

The use of Telegram in anti-war mobilisation in Russia

Saara Kuikka & Hanna Mäkinen

The study focuses on communication by Russian anti-war activists on social media from the perspective of the mobilisation practised by a social movement. Using the method of qualitative theory-driven content analysis, the study explores how the Russian anti-war movement aims to influence its followers and strengthen its support, as well as motivate its supporters to act, by using the Telegram messaging platform. The study shows that Russian anti-war activists use Telegram channels and groups in particular, firstly, in sharing information and forming interpretations of the current situation, and secondly, in coordinating activism, improving opportunities for activity and making participation easier. While activists simultaneously spread information and raise awareness of the war, and create interpretations of the situation, their use of Telegram is connected to influencing opinion and encouraging activity.

Feminist Anti-War Resistance and the Mediation Opportunity Structure

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This article investigates Feminist Anti-War Resistance (FAR), a transnational project launched by Russian feminists opposing the full-scale invasion of Ukraine since February 2022. Using interviews with activists and media data, it applies the Mediation Opportunity Structure framework (Cammaerts 2012) to assess how FAR has navigated the media landscape to amplify its influence amidst a political crisis. The findings reveal that FAR has skilfully used media tools to recruit activists, garner international media attention and disseminate its agenda. Furthermore, the movement has launched projects providing direct aid to those affected by war and political repression and discursively redefined the role of feminism in wartime. However, the media also present challenges, sometimes straining internal dynamics among activists and diluting the movement's core messages. The analysis sheds light on the complex processes of mediated feminist activism within a wartime context and its significance for maintaining oppositional communities under oppressive conditions.

On St Petersburg LGBTIQ+ activists' externality and relativity

Pauliina Lukinmaa

Since the 2010s, the legislation and atmosphere in Russia have increasingly suppressed its minorities and dissidents such as LGBTIQ+ (lesbian, gay and bisexual, transgender, and intersex and queer) activists. In this run of events, LGBTIQ+ activism has been defined abroad in media and research as a liberal island in neoconservative Russia. Little attention has been paid to the relative power structures located between these ends in activists' everyday lives. Against this background, using an ethnographic research approach, I ask how

activists formed their subject positions in St Petersburg in the late 2010s. I suggest that by mirroring and balancing, but also hiding and revealing these positions, activists have taken to the streets, questioned norms and retreated into smaller communities and more private spaces. I also show that increasingly more defined collective terms referring to identities have not only increased their sense of pride in Russia but also strengthened their sense of belonging to a local movement.

Mutual dependence and the energy transformation in the Russo-European gas trade **Akseli Väliiviita**

In this article, I analyse the implications of the changes to the dynamics of mutual dependence caused by technological developments and the transition to renewable energy sources for the gas trade between Europe and Russia using game theory. I present static and dynamic games that model the gas trade between Europe and Russia. The games presented are also to some extent relevant in understanding the trade of oil and other natural resources when trade relations and trade-induced dependence relations between importers and exporters are asymmetric. I look for boundary conditions for scenarios in which mutual dependence exposes fossil fuel importers to geopolitical pressure and an inability to pursue their desired energy policy. I analyse how the equilibria solutions of the models presented correspond with the reality of the “energy relationship” and its dramatic change in the wake of events caused by the war in Ukraine in 2022 (especially the destruction of the Nord Stream pipelines). I propose that interdependency caused by fossil fuels can, under certain conditions, induce conflicts and inability to pursue a favourable energy policy and a transition to renewable energy sources.