd February 2014 (the removal of Viktor Yanukovych from power) and 25th March (the day Crimea's annexation was completed). Borrowing from game theory literature, I have developed a framework for decision-making, that will serve me as a lens to explain Ukrainian leaders' thinking, perceptions and interactions with their foreign interlocutors.

Game theory provides with approach to strategic decision-making process during conflict situations, which in this research is broken down to four elements – information, trust, payoffs and resources. First, it is widely argued that access to information about other actors' preferences contributes to a successful foreign policy. The paper assesses what information Ukrainian policy-makers had on Russia's and EU's preferences during the annexation of Crimea. Second, it will also look at the trust that the Ukrainian government placed in its interlocutors' chosen strategies and how this affected its potential to achieve its desired outcomes. Linked to this, the paper will also examine how the Ukrainian government elaborated on its own payoffs from the conflict as well as those of its interlocutors. Finally, attention will be drawn to the issue of resources and, in particular, Ukrainian understandings of the availability of such resources (both for itself and its interlocutors) and their readiness to deploy them.

Primarily data for this research include official documents, transcripts of meetings, media outlets and 38 semi-structured elite interviews with Ukrainian, EU's and Russian policy-makers. These data are analysed via thematic analysis.

#### Panel Title: Soft Power, the Pandemic and International Relations in Central Asia

Chair: **Dr. Edward Lemon** is President of the Oxus Society for Central Asian Affairs and Research Assistant Professor at The Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A&M University, Washington D.C. Campus.

Panelists: **Prof. Alexander Cooley** (Director, Harriman Institute, Columbia University Claire Tow Professor of Political Science, Barnard College), **Prof. Dr. Fabienne Bossuyt** (Assistant Professor at the Centre for EU Studies at the Department of Political Science at Ghent University), **Prof. Sebastien Peyrouse** (Research Professor of International Affairs at the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (IERES), the Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University, Washington DC) **Dr. Parviz Mulojonov** is a visiting researcher at EHESS Paris, **Dr. Edward Lemon** (President of the Oxus Society for Central Asian Affairs and Research Assistant Professor at The Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A&M University, Washington D.C. Campus) and **Dr. Oleg Antonov** (Visiting researcher at the Institute for Russian and Eurasian Studies (IRES) at Uppsala University and a guest researcher at the Centre for Baltic and East European Studies (CBEES) at Södertörn University and an Affiliated Researcher at the Department of Global Political Studies, the Faculty of Culture and Society, with Russia and the Caucasus Regional Research, Malmö University).

#### Abstract

According to Joseph Nye, soft power is "the ability to get what you want through attraction, not coercion or payment." Indeed, soft power can be based on several dimensions, including a high and comfortable standard of living, high-quality education, moral authority, attractive ideology and values, and rich history and culture. Through soft power, the world's leading states can win the respect of others who may wish to uphold the same principles and values at home. At the same time, "soft power" is not only the ability to influence or manipulate public opinion in the target country but also the ability to find common ground and incentives for long-term geopolitical and economic cooperation. Nowadays, soft power is seen as part of a hybrid and information war.

Consequently, in the modern world, as part of their growing rivalry, China, Russia, the United States and the EU are using elements of soft power and public diplomacy in their foreign policy, including education, culture, economy, media and digital technologies. The fight against the COVID-19 pandemic has become one of their new instruments of soft power for a broader global influence on the international order, including vaccine diplomacy, debt forgiveness and aid, in order to strengthen their geopolitical interests and positions.

Western countries are rapidly immunizing their populations within their national borders and are in no rush to share the vaccine with third countries, although they have sent millions of doses via the Covax system. Authoritarian China and Russia are successfully promoting their "vaccine diplomacy" abroad, as a weapon to advance their geopolitical interests and image and initiate new strategic medical cooperation in the fight against the pandemic.

To this end, Russia and China use soft power in the context of their geopolitical "vaccine diplomatic game" as an effective instrument of their foreign policy in order to undermine the confidence of third countries in the West, in particular in the United States, which, against the background of the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan, found itself under a barrage of global criticism. Moreover, Russia and China are using soft power to obtain trade and geopolitical benefits by supporting authoritarian values that would serve the goals of many regimes in Asia and Africa.

This panel will focus on Central Asia, a region where Russia is the traditional external hegemon, China's influence is growing, and the U.S. is exiting. In the context of the ongoing pandemic, modern security challenges and threats emanating from Afghanistan as a result of the withdrawal of NATO troops, Central Asia has turned into a platform and arena for rivalry and confrontation between competing geopolitically interested Russia and China on the one hand and Western states represented by the USA and EU countries on the other.

Therefore, within the framework of this panel, the following issues are considered:

- What drives the implementation of soft power, public diplomacy and vaccine diplomacy for Russia, China, the United States and the EU countries Central Asia?
- How effective are these uses of soft power?

The purpose of the panel is to discuss and exchange experience between leading experts on foreign policy and interregional/transnational rivalry and confrontation between Russia and China with Western countries in terms of their use of soft power in Central Asia.

This panel is organized within the framework of the Sixth Annual Conference the research platform Russia and the Caucasus Regional Research (RUCARR) at Malmö University, Sweden, on November 10-11, 2021 in co-operation with the Institute for Russian and Eurasian Studies (IRES) at Uppsala University, Centre for Baltic and East European Studies (CBEES) at Södertörn University and the Oxus Society for Central Asian Affairs. The panel as a part of the Sixth Annual Conference the RUCARR will be held online from Malmö University [13.00-15.00 on November 10 or 11, 2021 via Zoom].

#### The organizers:

**Dr. Oleg Antonov** is a visiting researcher at the Institute for Russian and Eurasian Studies (IRES) at Uppsala University and a guest researcher at the Centre for Baltic and East European Studies (CBEES) at Södertörn University and an Affiliated Researcher at the Department of Global Political Studies, the Faculty of Culture and Society, with Russia and the Caucasus Regional Research, Malmö University.

**Dr. Edward Lemon** is President of the Oxus Society for Central Asian Affairs and Research Assistant Professor at The Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A&M University, Washington D.C. Campus.

## Roundtable

## The range of Russian soft power and its implications for the South Caucasus

"As soft power instruments since the end of the Cold War have acquired increasing importance in foreign policy strivings across the globe, Russian foreign policy has been no exception to this trend. The years of the pandemic has shown considerable activity in Russian vaccine diplomacy, but other manifestations over recent years are manifold, such as the cases of Russian cyber activities trying to influence election outcomes in and outside of Europe, the arrangement of mega-events in sports, and the launch of counter norms to Western liberal democracy defined out of traditional religious, moral and family values.

- What is the impact of this new arsenal of Russian soft power tools in the South Caucasus?
- What are the emerging trends and what are the counter-responses?
- What developments are likely in the upcoming years?"

## Panelists

Nino Tabeshadze, Professor of Social Sciences, Georgian Institute of Public Affairs Malkhaz Kakabadze, Former Ambassador of Georgia to the Kingdom of Sweden Bizina Lebanidze, Postdoc, Caucasus Institute, FSU Jena

## Moderator

Dr. Kamal Makili-Aliyev, Dept. of Global Political Studies & RUCARR, Malmö University

# "And Noah descended from the ark and planted a vine on the slopes of Mount Ararat" Story telling in the emergent Armenian wine industry.

Author: Paulina Rytkönen, Department of Social Sciences, School of Business, Södertörn University, Sweden. Paulina.rytkonen@sh.se

Storytelling is a marketing technique to strengthen and enhance the consumer experience of a product or service, a brand, a firm, a place, an organization and sometimes even a nation. Storytelling is a frequently used technique in the wine industry and is especially important for new stakeholders in the global wine market. Storytelling has become a key communication strategy that offers the opportunity for firms to open up a dialogue and establish communication with consumers far away from where the enterprise is located. The Armenian wine industry re-emerged following the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. Every year 4-5 new companies are started and FDI from Armenian diaspora plays a key role in this development. But although the industry is rather new, it is also an ancient trade in Armenia, located in the heart of the cradle of viticulture. Storytelling in the Armenian wine industry contains features of both its ancient history, of the effects of prohibition during the Soviet period, but also of modernity and the local terroir. This article highlights the re-emergence of the Armenian wine industry and how storytelling is articulated and framed in the process of rebirth. In addition to offer a background to the re-emergence of the Armenian wine industry, the following questions will be answered in this article: Which are the main components in the storytelling of the Armenian wine industry? How is storytelling used to meet the market goals of the industry's and individual companies? How is storytelling molded in various communication channels, such as personal meetings with consumers and tourists, bottle labels, home pages and films? Which archetypes and marketing tools are utilized? And Why?

Key words: Armenia, Storytelling, Wine history, Wine Marketing

## The drivers of pax caucasia: Azerbaijani leadership and Russian regionalism

Vinícius Silva Santana

Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at Universidade Federal de Pernambuco (UFPE) <u>vinigoleirao@gmail.com</u> / <u>vinicius.silvas@ufpe.br</u>

The South Caucasus is a complex region within Eurasia that is believed not to have developed regionalism. Conflicts between the South Caucasian countries have made the region an unstable geographical contiguity where the nations present distinct political and economic strategies. By winning the 2020 Karabakh war, Baku restored control over most of their formerly occupied territories. The cease-fire agreement brokered by Russia also opened room to possibilities of cooperation and regionalism in the South Caucasus. With this in mind, approaches for long-term peace and regional cooperation have gained space in academic circles and political fora. External approaches to peace, conflict resolution and integration in the region failed, but the end of the war brought about possibilities for a pax caucasia led by Azerbaijan. This proposition may put into question the role of Russia as the leading driver of regional integration in the South Caucasus. In order to investigate if Moscow loses ground in the dynamics of the region, this paper makes a historical background of Russian-led integration in the region and uses data on capabilities with the support of regional leadership theories. The hypothesis is that Russia's role in the South Caucasus will not cease for Russian leadership and Azerbaijani leadership are to be exercised in different levels of regional dynamics.

## Author: Miriam Schenk Graduate of MA European Science from Lund University miri.schenk94@web.de

**Title:** Georgia and the European Union – NGO narratives on EU politics on Internally Displaced People in Georgia

**Abstract:** Since the 1990s, the EU has supported numerous local and international civil society organisations (CSOs) in Georgia, of which some work with the internally displaced people (IDP) population. These organisations, often with EU funding, have contributed significantly to improving the living situation of IDPs in Georgia. The more than 300 000 people forced into displacement were the result of the civil wars in the early nineties and the August 2008 war. This paper examines the views held by CSOs, working with IDPs, on EU involvement in Georgia. Using narrative analysis of eight interviews with representatives from Georgian and international civil society organisations, the paper asks: How and what kind of narratives are constructed? The analysis identifies four main themes: EU policy towards IDPs particular regarding mainstreaming of IDP issues; the process of EU strategy development and the involvement or lack of CSO representatives in that process; the EU's varying approaches to Georgian and international organisations also in terms of capacity building of Georgian CSOs; the EU and the Georgian government's relationship and the EU's role as a defender of human rights. These themes are considered in the context of Nathalie Tocci's theory of the EU as a normative foreign policy actor. The results indicated the perceived importance of the EU for Georgia as a powerful actor contributing to the development of Georgian civil society. However, even though the results showed that the EU is perceived as an important actor, especially regarding its role, from the organisation's perspective, in counter-balancing the Georgian government, the results also showed that no connection was drawn to EU frameworks with Georgia such as the European Neighbourhood Policy or the Eastern Partnership.

## The development of "Enemy Icon" in speeches of policy-makers

(Case: Russian speeches concerning the War of August 2008)

Nino Tabeshadze

Georgian Institute of Public Affairs

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#### Abstract

Words can be sharper than bullets. That is why the speeches of politicians are especially important. Language of hatred can be used as a strategic weapon for downgrading the enemy and for building up the desired narrative template followed by whole society. The article focuses on the development of enemy icon with the help of the hated language. Research is based on the content analysis of the speeches made by Russian policy-makers after the war of August 2008 concerning Georgia. The article analyzes content of high rank Russian policy-makers in order to draw general conclusions of language of hatred used in speeches of policy-makers. Given sampling was chosen considering the influence of the speech authors in target society as they define how the historic events are perceived by the society. As a result, the article offers step by step explanation of speech building where one can see particular interest hidden behind certain words and sentences.

Keywords: language of hatred, enemy, speech-building.