

ABSTRACTS

Session: "Political Science"

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Abstract title: "Status, Norms, and Peacekeeping Legitimacy: The OSCE in Nagorno-Karabakh"

This paper looks at norms sustainability through institutional negotiations (Druckman 2001) and how they impacted post-Cold War security and status perceptions. This question will be tested by analysing the CSCE/OSCE peacekeeping operation (PKO) mandate between 1992 and 2000, with attention given to the mediation and conflict resolution structures surrounding the Nagorno-Karabakh (NK) conflict and the preceding PKO mandate.

The institutionalization of consensus peacekeeping in the early 1990's was a founding principle of OSCE conflict management and hence, a new normative frame for legitimizing regional peacekeeping. By suggesting that CSCE/OSCE conflict mediation structures evolved to sustain the prospect of a multinational peacekeeping force implicated in the CSCE PKO mandate of 1992 related to NK, a probability probe can be applied to further qualify whether these norms influenced diplomats perceptions of peacekeeping legitimacy in the post-Soviet space and consensus legitimacy as a new form of improving status. The geopolitical alternative of great power legitimacy in the NK mediation process, specifically interests in unilateral mediation and peacekeeping, will be the alternative research question tested.

By comparing these suppositions through the negotiation structures in NK, a nuanced analysis of geopolitics will be offered via shifting perceptions of peacekeeping legitimacy through norms sustainability.

The methodology used in this paper comes from the Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology and the qualitative method of process tracing (Bennet 2008) and John Gerring's Case Study Research: Principles and Practices (Gerring 2007). Process tracing methodology calls for the use of a specific narrative, which is then closely tracked to validate a set of questions or hypotheses posed at the beginning of the study. Process tracing privileges the use of archival sources and is therefore beneficial for a social science history and case study analysis.

Data for this paper was collected over two research trips to the OSCE Archive (Documentation Centre) in Prague, spanning over a month in time. During these trips, a narrative was compiled from OSCE Restricted and OSCE + documents that tell the diplomatic history of mandate negotiations and the institutional evolution of the organization. The archival material constructed a narrative, leading said research towards particular historic events and meetings that highlight different windows of opportunity (Doeser, Eldenfalk 2013), which influence the ability of norms to either be strengthened, or potentially negated (Hecht 2012).

Statements from specific states allowed for this research to look into the perception states have regarding motives and relations to institutional norms and mandates. These statements also hide perceptions of institutional legitimacy and the potential for increased status if a final solution is achieved with the approval of international consensus (Hecht 2016). This is shown through the reassertion of the multinational peacekeeping mandate by member states as a legitimate conflict resolution mechanism, as well as reaffirmations of commitments to the mediation process in periods of low political will, when unilateral action could have been perceived as more beneficial.

The majority of the documents in this study are from the OSCE Archive, therefore the initially bibliography separates primary and secondary sources to highlight this.

The conclusion of this study is that the CSCE/ OSCE was able to aptly sustain the norms established during the early 1990's, which is viewed as a liminal historic moment when international organizations such as the CSCE had an unprecedented opportunity to influence certain perceptions in the international community. The peacekeeping mandate of 1992 and the institution's decision to facilitate mediation in Nagorno-Karabakh were events that influenced the institutional evolution of the organization for the next two decades, but also became a source of geopolitical pushback as states jockeyed for status in the post-Cold War order. Because peacekeeping was seen as a way to legitimize power and with the OSCE's approval, democratic status in the post-Cold War order, the ability of the OSCE to sustain a mediation hierarchy also allowed the organization to further negate status achieved through unilateral military means due to security norms mandated through consensus in the 1990's. By looking at the longer narrative of negotiations and how the CSCE/OSCE evolved to negate any one state from obtaining unilateral conflict mediation, it will be argued that no resolution is currently a success because the potential for consensus and multinational peacekeeping is still alive.

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Primaries as a model of Russian political culture

Year 2016 has turned out for Russia to be rich in political events. A few months before elections to the State Duma the United Russia party had organized primaries. They were held in Perm region, as well as in the whole country, on the 22 of May for realization of some tasks:

- Mobilization of active voters;
- Party activists review;
- Marking a public start of political campaign to the State Duma.

The primaries of the “United Russia” were quite impetuous. Mass media appeared to be full of information about violations, rows, squabbles and etc. Perm regional edition of the “Kommersant” newspaper reports that regional organizing committee got 127 letters of complaint and call-centre handled 200 calls. “They all concerned primaries to the Legislative Assembly”.

There might be a temptation to write a scandalous turn of the advance voting off to journalists’ choice. But it is hardly correct to make them the only responsible ones for the construction of the political campaign as a “troublesome wrangle”. In the opinion of the author, we see a casus that can help us to understand the modern political culture content better.

The article uses a discourse-analysis method. There are two ways for understanding the method. One of them determines “discourse” as a form that can represent some specific content. So “discourse” is clarified as an “instrument of manipulation with a word”. The second approach sees a “discourse” as a content of an expression, or set of expressions. The second one is more relevant for us. So that is the way in which we will work on a material of such sociological structures as:

- P. Bourdieu’s conception of fields and capitals;
- M. Douglas’ conception of “purity”.

We also use articles of such newspapers as “Kommersant”, “Life”, “НезависимаяГазета”, “Rbc”, “Lenta” to prove our discourse with argumentation.

There are some conclusions we got as results of the work.

According to P. Bourdie, there are two spaces – physical and social – where people interact and organize their activity, depending on the mixture of different capitals they have. Capital is an instrument for acceptance in one – desirable – space and for enclosure from unwanted one. There should be some mechanism that controls the process of acceptance. Past primaries were to become the “controller”. Candidates who took place in the primaries have a massive capitals’ reserve that allows them to be successful in the business field. Habitus that the majority of them has were created in the 1990s. This influenced their manners of action in the political field.

The character of the influence is possible to define with the help of M. Douglas conception of “purity”. Basing on the Douglas’ theory we can conclude that primaries participants were not able to distinguish the border between “pure” and “danger” in the political reality. They filled it with something personal, beginning from their past experience.

We can regard the rows, squabbles and so on as symbols of unformed political culture. That causes anxiety, as politics and its procedures affects life of millions of people.

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Abstract title: "Institutional transparency and accountability of power structures in Russian regions: a comparative perspective"

The establishment of clear and unified “rules of the game” in the information sphere for all political institutions is one of the main foundations of a democratic society. The problem of “openness” and the availability of information on the activities of public authorities is significant for the Russian Federation today. Transparency is both a marker for and facilitator of broader democratic activities. Therefore, gauging the level of transparency offers an applicable measure of democratization in Russia.

Although the right to access the information is regulated by both international law and the current Russian legislation, transparency and accountability of power structures in Russia are causing concerns both from the point of view of actual compliance of institutions’ representatives with legal norms, and from the perspective of an adequate assessment of their readiness to provide quality services to the citizens. The current project observes the core international documents, setting the standard of governmental transparency, Russian laws and public policies aiming to establish accountable power institutions. With the help of experimental method, gaining popularity in the contemporary political science, the research of the institutional

transparency of the election commissions', regional and cities' legislatures and administrations of 83 Russian regions is conducted. The research project aims to answer the question of which factors determine the transparency and accountability of certain regions and the lack of such characteristics in others.

Data has been collected through the field experiment - a standardized information request via email to all of the aforementioned institutions. Several stages of the experiment were conducted during August and September of 2015, followed by the another round of the inquiry in January 2016. Such requests for a formal information concerning the reform of the executive municipal branch, which began in 2003, were sent to 158 regional governments and parliaments, 158 mayor administrations and municipal parliaments of the capitals and regional centers, together with the requests for the information since 1993 about personal structures of 83 regional election commissions.

For all the time of data collection more than 390 letters were sent and more than 25 applications over the Internet-reception were filled. The total number of responses to electronic inquiries to date is more than 170. The responses have been given in printed correspondence as well. The results of the survey will be presented in the form of the constructed author index, scaling regions from the most to the least transparent.

Further, with the help of a quantitative analysis the index of accountability of power structures in Russia is used to test the correlation between the institutional transparency and political culture of the region or regional state capacity.

The varied examples of institutional development and levels of transparency provide insights into Russian politics not available through national-level studies. Accordingly, it examines institutions in a systematic comparative manner, drawing on the long tradition of study of sub-national legislative and administrative institutions in the US, UK, Germany and other federal systems.

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1. What lessons can we learn from the current situation in the Ukraine about the limits of European integration and the dynamics of political rule in Russia?
 2. To what extent and through which processes do trans-state and sub-state, i.e. nonstate actors shape political outcomes in the contemporary international system ?
 1. Juxtaposition of main theoretical frameworks emanating from the academic and policy communities in the US, Europe, Russia, contemporary and Cold War frameworks. Predominantly qualitative, review of main political/IR theorists influential since WWI from the respective regions.
 2. Social Network Theory and Qualitative Methods
 1. A synthetic review of theories across academic communities that culminate in a policy proposition for cooperation grounded in terms understood in the respective academic and policy making communities.
 2. A new explanatory variable/unit to be identified as a key motivating factor in international relations theory, replacing the predominant concept of international anarchy and synthesizing a unified approach from the various comparative politics explanatory frameworks
- Professor Jack Lewis Snyder, International Affairs Columbia University, New York City
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Abstract title: "To the question about the reasons of an exit of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union"

The research theme of the issue are the reasons of the United Kingdom's leaving the European Union. It is rather debatable question which acquired specific significance after the declaration of the results of the referendum which was on the 26 of June 2016 about the preservation of EU membership which shown the intentions of the citizens of the UK to leave the EU. The subject of the study is leaving the EU by the UK. The aim of the study is to analyse and compare the importance of different cause of the Brexit.

The method of the investigation are content-analysis, contrasting and correlation. The content-analysis helps in analysing previous scientific researches on this topic, news, statements of political leaders on this issue. Contracting and correlation are used to, first of all, subdivide different statistical information and analyse it independently from each other and, secondly, to juxtapose to and to identify the relationship of causes. The main using data source is the Office for National Statistics of the United Kingdom of the Great Britain and the Northern Ireland. As a result of the investigation can be named three main reasons of the Brexit: political, economic and social. Political reason consists of the delegation a part of state sovereignty in favor of EU that limits the UK authorities in carrying out domestic policy. The economic reason is the the increase in the UK contribution to the EU budget, for example, during the 2009-2010 financial year it was 4.7 billion pounds, but in contrast, during the 2015-2016 financial year it was at the level of 8.8 billion pounds. The social reason is a migration policy of the EU. According to the data of the Office for National Statistics the balance of the increase in the number of migrants over the last four years was 45%, moreover, the main country of birth of the migrants are countries not members of the EU. The main reason of the migration to the UK over last three years is search of employment that also affects the level of unemployment in the country and creates competition in finding jobs for indigenous Britons.

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Abstract title: "The role of the online media in the context of information warfare"

One of the main objectives of the study is the analysis of the relationship between online media and their influence on the evolution of information warfare. As the transformation of information into a weapon, or in the language of modern political science - an element of "soft-power", there is not only a necessity of systemic, multifaced, investigation of the information field, or the state of information flow but also in the careful analysis of their dynamics. In the context of this problem we can identify the subtask that specifies the first task, but does not diminish self-importance. It is necessary to clarify the connection between online media and their binding to a specific region: what is the relationship between online media content in the specific region and politics of the region in the international area. Of course, if possible and arrange the level of influence of the online media on the residents of the region. (arab countries)

The methodological basis of research is the first systemic-functional analysis. From the position of this approach, the media on the Internet was seen as a layered functional system. Actually from this same position, the analysis of the role of online media in the context of information warfare. the practical side of the research is to conduct a content analysis of three online media. Of course, the media was selected on the fact of geographical proximity to the region of the actions of the terroristic organization ISIS. For the analysis selected the following media: Syrian Arab News Agency, Tehran Times and Ahram Online. The last one of them is positioned in Egypt. In this study, I managed to highlight so far only the expected outcomes. With the development of social networking as a tool for propaganda and recruitment by terroristic organization, ISIS has brought brand new methods of information warfare, which will require more detailed consideration and development of methods to counter terrorist attacks on various spheres of influence. To solve this problem I suppose it is necessary to create a modern international law, which will regulate the procedure of counter terrorist activities on the Internet, as well as necessary to create specialized bodies which are able to effectively deal with the phenomenon of terrorism network.

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Abstract title: "The Impact of the German Energy Transition on the German-Russian Energy Relations"

This study addresses the gap by examining the consequences of the German Energy Transformation on Russia using the economic model. In the research, we attempted to define the effects of the energy reform on the German-Russian energy relations. The research question is whether the energy policy of Germany is in the interests of Russia. Based on the above considerations we put forward the following expectation: German Energy Transition aims at combating the world challenges through green energy at the cost of deteriorating relations with Russia.

This study is based on the neoclassical realism theory and the regimes theory. The justification for this choice can be found in the article of Keohane and Nye (1977), in which they reported that energy policy had become an extension of the national foreign policy: the policy, which was determined not only by the international environment, but also by the domestic factors such as subjective expectations or risk assessment.

The major goal of the present study is to assess the effect of economic and political consequences of the German Energy Transformation on Russia by analyzing the dependence between the holdup coefficient and Russia's share in the Germany Energy Mix.

Model and Data Analysis

The research is based on correlation model adapted from the paper of Nuryyev and Chu (2014). The analysis employs panel data from the World Data Bank over the 20-year period from 1991 till 2015. The energy coefficients were taken from the Eurostat. The data from these sources are reliable and therefore the results can be justifiable. The model, proposed by above-mentioned scholars, have become the most prominent model for the analysis of energy processes and will enable us to make some projections. The independent variable in the research is the holdup coefficient, whereas the dependent variable is the share of Russian fossil fuels in the German Energy Mix.

Scope and Limitations

The major model is based on the correlation model over the 20-year period. This time limit includes the major developments in the field of German Russian energy relations. The new model can be used in the following studies in this sphere. The holdup coefficient includes such factors as political and economic stability as well as trust between countries that would ensure the thorough analysis of problem. However, the definition of the trust variable can be biased therefore the data would be taken from the research of Ozawa (2013) on this issue.

Unfortunately, our model do not include the relations of Germany with other energy suppliers as well as the role and the influence of the European Union. Besides, the nonrenewable energy resources are not included in the research due to the lack of data in this field.

As this study aims at the quantitative assessment of the impact of the German Energy Transition on the German Russia energy relations, the outcomes are the following

Our model enables to define the dependence between the political and economic factors. Our findings reveal the negative correlation between the results of the German Energy Transition and the mutually beneficial development of the German Russian Energy Relations. The Germany tends to pursue the win-win policy, in which Germany would benefit in both cases of high and low energy prices on the world market. However, Russia may benefit and still continue playing a significant role on the European market only if oil and gas prices remain low. If the prices are high, Germany would successfully finish the Energy Transformation and become independent

from energy exports. The results may be used by Russian companies to alleviate the negative consequences of the German Energy Transition. If the hypothesis would be confirmed, Russian companies should consider changing the export vector to the Asian market.

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Abstract title: "Tax Legislation, Share of Taxes in the Budget, the Number of Veto-Players"

I discover the relationship between the level of tax legislation complexity and some crucial features of political system. Analysis consist in the concept of veto players in the political system. It seems that a growing number of veto players, who are actors in the policy with the possibility to block opponent's political decisions, leads to the fact that through various mechanisms increases the complexity of the taxation. My paper aimed to prove this relationship. To prove my concept i use quantitative method of big data statistical analysis. My analysis involves two types of variables: political system's variables and variables of taxation. First of them collected from World Bank open sources - "Worldwide governance indicators". And the second type of variables collected from annual rating of World Bank - "Doing Business".

So, I created a dataset, which contains information on these variables in more than 180 countries to date. I used this dataset as an empirical basis for the checks of my hypothesis related to the fact that the number of veto players in the political system has a positive effect on the level of tax laws complexity. Empirical testing of the hypothesis was to build the regression that tested the statistical significance of the effect of variables associated with the political system, on the variables associated with the characteristic of the tax system complexity.

By the theoretical and empirical parts of my paper i found that the big number of veto players in political system really affect growing of tax complexity. For example, empirical analysis proved that the fact of federalism in each country positively influence on the number of veto players in political system. And then great number of veto players affect complexity of the tax collection process and tax legislation. Non-federal countries included in my analysis had not this effect. This findings is quite similar with my expectations. And i suppose that my hypothesis is true.

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