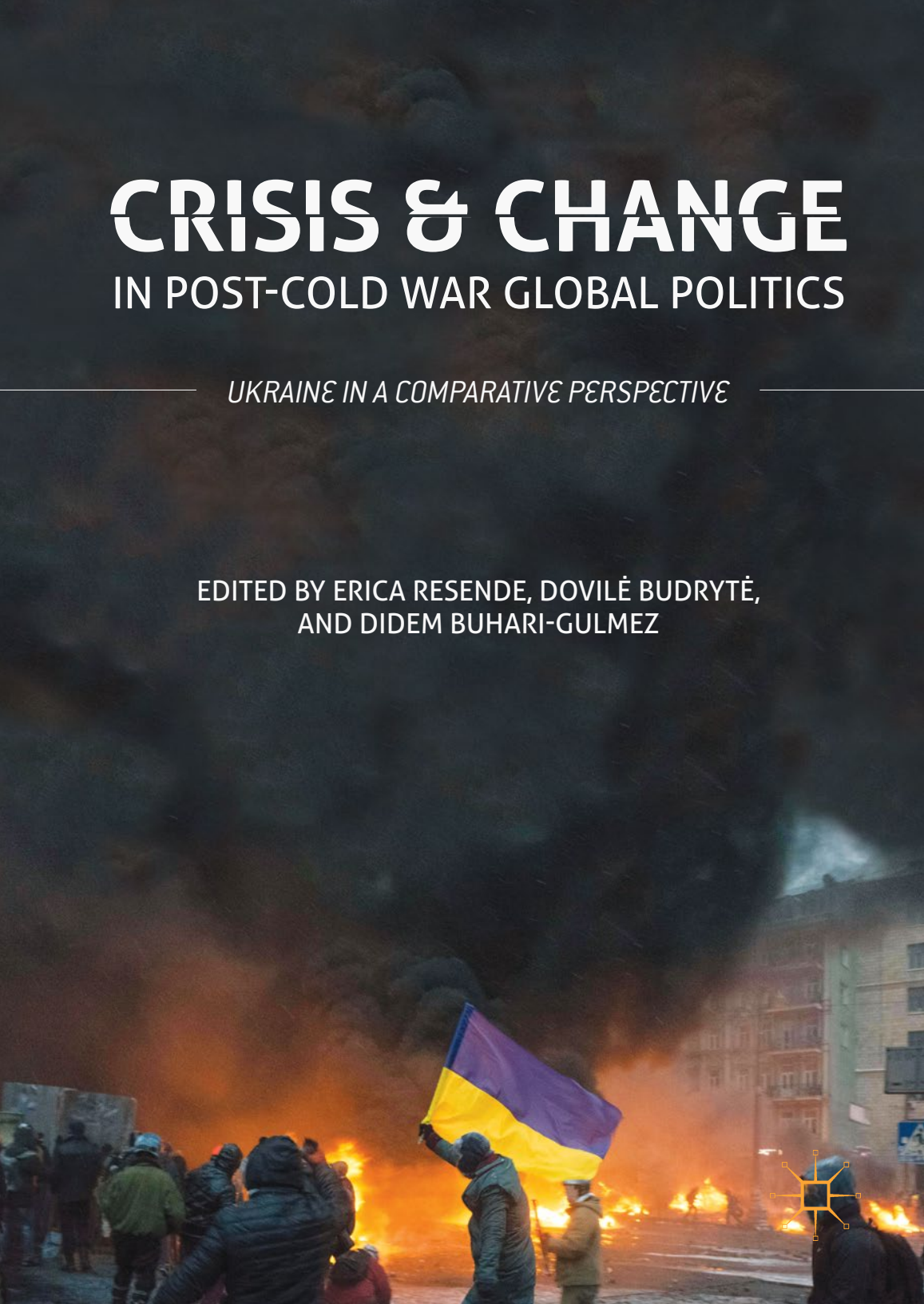


CRISIS & CHANGE

IN POST-COLD WAR GLOBAL POLITICS

UKRAINE IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

EDITED BY ERICA RESENDE, DOVILĖ BUDRYTĖ,
AND DIDEM BUHARI-GULMEZ



Crisis and Change in Post-Cold War Global Politics

Erica Resende · Dovilė Budrytė
Didem Buhari-Gulmez
Editors

Crisis and Change in Post-Cold War Global Politics

Ukraine in a Comparative Perspective

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PREFACE

The idea to write a book on the crises in International Relations (IR) was born during a coffee break at the 2016 International Studies Association Annual Meeting in Atlanta. A conversation between editors suggested that the crisis in Ukraine was a perfect case study, interesting not only for the changes in Ukrainian politics themselves but for what it actually meant for our field of study. We felt that writing a book about the 2013/2014 events in Ukraine opens up a sea of possibilities of research *problématiques*. Topics apparently removed from each other—regime change, corruption, social movements, nation-building, geopolitics, civil war, historical memory, democratization, economic development, genocide, civil disobedience, social media, diasporas, power politics, migration, statecraft diplomacy, international organizations—all seem to come together in Ukrainian case. In a sense, one could say that Ukraine was like a kaleidoscope of issues: depending on which way you look, you end with a different picture, a distinct perspective on things. As such, each image produced by the kaleidoscope had a unique focus, bringing out particular patterns of shapes and forms to the front. One image does not negate the other, but rather complements it and enriches the kaleidoscope experience.

It is with the kaleidoscope analogy in mind that we invite our readers to engage with the events of 2013/2014 in Ukraine and beyond. This edited volume does not aspire to provide a macro-explanation of the politics in Ukraine. Nor does it offer a clean, detailed timeline of events in a chain of logics that might lead to any kind of signs of what is to come.

In fact, this volume does not even provide to readers a clear conclusion about what happened in that time period and what might come of it in upcoming years. It does, however, bring out the multiple dimensions of the crisis in Ukraine in a labored attempt to reflect upon the events of 2013/2014 less as a crisis and more like an opportunity for social change. In this regard, the theoretical framework of crisis developed by Dirk Nabers provided us with the adequate lenses to build our Ukrainian kaleidoscope, which has ultimately yielded multi-colored, insightful images to our readers.

Furthermore, an edited volume is never a simple job of compiling chapters on a single topic. Any volume worth of its salt should transcend a mere aggregation of articles and offer readers a broad variety of images—yes, let's continue with the kaleidoscope analogy—that communicate with each other and thus construct a rich mosaic. Each chapter in this volume offers a unique perspective on Ukraine: some with a more theoretical focus, others more empirical; some explore domestic factors, other attempt to establish comparisons with other cases, be it in the region or globally. All of them, however, pose more questions than actually provide clear-cut answers to readers.

As in any publication enterprise, this has been the product of a coming-together of scholars, students, research assistants, publishers, and editors. Above all, due to the scope of the project and the diversity of contributors, they all worked in different continents and time zones, and most outside their own respective native languages. It was a network in the truest sense of the word.

As editors, we would like to thank the contributors for trusting us with their work as well as putting up with our demands of deadlines, standards, structure, references, and all those little things that make academic writing such a time-consuming task in our field. We particularly wish to thank those who were willing to step outside their comfort zone to embrace a post-structuralist framework in accordance with the proposal of this book. We appreciate your effort of un-peeling yourselves of your rationalist clothing.

Our thanks are also due to Palgrave Macmillan, especially Anca Pusca and Katelyn Zingg, for their help with the manuscript.

Erica Resende would like to personally thank her former colleagues at Candido Mendes University (UCAM) as well as new ones at the Brazilian War College, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. This project started in

mid-2016 while she was Assistant Professor at UCAM, yet the book itself will be ready when she begins in a new—and now tenured—position. She would also like to thank her co-editors, Dovile Budryte and Didem Buhari-Gulmez, who have so gracefully invited her to this fruitful collaboration. Finally, she would like to acknowledge her research grant from “Fundação Carlos Chagas Filho de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado do Rio de Janeiro” (Faperj), for supporting her multiple times in the last 7 years, most notably through the 2016–2018 “Jovem Cientista do Nosso Estado” program.

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CONTENTS

1	Introduction	1
	Erica Resende, Dovilė Budrytė and Didem Buhari-Gulmez	
 Part I Crisis and Change: Theory and Practice		
2	Crisis and Change in Global Politics: A Dialogue with Deleuze and Badiou's Event to Understand the Crisis in Ukraine	23
	Erica Resende	
3	The Rationality and Emotion of Russian Historical Memory: The Case of Crimea	43
	Douglas Becker	
4	Collective Trauma, Memories, and Victimization Narratives in Modern Strategies of Ethnic Consolidation: The Crimean Tatar Case	69
	Milana Nikolko	

Part II Crisis and Social Change: Ukraine in Comparative Perspective

- | | | |
|---|---|-----|
| 5 | Corruption, Crisis, and Change: Use and Misuse of an Empty Signifier | 97 |
| | Oksana Huss | |
| 6 | Gender Role Scenarios of Women's Participation in Euromaidan Protests in Ukraine | 129 |
| | Tamara Martsenyuk and Iryna Troian | |
| 7 | Memory, War, and Mnemonical In/Security: A Comparison of Lithuania and Ukraine | 155 |
| | Dovilė Budrytė | |

Part III International/Regional Dimensions of the Crisis in Ukraine

- | | | |
|----|--|-----|
| 8 | Framing of Crimean Annexation and Eastern Ukraine Conflict in Newspapers of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan in 2014 | 181 |
| | Katja Lehtisaari, Aziz Burkhanov, Elira Turdubaeva and Jukka Pietiläinen | |
| 9 | “Crisis” and Crimean Tatars: Discourses of Self-determination in Flux | 203 |
| | Didem Buhari-Gulmez | |
| 10 | The Self/Other Space and Spinning the Net of Ontological Insecurities in Ukraine and Beyond: (Discursive) Reconstructions of Boundaries in the EU Eastern Partnership Countries Vis-à-Vis the EU and Russia | 225 |
| | Susanne Szkola | |

- | | |
|-------|-----|
| Index | 255 |
|-------|-----|

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LIST OF TABLES

Table 6.1	Women's and men's participation in Euromaidan protests in Kyiv, Ukraine	133
Table 6.2	Sample of articles for qualitative content analysis: Women in Euromaidan protests	134
Table 6.3	Patriarchal gender role scenarios of women's participation in Euromaidan protests	142
Table 6.4	Egalitarian gender role scenarios of women's participation in Euromaidan protests	146
Table 10.1	Patterns of international institutional belonging (up to 2015)	236
Table 10.2	Images of amity and enmity in the foreign and security policies in the EaP countries	239
Table 10.3	Layers of identification: internal/relational. All WVS Wave 6 2010–2014 (except Moldova WVS Wave 5 2005–2009)	241



CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Erica Resende, Dovilė Budrytė and Didem Buhari-Gulmez

A classic definition of crisis within International Relations (IR) comes from Charles Herman (1969, see also Herman and Brady 1972), who refers to crisis as (1) a situation that threatens high-priority goals of the decision-making unit, (2) restricts the amount of time available for response before the decision is transformed, and (3) surprises the members of the decision-making unit by its occurrence (Herman 1969: 414). As such, crisis is understood in terms of something that happens—an unexpected event—and has to be dealt with, managed. In a way, crisis is treated as an independent variable that triggers some kind of response that affects the behavior of states. It should come then as no surprise that the notion of crisis entails connotations of something that is negative, dramatic, harmful, unexpected, traumatic, unpredictable, abnormal, and undesirable that has to be put managed and put under control.

Perhaps this is why Colin Hay (1996, 2013) argues that the word “crisis” is used pejoratively and employed simultaneously to designate

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momentary emergencies, recurrent derailment, and enduring cataclysm. Crises can be conceptualized as moments in which “interventions are both possible and plausible.” (Hay 1996: 425) Sometimes such moments may even be desirable, empowering actors (both domestic and international) to exercise the autonomous capacity to act upon them, contain them, solve them, and surpass them to re-impose order.

This description seems to fit an overwhelming body of literature that deals with crisis in IR (see Carr 2001 [1939]; Morgenthau 1948; McCormick 1978; Gilpin 1981; Brecher and Wilkenfeld 1982; Allison and Zelikow 1999). Indeed, most of the IR literature produced during the Cold War was very much concerned with crisis perceptions and decision-making in response to crisis¹ as well as crisis management.² These authors share a materialist, objectivist, rationalist approach to crisis that favors agency over structure, and which implies that crises are self-evident phenomena—like wars, financial turmoil, or natural catastrophes—that stand as “threats to basic values” (Brecher 1984: 239). Therefore, responses in terms of shifts in foreign and security policy would center around the “perceptions of the top-level decision-maker,” with “high probability of involvement in military hostilities”³ (Brecher 1984: 239).

However, a brief look at IR literature after 9/11 reveals a shift from this traditional way of conceptualizing crisis.⁴ Instead of crisis being depicted and represented as “exogenous shocks” in response to policy and decision-makers react to and solve (i.e., agent-centered approaches), we observe a growing number of works that emphasize crisis as “endogenous constructions,” where ontological questions about the relationship between agent and structure are integrated and thus problematized (for this distinction, see Widmaier et al. 2007: 748).

¹For a review of this literature, see Stern (1999, 2003) and Boin (2004).

²For a review, see Kouzmin and Jarman (2004). For Nabers (2015: 19), the International Crisis Behavior Project (ICBP) promoted by the USA in 1975 epitomizes this trend of Cold War thinking in foreign policy.

³This approach survived the end of Cold War. See Hebron and James (1997), Brown (2004), Widmaier (2007), He (2013), and the *International Studies Review Forum* organized by Dayton (2004).

⁴Stuart Croft (2006) developed a model of crisis as a social phenomenon. He understands crises as “engines” for discursive change that have to connect with traditional narratives to become hegemonic and perceived as legitimate. Looking into the 2008 subprime crisis in the USA, Brassett and Clarke (2012) demonstrated how traumatic imagery transmitted by the media, academia, and policy-makers has produced particular subjectivities.

A recent study by Dirk Nabers offers a new and useful way to analyze crises in IR. Nabers argues that the bulk of the traditional IR crisis literature is strictly materialist and objectivist and, as such, privileges agency, decision-making, and crisis management at the expense of more structural accounts of the nature of crisis (Nabers 2015: 5). Although crisis and change are inextricably linked, they are only rarely considered jointly in the IR literature, he adds. He offers what he calls a theory of crisis and change in global politics, which is more concerned with the structural aspect of crisis and how it enables an open-ended project for global politics and social change.

For Nabers, “crisis represents a situation in which our everyday beliefs of how the world works are thoroughly disrupted by an event that is out of our control” (2015: 44). In a way, it is comparable to trauma due to its difficulty in being assimilated, domesticated, represented, and communicated (see Edkins 2003; Resende and Budryte 2013). The likely result of this disruptive process, Nabers argues, is a social change in the form of community (re)building and the construction and/or transformation of a (new) collective identity. Therefore, inherent crises of social structures as well as the disruption of all fully familiar subjectivity are at the root of any kind of social, cultural, or institutional change. Any transformation of the social, of smaller or larger extent, should then be understood as being engendered by crisis. Hence, the duality of the crisis/change nexus pointed out by Nabers (2015).

In a way, this shift in literature has been anticipated by Jutta Weldes’ investigations in the late 1990s about the cultural production of crisis. Claiming that crises are always “cultural artifacts” and thus not objectively identifiable, Weldes (1999) argues that when particular events threaten the identity of a state, they become constituted as crisis which, in turn, help consolidate, reaffirm, transform, and/or appease a particular writing of a state identity. As a result, one is led to recognize that there is no ontology of crisis to be grasped beyond the practices that generate said crisis in the first place. There is no objective status of crisis that would require governmental response to it or its containment and/or management. Instead, she argues, “events that are ostensibly the same will in fact be constituted as different crises, or not as crisis at all, by and for states with different identities” (Weldes 1999: 37).

Drawing on Nabers, this book is built on the key assumption that any social inquiry into global politics should transcend the canonical emphasis on intergovernmental relations with the privileged agency conferred

to the role of states. Following a not so recent trend in social theory, we conceptualize the social realm as a discursive space of infinite, endless articulations in which power attempts to transform social relations in an open process to constitute society (Laclau and Mouffe 1985).

Furthermore, it is not surprising that the study of crisis is often linked with the study of hegemonic social relations, both globally and locally. According to Friedman's (1994) thesis of "dehegemonization bringing dehomogenization," the decline of central authority paves the way for the revival of previously repressed identities, visions, and movements in the society. The events in Ukraine since the end of the Cold War mark the fall of the core visions and civic identity movement around which different groups, organizations, and individuals rallied. The decline of dominant discourses often reinforces the emergence of new, alternative ones, rendering some agents and structures more visible while disempowering others.

This growing body of literature on crises as social phenomena in IR has not yet paid enough attention to re-conceptualizing crises as social phenomena in contexts outside of the "West." Therefore, with this line of inquiry (and intent to contribute to the body of literature on crises as social phenomena), we propose to turn our lenses to Ukraine (which has been described as "classic crisis" by Menon and Rumer 2015) in order to engage with some of the assumptions prescribed above: What is the relationship between crisis and change? Is there an ontology of crisis? How are crises culturally and socially constructed? How do issues of agency and structure come into play in Ukraine? Which subjectivities were brought into existence by the Ukraine crisis discourse? How does identity come to play with the making of this crisis?

The literature describing the recent developments in Ukraine (mostly focusing on 2004 or 2013–2014) focuses on the material, tangible dimensions of economic and social developments in Ukraine, paying a lot of attention to its relations with Russia. There is an assumption that the crisis can be "fixed" (e.g., see Åslund 2015). In other cases, such as a book by Rajan Menon and Eugene Rumer, *Conflict in Ukraine: The Unwinding of the Post-Cold War Order* (2015), the focus is on the events in 2014 (that are described as a crisis) and their potential impact on the whole post-Cold War international order.

In both cases (and many other cases), the recent developments in Ukraine are conceptualized as a "prolonged" crisis, i.e., the one that cannot be easily "solved." This raises several related questions, such as:

How was the representation of Ukraine as a “prolonged crisis” made possible? Are there any dimensions other than the cultural to the events in Ukraine that allowed for its representation as a “prolonged crisis”? How did the protests in Euromaidan and armed conflict in 2014 become represented and signified as the main expressions of what became known in the global media as the “Ukrainian crisis” or “crisis in Ukraine” (often forgetting many previous crises and obscuring the transnational dimensions of these developments)?

The contributions in this volume focus on the recent developments in 2013–2014 by historically contextualizing them. Some authors such as Nikolko, Buhari-Gulmez, and Becker draw on historical material to explain the embeddedness of these developments in the previous decades, going back to the end of the Cold War and beyond. Other authors, including Huss and Budrytė, have preferred to privilege the role of a transformative crisis—the disintegration of the Soviet Union, which distinguishes itself from more common, ordinary crises—as a starting point to better understand the Ukrainian case. In this regard, as explained by Resende in her contribution, Deleuze’s concept of the “Event”—which he characterizes as “pure,” “true” events in relation to ordinary, superficial, historical events—has helped us to navigate a sea of crisis discourses. For Deleuze, the issue is not events, but the “Event” with a capital E.

Deleuze’s use of the imagery of scars and wounds clarifies this issue further. For him, historical events are changes in intensity and energy changed between bodies; hence, their affect is “superficial,” sense-like, much like scars on the surface. True, pure Events, on the other hand, have the force to act and leave marks upon bodies. They are wounds rather than scars. As such, there is no healing or overcoming of the wound. From this, it follows that Deleuze’s Event, the transcendental wound, evades domestication, management, or solving. Much like the approach, Nabers has described in regard to a new ontological understanding of the crisis. It does not allow for being overcome or “fixed.”

This book aims to capture the events in Ukraine underlying multiple encounters between past legacies, alternative futures, and reformist tendencies as well as the changing individual–society–state relations in Ukrainian politics and society emerging from the event-ness of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Keeping in mind Reynolds’ (2008) suggestion to seriously consider Deleuze’s repeated argument that events are only effects (Deleuze 2004: 10, 29, 241) as a warning to conceive events as having double causalities involving a mixture of bodies, state of affairs

and sense, that is, not to understand wound as something that accidentally and contingently befalls us, we have opted to treat the events in Ukraine not from the angle of empirics but rather of the order of the virtual, as an event-effect. The underlying challenge taken by this book will be of exploring the generative, transformative, genesis field in which the events in Ukraine are produced.

Our approach is better understood from the distinction made by Lynn Doty (1993) between “why-questions” and “how-questions.” Following Hollis and Smith (1990), she argues that while the former aims to establish patterns of reoccurrence and predictability, thus producing incomplete, rationalist, and reified explanations of the social order, the latter seeks to understand how this order came into being. “How-questions” are able to problematize realities, relationships, and meanings and thus to point to the conditions of possibility of social order. By articulating “how-questions,” this book will be able to stay true to both its post-structuralist influence and its Deleuzian conception of the Event.

Furthermore, we are particularly interested in the ways in which the events in Ukraine were constructed as crisis represented by social agents (mass media) not only in Ukraine, but also beyond its borders. We are especially intrigued by the “long distance” circulation of the discursive, cultural practices that constituted the events in Ukraine as a crisis and the ways in which they were communicated globally. Thus, Lehtisaari et al.’s chapter explores representations of the annexation of Crimea in 2014 and armed conflict in Eastern Ukraine in the newspapers in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, two former Soviet republics. Susanne Szkola’s contribution explores collective identity formation in the EU Eastern Partnership Countries vis-à-vis the EU and Russia. Based on an analytical framework that bridges the studies of crisis with the literature on social, political, discursive, and aesthetic change, this book puts an emphasis on how crises emerge and come into being, and how they resonate and reproduce within states, societies, groups, individuals, and the global system in general.

As stated above, crisis does not necessarily imply a disabling environment for agency. The crisis discourse may end up empowering specific ideologies that were not previously part of the equation. It also provides a novel context that renders certain issues more “visible” in the global agenda while silencing others. In this regard, it is necessary to ask to what extent the developments in Ukraine have rendered different issues

in the region more visible or invisible in the domestic and international arena. For example, Martsenyuk and Troian's chapter traces the participation of women during Euromaidan, arguing that this revolutionary event both disempowered and empowered women, at some points, reducing their participation to traditional roles, but also opening new spaces for egalitarianism and social criticism. Moreover, what are the implications of the changing parameters in discursive, normative, and cultural realms for minority groups, indigenous communities such as Crimean Tatars, diasporas, neighboring societies, and international community as a whole? Two chapters (Nikolko's and Buhari-Gulmez's) contribute insights into these questions.

The events and discourses that are often associated with the recent developments in Ukraine that have been labeled as "the Ukrainian crisis" or the "crisis in Ukraine"—the Euromaidan protests, the annexation of Crimea by Russia and the conflict in Eastern Ukraine—emphasize the urgent need to develop a better understanding of what constitutes an international "crisis" and what its relationship to change may be. At the same time, studying crises as social phenomena, not sudden, exogenous events, helps us to develop a more nuanced understanding of various processes and discourses, emanating from domestic and international actors, that include relations between various social and political groups, construction of myths, and (re)creation of identity groups.

As a case study, post-Soviet Ukraine is a crucial case of fragmentation between the East and the West, the past and the future, the authoritarian and the liberal dynamics, among others. It stands as a suitable example where multiple discourses clash, collapse, intensify, and evolve, transforming social relations beyond its national borders. New identities emerge and old one decline. Meanings are made and remade, and the social fabric is weaved and re-weaved.

By rejecting the prevailing tendency to resort to dichotomous analyses in the study of Ukraine based on pro-Russian versus pro-Western camps, we attempted to engage with comparative perspectives. For example, Budrytė's chapter compares memory politics in Ukraine and Lithuania. We believe that the political context in Ukraine is far from featuring unified fronts, and its complex web of social agents and structures should be reflected in the book by providing a careful analysis about the historicity, complexity, and dynamism of Ukrainian crisis after the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Following this line of reasoning, the book is divided into three parts. Part I “Crisis and Change: Theory and Practice” starts with Erica Resende’s contribution “[Crisis and Change in Global Politics: A Dialogue with Deleuze and Badiou’s Event to Understand the Crisis in Ukraine](#).” Her work lays the theoretical foundation for the volume, engaging in a dialogue with Deleuze’s concept of event. She argues that Deleuze’s use of the imagery of scars and wounds “clarifies how he differentiates event from Event,” and this is meant to provide a better understanding of the ontology of crisis and change. According to Resende, following Badiou, by recognizing events as rupture, “one is able to understand how, in an Event, the inconsistent multiplicity which always lies beneath a particular social order is able to appear subjectively. Only in an Event can the excluded part be visible. An Event succeeds in representing a part which is previously unrepresented. This unfolding of new representations from an Event produces Truths, Subjects, and new social systems. As a result, Events are intimately connected to change.”

Having applied this theory to the case of Ukraine, Resende finds that Euromaidan was “particularly meaningful as a rupture to be established, dominant structures and discourses.” She also finds that it was also an Event that demanded decision (What did it mean? A revolt? A power overthrown? An act of aggression by Russia?), scission (What side to take? Pro-Russia? Pro-Ukraine?), and intervention (How can we seize the moment for change?). Resende concludes by relating her theorization about the Event that created the crisis in Ukraine to “the writing and rewriting of the boundaries of both Europe and Russia.” She finds that “Ukraine sits at the so-called borderland of Europe, which makes the boundaries of the conflict particularly problematic in terms of the ontology of the crisis.”

Douglas Becker’s chapter in this section “[The Rationality and Emotion of Russian Historical Memory: The Case of Crimea](#)” analyzes historical memory discourses by Russian President Vladimir Putin as an attempt at public diplomacy. Drawing on President Putin’s speech to the Duma on the Annexation of Crimea, Becker conceptualizes the role of memory discourse as an “alternative legitimization discourse,” citing historical ties between Crimea and Russia, attempting to address legal arguments against redrawing maps. Becker’s analysis demonstrates how the leaders’ task of legitimizing policy choices becomes easier when the discourse frames events as crises.

Memory politics plays a major role in Becker's analysis. He conceptualizes memory as a lens through which the Russians consider Crimea. The city of Sevastopol, or the "City of Glory"—to borrow Serhii Plokhy's (2000) term—is conceptualized as part of the Russian identity, almost an equivalent to Kosovo. Becker argues that even if the city had no other value than its historical importance, it could be a powerful impetus for Russian action. Becker concludes by suggesting that the memory discourses analyzed in his chapter, alternative legitimization discourses, are linked to domestic Russian politics. In his argument, "emotionalism of the memory drives" is related to "populist desires for local governance."

In "Collective Trauma, Memories and Victimization Narratives in Modern Strategies of Ethnic Consolidation: The Crimean Tatar Case," Milana Nikolko focuses on the Crimean case where the Crimean Tatar community has faced several crises, including Deportation, a difficult return to Crimea and the annexation of Crimea, among others. She emphasizes that Crimean Tatars do not constitute a unified front with a predetermined and fixed identity, referring to the multiplicity of narratives about Crimean Tatar identity and its position in the ongoing conflict between Ukraine and Russia over the peninsula.

Following poststructuralism, Nikolko discusses the role of cultural memory, trauma, and narratives of victimization underlying a constant process of reshaping the Crimean Tatar "Self" and "Other." In addition to the complex relationship between Self and Other, she benefits from the concepts of space, event, and fixity in order to explore the inclusion/exclusion dynamics of Crimean Tatar subjectivities. According to Nikolko, the victimization narratives that pave the way for new Crimean Tatar subjectivity and political mobilization have found an echo in Ukraine's post-Orange revolution and postannexation narratives about the Soviet past. Since 2014 annexation, the narratives of Deportation tend to diverge in mainland Ukraine and Crimea. While Ukraine resorts to decommunization policy and the official recognition of Deportation tragedy as an act of Genocide, Crimea's new authorities embrace an old discourse which sees Deportation as a "blurred phenomenon lacking ethno-political connotation to Crimean Tatar tragedy." Nikolko argues that both narratives lack a solid foundation in terms of detailed memory work on the Deportation.

Part II “Crisis and Social Change: Ukraine in a Comparative Perspective” starts with Oksana Huss’ contribution “[Corruption, Crisis, and Change: Use and Misuse of an Empty Signifier](#).” Huss directly engages the empirical framework developed by Dirk Nabers to explore the dynamics of hegemonic processes and challenges to these processes associated with crises. Nabers thus describes the relationship between hegemony, challenges to it, and crises:

Hegemony is understood as an articulatory practice evolving out of the interplay of the logics of equivalence and difference and based on the temporal filling of a dislocated social structure by means of empty signifiers. The dialectics of universalism and particularism is central to this process, with the former being understood as the always fruitless effort to gain a full identity. Universalism, in that sense, becomes the *pars pro toto* for this elusive fullness.

Any *hegemonic process* can then be traced along the lines of the political ontology: Starting with the *articulation of a particular political crisis* (of lesser or greater extent), which must in some way be connected to sedimented practices to be credible, and moving to the *competition between different political forces to hegemonize the political field*, resulting in the *acceptance of a certain interpretative framework of identification (actual hegemony)* and its eventual routinization and *political institutionalization*. This final act of institutionalization causes feedback effects on the discursive articulation of the crisis, new interpretative frames start to compete, and politics continues. Theoretically, this circle never ends (Nabers 2015: 146–47).

Huss’ chapter analyzes corruption in Ukraine from a post-structuralist perspective, focusing on the following question: “What meaning do the Presidents of Ukraine assign to corruption as an empty signifier and to what extent this temporarily fixed meaning unfolds potential to create social identities?” She argues that the main challenge faced by the presidents in Ukraine has been to create a dominant public discourse and frame corruption in a way that represents themselves as “non-corrupt Self” and their competitors as “corrupt Others.” Presidents play a very important role in Ukraine’s semi-presidential system, and their roles in shaping dominant public discourses should not be underestimated.

Huss presents two case studies exploring how Viktor Yushchenko in 2005–2010 and Viktor Yanukovych in 2010–2014 used an empty signifier of corruption, and what role the term “corruption” played for both political crisis and political change in Ukraine. According to her account, before winning the Presidency, Yushchenko drew the line between

himself and then-President Kuchma, whom he portrayed as lawless. Yushchenko presented himself and society as victims of the Kuchma's regime. Furthermore, Yushchenko used a narrative of democracy and rule of law as closely connected to the "European values," attempting to portray the Kuchma's regime as the non-European "Other," autocracy with corrupt government. Trust also played a major role in Yushchenko's narrative. Yushchenko's stated priority in his early political career was trust building into political institutions through transparency and communication. Huss argues that paradoxically, Yushchenko became the victim of his own discourse on corruption when he became a president. Corruption accusations started to be used widely by the politicians, and mutual accusations of corruption became a trap for all politicians, not just the ones associated with autocracy. Furthermore, Yushchenko developed an anti-corruption strategy targeting high-level corruption in the parliament; however, the parliament could not and did not support such strategy which could have been suicidal for many politicians in the system of corruption.

Unlike Yushchenko, Yanukovych did little to assign specific meanings to corruption. Huss argues that he presented himself as a strong leader creating order in the midst of chaos associated with corruption. He presented himself as willing to control the main "villains" supposedly perpetuating corruption—that is, civil servants and bureaucrats. He identified "corrupt bureaucracy" as the main obstacle to his reforms. However, Yanukovych used the pretext of fight against the corruption to consolidate his presidential powers. While trying to achieve this goal, Yanukovych was not able to challenge the dominance of the discourse of political corruption developed under Yushchenko. The public still associated Ukrainian politics with corruption, while integration into the European Union (EU) was associated with non-corruption. Yanukovych's refusal to sign the Association Agreement with the EU (associated with non-corruption) triggered a political crisis and the Euromaidan revolution. Euromaidan created the space for identity of protestors in line with equivalences as European, democratic and non-corrupt, constituted differentially and through recourse to an antagonistic *Other* embodied in corrupt Yanukovych's "Family." According to Huss' findings, after Euromaidan, the discourse in which politics are still associated with corruption remains hegemonic; however, the identity of non-corrupt is assigned to the non-governmental institutions.

Issues related to identity are at the center of Tamara Martsenyuk and Iryna Troian's contribution on women's participation in Euromaidan protests, entitled "[Gender Role Scenarios of Women's Participation in Euromaidan Protests in Ukraine](#)." The contributors draw on Nabers' insights about the enabling potential of crises. Crisis might be seen as a source of opportunities; thus, analysis of the meanings' production and transmission through discourse helps to articulate the social changes. Applying Nabers' framework to the analysis of the Euromaidan protests, the authors show how political acts of women (such as the creation of units of women protesters) have contributed to a shift in discourse and made collective attempts to use the crisis to argue for change of gender order to make it more egalitarian.

Martsenyuk and Troian argue that at Euromaidan women were actively participating in all types of activities in the protest space. They were engaged in fighting, peacekeeping, provided information and logistics support, among other activities. In the beginning of the peaceful protests, women composed almost half of the protesters. However, by February 2014 women were excluded from the protest zone and constituted only a marginal minority among the protesters. The militarization of the protest space reinforced sexist rhetoric and gender segregation in the division of labor among protesters as well as strengthened men's privileges as warriors.

Drawing on sociological survey data and mass media analysis, Martsenyuk and Troian identified two gender-role scenarios, dividing them into "patriarchal" and "egalitarian." The patriarchal gender-role scenario consists of three main images: Mother, Ukrainian Beauty, and Victim. Women internalized traditional gendered roles and performed them during Euromaidan. These roles included cleaning, cooking, and delivering food. Women were represented as weak when compared to men, in need of defense and care. Simultaneously, the crisis opened up spaces for women to criticize sexism and create alternative initiatives. Egalitarian gender-role scenario consists of Female Warrior, Peacekeeper, and Information and Logistics Provider images. The authors of the article conclude that during Euromaidan protests, traditional gender roles were reaffirmed (expressing patriarchal gendered scenarios) as well as contested (following egalitarian scenarios). Furthermore, their research suggests that these gender-role scenarios could overlap one with another as some women's initiatives could combine features of both of them—patriarchal and egalitarian.

Similarly to Oksana Huss' contribution, Dovilė Budrytė's "[Memory, War and Mnemonical In/Security: A Comparison of Lithuania and Ukraine](#)" embraces the empirical framework developed by Nabers to explore hegemonic processes and challenges to these processes associated with crises. Budrytė explores the rise of a hegemonic discourse associated with anti-Soviet partisans in Ukraine and Lithuania. She argues that in both cases, there was a "crisis of history" that intersected with the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. This was the time when new discourses challenging the legitimacy of the story about the "Great Patriotic war" were created. Powerful new discourses about anti-Soviet partisans became alternative discourses to the old discourse about the "Great Patriotic war," and eventually, these discourses about the anti-Soviet partisans became state-supported discourses, which, coupled with discourses about national genocides, rose to a hegemonic status. In Lithuania, legal acts acknowledging the legitimacy of anti-Soviet resistance were passed in 1999, and in Ukraine, the anti-Soviet resistance fighters (the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, or the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, or the UPA) have increasingly received state recognition since the Orange revolution, most recently in 2015, with the decommunization laws.

Budrytė links the creation of the new powerful discourses about anti-Soviet partisans to mnemonical security. Drawing on Maria Mälksoo's (2015) work, she argues that the concept of "mnemonical security" can be used to describe securitization and consolidation of certain memory discourses that are associated with the processes of "defending" memory and can lead to security dilemmas internationally. Ukraine and Lithuania have been creating biographical narratives that include accounts of anti-Soviet resistance fighters. These biographical narratives are seen as sources of security and guides in interactions with other states. However, they are likely to be simplified stories where some memories are left out and others highlighted. No matter how carefully constructed, the narratives will include tensions and contradictions that political agents will try to hide, but these tensions and contradictions can be revealed by others, thus triggering contestation of story lines (Berenskoetter 2014: 280).

Budrytė's contribution identifies several instances when hegemonic story lines are contested. In the case of Lithuania, the participation of some of the Lithuanian anti-Soviet resistance fighters in the Holocaust is an extremely controversial and painful issue. Attacks of anti-Soviet