**Project for ANR**

**Challenge 8: Innovative, inclusive and adaptive societies**

**Topic 6: Digital revolution and social change**

**Proposition:**

**Resistants on the internet**

**Critics and circumvention of digital boundaries in Russia**

**Project Acronym: RESISTIC**

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**Résumé**

 Russia is a crucial point of tension between globalised digital freedoms and policies that apply
national constraints to the web, response to Western, especially American, domination of digital
networks being their official rationale. Starting from the beginning of the 2000's, this country experiences a paradoxical situation where a free and non filtered Web developed side by side with authoritarian policies negatively affecting civil liberties. In this context of tightened authoritarian control, This project's aim is to analyze how the internet users in Russia resist against new state regulations imposed since the beginning of the 2010's. Taking into account the academic studies already available and the history of the world wide web being written in front of our eyes, this research project is both innovative and ambitious. On one hand, it innovates by exploring online resistance in Russia, which allows to shed light on some social practices and circumvention strategies against online constraints that are not well known in western societies. On the other hand its ambition is to go beyond the case of Russia and reflect on the reshaping of the political realm, confronted with the scientific and technical progress of communications in the modern world.

 This project is organized in tree main research themes, complementing each other. The first one addresses individual and collective resistance, to the art of circumventing new legal and technical framework of internet regulation on Russian soil. The study will address alternative digital practices by internet users and collective forms of mobilization aiming to promote new approaches to web use as a response to govenment regulation. The second theme addresses the strategies of avoiding new forms of pressure online by expatriating. It will mainly address the strategies adopted by journalists who work from abroad, their relationship to the Russian segment of the Internet, connected and distant in the same time as well as their role as vectors of circulation of new international digital know-how. The third theme will analyse evasion and subtle dodging of the rules as regards digital practices, by the artistic sphere and creative industry. It will examine how the Web offers possibilities of a compromise between resistance and loyalty.

 It will bring together a multidisciplinary research team perfectly suited to its stated aim, combining a sociological knowledge in studying resistance and social mobilization, innovation in the field of sociology of science and digital technology as well as a perfect knowledge of Russian reality. This project will yield a solid academic outcome, that will be cemented by publication of articles in the best international scientific journals in the field of sociology of new digital technology (New Media and Society, Westminster Journal for Communication and Culture, French Journal for Media Research, RESET<http://reset.revues.org/>) as well as in reference academic publications in the field of Russian and Post-Soviet studies (a special issue of *Europe Asia Studies*). All along the project's duration, results of the study will be widely disseminated via an Internet platform created for that purpose, dedicated to “online resistance”, freely accessible and featuring a cartography of the history of Internet in Russia as well as some keys to understand the current innovations.

 Going beyond Russia, the research will contribute to a better understanding of digital resistance in a context in which national control policies are increasing. It will enable a better scientific knowledge on the reshaping of the political and social spheres, induced by the digital revolution as well as that on the clash over legitimacy between digitalized globalization and national sovereignty statements.

**Qualification, role and contribution of each participant**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Partner** | **Name** | **Position** | **Field of research** | **Contribution to the proposal** |
| CERCEC | Françoise Daucé | Research director | Sociology of mobilization, sociology of the media in Russia | Coordinator of the projectSupervisor for tasks 1 and 2Study on the techniques of online resistance. |
| Ivan Chupin | Senior Lecturer, member of Printemps laboratory | Sociology of the media | Online media and journalists in resistance |
| Telecom Paris Tech | Antonio Casilli | Senior Lecturer | Sociology of digital networks, Internet studies | Coordination of the digital part of the project |
| Ksenia Ermoshina | Doctoral student | Sociology of science and technology, Internet Studies | Post-doctoral researchStudy on the techniques of online resistance.  |
| Eur’Orbem | Bella Ostromooukhova | Senior Lecturer | Sociology of culture, sociology of publishing | Supervisor for Task 3: artistic evasion  |
| Anna Zaytseva | Post-doctoral research | Sociology of culture, sociology of creative industries, Russia | Post-doctoral researchStudy of artistic digital innovation in Russia |
| ILCEA 4 | Olga Bronnikova | Senior Lecturer | Sociology of migrations | Leader foe Theme 3Study of digital resistance from abroad |
| Valeri Kossov | Senior Lecturer | Political sociology, Russia | Study of digital resistance from abroad |
| Aleksander Kondratov | Post-doctoral research | Internet studies | Study on the techniques of online resistance. |

**Any modifications in the detailed proposal compared to the pre-proposal?**

no

**1 – Context, position and objectives of the proposal**

Our proposal falls under the challenge 8, "Innovative, inclusive and adaptive societies" of the National research agency. More precisely, we wish to reflect upon the questions raised in the Topic 6 "Digital revolution and social change". Within this topic, an analysis of recent online practices in Russia leads to a reflection on both the "effects of the digital on national sovereignty” and its repercussions on alternative “cultural practices” in the country. Indeed, the resistance to national constraints on the web fosters both an involvement in protests as well as cultural diversion. Such forms of resistance and circumvention may be observed in other countries. However, they take specific forms in Russia, which is due to particular features proper to this country's political structure and their interplay with political protests or workarounds of regime policies.

**1.1.Objectifs et caractère ambitieux et novateur du projet / Objectives, originality and novelty of the project**

 This project's goal is to analyze how the internet users in Russia resist against new state regulations imposed in the beginning of the 2010s. Taking into account the academic studies already available and the history of the internet being written in front of our eyes, this research project is both innovative and ambitious. On one hand, it innovates by exploring online resistance in Russia, which allows shedding light on some social practices and circumvention strategies against online constraints that are not well known in western societies. On the other hand its ambition is to go beyond the case of Russia and reflect on the reshaping of the political realm, confronted with the scientific and technical progress of communications in the modern world.

This is a multidisciplinary research project at the crossroads of internet studies, sociology of science and technology, information and communication sciences, media sociology, digital humanities, geography, sociology of migrations. The ambition of this project is to contribute, besides the case of Russia, to a renewal of discussions on the reshaping of the political realm, confronted with the scientific and technical progress of communications, we see in today's world. The analysis of the political effects of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) is usually done through the lens of a general antagonism between advocates of "internet democracy" on one side and those of "internet authoritarianism" on the other. Through a study of new forms of digital evasion and resistance in defense of web freedoms in Russia, we intend to contribute to a general reflection on online circumvention and active elusion of political control in order to better understand the underlying mechanisms of reshaping politics and national contexts in the 2010's.

In order to carry it out, our research team plans to conduct rigorous sociological surveys in direct contact with Russian internet users and their online practices. To date there has been no survey of such extent done in Russia as well as among Russian internet players outside the country. The data collected from ethnographic studies done in the field in contact with the social actors (interviews, observations…) will be analyzed and processed using innovative methods such as web mapping, social network analysis, and other digital humanities-specific tools. It will involve documenting a large array of resistance approaches, ranging from the ways to learn how to circumvent the rules to off-line protest mobilization to cultural and aesthetic patterns of expressing dissent.

The resistance to constraints imposed on the Web, in the case of Russia have been scarcely studied until now and have not been a subject of systematic scientific research. This is what constitutes in particular the innovative nature of this project. First exploratory surveys conducted in Russia show that individual strategies for circumventing online constraints are being developed in this country, together with collective mobilization against such forms of control, which remain uncommon in western societies. Russia thus appears to be a "laboratory of online resistance", which may contribute to spreading of digital know-how beyond its borders. The case of Russia is of particular interest due to its differences with other authoritarian states such as China, Iran or Syria, where internet communications are filtered by authorities. In Russia, internet remains nominally free, although it is subject to various regulatory constraints, without those being systematized by the use of filtering. Arbitrary repression and ever-evolving surveillance are features of the Russian internet, which urge users to develop highly adaptable circumvention strategies. These constraints give rise to various and creative forms of resistance. The project's ambition is to describe, based on the example of Russia, some aspects of online behaviors overlooked due to their lack of visibility. Beyond Russia's example, these surveys will give us a better understanding of how internet users resist to measures restricting online freedoms implemented for the sake of state sovereignty.

Such work on the question of resistance will allow us to better understand alternative political trajectories that emerge in today's world. Such a reflection on a global scale may be built upon the case of Russia because its society, despite patriotic and sovereignist declarations of the country's politicians, is not isolated from international trends. Many contacts and know-how transfers happen between Russian internet users and users located in other countries. The expatriation of Russian internet professionals, who spend a part of their lives in Western countries (be it Europe, US or Israel) fuels the process of mutual learning, of connected movements helping them spread their knowledge in the West as well as to convey new online practices back to the Russian public.

**1.2. State of the art**

 **New web regulatory framework**

 Since the early 2000s, the development of ICTs was accompanied by increasing questioning on their influence on deconstructing national sovereignty (Desforges, 2011 ; Dang Nguyen, 2011). The internet was created in the USA starting in the 1960's (Castells, 2001, Flichy, 2001), and has since spread all over the world, bypassing national borders. It has become one of the symbols and one of the vectors of globalization. From the beginning of the 2010s on, a number of countries became concerned by the impact internet could have on state sovereignty. Faced with a growth of hostile (terrorist) or malicious (criminal) networks that overstep national borders (Krueger, Best, Pearson-Merkowitz, 2012), security actors began advocating an increase in state control, which is substantiated by a strengthening of national legislations pertaining to the internet (Loendorf, Garson, 2007). Such a strengthening may be rationalized by security concerns (fight against terrorism and extremism), economic ones (protecting intellectual property, countering industrial espionage, balancing the market power of tech multinationals), as well as by political ones (e.g. China or Iran). internet would thus enter an era of new domination (Fuchs et all., 2011) and new surveillance (Marx, 2015), in a context of increasing authoritarianism, where the question arises of repressive use of the Web in today's world (Morozov, 2012 ; Deibert, Palfrey, Rohozinski, Zittrain, 2008 ; Farivar, 2011). However, given the large volumes of content and constantly evolving technology, a hierarchical and state-centered approach to regulation seems inappropriate. Any attempt to implement *prior* censorship of online content is bound to failure. Approaches based on contingent combinations of content suppression and user repression become thus pervasive. This realization entails the need for the radical rethinking of the whole notion of internet governance (Brousseau, Marzouki, 2012). New forms of regulatory oversight of the internet are ephemeral, invisible, evolving, pervasive... The ability to control online contents and behaviors is subtle. It involves creating manyfold networks and using countless covert social ties. Ascendancy is developed over a long time by making use of the blind spots of the public space (Chateauraynaud, 2015).

In the case of Russia, the 2000s have been marked by a digital political paradox whereby a free internet was developing at a fast pace while at the same time a reinforced vertical and centralized state governance was being put in place. Internet penetration rate increased exponentially. By 2016, around 75% of Russia's population have access to the internetinside the country. Besides this extensive user base, the Russian-speaking web (also called "Runet") represent a major source of information and online socialization for all Russian-speaking users residing in former Soviet republics. In countries outside former USSR, Runet is used as a way to connect Russian émigrés spread throughout the world, but more specifically those living in the USA, Israel, and Europe (Fialkova, Yelenevskaya, 2005 ; Elias, Shorer-Zeltser, 2006 ; Morgunova, 2012). During the 2000s, such growth of the russian Web and its opening towards the outside world fueled hopes of more democracy in the country and strengthening off-line activism. (Lonkila, 2012 ; Elting et al., 2010). Starting in the 2010's, such hopes of Russian-style "internet democracy" (Best & Wade, 2009) gave way to disappointment, in a context marked by increasing political tensions inside the country (with an significant protest movement taking place during winter 2011-2012) as well as outside (especially in Ukraine). Russian internet regulation has been considerably extended, showing the desire by the authorities to establish state control over the digital sphere, this control previously being lax. This domestic framework of online control proves the preference of the regime for a coercive response to the challenges to state power stemming from the internet. This policy of state interference in the functioning Russian internet has been well documented by researchers working on this topic (Nocetti, 2015 ; Freiberg 2014).

However such oversight policy should not be seen as one built upon a vertical, consistent and hierarchical model. The body of legislative rules governing online activities is large and diverse. It is constantly updated (bills against terrorism and extremism, laws against pornography…). Their implementation is inconsistent, sometimes arbitrary. A deeper study of the laws and their enforcement shows not the existence of a centralized form of control of the Russian Web, but rather a variety of different forms of authoritarian oversight, that may be fluctuating and sometimes even contradict each other. Regulatory ascendancy may be in different ways based on technical architectures (algorithmic discrimination and filtering of internet contents) or economic constraints (consumer profiling via big data collection) characterizing online activity. Assessing the diverse constraints acting upon Russian internet users is a prerequisite to understanding the multitude of forms of **resistance, elusion and circumvention** that constitute a reaction to such restrictions.

 **Resistance to authoritarian control on the web**

 How to analyze the resistance appearing in response to authoritarian regimentation of the state over the internet? There is a plethora of studies on "disobedience" or on "resistance" in such disciplines as history, political science or sociology. Sociologists studying institutions highlight that an institutional arrangement may not be set up without arrangements and settlements over the distribution of prescribed roles (Hmed, Laurens, 2010). From that perspective, resistance and protest appear to be the most important keys to understand social organization. The forms of resistance that are developed may help highlighting power relationships.Generally, it is not easy to point out some kind of consistent and organized resistance (Cefaï, 2009), instead we would rather be speaking of know-how (de Certeau, 1990), of circumvention, avoidance, piracy (Keucheyan, Tessier, 2008), arrangements, of "dwarfs without the giants" (Musiani, 2015). Online, new forms of protests emerge in response to government control and oversight of the internet (Krueger, 2008 ; MacKinnon, 2012). Some of these forms may involve public and visible statements (mediactivism (Cardon & Granjon, 2013)), while others in turn would focus on anonymity and concealing. They may be conceptualized following the same patterns as traditional, non ICT-mediated activism as well as using recent ones inspired by online figures. Sociologists who study internet cite pirates in particular, as persons whose activities are focused essentially on circumvention (Auray, 2009). These new pirates have a technical approach, they exploit computers, servers, and networks, (Keucheyan, Tessier, 2008), taking advantage of interstices, areas where the state is not present. It is therefore important when analyzing online to give particular attention to technical objects themselves, i.e. the infrastructure internet is based upon (Bowker, Star, 1999 ; Lessig, 1999 ; Barthe, Lascoumes, Callon, 2001 ; Benvegnu, 2011 ; Abbate, 2012; Musiani et al. 2015). From that point of view, resistance takes multiple and evolving forms, which are constantly being reinvented. In the present socio-technical environment, these forms of resistance interplay with the structure of transnational networks (Tarrow, 2005 ; Agrikoliansky, Fillieule, Mayer, 2005).

How to analyze online resistance to legal constraints in the case of Russia? Academic research has has relatively neglected this topic . Our project fills this gap in an innovative way. Previous exploratory surveys conducted in Russia by research project members show that individual strategies for circumventing online constraints are implemented in conjunction with collective actions to protest such forms of control. In a political context characterized by the restriction of freedom of speech and of assembly (**Daucé**, 2016) as well as by State-directed ideological pressure (Kiriya, Sherstoboeva, 2015), internet users are implementing resistance-oriented innovations. This turns Russia into a live laboratory for new forms of online resistance. Insofar as in recent years Western democracies such the US, UK, Spain, and Greece have been concerned by comparable cycles of dissent/repression/circumvention (**Casilli** & Tubaro, 2012; González-Bailón & Wang, 2016), the study of Russian resistance can provide a fresh perspective on the dialectic between internet freedom and political control. In the face of receding democratic pluralism, the political dimension of internet oversight becomes all the more apparent In the case of Russia, this leads to emergence of circumvention strategies which should be documented and studied. Local instances of resistance may be linked to overall political developments. The Pirate party, created in Sweden in 2006 to defend online freedoms, has a Russian branch since 2009. In the same fashion, strategies of individual circumvention borrow from existing practices abroad, a notable example being the spreading in Russia of TOR software and of encrypted personal communication networks. Russia is therefore a priority area to study adversarial online behaviors it contemporary world.

**A grammar of Russia's internet resistance**

Online resistance in Russia is characterized by a large spectrum of behaviors, ranging from most open public statements, to highly concealed circumvention strategies, as well as mixed approaches, drawing from protests or adaptation, loyalty or discreet criticism. By studying these new behaviors, our research project sets to analyze the grammar of the public good they foster (Boltanski, Thévenot, 1991), on one hand, and the various protest-driven subjectivities that lead to such behaviors, on the other. Should we interpret these as a democratic, legal and rational project to protect fundamental rights? Are we witnessing the birth of new strategies of defense of individual vested interests? Do such behaviors embody a desire of integration into the global society? Or are they, on the opposite, fueling new forms of national particularism? As our project is not predicated on the idea that any form of online resistance activity is inherently democratic, it opens up to the whole spectrum of political affiliations of online social actors. To achieve a deeper insight, a study of online resistance communities focusing on their participants will help us understand the motives underlying these new social activities and the modalities of circumvention of online constraints.

***Individual ruses and collective struggles for online freedom***

In recent years, innovative studies have been addressing the circumvention activities internet developed by users to counter new constraints and internet regulations. Kerr, Lucock and Steeves (2009) also highlight the importance of anonymity in protecting participants in online communities. Howe and Nissenbaum (2008) analyze and test new tools aimed at avoiding online surveillance. As a part of this project, we would like to document the ways in which these new techniques to access contents, interact with peers, and processing information are being used. Beyond the technical means employed (such as anonymization, obfuscation, etc.), we propose to analyze the adoption of circumvention techniques by a wider public. Beyond the circles of IT-savvy hackers, are average internet users familiar with such tools? How are these innovations and alternative skills spread among a larger internet public? How are they adopted and how do they evolve? This topic is of paramount importance in the context of Russian society, where political pressure is more evident than in Western countries, and incites a multitude of creative alternatives. New evidence-based research presently tries to provide answers to these research questions (**Ermoshina**, 2013). The fieldwork designed to take place in the context of this research project, will draw inspiration from research in the field of Science and Technology Studies (STS) touching on user involvement in innovation (Pinch et Oudshoorn, 2003; Akrich, 1998). Our research approach will also explore the role of citizen media and civil society associations in disseminating alternative digital practices in a constrained online environment.

***Connected exiles and the flow of resistant social actors***

Since the beginning of the 2000s, an increase in political pressure within Russia brings about a response in form of new political diasporas. Historical sociology of Russian migrations has a wealth of examples of subjects of the Czar and later citizens of the USSR going into exile (Gousseff, 2008). Following the demise of the USSR, patterns and trajectories of Russian migration have changed (de Tinguy, 2004). Russians living abroad belong to a wide range of social groups and political currents (**Bronnikova**, 2015, 2016 ; Byford, 2014). In an interconnected world, such geographic movements create a networking space, in which they contribute to transfers and flows. Following the seminal work of Diminescu (2008) on “connected migrants”, our project aims to study population flows in conjunction with flows of data and technological know-how. Russian internet is developed from within Russia but also in different political and technological environments abroad, where the actors of the Runet are present and participate in innovation. They become the proxies or the brokers in the process of online transformation as they carry a dual online culture, Russian and informed by their host country, likely to enrich both Runet and the wider internet. In the field of sociology of migrations, this skills circulation has been the subject of several studies (Nedelcu, 2003, 2009 ; Meyer, 2013). The "technologies of presence" (**Casilli**, 2012; Milne, 2010), "connected presence" (Licoppe, 2012) and across-the-border practices rendered possible thanks to new technologies (Georgiou, 2002 ; Nedelcu, 2010 ; Vertovec, 2009 ; Castells, 2008 ; Portes, 1999) lead us to rethink the very concept of "brain drain" when Russian tech professionals are concerned. While there is a large quantity of studies on the use of ITCs by "scientific and technological diasporas" to the benefit of socio-economical development in their countries of origin (Barré, Hernandez, Meyer, Vinck, 2003 ; Meyer, 2008 ; Hanafi, 2005 ; Smith, 2004), the subversive potential brought about by the ICT's, especially by the internet, for political change in countries of origin has been studied to a lesser extent (however, see Lecompte, 2009 for Tunisia; for Iran, Graham, Khosravi, 2002; for Haiti, Parham, 2004; for Tamil people Whitaker, 2004).

 Journalists working for Russian-speaking online media (Meduza, grani.ru, Russian expatiate journalists living in the EU, USA or Israel), bloggers having been granted asylum abroad, self-exiled software developers and tech entrepreneurs (such as Pavel Durov, the iconic founder of the social platform VKontakte and of the encrypted instant messaging software Telegram), are not expatriates in a sense as being excluded from Russia's political life: on the contrary, they are actively engaging from abroad in the resistance against government-imposed restrictions on online freedoms. Internet allows indeed to maintain contact between populations in the country and those who emigrated (Nedelcu, 2010 ; Diminescu, 2005), who together participate in trans-border online activism (Geoffray, 2015). The growth of internet and of digital media has profoundly changed the way web professionals work, to the point of blurring traditional space and time boundaries, by allowing these professionals, their publics, and even their publishers a higher degree of flexibly in choosing their geographic location. However, expatriation only partially offsets political pressure, since the work of these media is still part of Russian national context. While expatriated journalists effectively escape the risk of physical persecution (numerous cases of assault against journalists have been reported in Russia), as well as that of arbitrary decisions by the shareholders close to the country's political leadership to completely replace editorial staff (lenta.ru), they still remain subject to Russia's laws as regards to blocking access to some websites.

Many studies demonstrate how the diaspora's presence on the Web has a positive influence on the emigrants' capacity for action, whereas in the past they were left "voiceless" by the dominant media in their host country (studies by: Silverstone, Georgiou, *Diasporic minorities and their media in the European Union* ; Rigoni, *Minority media* ; Diminescu, *e-Diasporas Atlas* ;Mattelart, *Médias et migrations dans l’espace euro-méditerranéen*). In the case we are dealing with, that of digital media and other web professionals, we may speak of political empowerment (Auray & Ouardi, 2014) in regard to their country of origin. This is made possible not only by their migration, but also by tge international circulation of know-how as to the technological tools to circumvent state control or even to migrate the digital infrastructure itself (e.g. content mirroring and data hosting on servers located outside Russia). While some research on «connected nomads» (Proulx, 2008) predicted the rise of a new era without borders and attachments, our case studies studies how peculiar forms of "geographic attachment" developed by tech professionals and internet activists towards European countries, the USA or Israel help them integrate international networks (RSF, *GlobalVoices* for blogs and various foundations and NGO's defending human rights).

***Artistic and creative resistance***

While collective efforts and technological means of circumventing state pressure within Russia or abroad provide an ideal vantage point to study resistance to new forms of domination, some other forms of resistance, more flexible and less explicit may be observed in Russian society. Since Soviet times, alternative artistic activity has been an innovative laboratory where new methods to dodge state rules were designed and experimented (**Ostromooukhova**, 2011, 2012 ; Yurchak, 2005 ; **Zaytseva** 2008, 2012a). Musical, artistic, and literary creation was based on the quest for a politically balance, on the edge between what is allowed and what is banned. In the part of Russian society having adopted internet technologies such practices are booming, and serve as a proof of new possibilities offered by new technologies to evade control or bypass rules. The study will address these new creative approaches that ignore official regulations. The world of independent publishers, in Russia (Thiesse, Chmatko, 1999) like in France (Noël, 2012, Legendre, Abensour, 2007) or elsewhere (Schiffrin, 1999, Schiffrin, 2010), has long been perceived to be hostile to the advent of ICTs. Small publishing houses tend to conflate grassroots online communities and tech giants or international publishing platforms threatening their very existence (Google, Amazon), and foster a narrative of authenticity based on their emphasized attachment to paper books and human contact as a commercial counterargument. Although reminiscent of the familiar opposition between big business and mom-and-pop’s bookshops, this frame of reference turns out to be highly inaccurate when studying the ways Russian cultural industries adapt to innovation. Recent publications (Kulezc, 2011, *The Digital South,* 2013), combining statistical data and publisher’s testimonies, show that these actors, previously seen as economically dominated, were opening up to alternative practices in the use of online tools. We are going to elaborate on this matter and demonstrate, that small independent publishers in Russia have since the 1990's drawn new energy from their interactions with online communities and that new online constraints are pushing these small actors to resist the pressure coming from tech giants, especially as far as they are partially construed as allied with the Russian regime (Soldatov & Borogan, 2015).

While the “creative industry's” business activities are not confined to areas related to the ICT's, they form one of the latter's most prominent parts according to existing international rankings (Bouquillion, 2012). After the concepts of creative industry and creative city had been imported on a wide scale, thanks to some international programs and subsequent translation of essential writings by Landry (2000) and Florida (2002), this area of thought fueled the publication since the beginning of the 2000's of a large amounts of grey literature related to various projects of debates and "know-how transfer" that took place in Moscow, Saint-Petersburg and the Northwest region, in Krasnoyarsk, Perm and other places (Belova et al., 2002), to studies on economy and management in culture and more recently to publications in the fields of urban sociology (Papushina, Matetskaia, 2012), of culture and the labor (Kuleva, 2015). In another vein, some recent publications have been addressing urban movements of the middle of the 2000's (Kleman, Mirasova, Demidov, 2010) the protests that took against election rigging (Erpyleva, Magun, 2015), to creative forms of citizen activism (**Zaytseva**, 2012b), and in particular those related to ICT use TIC (Lonkila, 2012 ; **Ermoshina**, 2013). By building upon existing research that has up to now been done on these two subjects separately, it will be possible to study the new dynamics emerging between. We will survey the linkages and cooperation between these different sectors as well as different initiatives which can not be easily sorted into one of these categories, that combine to various degrees some "artistic", "urban" or "citizen" involvement and carry both activist and business values. By explaining such kind of hybrid logic and intermingling of different actors from different backgrounds, that may otherwise appear surprising, will allow us to understand a complex society where different innovations and international trends rapidly take root and supplant each other, sign of great openness of some social groups and institutions to global trends.

**2 –** **Scientific and technical program, project organization**

 The scientific program of this project includes tree research themes, complementing each other (TASK 2, 3 and 4). TASK 1 concentrates work related to project management and the use of academic results obtained.

**TASK 1. Management du projet / Project management**

**WP 1.1 : Coordination of the research program**

**Supervisor: Françoise Daucé**

**Partners involved: 4 leaders, 1 by theme:** CERCEC (F. Daucé), Eur’Orbem (B. Ostromooukhova), Telecom Paristech (A. Casilli), ILCEA4 (O. Bronnikova)

**Deliverables**

* Coordination of work progress on all three themes (during the whole period)
* Organization of kick-off day (T3)
* Organization of project seminars every two months (or 6 per year from T1 to T36)
* Collective work on one issue of a reference journal in Russian studies (e.g. one issue of *Europe-Asia Studies* (T 24)
* Participation in international congresses (e.g., Association for the study of East European societies congress in the USA) (T 34)
* Online meeting to evaluate the results and discuss perspectives for follow-up (T 36)
* Concluding conference (T 38)
* Preparing and submitting a collective issue of one journal on new digital cultures (e.g. one issue of New Media and Society http://nms.sagepub.com/ or RESET http://reset.revues.org/) (T 42).

The project will be carried out by the 4 partners under the coordination of Françoise Daucé. Having a rich experience in research project coordination and conference organization she will be in charge of coordinating the whole team and keeping track of work progress. Members of the team are based in research institutions in Paris and Grenoble. It is a closely knit work group, that will be in touch via e-mail and hold meetings on a regular basis. The synergy of the teams will be reinforced by collaborative work on documents online, in order to speed up dissemination, discussion and testing of the results on program's each stage. All participants in the project will also benefit from the assets of their host institutions (EHESS, Telecom Paris Tech, Paris IV University and University of Grenoble). Each of these institutions provides a very enabling work environment, both in terms of logistics and premises.

Project's coordination team will be assisted by **two post-doctoral researchers,** who are enrolled for the first two years of the project (Anna Zaytseva from T1 to T 12 and Ksenia Ermoshina from T 13 to T 24). These two post-doctoral researchers, who are also members of the research project, will play a crucial role in following the development and execution of the project during its first two years, as this will be the most intense period of data gathering and implementation of its processing. They will participate in collecting of empirical data, its processing and the development of the scientific tools needed to analyze it. They will also provide help with the logistics for research missions abroad, organization of seminars, study days and other work meetings. They are both fluent in Russian and French and have a good knowledge of English, thus contributing to international outreach of the project. They will assist team leaders and help maintain contacts between researchers and outside partners. Members of the project will help them integrate into the research community and prepare their future scientific career. After the termination of their post-doctoral contracts, they will stay in the project as full member in the quality of researchers.

The coordination team will take special care in organizing cross-cutting scientific activities during the whole project. A seminar will be held monthly where results will be presented and discussed. Annual study days will be the opportunity to exchange on the subjects with colleagues from other countries. A concluding conference will be instrumental for further use of the results obtained. Studies that will be done by the participants to cover three research Themes will be included in joint publications by the collective (issues in international journals, participation in congresses, publication of a coauthored book).

**WP 1.2. Coordination of online activities**

**Supervisor: Antonio Casilli**

**Partners involved:** 4 leaders, 1 by theme: CERCEC (F. Daucé), Eur’Orbem (B. Ostromooukhova), Telecom Paristech (A. Casilli), ILCEA4 (O. Bronnikova)

**Deliverables:**

- An online web environment for the project (designed between T1 and T12; active between T13 and T 42)

- An internal multi-part workshop “Digital studies” during the first year of the project, monthly (T1 to T 12)

The project will develop specific interent tools for the study of online resistance. This idea is based on the assumption that online resistance constitutes a long-term phenomenon. The analysis of such new activities should be done within an argumented and informed public debate. Building upon the study of the case of Russia, we wish to make a contribution to this debate within an open (*open access*) and high quality (in order to avoid any ill-intended contribution to the website) framework. We propose to create a website in three languages: French, English and Russian. This website is intended at the same time as a tool to make the results of our research visible and useful, but also as an educational and analytical tool for a public of students and researchers specializing in fields such as Internet Studies, STS, sociology of the media, sociology of contemporary Russia, digital law, East European and Russian Studies.

During the first year of the project, Antonio Casilli will chair a multi-part workshop which is intended to help members of the team acquire familiarity with specific tools to analyze online data and to describe online controversies. Together with Ksenia Ermoshina, A. Casilli has been coordinating a course on “Innovation and controversies" at Telecom Paristech and at the Ecole des Mines Paris, as well as one on “Online activism” . Moreover, they are thus both familiar with the tools for online exploration and analysis needed to implement the project's online inquiries.

Website development and contents will be implemented by **a research engineer** who will work part-time during the whole project (from T1 to T 42). The engineer's skills in web development and social sciences will ensure the practical realization of the platform designed by the team’s researchers. This position will be listed on Euraxess Job.

The platform, will include:

- A **collaborative workspace** where the project participants can to share contributions and compare fieldwork notes and preliminary analyses. A blog area may eventually be added, to keep record of the news in connection with the project such as anti-piracy lawsuits, controversies related to website blocking etc. It will be a very useful space since it will both give visibility to the ongoing research as well as serve as a room to discuss ideas that may be expanded in further academic publications.

- Publications of **resources developed during this research** that may be useful in the open debate on phenomena of online resistance including:

o **Documentation on the history** of the russian Web, its main players and reference websites. Being very recent, its history has not yet been described in a systematic fashion, while it constitutes a prerequisite to grasp the issue of online resistance. This category of the website will trace the history of free Internet in Russia. This part of the website will keep historical accounts of online innovation and freedoms that took place in Russia and will also showcase the historically situated and ephemeral nature of these innovations as faced with an increasing regulation of online activities.

o **Legal resources** where existing and planned Russian Internet law will be laid out as well as international agreements States are subject to. This category will track the recent evolutions of Russian Internet regulations in the form of an interactive commented historical timeline. This timeline will include not only law that already took effect, but also alternate projects, reform proposals coming from groups of Internet users or from "opposition" political parties.

* **Cartographic resources**: Inspired by the “Cartography of controversies" method, devised in the Center of Innovation Sociology (Centre de sociologie de l’innovation, CSI), we propose publication of interactive cartography allowing researchers, students or interested members of the public to explore changes that happened to russian Internet as a consequence of recent legislation and restrictions. The Cartography of controversies method goes beyond a purely geographic approach to cartography, being based on the mapping of major players and challenges. Cartography is recognized as an educational tool and as an innovative way to visualise scientific research results. We will publish a cartography of actors of the Runet, of circulations and migration flows and of new online practices.

The website as a whole will be under scientific supervision of project members, who will take part of its "**editorial board**" in order to guarantee an accurate content and respect of ethical standards as regards dissemination of such information.

**2.2. Description des travaux par axes scientifiques / Description by task**

**TASK 2: 1 - Techniques of internal resistance**

**Supervisor: Françoise Daucé**

**Partners involved:** CERCEC (F. Daucé), Telecom Paris Tech (A. Casilli, K. Ermoshina), ILCEA4 (A. Kondratov)

**WP 2.1 : Governance of the Runet: a material and legal history**

**Deliverables:**

* Legal resources: A database of Russia's Internet-related legislation (fed all along the project's timeline to serve as a reference to project participants) will include existing and prospective legislation and published on the website. (T1 to T 36)

The first part of the study will address the techniques of online resistance. Indeed, the 2000 have been marked by a great freedom of digital innovation. Technical constraints on the development of the Internet went largely unnoticed by its users during those years, in Russia and most of Western countries alike. Starting from the beginning of the 2010's, the Russian government imposes regulations that affect, depending on circumstances, different technical aspects the Web is based on. In a game opposing coercive control and navigation freedom, they become apparent. These regulations are at the same time diverse, complex and incomplete. No systematic filtering policy has been enacted in Russia's Internet. From the end of the 2000's Roskomnadzor, government body in charge of communications oversight, sees his legal powers rapidly increase (control of online content, blocking websites, keeping a register of blocked websites). However, such administrative controls are impossible to exercise without involvement of other Internet stakeholders. Thus, Internet service providers, far from being purely technical, "neutral" players, are participating to a growing degree in the controls of the content of the Russian Web. They play the middleman between Roskomnadzor and the owners of “controversial” websites. Several information websites focused on socio-political topics (*grani.ru*, *kasparov.ru* or *ej.ru*) have not been blocked by Internet service providers as a result. The blocking was requested by Roskomnadzor and was implemented by blocking IP addresses or domain names (DNS blocking, consisting in tampering with the naming system that allows to locate other computers or services in the Internet (Musiani, F., 2012).

In the same fashion, political considerations are having an impact on algorithms used in search engines such as Yandex.ru or Google, but also the very recent Russian search engine called Sputnik. Without actually removing or blocking “controversial” websites, these algorithms are playing in the visible and invisible spectrum, being able to hide some information or certain players privileging others in the results (dereferencing or unranking) as shown by Roskomnadzor seeking en 2015 to tighten control the way news portal Yandex Novosti (News) works. Before the survey on protest and resistance starts, this first part of the project will address the state of affairs of the current legal and technical measures to control content on russian Web. This will help understand the links between resistance and circumvention practices and the *reality* of Runet. **Work Package 1** will address legal and technical framework of Runet. We will trace the evolving contours of Russia's Internet governance through an analysis of the country's Internet law and, where possible, by surveying different actors taking part in regulation (MP's involved in State Dumas telecommunication committee, Roskomnadzor officials, Internet service providers…). We will also question the complex relationship between law and technical algorithms, (Brousseau, E., M. Marzouki & C. Méadel, 2012, Musiani, F. 2013; Lenglet, 2011), relationships between privacy and security, and the new challenges in the field of international law and fight against terrorism that arise due circumvention and encryption technologies.

**WP 2.2. and WP 2.3. Circumvention techniques: from *ad hoc* tricks to politisation**

**Deliverables of WP 2.2 and 2.3:**

* Surveys in Russia: in Moscow (where Pirate party, Roskomsvoboda, *Teplitsa Socialnyh Tehnologiy are based); in Saint-Petersburg; in Kazan (branch of Pirate party), in Voronezh (Center for protection of media rigths)* in order to collect necessary data (testimonies, observations, archives) wor WP2 and WP3. (T 1 to T 30)
* WP 2.2. Field reports, analysis of testimonies from users and graphic visualization of patterns of use of online resistance techniques. (T18)
* WP 2.3. Field report and mapping of stakeholders (associations, NGO's, advocacy groups) partaking in the struggle for a free RuNet, that will be published on project's website. (T18)
* Study day in Moscow and a workshop with the association Teplitsa (T11)

WorkPackages 2.2 and 2.3 will consist in an analysis and description of the forms of online circumventing and resistance emerging in reaction to restrictions of freedom in the Inernet in Russia. As a matter of fact, each form of blocking described above (by IP address or DSN, by blocking access to server or “unranking”) leads to the emergence of a circumvention technique. To keep analysis easier, we will make the distinction here between two modes these circumvention practices exist in: individual ones and collective, or istitutionalized ones. The back and forth switching between personal tricks and collective and activist movements will be taken into account as fitting into our survey. The two WP's, one addressing personal tricks and *knowledge* and the other, the claims and collective studies done by associations, will therefore complement each other and will allow to sort innovation according to user, its circulation, circumvention practice sharing, publicization, institutionalization and politisation.

**WP 2.2. Personal circumvention techniques**

"Personal" methods of circumvention are those tricks and workarounds, invented by Internet users: by fiddling with various tools and practices this inventive craftwork allows them, on an individual scale, to access blocked sites, to read "forbidden" information, to avoid leaving traces. Such tricks and workarounds (De Certeau) are circulated in the form of advice, shared on forums or social networks. Such individual resistance requires users to develop advanced IT skills. Such forms are of great variety and rapidly adapt to newly adopted restrictions. For example, to circumvent IP address blocking, the use of software such as TOR or of CDN services such as Cloudflare or the likes is advised in order to access blocked site. “Anonymizing”, tools such as sites hideme.ru, cameleo.ru and others are used too. For those who need to simply consult a text from a blocked site (without possibility of downloading anything or post messages on the website) the advice is to use Internet archives (archive.org, archive.is, or versions stored by Google). The question of online surveillance a,d tracking is another challenge and forces the users to adopt new practices of online communication. This includes among others, the use of encryption tools such as PGP, or of applications like Enigmail, Cryptocat, Telegram, Signal and other encrypted messaging software. We can also observe some odd DIY practices meant to protect privacy, such as duct taping one's webcam for example. Internet users develop practices of avoiding tracking and access to personal information by using "anonymous" search engines such as DuckDuckGo, and of resisting to economic dominance by using Ad blocking software, controlling cookie policy and so on. All these different and dynamic practices appear as a direct response to legislation adopted. They follow a virus vs. antivirus dialectic and are constantly adapted to new laws with new technical and legal workarounds invented. These trick bring new challenges to Russian legislators, who attempt to respond in kind. In this vein, laws banning the use of anonymizers or against mirrors of Web sites were drafted beginning 2016 but to this day have not been adopted due to lack of legal clarity.

**WP 2.3: Collective mobilization and struggle for the Runet**. **When "art of doing” becomes politicized**

"Collective" of "Institutional" means of evasion are those that are not limited to a use by individuals separately, and are an attempt to engage in public and political action. Associations of users have been created to denounce blocking policies and promote ways to circumvent them: Pirate Party of Russia, association of defense of the Internet (*Roskomsvoboda*), a site monitoring domain blocking (*Rublacklist*), “Association of Users of the Runet” (<http://freerunet.ru/>; the head of the Association is also the director of Wikimedia Russia), association “The Fight for Runet” (*Bitva Za Runet,* [*http://zarunet.org/*](http://zarunet.org/)*)*, movement for a copyright reform “*Pora Menyat Copyright*” (<http://changecopyright.ru/>), *RosKomZakon ((*[*http://roskomzakon.ru/*](http://roskomzakon.ru/)*),* a citizen discussion platform dedicated to fighting "anti-piracy" laws, *Openrunet.org* project and many others. While some focus on political campaigning against restrictions in the RuNet (such as “*Bitva Za Runet*” who launched a petition online for the withdrawal of the law), others are specializing in promoting methods to circumvent blocks among Runet users. In this latter category we can find the site “Openrunet.org” that provides a very easy manual and explains to the visitors, how to obtain access to blocked content “in 3 stages”. These various initiatives maybe covered by online media, including the sites that were blocked. As an example, grani.ru carries campaigns to promote such techniques among its users.

Other organizations have been formed to promote citizen technologies on a more general scale (civic tech) and raise awareness among Russian internet users, particularly those engaging in activism (advocacy, human rights), of the importance to protect personal data, of using encryption software. Among them, the most influential one is “Teplitsa Sotsialnyh Tehnologiy” (“Greenhouse of Social Technologies", te-st.ru). It is a Moscow-based NGO, which works since 2012 to “create bridges” (in their own terminology) between programmers and activists, hackers and NGO's. “Teplitsa” organizes civic hackathons (developers' contests to create prototypes of digital solutions for social problems), *barcamps* (an alternative form of conference popular among hackers, where a partici participatory and collaborative generation of knowledge is being preached, and monopolies on technical and political expertise disputed). This kind of events takes place on a regular basis and will allow us to observe the world of Russian programmers, hackers and DIYers bricoleurs (“makers”) collaborating with civil society representatives. This field has already been partly described by Ksenia Ermoshina, whose thesis' was addressing the subject of “civic hackers” citizen web and mobile applications developed in Russia. She has among other things observed several civic hackathons in Russia in order to analyze “coding” of society's problems.

All the projects mentioned above are interlinked, sometimes launched by the same persons, sometimes working in close collaboration. It will be useful to cartography this galaxy of projects, which geneerates a network of close interactions not only of NGO's with associations, but also with websites distributing torrents such as “*Rutracker*” (which contains the biggest collection of torrent files and was blocked in 2016), *Seedoff.tv*, *Torrentom.com*, with collaborative online encyclopedias such as Lurkmore, that has been blocked as well, (<http://lurkmore.to/>), with news sites such as Openinform (<http://openinform.ru/>). The first map produced within the work on Theme 1 will show the linkages between Runet activist players (Roskomsvoboda, Bitva Za Runet etc) and those who produce content online (such as torrent trackers or wikis). This will strongly link together the Themes 1 and 3, the latter addressing specifically online editorial activities and problems related to blocks in Runet. This study will also pay attention to interactions that may take place between activists and political and administrative entities of Russia, in order to draw the most from the expertise and insights by these activists working in the field. These often neglected aspects will contribute to the articulation of WP1 and WP2).

**TASK 3: Resistance from abroad and circulation of resistance practices.**

**Supervisor: Olga Bronnikova**

**Partners involved:** CERCEC (I. Chupin), Telecom Paris Tech (A. Casilli, K. Ermoshina), ILCEA4 (O. Bronnikova, V. Kossov)

 Legal and technical constraints have an increasing pressure on the framework of Russia's Web (see WP 2.1), provoking circumvention strategies (WP 2.2) or collective statements (WP 2.3) by users of the Web. They however also create the phenomenon of exile, especially among professionals of the web. This particularly true for journalists of online media, unable to carry on with their work. This part of the project will address this subject. Emigration of journalists from Russia is not something new. In the years of the USSR a certain quantity of dissenting journalists had to leave the country due to political persecution (de Tinguy, 2004). In the beginning of the 2000's and since, this exile has a paradoxical feature, as while dissenters are geographically outside Russian borders, they remain remotely connected to Russian digital space. From this position of "connected outsiders" they become actors of transfers and circulation well beyond the country's borders.

**Deliverables of WP 3.1 and 3.2 :**

* Research missions in Europe, the USA, and in Israel. (T1 to T 30)
* Realization of a cartography of expatriate digital media (T18) and of interconnectedness of such medias and other major international players on the Web (T 18)
* Study day «Digital media in exile: a comparative approach to diaspora's media and exiled russian media" in cooperation with the participants of e-Diasporas Atlas, specialists of Russian diaspora's media and CEFR Moscow. (T 18)

**WP 3.1: Connected exiles**

This theme will be a study of expatriated Russian online journalists (living in the EU, USA or Israel) who continue to position themselves as actors in the Russia's media market rather than actors in one or several diasporas. No research has been done to date that would address the question of Russian media outlets and their journalists exiled from the country bu still publishing from abroad (which does not exclude the existence of an audience of expats), thus taking part in resistance to constraints imposed by Russian authorities.

This project aims to go deeper into the question of the trajectories and mobile careers of the journalists who emigrate. A number of Russian journalists had to leave the country not by choice, but because the conflict in Ukraine led in 2014 to a closures of several websites by Roskomnadzor. These closures rendered further functioning of these sites economically non-viable (Chupin 2014, Daucé 2014) something that pushed certain journalists to emigrate, as it happened with Grani.ru in France of Meduza in Riga, which will be the subject of an ethnographic study within this project. Expatriation did not free the journalists from state control completely, but allowed them to gain more autonomy in their editorial choices, since the ability of Russian power to nominate the management of the media (the case of Lenta.ru), including those with an overt capitalistic business model, remains limited.

These expatriate media play a role in the general development of a Russian digital media space, and in creation of new forms of resistance to pressure exercised by the Russian State. They may serve as an example to others. First exploratory surveys tend to show, that expatriation is a resource for some of these journalists, who receive funding, used to enable them to circumvent Russia's censorship by deploying “mirrors” on platforms such as Amazon. This is also made possible with the help of “Reporters sans frontières” association, who has already experimented that technique with Chinese bloggers and journalists. The possibility to modify IP address data of persons in Russia who are thus able to falsely pretend they live abroad allows these media to keep a public in Russia and circumvent website blocking as this happened with Grani.ru.

The expatriation of the actors of Russian Web allows the realization of some media and technical experiments. The controversial case of such circulations of tools and tricks is represented by Telegram, a mobile app; it was invented by Pavel Durov, who was forced to leave Russia because of problems he had with his social network Vk.com (Vkontakte, russian equivalent of Facebook). He had refused to cooperate with the FSB by blocking some user groups that the Russian government judged extremist. Telegram, his new project, is an encrypted messaging app, that stirred controversy in the press on worldwide level. This app has actually the reputation of being used by ISIS (“Daesh”) terrorist group. Pavel Durov refused to cooperate with European and US security services, underlining that "encryption technology may not be used selectively only for some people", from “a mathematical point of view it is impossible to create an exception for one specific group of users" he added. These encryption and anonymization techniques have been largely covered and promoted by Russian journalists living outside Russian borders.

These media mobilization for the freedom of Internet in Russia articulates with international campaigns led by Amnesty International or “Reporters sans frontières”. An international circulation of circumvention techniques is thus spread. For example the international collectives “Front Line” and “Tactical Technology Collective” (<https://tacticaltech.org/>) have branches in Russia and they have published a guidebook called “Security-in-the-Box” (<https://tacticaltech.org/projects/security-box>), translated into Russian. The definition of the problematic of circulation of circumvention tools and techniques creates a dialogue between TASKS 2 (resistance inside the country) and 3 (resistance from abroad).

**WP 3.2. Circulations of digital models**

Mobility of Russian Web players makes them into innovators and couriers, interconnected between Russian an international digital worlds. Do journalists switch to international writing and publishing practices, or quite the contrary, stay limited by political framework of the russian market, and engage in various forms of self-censorship? Do the models remain national or become hybrid? Exile may mean adopting newer editorial practices, more likely to be influenced by examples of successful media from the English-speaking world. Exploratory surveys show that they deliberately claim to be integrated into a global digital world, a striking example is the way they position themselves and compare their media practices and formats with equivalents from English-speaking world (for example, Meduza is compared to Buzzfeed, Mediazona to Vice Magazine, etc., rather than to other russian websites). Expatriation may mean a change in editorial practice that is likely to be echoed in russian media world. From that perspective we may put to test the hypothesis according to which these websites adopt a more pro-Human Rights narrative and become more radicalized in their political commitments following expatriation. The study will address the question of the participation of these journalists in various international forums, such as RSF or Heinrich Böll, places all the more favorable to development of a pro-Human Rights ideology. (Dezalay et Garth, 1998, Dezalay, 2004). Expatriation may also bring them in closer contact with a capitalist economic model. Some projects have indeed a purely economic foundation. This is the case, for example, of Snob.ru, which brought together journalists and other members of Russia's political and economic elite, this is where the concept of “Global Russians” appeared (on Global Russians, Yelenevskaya, Protassova, 2015 ; on snob.ru, Casilli, 2012, Daucé, 2014). This intellectual and economic elite tends to separate itself from both less affluent population strata living in Russia as well as from the media produced for a disapora-based audience, drawing a picture of itself as of a directly globalized community, cosmopolitan and above attachments to one particular country (Wagner, 1998). This form of cosmopolitanism differs from the one described by Ulrich Beck (2006) or from the ideas on emancipation potential of cosmopolitanism (Harvey, 2009) by reproducing differentiation mechanisms, this time on the Web 2.0 (Casilli, 2012). Including this type of media in our study sample allows us to overcome the limits of activism alone and study how expatriation may be a source of economic opportunities too.

Experience abroad that the expatriated Runet actors have, allows them to make a comeback among the Russian public. Russian journalists abroad stay tuned to Russian media space. The public will be seen through the lens of the representation journalists will have of it (Dauvin, Legavre, 2008). This is an important point because it constitutes both a strength and a weakness for the journalists, in a sense where it is the public that enables them to eventually "sell" their website to advertisers, while in the case of activism strong rules will exist on what can and what can not be said (Szczepanski-Huillery, 2006). While the development of online publishing allows for a greater freedom for a choice of geographic location, up until bringing down previously existing barriers, traditionally limiting the journalist's profession, the question of the public (do we write for a Russian audience?) will unavoidably reproduce some constraints, that will de facto maintain dependence to a certain degree of these new media on Russia's internal media market.

**2.4. TASK 4. Creative dodging of the rules**

**Supervisor: Bella Ostromooukhova (Eur’Orbem)**

**Partners involved: Eur’Orbem (B. Ostromooukhova, A. Zaytseva), Telecom Paris TECh (K. Ermoshina)**

**Deliverables WP 4.1 and 4.2:**

- Web-cartography of clusters of publishing and artistic world (T 18)

- Study day on "cultural industries" and Web practices, a comparison of perspectives (Paris) (T23)

Beyond the coercive nature of the new constraints imposed on the Internet, some sectors, sometimes associated with "creative industries", excel in using opportunities offered by the Web in a clever and always innovative manner. They can therefore be seen as deeply (re)structuring their activities, even up to becoming conditions to appearance of some "creative" type of companies, or "start-ups", or to some activism outlets such as whistle-blowing websites or "citizen" applications.

**WP 4.1 : The world of alternative publishing online**

The area of this study will address the world of actors who publish and disseminate certain writings, who use ICT's to defend some kind of "bibliodiversity", where they take stand against growing political end economic control over published content, be it by state bodies such as (*Roskomnadzor*) by economic majors.

a) For starters we should mention online libraries (*Moshkov library, lib.ru.sec, flibusta*) who defy and attempt to circumvent the anti-piracy law backed by actors dominating this market, who at the core of their strategies in the conflict, are driven by the profits a new redefinition would entail. Detailed testimonies by the maintainers of these websites will allow to have a better picture of their motivation, personal experience and entry into the world of book professionals. We will also produce an analysis of the technological choices of these platform and of the tools they develop (for example, software bots using encrypted messenger) in the context of their fighting against the dominant players in this market. We will also address some societal actors who advocate for a softening of copyright law, such as the association of Internet publishers (*Assotsiatsia internet-izdatelei*).

b) Another field of study will consist of actors who are professionals in publishing field, despite being on its edge, we will call them actors of the new "*Samizdat*". Two types of players will be studied in this context: the auto-publishing online service *Ridero* as well as some publishing houses situated in between professional and amateur work,such as *Ill music* or *Common place*. This two types of organizations are using digital tools as workaround traditional publishing and distribution monopolies.

c) Lastly, a third field will be present in the study, in which we will address online activities of small independent bookstores, (including a new initiative called ’*Alliance des éditeurs et libraires indépendants* which is now in the process of building a web platform that would allow its users to have a powerful and relevant tool for information search, promotion and distribution) who will help us understand how traditional players adapted and could position themselves as "innovators" when faced with new digital challenges.

**WP4.2: Online artistic projects**

The second part will address the diversity of entrepreneurial initiatives, innovative and lasting to various degrees. They are often labeled "creative" or "urban" projects, because of the very high popularity in Russia since the beginning of the 2000's of Anglo-american definitions and concepts of "creative industries" (Florida 2002) or "creative city" (Landry 2000). These initiatives help forming unstructured network, that are however visible on social networks. This area will include 4 fields of study:

a) We will have a closer look on commercial and non-commercial applications of P2P technologies (a site for booking off the beaten track tours, sputnik8.com, an initiative of digital networking between yoga teachers and learners in "next door" parks of Saint Petersburg called "As you were sleeping").

b) We will study two festivals, organized through social networks, built upon the social, educational and lucrative potential of the urban environment ("Restaurant day", a festival of city tours made "by locals and for the locals called “Open map”).

c) We will address some citizen applications and websites allowing to report malfunctions of city services or aimed at improving the living environment (agains illegal parking, for creation of cycling lanes, etc.) some of which are a technological continuation of preexisting mobilization, while others were created *ad hoc*.

d) The last field will address creation and dissemination of knowledge around the topics of urban development and creative businesses (urban research done by "experts" and/or activists by Moscow-based group “Partizaning” and other groups in Moscow and Saint Petersburg, “Urban projects by Ilya Varlamov and Maksim Kats”; two courses for "creative business people" by the Online school for urban entrepreneurs “Vector”, part of Strelka Institute, and educational picnics “The grass”).

Besides their diversity of a large part of these initiatives are characterized by particular ethic and relationship to money, that are a central part even of the business courses. One should not start from a "desire to make some money", but rather from a problem, a paradox, the absence of something useful (based on field observations) then working on finding a solution to the problem. Such a solution (an original and an innovative one) would transform itself into what is called "niche market" in marketing slang, that the author of the idea would be the first to occupy ("start-up").

Another common trait of many such initiatives is the appetite for "creating movements"; to teach, explain, share experiences as widely as possible (including between cities), a process incredibly accelerated by the ICT's, but also by the very high mobility of its participants. We could also attempt to measure how different elements agreed online between amateurs play the role of *in situ* training, professional education, networking space and finally a source of professional opportunities or a launchpad for starting one's own business (restaurants, guided tours etc.). In the same vein, urban activists and citizen application developers aim to empower the citizen (by giving him possibility to participate in the solving of a problem), by giving them tools that may be used to complain to authorities and follow up on latter's work; it is achieved thanks to a mechanism of standardization, technology adoption, transforming the act of filing an official complaint into an easy task. Teams of "urbanism researchers" on the other hand, try to develop and multiply tools allowing to measure and precisely document city's malfunctions.

**Research methodology**

Research to be done within the three themes listed above will be carried out following a previously elaborated common methodology. It will include ethnographic surveys as close as possible to Russian internet players, inside or outside the country ,as well as more routine investigations, inspired by the methods of science and technology studies. In order to analyze activities of the actors of the Runet, in Russia or abroad, we will carry out in-depth interviews with resistant internet users and professional critics on the Web in different cities of Russia (Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Kazan, Voronezh, Ekaterinburg) where such critics or initiative have been identified. We will conduct ethnographic observations in the offices of the associations and media we have identified, in Russie (Teplitsa, Roskomsvoboda, Pirate party…) and abroad (the office of Meduza in Riga, the work of grani.ru redactor in chief in Paris. We will also conduct interviews with Russian journalists living abroad in different countries, in the EU, in USA and in Israel. Finally we plan to organise observing sessions during seminars, meetings and conferences organised by the NGO's and foundations for the protection of Human rights (Böll),as well as by international networks of journalists (RSF) on defense of press freedom in Russia, where journalists and other people working in Russian media abroad, (Meduza, grani.ru) their Russian counterparts (Dojd, Novaya gazeta, etc.)

 Inspiring our studies by those previously done in the field of STS (*science and technology studies*) on user involvement in innovation (Akrich, 1998; Pinch et Oudshoorn, 2003), and in sociology of habits (Proulx, 2001, 2002, 2015; Jouët, 2000, Vidal, 2012), a survey through interviews and observation will allow us to develop an analysis of "*habit careers*" in order to obtain an active and dynamic vision of the user as a creative and resourceful actor. One of the challenges is thus to be able to identify thanks tu a qualitative study, the *patterns* and the dynamics, that push Internet users to adopt different ICT techniques and tricks in a context of growing government control. The concept of career (interactionist sociology - Hughes, Becker; the concept of "militant career" was developed in the works by Eric Agrikoliansky and Olivier Filleule) allows us to identify links between the approach to the use of digital technology (installing software such as TOR or PGP, changing one's e-mail service provider, from Gmail to Enigmail or Riseup, use of encrypted chat apps such as Signal, Télégram) end events in one's biography and historical ones. Exploratory surveys in Russia have shown, that users' habits of ICT usage evolve, either as a response to events concerning them more personally (friends arrested or under surveillance for their political activities) or as a response to news (Snowden's revelations, hardening of the political regime, anti-piracy laws).

We will lead a survey among those who use alternative browsing techniques, in order to understand their habits and using practices regarding ICT's, as well as the methods they devise in order to circumvent growing restrictions on access to data online. Half-directed interviews will be conducted with those users in order to identify "key events" or “turning points” (Andrew Abbott) that led them to adopt the use of encryption software and circumvention tools, while on the other hand, to understand what are the different tricks and workarounds these users employ in order to continue accessing or producing online content despite site blocks. The users to interviews will be selected among users of webforums and chats, where these alternative practices are discussed. Some contacts have already been established by the researchers working on Theme 1 with some of the organizations involved (such as *Teplitsa Socialnyh Tehnologiy*, *Pirate party* and *Roskomsvoboda* as well as the media grani.ru) will allow us to have a fast start once on the field. We will also pay attention to the *reflexiveness* of these associations, who on their side are also doing research (in John Dewey's sense of this word) on causes and conséquences of Runet restrictions and on ways to halt this process they find harmful for Human rights and fir Internet freedoms. This new *public* formed around the subject of progressive lockdown of Internet in Russia creates knowledge that must be taken into account by researchers. For example Roskomsvoboda launched a project consisting in writing a "history of blocking the Runet" (see Roskomsvoboda's website), to produce a cartography of te blocked sites and thus create by themselves a form of collective memory, to keep the traces of the transformation of the Web and to analyze them. We will study the documents prepared by these actors in order to understand the representations they have of the problem of restrictions on RuNet.

**2.2. Task timeline**

Graphics

This project will be carried out during 42 months. The surveys planned in different themes will be carried out simultaneously (collecting testimonies, ethnographic observations, cartography and careers of use...) (T1 to T 36). All along this survey period, the research team will produce scientific knowledge on the practices of online resistance. Two methods of sharing this knowledge and engaging in scientific debates within the team have been planned: regular meetings, on one hand, common work on preparation of the project's online platform and filling it with data, on the other hand.

Regular meetings will allow the members of the project to pool together information they will have collected and discuss their conclusions. A research seminar on the subject of "Internet resistance in Russia" will take place on EHESS' premises (in order to bring together project's team, other researchers interested in the subject, as well as students) during the whole duration of the projec (T3 à T 36). Annual study days will be the organized in order to discuss results with colleagues from France and other countries (T 11, T 17, T 23). Once the project achieved, a concluding conference will take place, helping further disseminate research results. A co-authored book will also be published.

The work on the design and implementation of the online platform for the project will take place immediately. It will be online and regularly updated by project members starting in the second year of the project, in order to make those resources available to the public. During the project, it is planned to publish results in internationally recognized scientific journals. By the end of year 2 (T24) it is planned to prepare a collective issue, containing articles written by the researchers during their study, to be proposed to a specialized journal in Russian studies (Europe Asia Studies). By the end of the year 3 (T36), we will propose a collective issue to a journal specialized in digital culture (such as Reset or Digital icons).

**2.3. Feasibility in regard to methods employed and scientific risk management**

 The main risk in this project is of political nature, after we take into account the constraints present for all independent and critic activities in Russia. This political risk may hypothetically prevent the work on the project from being carried out smoothly: in the meantime associations participating in the study may be closed, websites we intend to study may be blocked, visa applications for western researchers participating may get rejected. Conscious of these political risks, we designed the project to offset them to a maximal degree and protect the activities of all the involved persons, researchers and respondents alike. Theme 1 on internal resistance is subject to these scientific risks most of all. However, existing contacts in Russia, help from local partners and the level of competence of the researchers are likely to greatly reduce these risks. Themes 2 and 3, pertaining to resistance from abroad and artistic evasion should not pose any political problem that could jeopardize the project.

The project’s feasibility is ensured by the quality of the consortium put together and the experience of
the researchers involved in this research, who have carried out surveys in Russia for many years. Besides that, a comparative approach with other areas, notably in Europe (A. Casilli, I. Chupin), is an undeniable asset of the project. Over the duration of the project, the researchers will pay particular care to clauses of ethical research. In a Russia where repression is exercised against any form of opposition, the interviews will be strictly anonymized to ensure protection for our sources. For the web platform and online museum, only publicly available sources will be used. Since some of these sources are accessible from Western servers, the project as a whole possesses the
necessary data for its completion. The consortium will comply at every stage with all the legal requirements concerning privacy and personal data protection (regulation by CNIL, European Directives (95/46/CE38)). Feasibility of the project is further ensured by the results of exploratory surveys, who allowed the team to establish contacts and collect first exploratory testimonies from actors of Russian Web, inside and outside Russia.

It is also ensured by the quality of partnerships with Russian organisations that may contribute to its realization in the field (Faculty of media and communications and Institute of historical and theoretical humanitarian research of the Higher College of Economics in Moscow, European University of Saint Petersburg, University of Tomsk, Center for Internet and society studies of New School of Economics, Moscow). Several members of the project have a previous record of collaboration with Ilya Kyria, teacher-researcher at the Faculty of media and communications of the Higher College of Economics in Moscow. Ilya Kyria took part in the conference “Publishing different”, co-organized by F. Daucé, B. Ostromooukhova, A. Zaytseva and O. Bronnikova ; he was a speaker of F. Daucé's seminar “Media and power, from USSR to Russia”; he also was on the jury panel and rapporteur during thesis presentation by A. Kondratov at GRESEC (Université Grenoble Alpes) where he had himself presented his PhD thesis on media and ICT's in post-soviet Russia in 2007. In a desire to reach out beyond Moscow and Saint Petersburg for partnerships, members of RESISTIC made connections with researchers in the field of STS and media studies at University of Tomsk, thanks to existing ties between the Faculty of media and communications of the Higher College of Economics in Moscow and the Department of journalism of University of Tomsk. In the same logic, the participation of Elena Trubinan, teacher-researcher at the University of Ural (Ekaterinburg) in the conference “Publishing different”, helped us establish contact with its Institute of social and politics studies, where research on the influence of media and ICT's on urbanism is being carried out. As part of her work on protest mobilization over the Internet during Russian elections 2011-2012, O. Bronnikova cooperated with several researchers at the Center for Internet and society studies of New School of Economics in Moscow (Floriana Fossato) on the occasion of the seminar by Observatory of Russia at CERI (Sciences Po). Science and Technology Studies Center of the European University of Saint Petersburg (Diana West) expressed its interest in cooperating with this project's members, which includes the joint organization of a conference at this university, that will aim to address methodologies used by RESISTIC members and those used by junior PhD students and researchers in the STS Center on similar subjects.

**2.4. Quality and complementarity of the consortium**

***Competence, expertise et involvement of the Scientific coordinator***

Françoise Daucé is a teacher and director at EHESS and a junior member of the Institut universitaire de France. She has the successful experience of coordinating several long team research projects. She was, among other, leading the PICS project on “Practices of patriotism in contemporary Russia” that led to a publication of a collective issue in the reference journal Europe-Asia Studies. She has been involved in research programs sponsored by ANR and Emergence. During two years (2001-2002) Françoise Daucé was Director of the French-Russian Study Center in Moscow (USR 3060). During that time she has contributed to the creation and the launch of its cooperation activities involving Russian and French researchers organization of seminars and conferences, assistance to researchers in their work, support of common French-Russian research projects, development of partnership with russian institutions. Françoise Daucé is today the director of the Center for Studies of Russia, Caucasus and Central Europe (CERCEC / UMR 80 83 / CNRS\_EHESS), one of the largest french researh units working on history and sociology of Russia. She is also the editor of the journal of comparative studies Est-Ouest (peer-reviewed journal indexed in the Web of Science). She often takes part in conferences and seminars in France and abroad. Since 2015 she organizes the seminar “Media and power, from USSR to Russia” and is a co-organizer since 2008 of the seminar “Political sociology of contemporary Russia” (together with Anna Zaytseva, among others). If RESISTIC research project is confirmed, she will allocate most of her time to research (40%), coordination of the project and other scientific work related to it.

***Quality of the consortium***

 The consortium is formed by 4 teams complementing each other, to ensure project's coherence and scientific dynamics of the project. The members of the project have already conducted scientific and university work in collaboration, which ensures their successful collaboration in the future. This project brings together a large international multidisciplinary scientific team. It will be led by a team of 9 researchers and 4 institutional partners. This team is characterized by its complementarity. It includes Russian world specialists on one hand, and specialists in the field of digital communication techniques on the other. On the side specialized in Russia, research will be conducted by researchers who are part of the Center for Studies of Russia, Caucasus and Central Europe / EHESS-CNRS and also the UMR Eur’Orbem of Paris Sorbonne University. On the side of internet specialists it will be done by members of the Interdisciplinary Institute of Innovation (i3 / Mines ParisTech, Telecom Paristech, Polytechnique) as well as by researchers from the Grenoble Alpes University. Several members of this team already had the occasion to work together, among other during the organization of the conference “Publishing different. Small publishers, independent journalists and bloggers in Russia”, organized by Olga Bronnikova, Françoise Daucé, Bella Ostromooukhova and Anna Zaytseva at EHESS on October 1st and 2nd, 2015).

***CERCEC (Team 1)***

 **Françoise Daucé** is a sociologist working on contemporary Russia, specialist of post-soviet period. Her subject of choice is the study of activism in associations in today's Russia (this works led to the publication of a book, “A paradoxical oppression. The power and associations in Russia”, 2013) and an analysis of the reconfiguration of political opposition forces (To be a political opponent in V. Putin's Russia”, 2016). She is currently working on a new research project addressing political issues related to new digital practices. Since 2015 she organizes the seminar “Media and power, from USSR to Russia” at EHESS, which addresses this kind of questions. She is well established in the circles of sociologists of Russia (projects, seminars or conferences at EHESS), and collaborates on a regular basis with many media sociologists from France (including with Ivan Chupin) and abroad. She has many contacts in Russia, who may back future cooperation. Her duties at the CERCEC offer good foothold to the project, since several researchers of the consortium are associated with the Centre (Bella Ostromooukhova and Anna Zaytseva).

**Ivan Chupin** joined the University of Versailles Saint Quentin in 2015 where he is part of the “Printemps” laboratory. He specializes in media sociology. The subject of his thesis was the socio-history of schools of journalism in France since the XIX-th century until contemporary times. At the same time he has created a research program addressing the question of journalists and their dependence upon other political and economic spheres, through the examples, among others, of specialized journalists (economic press, magazines, agricultural journalism...). His interest for the questions of dependency led him to start working, since 2010, on the case of Russia, where he studies working practices of journalists in an authoritarian context. He has published a number of articles on the relations between journalists and the military, as well as on political journalism. In 2014, he organized in collaboration with Françoise Daucé, a study day in Moscow on the subject of “transformation of the media and journalists' work in France and in Russia” where French and Russian researches specializing in media were present, Tepsis laboratory and French-Russian Research Center provided their support for the event. His experience of 4 years as an expatriate, during which he taught sociology in French University College, allowed him to organize various field studies there, during training sessions of introduction to sociology he was leading. He thus enjoys good networks there and has a well-trained eye for comparisons, which will be very useful for the project, in order to help situate russian practices in a larger context, where they make sense. For the course of the projeсt, Ivan Chupin will be working at CERCEC in collaboration with Françoise Daucé.

***Telecom Paris Tech (Equipe 2)***

 **Antonio Casilli (à compléter)**

 **Ksenia Ermoshina** is a PhD student at the Center for the Sociology of Innovation (i3, Institut Mines-Télécom) and specializes in socio-economy of innovation and sociology of science and technology. Her thesis covers such subjects as the development of digital collaborative tools, mobile and web applications based on “crowdsoucing”, collaborative production of content by users. She is interested in particular in citizen applications as a solution to public problems (corruption, rigged elections, poor rood maintenance, police violence) in her country of birth Russia. Inspired by the actor-network sociology, developed by the Center for the Sociology of Innovation as well as by the pragmatist theories, Ksenia took an interest in the question of how public problems are “put on technology”, indeed the core question in her thesis is to understand how public problems experienced somewhere are being formalized as computer code, and what does that code do for citizen engagement. A big amount of attention is given to the devices, to the interfaces and architectures of these digital tools. As part of her fieldwork in Russia and in France, Ksenia Ermoshina conducted ethnographic studies among coding professionals, through observation done in the offices where developers work, during hackatons (software developer contests) and at hackers' conferences. She could learn some IT skills and develop her knowledge in the field of ditigal humanities). Her PhD thesis is now at its last stage and will be presented in autumn 2016. Ksenia Ermoshina is fluent in Russian and French, and masters English a good level (she has published articles and dispensed classes in English). Her experience of surveying programmers and Russian-speaking internet users, will enable her to contribute to the successful fulfillment of some work items under Theme 1 of the ResisTIC project. Also some fieldwork conducted by Ksenia during her thesis preparation will be reused and further expanded in the ResisTIC project. Her contacts among Russian “civic hackers” and knowledge will be useful for her contribution to the ResisTIC website and collaborative work with the study engineer.

***Eur’Orbem (Team 3****)*

 **Bella Ostromooukhova** is a sociologist working on the questions of resistance against culturally, economically, politically and symbolically dominant actors, in the USSR and in post-soviet Russia. Her thesis addresses the question of amateur theater among Soviet students between 1953 and 1975, based on a study of personal archives and testimonies of actors. This allowed her to shed light on different ways Soviet students appropriated and misused the official framework of “socially useful activities. In her current research she studies a type of actor that is on the border between professional and amateur activity: small independent publishers in today's Russia whose personal and collective forms of resistance she describes, the source of resistance being what they perceive as a dominant vision – authoritarian and neoliberal – of culture . Her research is carried out in close collaboration with French colleagues (CERCEC, LabSic), as well as with Russian partners (French-Russian Centre, IGITI). She can therefore replace her subject in a context of the resistance to new constraints in the internet, with a larger historical perspective. Her contacts on the field may also be very valuable to the project.

 **Anna Zaytseva** is a sociologist and associate member of CERCEC/CNRS/EHESS. Since the completion of her PhD in 2012, which addressed the subject of the actors, places and practices in the rock scene of Leningrad/Saint-Pétersbourg from the 1970's until the 2000's, where she discusses among other things how this contemporary music would fit into the urban landscape. Since then, she is still interested by the question of “creative industries”, “creative clusters”, re-purposing of abandoned industrial spaces linked with city planning policies and inter-city competition on a larger scale, with a comparative approach. Several of her other works touched upon the spectacular and various forms of protest and appropriation of the urban environment by artistic groups and activist groups. They coordinated through social networks and extensively used digital tools. She co-organizes since 2014 the seminar “Political sociology of contemporary Russia” at EHESS, she is a co-organizer of the conference “Publishing different. Small publishers, independent journalists and bloggers in Russia” (Paris, October 1-2nd, 2015) and of the study day “Artistic performances in the post-soviet space: a debate on artistic and activist practices.” (Paris, November 13th, 2015), she also had on many occasions worked in close collaboration with other participants in this project (Françoise Daucé, Bella Ostromooukhova, Olga Bronnikova). She will contribute to this project with her in-depth knowledge of the field and of its historical context.

**ILCEA4 (Team 4)**

 **Olga Bronnikova** is a teacher-researcher at Grenoble Alpes University (ILCEA4), associate researcher at UMR EUR’ORBEM (Paris Sorbonne University) and at UMR PACTE (Université Grenoble Alpes). Since 2007 she has been researching the subject of political engagement among Russian post-soviet emigres in the European Union and now focuses on the transnational character of political demands by immigrants from different post-soviet countries. In her thesis, done at the CREE (INALCO) and MIGRINTER (University of Poitiers), she has addressed the origins of this new mobilization of immigrants who are acting for a political change in Russia. In order to better showcase modality of their involvement, Olga Bronnikova has analyzed the profiles of these activists migrants (journalists, academia, activists in exile etc.) and the strategies they develop in order to have their voice heard in their host country, from involvement in associations of Russian immigrants, to transnational mediactivism. In order to better grasp the latter dimension she conducted a study of russian blogosphere (done for CERI, Sciences Po) and participated from France in the European project e-Diaspora Atlas from its inception. She coordinates the french side of the project ERA.NET Rus Plus “Perception of Russia across Eurasia : Memory, Identity, Conflicts” (EUR’ORBEM, Paris Sorbonne) and also takes part in the project ERA.NET Rus Plus “Russian families in different countries compared to the ethnic majority” (CERCEC, EHESS).

 **Valeri Kossov** is a teacher-researcher at the Grenoble Alpes University and also is a researcher at the Institude of Languages and cultures of Europe, America, Africa, Asia and Australia (ILCEA4) where he is in charge of the Center for contemporary Slavic Studies. After his thesis on russian federalism, presented in 1999 at the faculty of law of Pierre Mendès France University Grenoble2, published by Presses universitaires de Septentrion, his research has been focused on two main areas: on one hand, his work addresses the ways Russia's Law adopts and transposes new juridic concepts as well as the modalities of their adaptation and application in russian socio-political context, and their entrance in the new terminology, and specialized translation. On the other hand he addresses the analysis of language transformation and specialized discourse, with a special priority given to political and media discourse as well as the discourse interactions and their impact on the political and social situation of today's Russia. The last new work by Valeri Kosov was written during his preparation to his accreditation to lead research. It addresses among other the different aspects of russian government's discourse, and its impact on the image it builds of it in the media, in Russia and in Western countries.

 **Alexander Kondratov** is a researcher and ATER (Attaché Temporaire d'Enseignement et de Recherche – temporary teaching and research staff) at Grenoble Alpes university, Doctor in information science and communication. His thesis and publications address the political and social uses of the Russia's collaboratory web spaces in post-soviet Russia. Alexandr Kondratov inquires on the game and the tactics of Russian social actors who use this digital communications tools and spaces. He also studies the resistance tactics by mediactivists, present on the web in post-Soviet countries (bloggers, editors, journalists, political activists) as they are facing domination from institutional and non-institutional political actors in the public sphere of contemporary post-soviet countries. His studies show in particular how these actors manage to work around the online propaganda by the dominant media in order to maintain their visibility and recognition in the public space of post-Soviet countries and thus allow the presence in these spaces of critical discourse and of public interest debate.

**2.6. Technical and scientific substantiation of the funds requested.**

***Equipe 1 (CERCEC)***

Team 1 will be responsible for the overall project management as well as for work on scientific theme 1.

Organizing the project launch day will require a €5000 budget. The organization of the final conference after the project is completed will require a budget of € 13000 in order to be able to invite colleagues from abroad and arrange translations from/into Russian.

Françoise Daucé and Ivan Chupin will carry out two long research missions per year, in Russia and other countries (€1000 per mission, or €12 000 total over 3 years).

In order to roll out the web environment, a part-time engineer will be hired, for all its duration, who will be in charge of the design, development, filling and promotion of the web site. (Estimated cost: 76 020 euros)

La transcription des entretiens réalisés par les chercheurs, les traductions destinées à la publication en ligne des résultats et à la traduction des articles pour leur publication dans des revues de rang international nécessiteront un budget de 50 000 euros sur l’ensemble du projet.

**Equipe 2 (Telecom Paris Tech)**

L’équipe 2 sera responsable de la valorisation numérique du projet et participera aux activités de l’axe scientifique 1.

Antonio Casilli et Ksenia Ermoshina réaliseront deux missions longues de recherche par an en Russie et dans les autres pays européens (1000 euros par mission, soit un total de 12 000 sur trois ans).

Durant la deuxième année du projet, Ksenia Ermoshina, spécialiste de l’analyse des controverses et des cartographies cognitives sera recrutée en post-doctorat pour contribuer à la coordination des activités de recherche et de publication (coût évalué : 53873 euros).

**Equipe 3 (Eur’Orbem)**

L’équipe 3 sera chargée des recherches menées dans le cadre de l’axe 3 du projet (Les écarts créatifs à la règle).

Bella Ostromooukhova et Anna Zaytseva réaliseront deux missions longues de recherche par an en Russie et dans les autres pays européens (1000 euros par mission, soit un total de 12 000 sur trois ans).

Durant la première année du projet, Anna Zaytseva, spécialiste des enquêtes ethnographiques et de l’étude des milieux créatifs alternatifs en Russie sera recrutée en post-doctorat pour contribuer à la coordination des activités de recherche et de publication (coût évalué : 53873 euros).

L’équipe 3 sera chargée de l’organisation de l’une des journées d’étude du projet en Russie (coût estimé de 8 000 euros).

Elle organisera aussi la participation des membres du projet aux colloques internationaux dans nos disciplines (coût estimé : 10 000 euros) pour l’ensemble du projet.

**Equipe 4 (ILCEA4)**

L’équipe 4 sera responsable de l’axe 3 du projet scientifique (Les résistances depuis l’étranger).

Olga Bronnikova, Aleksandr Kondratov et Valeri Kossov réaliseront deux missions longues de recherche par an en Europe, aux Etats-Unis et en Israël notamment (1500 euros par mission, soit un total de 27 000 sur trois ans).

L’équipe 4 sera chargée de l’organisation de deux journées d’étude du projet, l’une en France, l’autre en Russie (montant estimé de 10 000 euros).

Les transcriptions d’entretiens et les traductions réalisées pour cette équipe s’élèveront à 5000 euros.

**3 –Dissemination and exploitation of results. Intellectual property.**

**3.1. Valorisation scientifique**

- T3 : Journée de lancement du programme de recherche

- T12 : Site internet de mutualisation, formalisation et publication des résultats (coordination A. Casilli, assisté des deux chercheurs post-doctoraux successivement recrutés et de l’ingénieur de recherche)

- T 15 : Journée d’étude en France (TASK 3)

- T.21 : Journée d’étude en Russie (TASK 4)

- T. 22 : Participation au Congrès de l’ASEES aux Etats-Unis

- T. 24 : Proposition d’un numéro collectif de revue pour Reset ou Digital Icons

- T.27 : Journée d’étude (TASK 3)

- T. 33 : Journée d’étude (TASK 4)

- T.36 : Colloque international

- T 42 : Proposition d’un numéro collectif dans une revue internationale de sciences sociales

Ce projet de recherche permettra la structuration d’un pôle scientifique de référence sur les questions de résistances en ligne en France. La visibilité de l’équipe scientifique sera assurée par sa présence physique et numérique sur les grands espaces de débats académiques. Les séminaires et colloques, ouverts à l’ensemble de la communauté scientifique, permettront la valorisation des travaux menés. L’étroite collaboration avec des partenaires universitaires (en France, en Russie et dans les pays anglo-saxons) favorisera un large écho des travaux scientifiques réalisés. Ces travaux feront l’objet d’une diffusion trilingue (anglais / russe / français). L’information sur le site Internet et les résultats du projet sera diffusée sur les listes de diffusion académique et universitaire, nationales et internationales, en français, en russe et en anglais. Les résultats scientifiques du projet feront l’objet de publications dans les revues académiques les plus réputées en sociologie politique et en science de l’information et de la communication au niveau international. Deux numéros collectifs de revue seront proposés (T. 24 et T.36) pour valoriser les résultats des membres du projet. Les porteurs du projet feront la promotion de ses principaux résultats par l’intermédiaire de panels lors des grands congrès internationaux (ASEES ; AISP …).

**3.2. Valorisation pédagogique**

- T3 – T 36 : Début du séminaire mensuel « Résistances numériques et culture politique en Russie », à l’EHESS (1 séminaire / mois pendant trois ans)

- T3 – T12 : Séminaire de formation sur les sociologies du numérique, animé par Antonio Casilli

- A partir de T 12 : Valorisation des ressources en ligne

Les activités menées dans le cadre du projet seront valorisées dans le cadre des séminaires organisés à l’EHESS et ouverts aux étudiants de master et de doctorat. Le séminaire « Médias et pouvoir, de l’URSS à la Russie », animé par Françoise Daucé, qui hébergera le séminaire du projet est ouvert aux étudiants de master et de doctorat de l’EHESS et à ceux des autres établissements parisiens en auditeurs libres. Il permettra la diffusion des avancées de la recherche et la formation par la recherche des étudiants. Le séminaire sur les cultures du numérique animé par Antonio Casilli pourra s’ouvrir au cas russe dans le cadre de ce projet. Les résultats du projet seront aussi valorisés dans le cadre des différents enseignements universitaires dispensés par les enseignants-chercheurs impliqués (Olga Bronnikova et Valeri Kossov à l’Université de Grenoble, Ivan Chupin à l’Université Versailles Saint-Quentin en Yvelines, Bella Ostromooukhova à l’Université Paris Sorbonne).

**3.3. Valorisation grand public**

- Partenariat avec les associations Teplitsa et Roskomsvoboda en Russie.

- T.9 : Woskshop à Moscou avec Teplitsa (TASK 2)

- Tout au long du projet : partenariat avec l’association GRANI en France (présidée par la journaliste Ioulia Berezovskaia dont le site est bloqué en Russie).

- T. 36 : Soirée grand public de présentation des résultats du projet (en plus du colloque final) avec l’association Grani à Paris

 Le projet aura des répercussions sociales fortes, auprès des acteurs de la société civile, en France et en Russie. Par des partenariats avec des acteurs du monde associatif et médiatique (en Russie et en France), il permettra la diffusion à un large public des données et des analyses sur les résistances en ligne qui concernent la société civile et les engagements citoyens dans leur ensemble. Une attention toute particulière sera accordée à la restitution des enquêtes réalisées auprès des acteurs de l’Internet russe pour favoriser les enrichissements critiques conjoints de la réflexion entre chercheurs et citoyens. La valorisation en direction du grand public du projet sera assurée par sa plateforme numérique permettant un accès libre aux résultats de la recherche (en français, anglais et russe). Les chercheurs engagés dans ce projet pourront aussi diffuser les connaissances nouvelles acquises grâce à leur expérience des collaborations avec des médias nationaux (France Culture, RFI, Le Monde, Libération, Mediapart…).

 **La pérennisation après la fin du projet**

La pérennisation des recherches réalisées dans le cadre du projet sera garantie par l’investissement durable des chercheurs impliqués dans des recherches sur la sociologie des nouvelles pratiques numériques au-delà du terme du projet. Les résultats académiques resteront accessibles grâce à leur publication dans des revues de référence. Les ressources en ligne et les données issues du projet seront conservées durablement grâce à leur stockage dans des formats pérennes sur des entrepôts de données (Humanum par exemple).

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