

Shattering the Iron Curtain

Recent Research on the ESC in Central and Eastern Europe: Bibliography

Edited by Marcin Bogucki and Jonas Vanderschuren

- Andjelić, Neven. "National Promotion and Eurovision: From Besieged Sarajevo to the Floodlights of Europe." *Contemporary Southeastern Europe* 2, no. 1 (2015): 94–109.
- Arntsen, Hilde. "Staging the Nation? Nation, Myth and Cultural Stereotypes in the International Eurovision Song Contest Finals in Estonia, Latvia and Norway." In *The Baltic Media World*, edited by Richard Bærug. Riga: independent publishing, 2005.
- Aston, Elaine Frances. "Competing Femininities: A 'Girl' for Eurovision." In Fricker and Gluhovic, *Performing the 'New' Europe*.
- Baker, Catherine. "Gender and Geopolitics in the Eurovision Song Contest: Introduction." *Contemporary Southeastern Europe* 2, no. 1 (2015): 74–93.
- Baker, Catherine. "The Molitva Factor: Eurovision and 'Performing' National Identity in World Politics." In *The Eurovision Song Contest as a Cultural Phenomenon: From Concert Halls to the Halls of Academia*, edited by Adam Dubin, Dean Vuletic, and Antonio Obregón. London: Routledge, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003188933-9>.
- Baker, Catherine. "Wild Dances and Dying Wolves: Simulation, Essentialization, and National Identity at the Eurovision Song Contest." *Popular Communication* 6, no. 3 (2008): 173–189. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15405700802198113>.
- Biasioli, Marco. "Songwashing: Russian Popular Music, Distraction, and Putin's Fourth Term." *The Russian Review* 82, no. 4 (2023): 682–704. <https://doi.org/10.1111/russ.12516>.
- Björnberg, Alf. "Return to Ethnicity: The Cultural Significance of Musical Change in the Eurovision Song Contest." In Raykoff and Tobin, *A Song for Europe*.

- Bohlman, Philip V. "The Politics of Power, Pleasure, and Prayer in the Eurovision Song Contest." *Muzikologija*, no. 7 (2007): 39–67. <https://doi.org/10.2298/MUZO707039B>.
- Carniel, Jessica. "Skirting the Issue: Finding Queer and Geopolitical Belonging at the Eurovision Song Contest." *Contemporary Southeastern Europe* 2, no. 1 (2015): 136–154.
- Carniel, Jessica. "This One Loves That One: Queerbaiting at the Eurovision Song Contest." In *Queerbaiting and Fandom: Teasing Fans through Homoerotic Possibilities*, edited by Joseph Brennan. Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2019.
- Cassiday, Julie A. "Post-Soviet Pop Goes Gay: Russia's Trajectory to Eurovision Victory." *The Russian Review* 73, no. 1 (2014): 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1111/russ.10717>.
- Fricker, Karen. "'It's Just Not Funny Any More': Terry Wogan, Melancholy Britain, and the Eurovision Song Contest." In Fricker and Gluhovic, *Performing the 'New' Europe*.
- Fricker, Karen, and Milija Gluhovic. "Introduction: Eurovision and the 'New' Europe." In Fricker and Gluhovic, *Performing the 'New' Europe*.
- Fricker, Karen, and Milija Gluhovic, eds. *Performing the 'New' Europe: Identities, Feelings, and Politics in the Eurovision Song Contest*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137367983>.
- Gadea, Charlotte. "Spotlighting Eurovision as a Political Stage: Exploring How Turkey and Ukraine Use the ESC to Further Their Political Agendas." *Australian and New Zealand Journal of European Studies* 16, no. 3 (2025): 28–32. <https://doi.org/10.30722/anzjes.vol16.iss3.20916>.
- Giannini, Massimo, and Barbara Martini. "Regional disparities in the European Union: A Machine Learning Approach." *Papers in Regional Science* 103, no. 4 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pirs.2024.100033>.
- Grmuša, Tanja. "The Role of Storytelling in Creating a Country's Image on the Example of Eurovision Song Contest: How the 'Rim Tim Tagi Dim' Rhythm Contributed to the Global Promotion of Croatia." In *Digital and Cultural Influences on Media Narratives and Storytelling*, edited by Nur Emine Koç et al. Hershey, PA: IGI Global Scientific Publishing, 2026. <https://doi.org/10.4018/979-8-3373-2023-6.ch012>.
- Hansen, Arve, Andrei Rogatchevski, Yngvar Steinholt, and David-Emil Wickström. "'Lasha Tumbai' or 'Russia, Good-Bye'? The Eurovision Song Contest as a Post-Soviet Geopolitical Battleground." In *A War of Songs: Popular Music and Recent Russia-Ukraine Relations*. Stuttgart: ibidem Press, 2019.
- Heller, Dana. "'Russian Body and Soul': t.A.T.u. Performs at Eurovision 2003." In Raykoff and Tobin, *A Song for Europe*.

- Heller, Dana. "t.A.T.u. You! Russia, the Global Politics of Eurovision, and Lesbian Pop." *Popular Music* 26, no. 2 (2007): 195–210. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261143007001237>.
- Heřmanová, Marie. "All the Sisters of the World': Pan-Slavic Conspiracies and the Weaponization of Womanhood." *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* (2025). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2025.2473988>.
- Hintermayr, Michaela Maria. "Eurovision Cold War: Geopolitics and Queerness at the Eurovision Song Contest in 2007." *fernetzt*, 2016. <https://fernetzt.univie.ac.at/eurovision-cold-war-geopolitics-and-queerness-at-the-eurovision-song-contest-in-2007/>.
- Hutchings, Stephen. "A Little Girl Dreams of Kiev: Projection as Abjection, the Invalid Nation, and Russia's 2017 Eurovision (Non)-Performance." In *Projecting Russia in a Mediatized World: Recursive Nationhood*. London: Routledge, 2022.
- Ibrus, Indrek, Ulrike Rohn, and Alessandro Nani. "Searching for Public Value in Innovation Coordination: How the Eurovision Song Contest Was Used to Innovate the Public Service Media Model in Estonia." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 22, no. 3 (2019): 367–382. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877918757513>.
- Ingvaldstad, Björn. "Lithuanian Contests and European Dreams." In Raykoff and Tobin, *A Song for Europe*.
- Johnson, Emily D. "A New Song for a New Motherland: Eurovision and the Rhetoric of Post-Soviet National Identity." *The Russian Review* 73, no. 1 (2014): 24–46. <https://doi.org/10.1111/russ.10718>.
- Jones, Shannon, and Jelena Subotic. "Fantasies of Power: Performing Europeanization on the European Periphery." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 14, no. 5 (2011): 542–557.
- Jordan, Paul. "Eurovision in Moscow: Re-Imagining Russia on the Global Stage." *eSharp*, no. 14 (2009): 39–61.
- Jordan, Paul. "The Eurovision Song Contest: Nation Building and Nation Branding in Estonia and Ukraine." PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2011.
- Jordan, Paul. "From Ruslana to Gaitana: Performing 'Ukrainianness' in the Eurovision Song Contest." *Contemporary Southeastern Europe* 2, no. 1 (2015): 110–135.
- Jordan, Paul. *The Modern Fairy Tale: Nation Branding, National Identity and the Eurovision Song Contest in Estonia*. Tartu: University of Tartu Press, 2014.
- Kalman, Julie A., and Ben Wellings. "Entangled Histories: Identity, Eurovision and European Integration." In Kalman, Wellings, and Jacotine, *Eurovision: Identity and the International Politics*.
- Kalman, Julie, Ben Wellings, and Keshia Jacotine, eds. *Eurovision: Identity and the International Politics of the Eurovision Song Contest since 1956*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

- Kazakov, Vitaly, and Stephen Hutchings. "Challenging the 'Information War' Paradigm: Russophones and Russophobes in Online Eurovision Communities." In *Freedom of Expression in Russia's New Mediasphere*, edited by Mariëlle Wijermars and Katja Lehtisaari. London: Routledge, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429437205-8>.
- Kosciejew, Marc Richard Hugh. "Songwashing and Cultural Boycotting the Eurovision Song Contest: A Soft Power/Disempowerment Analysis of Israel's Entry to Eurovision 2024 during the Israel-Hamas War." *Popular Music and Society* 48, no. 3 (2025): 318–345. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03007766.2025.2485784>.
- Kunakhovich, Kyrill. "A Different Vision: The Intervision Song Contest from the Cold War to the War on Ukraine." *GlobalEurope*, no. 4 (2026). <https://globaleurope-journal.org/2026/04/a-different-vision-the-intervision-song-contest-from-the-cold-war-to-the-war-on-ukraine/>.
- Markovic Khaze, Nina. "Negotiating Post-war Nationhood: Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Eurovision Song Contest." In Kalman, Wellings, and Jacotine, *Eurovision: Identity and the International Politics*.
- Meerzon, Yana, and Dmitri Priven. "Back to the Future: Imagining a New Russia at the Eurovision Song Contest." In Fricker and Gluhovic, *Performing the 'New' Europe*.
- Miazhevich, Galina. "Paradoxes of New Media: Digital Discourses on Eurovision 2014, Media Flows and Post-Soviet Nation-Building." *New Media & Society* 19, no. 2 (2017): 199–216. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444815591968>.
- Miazhevich, Galina. "Sexual Excess in Russia's Eurovision Performances as a Nation Branding Tool." *Russian Journal of Communication* 3, no. 3/4 (2010): 248–264. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19409419.2010.10756776>.
- Miazhevich, Galina. "Ukrainian Nation Branding Off-line and Online: Verka Serdutchka at the Eurovision Song Contest." *Europe-Asia Studies* 64, no. 8 (2012): 1505–1523. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2012.712274>.
- Mitrović, Marijana. "'New Face of Serbia' at the Eurovision Song Contest: International Media Spectacle and National Identity." *European Review of History* 17, no. 2 (2010): 171–185.
- Neves, Mauro. "Croatia in the Eurovision Song Contest: From an Anti-War Message to the Recognition of a Cultural Tradition." *IRASM* 48, no. 1 (2017): 133–147.
- Noy, Inbar, Meital Viner-Serdtshe, and Galia Press-Barnathan. "Militarization and Popular Culture in the Shadow of War: The 2022 Eurovision Song Contest." *International Affairs* 100, no. 4 (2024): 1675–1692. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iaae133>.
- Ojamaa, Triinu, and Kanni Labi. "Eurovision Song Contest in Estonia Media: Discussion on Ethnic and Sexual Minorities." In *Balkan and Baltic States in*

- United Europe: Histories, Religions, and Cultures*, edited by Ekaterina Anastova and Mare Kõiva. Sofia: Paradigma, 2009.
- Pajala, Mari, and Dean Vuletic. "Stagecraft in the Service of Statecraft? Russia in the Eurovision Song Contest." In *Russia's Cultural Statecraft*, edited by Tuomas Forsberg and Sirke Mäkinen. New York: Routledge, 2022.
- Pałuba, Damian. "Gust muzyczny polskich muzyków na podstawie wyników Konkursu Piosenki Eurowizji." *Dziennikarstwo i Media* 22 (2024): 62–72.
- Panea, José Luis, and José Patricio Pérez Rufi. "From *We Are Slavic* to *My Sister's Crown*: Gender, Ethnicity, and Media Events." *Visual Review* 16, no. 1 (2024): 107–123. <https://doi.org/10.62161/revvisual.v16.5176>.
- Pavlyshyn, Marko. "Envisioning Europe: Ruslana's Rhetoric of Identity." *Slavic and East European Journal* 50, no. 3 (2006): 469–485.
- Pavlyshyn, Marko. "Ruslana, Serdutchka, Jamala: National Self-Imaging in Ukraine's Eurovision Entries." In Kalman, Wellings, and Jacotine, *Eurovision: Identity and the International Politics*.
- Piotrowska, Anna G. "About Twin Song Festivals in Eastern and Western Europe: Intervision and Eurovision." *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 47, no. 1 (2016): 123–135. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43869457>.
- Piotrowska, Anna G. "The Eurovision Song Contest—A Continent (Still) Divided?." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 33, no. 3 (2020): 371–388. <https://doi.org/10.1111/johs.12285>.
- Raykoff, Ivan, and Robert Deam Tobin, eds. *A Song for Europe: Popular Music and Politics in the Eurovision Song Contest*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.
- Rehberg, Peter, and Mikko Tuhkanen. "Dancing Time: Dissociative Camp and European Synchrony." *sq: Journal of Queer Studies in Finland* 2, no. 2 (2007): 43–59.
- Reyes, Manuel, and Kristin McGee. "Patches of Survival in the Anthropocene: Melancholy and Ecstasy within Go_A's 2021 Eurovision Song Contest Performance of 'SHUM' (ШУМ)." *Popular Music and Society* 46, no. 2 (2023): 191–212. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03007766.2023.2188363>.
- Scott, Derek B. "Imagining the Balkans, Imagining Europe: Balkan Entries in the Eurovision Song Contest." In *Ottoman Intimacies, Balkan Musical Realities*, edited by Risto Pennanen et al. Helsinki: Finnish Institute at Athens, 2013.
- Sieg, Katrin. "Conundrums of Post-Socialist Belonging at the Eurovision Song Contest." In Fricker and Gluhovic, *Performing the 'New' Europe*.
- Sieg, Katrin. "Cosmopolitan Empire: Central and Eastern Europeans at the Eurovision Song Contest." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 16, no. 2 (2013): 244–263. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549412450639>.

- Sonevysky, Maria. "Wild Dances: Ethnic Intimacy, Auto-Exoticism, and Infrastructural Activism." In *Wild Music: Sound and Sovereignty in Ukraine*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2019.
- Szeman, Ioana. "'Playing with Fire' and Playing It Safe: With(out) Roma at the Eurovision Song Contest." In Fricker and Gluhovic, *Performing the 'New' Europe*.
- Tobin, Robert Deam. "Eurovision at 50: Post-Wall and Post-Stonewall." In Raykoff and Tobin, *A Song for Europe*.
- Tochka, Nicholas. *Audible States: Socialist Politics and Popular Music in Albania*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190467814.001.0001>.
- Uehling, Greta Lynn. "Making Crimean Tatar Lives More Grievable: Mourning and Recognition through the 2016 Eurovision Contest." In *Decolonizing Ukraine: How the Indigenous People of Crimea Remade Themselves after Russian Occupation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2025.
- Ulbricht, Alexej, Indraneel Sircar, and Koen Slootmaeckers. "Queer to Be Kind: Exploring Western Media Discourses about the 'Eastern Bloc' during the 2007 and 2014 Eurovision Song Contests." *Contemporary Southeastern Europe* 2, no. 1 (2015): 155–172.
- Verschik, Anna, and Jim Hlavac. "Eto Leto Svet: Estonia's Eurovision Song as a Source of Folk-Linguistic Controversy." *Monash University Linguistics Papers* 6, no. 2 (2009): 47–64.
- Vuletic, Dean. "The Balkans in the Eurovision Song Contest." In *The Routledge Handbook of Popular Music and Politics of the Balkans*, edited by Catherine Baker. Abingdon: Routledge, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003328162-7>.
- Vuletic, Dean. "The Intervision Song Contest: A Commercial and Pan-European Alternative to the Eurovision Song Contest." In *Eastern European Popular Music in a Transnational Context: Beyond the Borders*, edited by Ewa Mazierska and Zsolt Györi. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-17034-9_9.
- Vuletic, Dean. *Postwar Europe and the Eurovision Song Contest*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781474276290>.
- Vuletic, Dean. "Recognising Kosovo in the World of Televised International Song Contests." In Kalman, Wellings, and Jacotine, *Eurovisions: Identity and the International Politics*.
- Vuletic, Dean. "The Socialist Star: Yugoslavia, Cold War Politics and the Eurovision Song Contest." In Raykoff and Tobin, *A Song for Europe*.
- Vuletic, Dean. "Where Is Central Europe in the Eurovision Song Contest?" In *Voices of Identities: Vocal Music and De/con/struction of Communities in the Former Habsburg Areas*, edited by Daniel Ender and Christoph Flamm. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018.

- Welslau, Lea M., and Torsten J. Selck. "Geopolitics in the ESC: Comparing Russia's and Ukraine's Use of Cultural Diplomacy in the Eurovision Song Contest." *New Perspectives* 32, no. 1 (2024): 5–29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2336825X231222000>.
- Wiedlack, Katharina, and Iain Zabolotny. "Race, Whiteness, Russianness and the Discourses on the 'Black Lives Matter' Movement and Manizha." In *The Routledge International Handbook of New Critical Race and Whiteness Studies*, edited by Rikke Andreassen et al. London: Routledge, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003120612>.
- Wilken, Lisanne. "The Eurovision Song Contest as Cultural Diplomacy during the Cold War: Transmitting Western Attractiveness." In *Machineries of Persuasion: European Soft Power and Public Diplomacy during the Cold War*, edited by Óscar J. Martín García and Rósa Magnúsdóttir. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110560510-009>.
- Yekelchik, Serhy. "What Is Ukrainian about Ukraine's Pop Culture?: The Strange Case of Verka Serduchka." *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 44, no. 1/2 (2010): 217–232. <https://doi.org/10.1163/221023910X512877>.
- Yusupova, Guzel. "The Digital Contestation of Racialized Nationhood in Russia: Manizha's Eurovision Performance." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 57, no. 2 (2024): 135–155. <https://doi.org/10.1525/cpcs.2023.2005360>.
-

PROJEKT LAYOUTU Janusz Górski
PROJEKT GRAFICZNY Krzysztof Gotowicki
DTP Łukasz Prusko

Pierwotna wersja czasopisma ukazuje się w postaci elektronicznej
(open access, CC BY 4.0 licence), <https://www.czasopisma.ispan.pl/index.php/pt>
© 2026 copyright for this edition Instytut Sztuki PAN i Autorzy
Pewne prawa zastrzeżone

REDAKCJA

„Pamiętnik Teatralny”, Instytut Sztuki PAN, 00-238 Warszawa, ul. Długa 28,
tel. (+48 22) 504 82 42, pamietnik.teatralny@gmail.com

WYDAWCY

Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, wydawnictwo@ispan.pl
Stowarzyszenie Liber Pro Arte

DRUK I OPRAWA Argraf, Jagiellońska 80, 03-301 Warszawa
Nakład wersji drukowanej: 230 egz.

VAT 8%

SPRZEDAŻ I PRENUMERATA

Prenumeratę czasopism wydawanych przez Instytut Sztuki PAN prowadzą następujące firmy:

„RUCH” s.a., www.prenumerata.ruch.com.pl

Kolporter sp. z o.o., www.kolporter.com.pl

Garmond Press, www.garmondpress.pl/prenumerata

Sprzedaż detaliczna „Pamiętnika Teatralnego” i innych wydawnictw Instytutu Sztuki PAN
w siedzibie Instytutu, ul. Długa 28 w Warszawie, tel. (+48 22) 50 48 274

Zamówienia prosimy składać pocztą elektroniczną: wydawnictwo@ispan.pl

SALE AND SUBSCRIPTION

“Pamiętnik Teatralny” is distributed abroad by Ars Polona s.a.: www.arspolona.com.pl
