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National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY

‘Religion, Migration and Social Change in the Eastern Orthodox World’ Workshop

With the financial support of the British Academy

**Maidan 1 Conference Room, InterContinental Hotel,
2A Velyka Zhytomyrska Street, Kyiv, 01001, Ukraine**

Thursday 13 September (arrival in Kyiv)

Friday 14 September

8.30 – 9.00: Registration

9.00 – 9.30: *Introduction and Welcome*

1. Dr Lucian Leustean, Aston University, Birmingham & NIAS, Amsterdam
2. Dr Vsevolod Samokhvalov, Marie Currie Lecturer, Liege University, Belgium
3. Professor Viktor Stepanenko, the Institute of Sociology, the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv
4. Professor Viktor Yelenski, MP Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the National Pedagogical Dragomanov University, Kyiv

9.30 – 10.15: Keynote Lecture

1. *Solidarity of Strangers or Orthodoxy as It Should Be*, Professor Valentina Izmirlieva, Chair of the Department of Slavic Languages, Columbia University, New York, USA

10.15 – 11.00: First session: *Religion, Refugees and Human Security in Turkey, Sweden and Russia*

1. *Psychosocial and Physical Health among Iraqi and Syrian Refugees in Turkey and Sweden: A Holistic Approach Through a Mixed Method Study*, Dr Andreas Önvér Cetrez, Associate Professor and Lecturer in Psychology of Religion and Cultural Psychology, Coordinator of RESPOND - Multilevel Governance of Mass Migration in Europe and Beyond EU Horizon 2020 Project, Faculty of Theology, Uppsala University, Sweden

2. *The Russian Orthodox Church on Human Security, Migration and Refugees: Concepts, Strategies, Actions*, Dr Alicja Curanović, Assistant Professor, the Institute of International Relations, the University of Warsaw, Poland (in absentia)

11.00 – 11.30: Tea/Coffee Break

11.30 – 13.00: Second session: *Religion, Migration and Social Change in Ukraine*

1. *Religious Freedom and Human Security: The Case of Country in War*, Professor Viktor Yelensky, Member of the Parliament of Ukraine, Head of the Parliamentary Subcommittee on Freedom of Conscience and Professor at the Dragomanov National Pedagogical University, Kyiv
2. *'Bridge Capital'. Church's Social Activism in Post-Maidan Ukraine*, Dr Tetiana Kalenychenko, Teaching Assistant, the Cultural Studies Department, the National Pedagogical Dragomanov University, Kyiv
3. *Ukraine in the Context of Migration Processes of the XXI Century*, Professor Liudmyla Fylypovych, Professor of Religious Studies and the Head of the History of Religion and Practical Religious Studies Department, the Institute of Philosophy, the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv

13.00 – 2.30 pm: Lunch, B-Hush Bar, Top Floor, Intercontinental Hotel

2.30 – 4.00 pm: Third session: *Religion and Migration in Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia*

1. *Spatial Analysis of Religious Diversity and Freedoms in Ukraine After Euromaidan*, Dr Tymofii Brik, Assistant Professor, the Kyiv School of Economics, Kyiv
2. *Religious Aspects of Armenian Migratory Movements*, Dr Aram Vartikyan, Director of Migration Competence Centre, Faculty of Sociology, the Yerevan State University, Armenia
3. *The State's Guardian Angel? The Georgian Orthodox Church and New Security Challenges after Russian Invasion of Georgia*, Dr Tornike Metreveli, Postdoctoral Fellow, University of St Gallen, Switzerland

4.00 – 4.30 pm: Tea/Coffee Break

4.30 – 6.30 pm: Fourth session: *Religion and Migration in Belarus, the Baltic States and the US*

1. *The Russian-Ukrainian Conflict and the European Refugee Crisis: The Policies of State and Church and Civil Society in Belarus*, Dr Alena Alshanskaya, Postdoctoral Fellow in History, the Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz, Germany
2. *Eastern Orthodox Engagement with Migrants in the Baltic States*, Dr Alar Kilp, Lecturer in Comparative Politics, the Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies, University of Tartu, Estonia
3. *Hospitality for Strangers? Policies and Practices of Eastern Christian Churches and Charities in Support of New Migrants to the United States and Refugees Abroad*, Professor Jerry Pankhurst, Emeritus Professor of Sociology, Wittenberg University, USA

7.00 pm: Dinner (workshop speakers)

Saturday 15 September (Departure)

More details on the British Academy project on 'Forced Migration, Religious Diplomacy and Human Security in the Eastern Orthodox World' are available at <http://www.aston.ac.uk/lss/research/lss-research/aston-centre-europe/projects-grants/forced-migration/> . For any queries please contact Dr Lucian Leustean, Aston University, at l.leustean@aston.ac.uk .

Invited Participants

1. Igor Bandura, Vice President of the Baptist Union of Ukraine
2. Dr Olena Bogdan, Associate Professor in Sociology, the National University of Kyiv - Mohyla Academy
3. Professor Serhiy Bortnyk, Professor at the Theological Academy in Kiev and the International Office of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate
4. Fr Sergiy Dmitriev, Deputy Head of the Department of Social and Charitable Work, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate (accompanied by a translator)
5. Olena Illiasevych, Assistant to ‘Gender Budgeting in Ukraine’ Project (NIRAS Sweden AB)
6. Dmytro Horyevoy, Master of Religious Studies, Religious Security Centre, Kyiv
7. Professor Igor Kozlovskyy, Senior Researcher in the Department of Religious Studies, the G.S. Skovoroda Institute of Philosophy, the National Academy of Science of Ukraine (previously, the Centre for Religious Studies and International Spiritual Relations in Donetsk)
8. Iaroslava Mishchenko, the National News Agency of Ukraine (UKRINFORM)
9. Dr Maksym Parashchevin, Senior Researcher, the Institute of Sociology, the National Academy of Science of Ukraine
10. Rostyslav Pavlenko, Director, the National Institute for Strategic Studies, Kyiv
11. Hryhoriy Seleshchuk, Director of Humanitarian and Emergency Programmes, Caritas Ukraine
12. Maksym Vasin, Executive Director, the Institute for Religious Freedom NGO, Kyiv

Abstracts

Professor Valentina Izmirlieva, *Solidarity of Strangers or Orthodoxy as It Should Be*

Christian ethics singles out hospitality as a central criterion for salvation (Matt. 25: 35-40). St. Clement teaches that it is through hospitality and piety that Abraham received the son of promise and Lot was rescued from Sodom (1 Clement 10:7, 11:1). And Christ himself calls his followers to hold their banquets for those who cannot repay them—‘the poor, the cripples, the lame, and the blind,’ so that they are repaid ‘at the resurrection of the righteous’ (Luke 14:14). The possibility for such radical—such impossible—hospitality stems from the Christian awareness that we are all ‘strangers in this world’ (John Chrysostom) and everything we think we own and are is indeed a gift. The Christian hospitality imperative, therefore, encourages us to acknowledge our ontological dispossession and homelessness, and our indebtedness to God’s abundant hospitality, which we are called to share with others. What does this ethical horizon mean for Christian communities of the new Eastern Europe in the face of the current refugee crisis? I argue that the challenge is not merely to reorient the dynamic with our ‘guests’ from ‘solidarity against strangers’—the tenor of so much political practice today—toward ‘solidarity with strangers.’ It calls further toward a radical politics of human solidarity, which theologian Gemma Tulud Cruz has termed Christian ‘solidarity of strangers.’ This lecture will examine how (Bulgarian) Orthodox communities today respond to this radical challenge and how short historical memory—the culture of deliberate forgetfulness—contributes to our failures.

Dr Andreas Önvér Cetrez, *Psychosocial and Physical Health among Iraqi and Syrian Refugees in Turkey and Sweden: A Holistic Approach Through a Mixed Method Study*

This paper presents results from two mixed method oriented projects. The first project (Cetrez, at al., forthcoming) was conducted among Iraqi refugees (with Christian, Mandaean, and Muslim background) in Sweden (during 2010-2014). The first stage of the study used semi-structured interviews (n = 40) with refugees in two middle-sized towns as well as interviews with stakeholders (n=15). The second stage was a survey (n = 410, 53.2% males, mean age 33). Interestingly, women showed a stronger adaptability, evaluated themselves as more hard-working, showed a decrease in importance of family for life meaning, and found that work and school had increased as coping mechanisms in

Sweden. Worries about work and studies had increased significantly in Sweden, for both men and women. The second project was conducted in 2014-2015, among Assyrian-Syrian refugees in Istanbul, Turkey, mainly of Orthodox background (Cetrez, et al., 2017). Stage 1 included 20 individual and three focus group interviews. In Stage 2, a convenience sample was used among 171 participants (70.2% males, mean age 31) for a two-stage data gathering; first stage before attending activities at a small refugee centre (a centre started by the researchers, as part of an action research orientation) and again after a two-month period. The qualitative material among the participants point at feelings of disinterest and hopelessness, but also coping mechanisms such as social and community activities. Being active at the centre helped both adults and children to be active in other areas of daily functioning. The Syrian refugee population in Turkey had a higher level of trauma experience than the Iraqis in Sweden. Women in both studies evaluated their health slightly worse than men, and this gender difference is significant.

Alicja Curanović: *The Russian Orthodox Church on Human Security, Migration and Refugees: Concepts, Strategies, Actions (in absentia)*

The Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) today is one of the most influential non-governmental organisations in the Russian Federation. The closeness with the Kremlin reinforces the ROC's imperial habitus which manifests in thinking in terms of state interests and geopolitics. This statist logic shows in the notion of 'spiritual security' – a concept which the ROC prefers to 'humanitarian security'. Spiritual security allows the ROC to combine the concern for the morality of an individual with the security and sovereignty of the state. Balancing between Christian concern for individual moral well-being and state security is particularly challenging for the ROC when it comes to migration. On the one hand the Church emphasises the Christian obligation to take care of new comers (*strannopriimstvo*) regardless of their citizenship, race, religion or political views. On the other hand some hierarchs, such as Vsevolod Chaplin, stress that Russian society is concerned with the incorrect conduct of migrants and so they call upon the state to fight illegal migration and pay attention to the rights of the Russian majority as a priority. The main idea behind the ROC's strategy towards security issues comes down to seeking cooperation with state institutions at the central and local level. It is not society but the state apparatus which is the strategic partner of the ROC in its social activity. The Russian Orthodox Church makes a distinction between migrants and refugees. The presence of migrants is connected to security. The leading hierarchs of the ROC express criticism towards European migration policy and the intake of refugees. However, when the first refugees from Ukraine started to arrive in Russia in 2014, the ROC emphasised that they were not immigrants and did not need cultural adaptation but material support. Refugees are people in need whom Christians should help. It sounds simple but in reality the ROC needed some time to develop its own mechanisms of providing care to dislocated people. The goal of this paper is to present the main features of the ROC's approach towards migrants and refugees. It shows the ROC's strategies and main partners and action taken by the Church with the reference to the context of the Russian and international politics.

Professor Viktor Yelensky, *Religious Freedom and Human Security: The Case of Country in War*

Pluralism combined with intense competition—a distinguishing feature of Ukraine's religious landscape and a key to understanding the socio-religious processes occurring in the country—made it possible for Ukraine to achieve quite decent standards in the sphere of freedom of conscience. Within the last decade the index of state restrictions on religious freedom for Ukraine has been lower than for all other post-Soviet states with the exception of the Baltic countries, and even lower than for a number of member states of the European Union. Russian aggression against Ukraine, annexation of the Crimea, the war on the Donbas and proclamation of puppet quasi-states there, which were created and from the beginning were leaded by Russian citizens, created a radically new situation regarding human security in Ukraine. According to the United Nations, as of June 2017, since the beginning of hostilities, 10090 dead and 23,966 injured people were identified as a result of battles. Moscow Patriarchate gives its unconditional support to Kremlin invasion in different ways. First of all, through the strengthening control over its semi-autonomous part in Ukraine (UOC-MP) and indoctrination the flock of this Church with the ideas of Russian World, anti-Westernism, Russia's supremacy, Slavic unity and 'Indivisibility of Holy Rus'. Secondly, Moscow Patriarchate legitimizes Russian foreign policy, glorifies Russian

militarism, neo-Imperialism and justifies military action in Ukraine. Thirdly, ROC's leadership made considerable effort to discredit Ukrainian State, specifically its Church-State, ethnic and linguistic politics. This has led to being considered Russian Orthodoxy as a serious component of Russian soft power in Ukraine. Church's and state propaganda intends, among others, to deflect attention from the religious persecutions, veritable pogroms against churches and their flock, capturing believers even during their services in prayer houses, and beating and murdering pastors, and confiscation of religious buildings on occupied territories. Paper examines how Ukrainian state, civil society, religious organizations and individuals try to keep relatively decent standards in the sphere of religious freedom and human security (specifically, concerning internally displaced persons) in situation of war and subtlest propaganda.

Dr Tetiana Kalenychenko: *'Bridge capital'. Church's Social Activism in Post-Maidan Ukraine*

Churches proved to be real leaders of credibility and consolidation of the emerging civil society during the times of crisis of Ukrainian statehood and aggression from Russia. Maidan events and the subsequent war became a catalyst for Orthodox churches for revitalization, volunteer movement revival, as well as delimitation between pro-Ukrainian minority and passive majority. Despite the ongoing disputes about canonicity and status, the initiative shifted to civilly active and patriotic religious groups. Church's activism in the community helped the nation in a very difficult moment of its history, and also helped the churches take the initiative and be a responsible part of the civil society. The utilization of its 'bridge capital' is promising for a constructive role for the religious element of the conflict. It makes its appearance through para-religious organizations, close cooperation with institutions of civil society, religious peacemaking, mediation, and so on. The existing experience of organizations connected with religious groups that actively and openly cooperate with secular partners permits the reinforcement of initiatives in the social and humanitarian spheres and to render greater support for the population, especially the categories that have suffered from conflict. This will bring results not only in the form of higher social trust, but also of practical changes that will be realized with the support of religious communities.

Professor Liudmyla Fylypovych: *Ukraine in the Context of Migration Processes of the XXI Century*

Migration for Ukraine today is a huge challenge, to which it was not ready neither economically, nor financially, nor culturally, nor morally. People leave and come to Ukraine not because of the attractiveness of Ukraine as a country of happy living, but from despair. In the Soviet times, Ukraine had the great popularity of its habitat (climate, prices, food quality, education and culture, tolerance of interethnic and interreligious relations, etc.) among soviet citizens. But now Ukraine has lost these preferences. If earlier the migration was voluntary-compulsory, now it became compulsory-mandatory. In the public opinion of Ukraine, like most other European countries, a negative attitude towards migrants dominates, to the very phenomenon of migration. Most Ukrainians believe that migration is bad:

- a. as emigration, it exhausts its own resources, by the fact that a young productive force leaves the country, into which many funds have been invested in education, social adaptation - socialization, health, etc., and why they build a foreign economy, create material and cultural-spiritual wealth-values for a foreign power and another's people. All this undermines the power and well-being of one's own country, makes it poorer, more dependent from other countries;
- b. as immigration, this process is almost not controlled, anyone comes from anywhere, which in itself creates a lot of threats, for example, cheaper labour costs are falling, wages fall, the system of distribution of national wealth breaks down, the integrity of the nation is eroded, unconventional, hence the alien culture that competes, and often not in favour of home, with tradition.

Migration has many causes, global and local, objective and subjective, general and individual. For today it is a reality that cannot be ignored. Fit into the European space Ukraine must comply with the European rules of treatment of migrants, form a civilized migration policy, implement international migratory strategy, fulfil corresponding obligations regarding immigration quotas, etc. What Ukraine is doing as a state and as a society in the field of migration, which bodies and structures are responsible for it, how citizens are coping with the problems in this area - that's what the report says.

Tymofii Brik, *Spatial Analysis of Religious Diversity and Freedoms in Ukraine after Euromaidan*

This paper investigates novel data on religious communities registered in Ukraine after Euromaidan. The data include information about registrations as well as rejections of religious communities. We employ top-down approach to study how national level policies influence national level patterns of religious registrations. We also assess to what extent religious communities that migrated from Crimea and Donbass influence new local religious markets. We find evidence that the number of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kyivan Patriarchate increased after Euromaidan. At the same time the number of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate remained stable. We interpret this finding as state favouritism towards the UOC-KP. At the same time, we do not observe repressions towards the UOC-MP since their numbers are stable and not in decline. The gap that existed between two rivalry Orthodox jurisdictions has narrowed. This shift in the religious landscape is likely to have a wide range of social consequences.

Dr Aram Vartikyan, *Religious Aspects of Armenian Migratory Movements*

Migration is one of the most important processes and issues of Armenia. Various movements of people and population flows had great significance and role in the history of Armenia and Armenians. The mentioned with its influence and consequences has reached its peak since the end of 20th century. The Armenian society witnessed many, sometimes extremely negative political and economic processes, various migration flows and other associated processes formed as a result of structural transformations. The whole typological collection of migration circulations of the last 30 years has its irrefutable trace on all the sectors and levels of the social life of Armenia. The Armenian and international scholar discourse includes works and analysis concerning the reasons, consequences of migration flows which are usually based on neoclassical, causal methodologies and limited, narrow models. However, the mentioned methodologies and models only partially explain the general panorama of complex migration processes. In this regard, the religious aspect of migration processes of Armenia has gained particular importance in recent years. This particularly means the identification and analysis of religious aspects of migrants' decisions, vital tactics and strategies, future expectations etc. Based on several studies and secondary analysis of databases related to the topic, so called "religious" variables are created, from which, in their turn an analytical context of migration movements, decisions and processes are formed. Thus, this study aims at revealing the place, role and importance of "religious" in the migration processes of Armenia.

Dr Tornike Metreveli, *The State's Guardian Angel? The Georgian Orthodox Church and New Security Challenges after the Russian Invasion of Georgia*

Georgian state faced a threat of territorial collapse after the Russian invasion in August 2008. A five-day war accompanied by Russia's unilateral recognition of independence of the two Georgian break-away territories of South Ossetia and Abkhazia put the Georgian government under an existential pressure. To rebuild public morale and maintain legitimacy in the eyes of disappointed electorate the Saakashvili government opted to seek an alliance with the most trusted public institution – Georgian Orthodox Church (GOC). This alliance manifested itself in two-fold increase in state's funding of GOC after the war, immense donations of movable and immovable property and luxurious gifts to church officials (Metreveli 2016). Certain conditionality attached to these practices of clientelism was an assumption on behalf of the Georgian ruling elites that church will collaborate with the government in (re)building civic (territorial) nationalism in defense of Georgia's contested sovereignty. Despite government's efforts, the discourses of civic/territorial nationalism (e.g. ongoing occupation, creeping borderization of Georgia) did not trigger any large-scale protest inside the GOC against Russian policy towards Georgia after war. The paper focuses on three largest protests led and organized by GOC during the last 10 years (from August 2008 to August 2018): The Law on Registration of Religious Minority Organizations (2011), the Law on Self-governance (2013) and violent rally against LGBTI activists on the International Day against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia on 17th of May. In all instances, GOC justified massive mobilization as a response to the threat to 'Georgianness, Georgian identity and

family values.’ Against this background this paper asks why does GOC interpret religious, gender or sexual liberties as more threatening to ‘Georgianness’ than Russia’s ongoing borderization policy under which Georgia lost 151 settlements (135 in Tskhinvali region and 16 in Kodori Valley) since the end of 2008 war? To address this question, the paper triangulates between legal and policy analysis, interviews with clergy and state officials and content analysis of public statements of the church officials.

Dr Alena Alshanskaya, *The Russian-Ukrainian Conflict and the European Refugee Crisis: The Policies of State and Church and Civil Society in Belarus*

Whereas the Belarusian government instrumentalised the Ukrainian conflict and the European refugee crisis for its own political goals, the civil society has provided real support for Ukrainians, many of whom arrived in Belarus. At institutional level, the Belarusian Orthodox Church did not mobilise socially towards refugees, on the contrary, it supported the anti-European rhetoric of the Belarusian political discourse and of the Russian Orthodox Church. The European refugee crisis has been presented in Belarus as evidence of Europe’s decline and as an argument for its self-asserting strategy. Not only propaganda from Russian mass media which is popular in Belarus, but also national intellectual and church elites produce and multiply negative slogans against the West. Moreover, the idea of ‘tolerance’ and of Belarusian people as the most tolerant people in the world (of course only declarative, and state-sanctioned) known for everyone in Belarus, has been presented as a challenge to European liberal democracy.

Dr Alar Kilp: *Eastern Orthodox Engagement with Migrants in the Baltic States*

The paper deals with the engagement of Orthodox actors (churches) in Baltic states with two types of migrants – post-2011 Syrian crisis migrants from Middle East and post-2014 refugees from Ukraine. The analysis focuses upon and takes into account:

1. the contextual variables (governments and social attitudes have been relatively reluctant in accepting refugees from Middle East; Latvia and Estonia have significant amounts of Russian-speaking ‘stateless persons’; none of the Orthodox Churches in Baltic States is autocephalic or hegemonically related to mainstream national political culture; to what degree is the cultural identity of refugees perceived in religious terms in public debates and policies?; ethno-cultural identification with the Orthodox religion has been on the rise in both Latvia and Estonia, which has contributed to the fusion and overlap between religious and ethnic identities among the Russian-speaking minority);

2. the strategy of (religious and secular diplomacy by) Orthodox actors in addressing publicly the policies of the government and public discourses (such as ‘we should accept Christian refugees rather than Muslim ones’) either in collaboration with other religious actors or by its own; how the ‘common Christian position’ that Churches in Baltic States have attempted to construct (with the participation of Orthodox actors) relates to the geopolitical constructions of the West (European Union) and of the conservative-nationalist Russia by Russia and Moscow Patriarchate? Are the Orthodox actors in Baltic states representing the positions of the Moscow Patriarchate issues related to recent waves of migration?

3. the practical involvement (and non-involvement) of the Orthodox actors in recent refugee crisis in a cross-country (intra-Baltic) comparison. In what instances the Orthodox Churches have reacted and participated actively either by offering support to refugees or voicing their position in public debates. In cases, where the Orthodox churches have been inactive and non-participating in issues where refugees and Orthodox religious identity have been manifestly connected, what possible reasons have been for such non-involvement?

Professor Jerry Pankhurst, *Hospitality for Strangers? Policies and Practices of Eastern Christian Churches and Charities in Support of New Migrants to the United States and Refugees Abroad*

The Gospels enjoin Christians to give ‘hospitality for strangers’ (Matthew 25:35). This paper seeks to understand the policies and practices of the eastern Christian churches of the United States and charitable organizations rooted in these eastern Christian churches in welcoming migrants - in

particular, refugees from trouble-spots around the world - to residence in the United States. It also assesses efforts by the same churches or related charities to assist major refugee groups abroad with money, volunteer labour or programmatic initiatives. Efforts by Eastern Orthodox Churches such as the Greek, Russian, Antiochian, Albanian and similar Orthodox churches are assessed alongside Coptic and other 'Non-Chalcedonean' eastern Churches. Major refugee streams from North Africa and the Middle East, as well as from Eurasia, are sources of immigrants with ethnic and national roots similar to those of members of the eastern Christian churches, and this raises the question of the degree to which the charitable pursuits of these churches focus on co-ethnics, co-nationals or co-religionists as compared to a more open approach to the problems of immigration. Similarly, are the migrant-aid efforts carried out together or separate from the broader philanthropic or governmental organizations that work in this area of concern? An interesting sidelight of this investigation is exploring the degree to which the largest migrant stream into the USA, the one from Central and South America, is the object of concern from the eastern churches. Finally, in addressing the questions of immigration in the USA, one cannot avoid dealing with the adaptations that have occurred as the Trump Administration has advocated an anti-immigrant policy for the USA. How to the politics of American Eastern Christians affect their engagement in immigrant aid?