The Association for the Study of Nationalities 2016 World Convention

Columbia University
14-16 April 2016

International Affairs Building (IAB)
420 W. 118th St.
New York, NY 10027

Registration (15th Floor, Central Space)
Thursday (April 14): 10 AM - 6 PM
Friday (April 15): 8 AM - 5 PM
Saturday (April 16): 8 AM - 5 PM

Book Exhibit and Café (15th Floor, 1501)
Thursday: 11 AM - 6 PM
Friday: 9 AM - 6 PM (8 AM for the Café)
Saturday: 9 AM - 6 PM (8 AM for the Café)

Opening Reception (6th Floor Café)
Thursday: 8:00 PM

Closing Reception (6th Floor Café)
Saturday: 7:00 PM
• Presentation of the ASN 2016 Best Doctoral Paper Awards, the Harriman ASN 2016 Book Prize and the ASN 2016 Film Award

ASN Meetings
Friday: Lunch, 1:20—2.50 PM
• Program Committee (Room 1219)
Saturday: 9:00-11:00 AM
• Board of Directors/Advisory Board (Room 1219)
Saturday: Lunch, 1:20—2.50 PM
• Nationalities Papers Editorial Board (Room 1219)
• American Association of Ukrainian Studies (Room 1201)
PANEL BK10
Civil Society and Democratization in the Post-Socialist Countries

CHAIR
Rory Archer
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PAPERS
Paula Pickering
(College of William and Mary, US)
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Public Skepticism of NGOs in Serbia

Anna Bogic
(U of Ottawa, Canada)
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Gender and Nation in Post-Communist Serbia:
Belgrade Feminists and Transgression of National, Ethnic, and Sexual Borders

Ana Bracic
(U of Oklahoma, US)
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The Tolerant Youth? Exploring Discrimination Against the Roma in Slovenia and Croatia

James Gow
(King’s College, UK)
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Command and Responsibility at Srebrenica:
Outcomes of the Mladic and Karadzic Trials and the Legacy of the Yugoslavia Tribunal

DISCUSSANT
Stefano Bianchini
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PANEL BK21
Politics of Memory in Sarajevo

CHAIR
Dijana Jelača
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PAPERS
Jana Jevtic
(U of Sarajevo, Bosnia)
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“European Islam” in Practice? Bosnian Muslims and the Shifting Boundaries of Religious Discourse in Post-War Sarajevo

Andreas Ernst
( Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Switzerland)
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Armina Galijas
(University of Graz, Austria)
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Sarajevo’s Serbs and their Conflicting War Memories

Dalibor Misina
(Lakehead U, Canada)
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The Blue (White & Red) Orchestra: A Soundtrack for the Country that Never Was

Renata Summa
(U of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)
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Everyday Boundaries in Post-Dayton Sarajevo

DISCUSSANT
Aleksandra Zdeb
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PANEL CE13
Narratives of Identity in Central Europe

CHAIR
Angela Kachuyevski
(Arcadia U, US)
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PAPERS
Ioan Marius Eppel
(Babes-Bolyai U, Romania)
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The Ties that Divide: Nationalities and Confessions in the Debate on Civil Marriage in the Hungarian Parliament (1894-1895)

Robert Sata
(Central European U, Hungary)
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Abundance of Citizenship: The Identity Effects of Non-Territorial Citizenship

David Edwards
(U of Glasgow, UK)
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Seeing the Self in the Other: Estonia, Regionalism, and a Reorientation of the Study of National Identity

Janine Holc
(Loyola U Maryland, US)
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The Polish-Lithuanian Borderlands, Past and Present: Multicultural versus Decolonial Responses to Local and State Violence

DISCUSSANT
Jesse Kauffmann
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PANEL CE17
Central Europe’s Communist Societies and Legacies

CHAIR
Tatyana Muradova
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PAPERS
Kjetil Duvold
(Dalarna U, Sweden)
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Nationality-Driven Soviet Nostalgia:
Determinants of Retrospective Regime Evaluation in the Baltic States

Susanne Kranz
(Zayed U, UAE)
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Gendered Nation-Building in the German Democratic Republic

Sokol Lleshi
(Central European U, Hungary)
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Institutions as Vehicles of Memory Politics:
The Czech Anti-Communist Bureaucrats Eradicating Communism?

DISCUSSANT
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THURSDAY APRIL 14TH // SESSION I // 11:00 AM - 1:00 PM

PANEL EU4/M12
Migration Dynamics Between Central Asia and Russia

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Hélène Thibault
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Migrant Workers as De Facto Geopolitical Actors: A Bottom-Up Perspective on Eurasian Integration

Caress Schenk
(Nazarbaev U, Kazakhstan)
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Protecting Workers or Creating an International Labor Market?
Managing Labor Migration in Russia and Kazakhstan

Michelle O’Brien
(U of Washington, US)
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Gender, Nationalism, and Migration in Contemporary Russia

DISCUSSANT
Liz Malinkin
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PANEL K9
Abkhazia and South Ossetia

CHAIR
Valery Dzutsati
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PAPERS
Till Spanke
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State Building in South Ossetia and Abkhazia: Comparative Analysis of Internal and External Actors’ Influences on State Building Processes in Unrecognized States

Benedikt Harzl
(U of Graz, Austria)
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Self-Determination as “Opium of the Peoples”: Engaging Abkhazia

Malkhaz Toria
(Ilia State U, Georgia)
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Trauma and Memories of Forced Displacement in Autobiographies of IDP “Memory Specialists” from the Abkhazia Region of Georgia

DISCUSSANT
Sufian Zhemukhov
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PANEL R6
Myths and Memory in Regime Legitimization

CHAIR
Filippo Menga
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PAPERS
Volodymyr Chumachenko
(Kansas State U, US)
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Paul Goode
(U of Bath, UK)
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The Dangerous Decade?
Collective Memory of the 1990s and Regime Legitimacy in Russia

Nuray Aridici
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The “Russian Idea”:
The New Form of Civilisational Nationalism in the Construction of State Identity

DISCUSSANT
Kate Graney
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PANEL U3

Civil Society and Activism during and since Maidan

CHAIR
Jennifer Carroll
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PAPERS
Maria Sonevytsky
(Bard College, US)
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The Politics of Ukrainian Aesthetics: Musical Performance on the Maidan

Alla Korzh
(SIT Graduate Institute, US)
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Serhiy Kovalchuk
(Independent Researcher, Toronto, Canada)
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Euromaidan Abroad:
Civic Activism of Transnational Ukrainian Youth in the United States

Myroslav Shkandrij
(U of Manitoba, Canada)
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Transformed by War: Ukrainian Intellectuals on 2014-15

DISCUSSANT
Olena Nikolayenko
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PANEL N17
Visual Sites of Memory: Museums and Murals

CHAIR
Neven Andjelic
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PAPERS
Lizaveta Kasmach
(U of Alberta, Canada)
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Memory Politics in Contemporary Belarus:
The New Museum of the Great Patriotic War in Minsk

Srdjan Jovanovic Weiss
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The Vanishing Act of Socialism: Analysis of the Remains of Yugoslav Memorial Complex in Kumrovec, Birth Place of Josip Broz Tito

Robin Ostow
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The Memory Politics of Slavery, Civil Rights and Human Rights:
Musealizing Human Rights in Liverpool, UK and Atlanta, Georgia (US)

Fredrika Larsson
(Lund U, Sweden)
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Muralizing History: The Case of the Northern Ireland Conflict

DISCUSSANT
Laia Balcells
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PANEL BK6

Between Class and Nation:
Labor, Identity and Care in Post-Socialism

CHAIR

Marko Grdesic  
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PAPERS

Ivan Rajkovic  
(U College London, UK)  
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“We Should Now Gather as Serbs, to Become Workers Again”: Foreign Privatisations as National Redemption in Serbia

Fabio Mattioli  
(CUNY Graduate Center, US)  
picchy@gmail.com  
The Value of Labor: An Ethnographic Analysis of the Economic and Existential Implications of Authoritarianism in Skopje, Macedonia

Larisa Kurtovic  
(U of Ottawa, Canada)  
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On Labor, Occupation and Other Not-Quite-National Things: The Case of Detergent Factory “Dita” in Tuzla

DISCUSSANT

Susan Woodward  
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PANEL BK17

Discussing the Link Between Memory and Nationalism

CHAIR
John Kraljic
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PAPERS
Shasivar Kabashi
(U of Istanbul, Turkey)
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The Issue of the Alphabet in the Vilayet of Kosovo During the End of the Ottoman Rule

Atdhe Hetemi
(Ghent U, Belgium)
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Student MOVE-moments in Kosova (1981): Academic or Nationalist?

Milica Popovic
(U of Ljubljana, Slovenia)
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To Whom Does Gavrilo Princip Belong?

Joscelyn Jurich
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Commemorations in Srebrenica

DISCUSSANT
Jared Manasek
(Pace U, US)
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PANEL CE11
Poland’s Identity and Challenges

CHAIR
Lizaveta Kasmach
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PAPERS
Magdalena Gross
(U of Maryland, US)
(Brown U, US)
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Encountering the Past in the Present: An Exploratory Study of Educational Tourism and Memory Politics

Aga Skrodzka
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Women and the Polish Communist Legacy in Paweł Pawlikowski’s film “Ida” (2014)

María Cristina Álvarez González
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“Polishness through Otherness”: The Meaning of Poland’s Existence between Russia and the West in the Discourses of Polish Democratic Opposition Intellectuals (1976-1991)

Krzysztof Jasiewicz
(Washington and Lee University, US)
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The 2014-2015 Super-Election Season in Poland: The Triumph of the Right, the Defeat of the Left, or the Irrelevance of the Left-Right Axis?

DISCUSSANT
Piotr Wrobel
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THURSDAY APRIL 14TH // SESSION II // 1:20 - 3:20 PM

PANEL EU3
Language, Cultural Production, and National Identity

CHAIR
Joseph MacKay
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PAPERS
Maria Blackwood
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Nationalists and Colonizers:
Factions, Factionalism, and Interethnic Relations in Early Soviet Kazakhstan

Sandrine Catris
(Augusta U, US)
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Violence as Performance:
The World of Public Violence and Individual Attacks in Xinjiang, 1966-1969

Adrienne Edgar
(U of California, Santa Barbara, US)
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Language and Identity in Ethnically Mixed Families in Soviet Central Asia

Milena Oganesyan
(U of Montana-Missoula, US)
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Wearing the Other’s Hat:
Ethno-Religious Intermarriage in Georgia

Allison Quatrini
(George Washington U, US)
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It’s My Party: Holiday Celebrations as Sites of Minority Identity
Contestation in China and Turkey

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL TK6
The Politics of Belonging and Exclusion from the Ottoman Empire to Modern Turkey

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Gülen Göktürk
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Disrupting Illusion, Normalizing the Ottoman Plurality: The Case of the Orthodox Christians in Late Ottoman Cappadocia

Onur Yıldırım
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Refugees and the Nation: Alexander Pallis and Anastasios Bakalbasis on the Greco-Turco Exchange of Populations

Nikos Michailidis
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Music, Nation, and Ethnicity in Turkey

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL R13

Language Policy in the Former Soviet Union

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Nadezhda Borisova
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Konstantin Sulimov
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(Perm State U, Russia)
The Institutionalization of Language Policy in Polylinguistic Ethnic Territorial Autonomies

Ioana Nechiti
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Language Politics of the Kalmyks after the Deportation

Viktorija Ferenc
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Ukraine’s Democratization Process Through the Lens of Language Policy

Volodymyr Kazarin
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Education and Forming of National Self-Consciousness in the Crimea

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL U4
The Turmoil in Eastern Ukraine

CHAIR
Elise Giuliano
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PAPERS
Ivan Kozachenko
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The City on the Brink of War: Kharkiv During and After the “Russian Spring”

Henry Hale
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Oxana Shevel
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Understanding the Odesa Tragedy:
Political Belief Formation During the Onset of War

Nadiya Kostyuk
Yuri Zhukov
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Invisible Digital Fronts: The Logic of Cyber and Kinetic Operations in Ukraine

Serhy Yekelchyk
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From the Anti-Maidan to the Donbas War:
The Spatial and Ideological Evolution of the Counter-Revolution in Ukraine (2013–14)

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL M4
The Intersection of the National and Transnational in the Refugee Crisis in Europe (Roundtable)

CHAIR
Robin Brooks
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PAPERS
Ayşe Parla
(Sabanci U, Turkey)
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The “Europeanization” of Turkey’s Migration Regime and the Unequal Distribution of Hope

Anwen Tormey
(U of Chicago, US)
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Still Committed to Protect?: The Struggle to Harmonize Europe’s Human Rights Values with its Refugee Determination Processes

Dace Dzenovska
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Refugees, Compassion and the Limits of Europeanness

Esther Romeyn
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The Accounting of Human Rights: Refugees and Cultural Deficits

Maria Stoilkova
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The Political Openings of Reasoning Between Sympathy and Indifference

Elissa Helms
(Central European U, Hungary)
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Men at the Borders:
Gender, War, and Nation in the European “Migration Crisis” of 2015
PANEL N12

Nationalism and Self-Determination

CHAIR
John Coakley
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PAPERS

Karło Basta
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Processes, Critical Junctures, Political Events:
Catalan Nationalism from the 2006 Statute to the 2010 Constitutional Court Decision

Şahan Savaş Karataşlı
(Princeton U, US)
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Crisis, War and Global Waves of Nationalism:
Secessionist Movements of the 21st Century in a World-Historical Perspective

Alexandra Remond
(Edinburgh U, UK)
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When you Ask the People:
Consequences of Independence Referendums on Secessionist Dynamics

Neven Andjelic
(Regent’s U London, UK)
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Slovenia and Scotland: Nationalism and Self-Determination
in a Liberal Democracy and a Communist Federation

DISCUSSANT
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THURSDAY APRIL 14TH // SESSION II // 1:20 - 3:20 PM

PANEL BO12/N19
Book Panel on Joyce Apsel, Introducing Peace Museums (Routledge, 2016)

CHAIR
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PARTICIPANTS
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Brian Boyd
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Joyce Apsel
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PANEL BK2

The Business of State Capture in the Western Balkans, Part 1

CHAIR
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PAPERS
John Hulsey
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Political Coalitions and the Reversal of State Capture: Bosnia and Herzegovina in Comparative Perspective

Joseph Coelho
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Collision and Collusion: International State-Building and State Capture in Kosovo

Anastasiia Kudlenko
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The Croatian Army under Tuđman: A Security Provider to Citizens or the Regime’s Criminal Enterprise?

Valery Perry
(Democratization Policy Council, Bosnia)
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State of the Art? State-Owned Enterprises in Bosnia and Herzegovina

DISCUSSANT
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THURSDAY APRIL 14TH // SESSION III // 3:40 - 5:40 PM

PANEL BK19/M8
New Perspectives on Refugees and Diasporas in the Balkans

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Güzin Aycan Öztürk
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An Assessment of the Refugee Crisis in Europe:
The Western Balkans as a Way Through

Renata Cuk
(Independent Scholar, Spain)
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Dobro došli, dobro prošli! (Welcome and please pass!)
The Refugee Crisis and the Croatian Experience

Mirsad Krijestorac
(Florida International U, US)
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First Nationalism then Desired Identity:
The Analysis of US Bosniak Diaspora Survey Data

Svetluša Surová
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Exploring the Multiple Membership and Identities of the Slovak Diaspora in Serbia:
Context of Serbian Minority Regime and Slovak Diaspora Regime

DISCUSSANT
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THURSDAY APRIL 14TH // SESSION III // 3:40 - 5:40 PM

PANEL CE6

Jewish Minorities and Identities

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Victoria Khiterer
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Jews and Anti-Semitism in Kiev in 1953-1970s

Felicia Waldman
(U of Bucharest, Romania)
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Alyah as Exile: The Effect of Emigration on the Cultural Identity of Romanian Jewish Writers who Moved to Israel

Michael Rom
(Yale U, US)
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“Tranquil Harmony and Mutual Respect”: European Jewish Immigrants’ Ideas About Brazilian National Identity, 1945-1955

DISCUSSANT
Meirav Jones
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PANEL CE7

*External Actors, Kin-States and Minority Politics in Central Europe*

**CHAIR**

Georgi Verbeeck  
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**PAPERS**

Alexandra Liebich  
Zsuzsa Csergő  
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*How External Intervention Shapes the Trajectories of Interethnic Conflict: An Event-Based Analysis of European and Kin-State Engagement in Central and Eastern Europe*

Petra Hamerli  
(U of Pécs, Hungary /Sapienza U of Rome, Italy)  
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*The Hungarian Optants in Transylvania in the Italian Diplomacy (1927-1931)*

Francine Friedman  
(Ball State U, US)  
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*The Challenges and Rewards of Being a State-Supportive Minority: The Bosnian Jews*

**DISCUSSANT**

Stephen Deets  
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THURSDAY APRIL 14TH // SESSION III // 3:40 - 5:40 PM

PANEL EU1

**Elite and Authoritarian Approaches to Conflict Management in Central Asia**

**CHAIR**
Sitora David  
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**PAPERS**

**David Lewis**  
(U of Exeter, UK)  
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"Illiberal Peace" in Kyrgyzstan:  
Authoritarian Patterns of Conflict Management in Post-2010 Osh

**John Heathershaw**  
(U of Exeter, UK)  
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Rebels without a Cause?  
Authoritarian Conflict Management as State Formation in Tajikistan

**DISCUSSANT**

**Jesse Driscoll**  
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PANEL TK9
The Armenian Genocide: Denial and Recognition

CHAIR
Elektra Kostopoulou
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PAPERS
Maria Karlsson
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Cultures of Denial:
From the Armenian Genocide to the Holocaust

Tunç Aybak
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Geopolitics of Denial and Memory:
The Turkish State’s Diplomatic Statecraft

Vahagn Avedian
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Memory, History and Justice:
The Armenian Genocide and its Recognition

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL R9/BO2

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THURSDAY APRIL 14TH // SESSION III // 3:40 - 5:40 PM

PANEL R15/M15
Russian-Speaking Minorities and Migrants

CHAIR
Lawrence Markowitz
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PAPERS
Richard Arnold
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The Promised Land?
The Social Imaginary and the Cossack Congress of America

Alina Jasina
(U of Giessen, Germany)
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Exploring the Individual Narratives and Experiences of Homeland among the Russian-Speaking Youth in Kazakhstan

Lisa Tuhkanen
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Citizenship, Identity and Integration:
The Case of Finland’s Russian-Speaking Minority

Ruth McKenna
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Anti-Russian Narratives? The Impact of British Media and Popular Representations of Russia upon Russian Migrants and Refugees Living in Scotland

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL U1
State and Civil Society in post-Maidan Ukraine

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PAPERS
Mykhailo Minakov
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Civil Society and the Misbalance of a Political System in Post-Maidan Ukraine

Alexandra Goujon
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Local State Capacities Facing Multiple Actors in the City of Slaviansk

Anna Colin Lebedev
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Civilians at War: Afghanistan Veterans in the Armed Conflict in Donbas

Natalia Stepaniuk
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Women’s Army: A Gendered Account of War-Driven Voluntary Engagement in Ukraine

Ioulia Shukan
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Order and Security from Below: Vigilantism in Post-Maidan Ukraine—The Case of Odesa

DISCUSSANT
Emily Channell
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PANEL N3  
Nationalist Violence

CHAIR  
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PAPERS  
Kyle Marquardt  
(U of Gothenburg, Sweden)  
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*Identity, Political Power and Conflict: Social Group Exclusion and Civil War Onset*

David Emre Amasyali  
(McGill U, Canada)  
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*Fighting over or against the State: Colonialism, Non-Colonialism, and Strategies of Ethnic Conflict*

Alan Kuperman  
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*Explaining Ethnonational Rebellion in Sudan’s “Two Areas”*

Durukan Kuzu  
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*Multiculturalism and Ethnic Insurgency: Prospects for Peace*

DISCUSSANT  
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PANEL N4

Nationalism: Methods, Approaches, Concepts

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Sherrill Stroschein
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Navigating between Research Transparency and Harm: DA-RT and the Study of Nationalism

John Coakley
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National Identity and the “Kohn Dichotomy”

Dragana Svraka
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How Do States Classify Their Populations and What Are the Consequences of Such Classifications? Evidence from Europe

Béla Filep
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The Transnationalization of Self-Determination Claims in Europe

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL BK7

LGBT Politics in the Western Balkans: Assessing the Role of Transnational Linkages and European Union Accession Processes

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Koen Slootmaeckers
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Discrimination in the Closet: When Social Conditions Limit the Europeanisation of LGBT Rights in Serbia

Safia Swimelar
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The Journey of LGBT Rights: Norm Diffusion and its Challenges in EU Seeking States (Bosnia and Serbia)

Rene Bogovic
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LGBTQ Activism in Former Yugoslavia: Cross-Ethnic Collaboration and De-Radicalization

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL BK13
*International Actors in Western Balkans*

**CHAIR**
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**PAPERS**

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*The Increased Use of Constructive Ambiguity for the Conflict Management of Contested Statehood in Europe and its Neighbourhood*

Gorana Grgic  
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Roswitha M. King  
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*Attitudes toward Joining the EU in Kosovo: Do Migration, Gender and Ethnicity Matter?*

Erdoan Shipoli  
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*Testing the Securitization Theory in Kosovo*

**DISCUSSANT**
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PANEL CE3
Defending the Narrative of National Suffering: Remembering World War II and Communism in Museums in Central and Eastern Europe

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Muriel Blaive
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In search of a Monopolistic Historical Narrative on the Communist Past: Czech ‘Memory Entrepreneurs’ and the Vagaries of Post-1989 Memory Politics

Stephen Norris
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Sensing the Uprising:
The Warsaw Uprising Museum and the Emotions of the Past

Katja Wezel
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Riga’s Cheka House:
From a Soviet Place of Terror to a Latvian Site of Remembrance?

DISCUSSANTS
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PANEL CE4
Europeanization, Democracy and Nationalism in the EU

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PAPERS
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Returning to Europe and Turning Away from “Europe”?
Post-Accession Attitudes in Central and Eastern Europe

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Daniel Brett
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Beyond Identity Politics and Geopolitics: Dirty Politics as an Explanation for the Waning of Support for Europeanization in Moldova

Vello Pettai
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Testing EU Democratization Effects:
Varieties of Democracy in Eastern Europe, Pre-1940 and Post-1990

Jack Williams
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Rising Separatism: A Potential Saviour for the EU?

DISCUSSANT
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THURSDAY APRIL 14TH // SESSION IV // 6:00 - 8:00 PM

PANEL EU6

**Nation-Building in Kazakhstan: Education, Everyday Nationalism, Symbols and Popular Culture**

**CHAIR**

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**PANELISTS**

Steven Sabol
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*Comparing Russian and American Imperial Education Strategies and the Unintended Consequences: Case Studies of the Sioux and the Kazakhs, 1880s to 1914*

John Schoeberlein
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*The Unnoticed Transformation of National Identity from Soviet to Post-Soviet Kazakhstan*

Dina Sharipova
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*Civic and Ethnic Nationalism in Kazakhstan: Evidence from the Grassroot Level*

Kristoffer Rees
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*Recasting the Nation: De-Sovietizing Kazakhstani Heroes*

Aziz Burkhanov
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*Nation-Building in Kazakhstan: Identity Formation in the Popular Culture, Media and Television*

**DISCUSSANT**

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THURSDAY APRIL 14TH // SESSION IV // 6:00 - 8:00 PM

PANEL K2
Power, Identity and Belonging in Chechnya

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Alexandra Klyachkina
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Localized Order and State-Building in Chechnya

Karena Avedissian
(U of Southern California, US)
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Clerics, Weightlifters, and Politicians: Ramzan Kadyrov’s Instagram as an Official Project of Chechen Memory and Identity Production

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL TK3
Religion, Post-Colonial Identity Formation and Turkish Nationalism

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Hale Yılmaz
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Children and the Qur’an Courses After Turkey’s 1928 Alphabet Reform

Elçin Aktoprak
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“New Turkey” and its “New Nation” in terms of Postcolonial Nationalism

Ayça Alemdaroğlu
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Politics of History and Neoliberal Expansionism in the Government of Youth in Turkey

Şefika Kumral
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Democratization, Collective Action and Transformation of Ethnic Boundaries:
Anti-Kurdish Communal Violence in Turkey

DISCUSSANT
Yeşim Bayar
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PANEL R3/M13
*Migration and Intolerance in Russia and the Caucasus*

**CHAIR**
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**PAPERS**

- **Vanessa Ruget**  
  (Salem State U, US)  
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  *Name the Republic that was Joined to Russia in 2014: Russia’s New Civics and History Test for Migrants*

- **Ekaterina Demintseva**  
  (Higher School of Economics, Russia)  
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  *State Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric and Its Impact on the Daily Life of Migrants from Central Asia in Moscow*

- **Lawrence Markowitz**  
  (Rowan U, US)  
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  *Explaining the Rise of Anti-Immigrant Violence in Russia*

**DISCUSSANT**

**Leah Haus**  
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PANEL U2
*The Holodomor within the Context of the 1932-1933 Famine in the Soviet Union*

**CHAIR**
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**PAPERS**

**Douglas Irvin-Erickson**  
(George Mason U, US)  
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_Empire, Colony, and Famine-Genocide before World War II_

**Sarah Cameron**  
(U of Maryland, College Park, US)  
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_The Kazakh Famine of 1930-33 in its Pan-Soviet Context_

**Oleh Wolowyna**  
(U of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, US)  
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_Monthly Excess Deaths in 1933: Regional Comparisons between Ukraine and Russia_

**Nataliia Levchuk**  
(Ptoukha Institute of Demography, Kyïv, Ukraine)  
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_Regional Variations of the 1932-33 Famine Losses: A Comparative Analysis of Ukraine and Russia_

**DISCUSSANT**
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PANEL BO11/U15
Book Panel on Lucan Way, Pluralism by Default:
Weak Autocrats and the Rise of Competitive Politics
(Johns Hopkins, 2015)

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PANEL N5

People and Places: New Perspectives on “Sons of the Soil” Conflicts
(Roundtable)

CHAIR
Monica Toft
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PAPERS

Isabelle Côté
(Memorial U of Newfoundland, Canada)
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Deciphering ‘Sons of the Soil’ Conflicts: An Introduction

Pal Kolstø
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The Concept of «Rootedness» in the Struggle for Political Power
in the Former Soviet Union in the 1990s

Oded Haklai
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The Flip Side of Sons-of-the-Soil:
Settlers, Disputed Territories, and Ethnic Conflict

Ruxi Zhang
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Sons-of-the-Soil: A Model of Repression, Assimilation, and Population Control
PANEL BK8/BO3

Book Panel on Adam Fagan and Indraneel Sircar, Europeanization of the Western Balkans: Environmental Governance in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia (Palgrave, 2015)

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PANEL BK22

Yugoslavia 25 Years Later

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Michael Rossi
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“Too Much History Per Square Mile”: Competing Narratives, Contested Memories, and Controversial Commemorations in Yugoslavia’s Successor States since 2000

Anja Vojvodić
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Where Are They Now? The Feminist Movement of Yugoslavia

Tibor Purger
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(Re-)Constructed Identities: Transborder Allegiances of Unhappy Ethnic Groups

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL CE14
Dealing with Shadowed Pasts in Central Europe

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Natalia Khanenko-Friesen
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Reclaiming the Personal: Oral History in Post-Socialist Europe

Dana Dolghin
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Unsettling Identifications:
Competing Narratives of “Belonging” in Eastern Europe

Alexandru Gussi
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Political Memory, State Continuity and the Quest for Democratic Legitimacy in Post-Communist Romania

Maaris Raudsepp
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Marianna Makarova
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(Tallinn U, Estonia)
Identity and Intergroup Positioning in Relation to the Common Past

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL CE18
The Hungarian North American Diaspora

CHAIR
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PAPERS
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Tibor Glant
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A Case of Failed Ethnic Lobbying:

Eszter Herner-Kovács
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A Case of Successful Ethnic Lobbying: The Hungarian Human Rights Foundation’s Route to the Suspension of Romania’s Most Favored Nation Status in the US Congress

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY APRIL 15TH // SESSION V // 9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL EU8

Normative Orders and Kazakhstani Practices: Outcomes of Contestation in a Post-Soviet Field

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PAPERS
Zhaniya Turlubekova
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*Political Institutions in the Fight against Drug-Trafficking: How Kazakhstani Law Enforcement Fights Transnational Crime*

Aslan Sataibekov
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*Gay and Religious: The Contexts of Post-Soviet Kazakhstan*

Raikhan Satymbekova
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*Female Political Representation and Barriers that Women Face in Politics*

Ainur Jyekyei
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*Why Kazakhstan Increased Its Greenhouse Gas Emissions, While Poland Decreased under the Kyoto Protocol from 2005-2012*

DISCUSSANT
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Back to Summary
FRIDAY APRIL 15TH // SESSION V // 9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL K4
Conflicts in the South Caucasus

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Scott Radnitz
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Beyond the Binary of Intractable Conflicts:
War and Geopolitical Imagination in Azerbaijan

Nina Caspersen
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An Interim Agreement for Nagorno Karabakh: A Realistic Solution?

Magdalena Dembinska
(U of Montreal, Canada)
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Defining Us - with Them?
Reframing the “Other” Within Transnistria and Abkhazia

Vadim Romashov
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The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict:
Steps of Settlement Marked Out by Russia’s Interests?

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL TK1

**Mobile Geographies of Otherness: Gender, Religion, and Ethnicity in the Late and Post-Ottoman Space**

**CHAIR**
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**PAPERS**

Vladimir Boskovic  
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*Cosmopolitan Nationalisms: Reevaluating the Early Feminist Travel Writers of Southeastern Europe*

Elektra Kostopoulou  
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*Twin Peaks: Old and Recent Tales of Exchange between Turkey and Greece*

Martha Papaspiliou  
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*Cultural Politics of Memory in Greece (1830-1870): The Role of Literature in the Monumentalization of the Heroes of the Greek War of Independence*

Leyla Amzi-Erdoğan  
(Columbia U, US)  
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*Ottomania: Televised Histories and Otherness Revisited*

**DISCUSSANT**

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PANEL R10
Nationalism through the Lens of Film and Literature

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PAPERS
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Putin’s Russia through Film: The Case of Orphans

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World War II, Evacuation to Central Asia and Supra-Soviet Identity Formation in Grigorii Kanovich’s Novella Faces in the Dark

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL U12
*Ukraine in the First World War and the Interwar Period*

**CHAIR**
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**PAPERS**

**Mikhail Akulov**  
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"Ukrainians, Austrians or the Turks?": Galicians in Ukraine and the Struggle over Ukrainian-ness

**Olha Voznyuk**  
(U of Vienna, Austria)  
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The Galician Cultural Identity in Post-Galician Time

**Larysa Bilous**  
(U of Alberta, Canada)  
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Practices of Urban Life in Kyiv during the First World War:  
The Politics of Public Space

**Oksana Vynnyk**  
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Welfare State and National Minorities: Disabled Veterans in Interwar Lviv

**John Holian**  
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Polish and Ukrainian Mortality in a Small Galician Town, 1900-1938

**DISCUSSANT**
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PANEL N6
Doing Research on Conflict and Security

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PANELISTS
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Asking High-Stakes Questions in Semi-Authoritarian Settings

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Political Ethnography in Conflict Zones:
How Immersion Can Contribute to the Study of Islamic Radicalization

John Heathershaw
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The Politics and Ethics of Fieldwork in Post-Conflict Environments
Authoritarian Conflict Management as State Formation in Tajikistan

DISCUSSANT
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■  ■  ■
PANEL N9
The Past as a Productive Political Resource in (Post-)Transition Societies

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PAPERS
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Memory as Strategy and Substance of Party Politics

Melissa Levin
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Bureaucratizing the Past:
The Blunted Weapon of Memorial Practice in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Izabela Steflja
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Ridicule and Exoticization of the International Tribunal:
The War Criminal Cult

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL SE3/N18

*The Contribution of Benedict Anderson and Fredrik Barth to the Study of Nationalism* (Roundtable)

**CHAIR**

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PANEL BK12
Between Class and Nation: Labour and Identity in Late Socialism

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PAPERS
Rory Archer
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“Us and Them”: Discontent in the Yugoslav Factory of the 1980s

Goran Musić
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The Anti-Bureaucratic Revolution in Multinational Settings:
Labour Movements and Serbian Nationalism in Sandžak and Vojvodina, 1988-1989

Marko Grdesic
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Legacies of Populism:
How Focus Groups Discuss Milosevic’s Hybrid of Class and Nation

DISCUSSANT
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Mediated Discourses of Othering in the Shadow of the Refugee Crisis: Perspectives from the Balkan Region (Roundtable)

CHAIR
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European Hierarchies of Othering and the Balkan Crisis of Identity

Martin Marinos
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The Liberal Past of Far-Right Media Discourse

Elza Ibroscheva
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Hitting the Hate Button: “Othering” in Social Media Discourses in Bulgaria

Piro Rexhepi
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Genealogies of Fortress Europe: Threatening and Threatened Muslims and the Making of EU Borders
PANEL CE1
“Formulas for Betrayal”: Traitors, Collaborators and Deserters in Contemporary European Politics of Memory

CHAIR
Eleonora Narvselius
(Lund U, Sweden)
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PAPERS
Peter Pirker
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(U of Vienna, Austria)
From Traitors to Role Models?
Rehabilitation and Memorialization of Wehrmacht Deserters in Austria

Piotr Toczyski
(Maria Grzegorzewska U, Poland)
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Post-War and Post-Communist Poland at the Crossroad of National and European Knightly Myths of Loyalty and Betrayal

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY APRIL 15TH // SESSION VI // 11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL CE12
Identity in Moldova and Slovakia

CHAIR
Vladimir Solonari
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PAPERS
Ionas Rus
(U of Cincinnati Blue Ash College, US)
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Moldovan Nationalism and Self-Determination Preferences in Bessarabia (1917-1918)

Marius Calu
(U of London, UK)
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States Without Nations: The Case of Moldova

Ecaterina Locoman
(Rutgers U, US)
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Foreign Policy Choice and the East-West Dilemma:
Ukraine, Moldova, and the Struggles to Policy Consistency

Elise Giuliano
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Ábel Ravasz
(Independent Scholar, Slovakia)
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Why do Interethnic Parties Emerge in Ethnically Divided Party Systems?
Explaining the Success of the Most-Hid Party in Slovakia

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL BO6/EU9


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PANEL TK8  
*Kurds and the Peace Process*  

**CHAIR**  
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**PAPERS**  

**Mehmet Celil Çelebi**  
(U of Oregon, US)  
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*The Ambiguities of the Justice and Development Party’s Discourse and the Collapse of the Negotiations between Turkey and the Kurdistan Workers’ Party*  

**Salim Çevik**  
(Ipek U, Turkey)  
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*Different Approaches to the Definition of the Kurdish Problem and the Failure of the Peace Process*  

**Faruk Ekmekçi**  
(Ipek U, Turkey)  
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*The Specter of History, the Arab Spring, and the Prospect of a Turkish-Kurdish Peace*  

**Alperen Özkan**  
(U of Maryland at College Park, US)  
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*Transnational Attacks by Domestic Terrorist Organizations: A Substitute Tactic*
PANEL R12

Energy and Oligarchy

CHAIR
Geir Flikke
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PAPERS
Isabelle Fortin
(U of Ottawa, Canada)
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The Energy Union: A New European Project or a Way to Put Pressure on Russians?

Kinga Niemczyk
(LSE, UK)
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Energy Relations as a Soft Coercion Tool for Promoting Russia’s Influence Abroad: Poland as a Case Study

Olga Kesarchuk
(Independent Scholar, Toronto, Canada)
olga.kesarchuk@utoronto.ca
The Power and Powerlessness of the Post-Soviet Business

DISCUSSANT
Dinissa Duvanova
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PANEL N8
*Domestic Ethnic Politics*

**CHAIR**
Izabela Steflja  
(Simon Fraser U, Canada)  
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**PAPERS**

**Katharine Aha**  
(U of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, US)  
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*Interethnic Domestic Coalitions*

**Adam Harris**  
(U of Gothenburg, Sweden)  
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*Ethnicity, Language, and Race: Minority Inclusion and Intra-Group Cohesion*

**Monir Morad**  
(U of Haifa, Israel)  
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*The Israeli Druze: A Regime-Supportive Minority*

**Meghan Camilla Laws**  
(Queen’s U, US)  
8mcl6@queensu.ca  
*Muddying Rwanda’s Political Landscape: Projections of Unity and Integration Amid Experiences of Political Control in Post-Genocide Rwanda*

**Sanjay Jeram**  
(Brock U, Canada)  
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*Striking a Balance? Multiculturalism in the Battle for Euskara in a Diversifying Basque Country*

**DISCUSSANT**
Scott Weiner  
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PANEL N11  
*Teaching, Branding, Remembering*

**CHAIR**  
Robin Ostow  
(Wilfrid Laurier U, Canada)  
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**PAPERS**

- **Leah Haus**  
  (Vassar College, US)  
  lehaus@vassar.edu  
  *Ideas, Institutions, and School Curricula: A Comparative Perspective*

- **Hannah Moscovitz**  
  (Ben-Gurion U of the Negev, Israel)  
  hannah@post.bgu.ac.il  
  *Nation-Branding Through International Education: Exploring the Sub-National Context*

- **Anna Kyriazi**  
  (European U Institute, Italy)  
  anna.kyriazi@eui.eu  
  *The Education of National Minorities: A Thematic Analysis of Claims, Arguments, and Justifications*

- **Sabrina Sotiriou**  
  (U of Ottawa, Canada)  
  ssoti026@uottawa.ca  
  *Online/Offline Scottishness: Strategies, Values, Norms and Procedures*

**DISCUSSANT**

- **Melissa Levin**  
  (U of Toronto, Canada)  
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PANEL U13

The Rise of the Nationalist (Far) Right

CHAIR
Natalia Stepaniuk
(U of Ottawa, Canada)
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PAPERS
Lenka Bustikova
(Arizona State U, US)
lenka.bustikova@asu.edu
Who Supports the Ukrainian “Svoboda” Party?

Sofia Tipaldou
(Independent Researcher, Spain)
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The “Russian Spring” and the War in Donbass:
The Role of the Russian Nationalist-Patriotic Opposition

Eva Sobotka
(Lancaster U, US)
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Peter Vermeersch
(U of Leuven, Belgium)
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Nationalism, Electoral Democracy, and the Creation of New National Outsiders
in Poland and Hungary

DISCUSSANT
André Liebich
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PANEL BK1
The Business of State Capture in the Western Balkans, Part 2

CHAIR
Valery Perry
(Democratization Policy Council, Bosnia)
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PAPERS
Soeren Keil
(Canterbury Christ Church U, UK)
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Explaining the Rise of Authoritarianism in Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia

David Kanin
(Johns Hopkins U, US)
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The State is Captured Before It Exists:
Observations on Power, Resources, and Trust Networks in the Balkans

Jelena Dzankic
(European U Institute, Italy)
dzankic@gmail.com
Capturing Contested States: Structural Mechanisms of Power Reproduction
in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro

Keiichi Kubo
(Waseda U, Japan)
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State Capture and the Weakening of Accountability:
A Comparative Analysis of Serbia and Macedonia

Lijana Cvetanoska
(U of Sussex, UK)
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The Nature of State Capture in Macedonia and its Effects
on the Country’s Accession Process in the EU

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY APRIL 15TH // SESSION VII // 2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL BK9
Politics and Ethnic Identities in the Balkans

CHAIR
Jared Manasek
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PAPERS
Benjamin McClelland
(Columbia U, US)
bpm2117@columbia.edu
Asymmetric Advantages:
Ethnic Coordination and Political Party Systems in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Aleksandra Zdeb
(Jagiellonian U, Poland)
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Evolution of the Power-Sharing Model in Brčko District:
A “Model to Follow” and the Role of Informal Institutions

Tamara Pavasovic Trost
(Princeton U, US)
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Bringing Class Back In:
The Influence of Education and Income on Ethnic Attitudes in Serbia and Croatia

DISCUSSANT
Michael Rossi
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PANEL CE16/M11

Challenges of Immigration in Central Europe

CHAIR
Anna Kyriazi
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PAPERS
Laura Trimajova
(European Parliament, Belgium)
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Framing a “No”: An Analysis of the Anti-Refugee Rhetoric in the Speeches of Slovak and Czech Political Leaders

Margarita Safronova
(U of California Santa Barbara, US)
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Refugees, Migrants or just Foreigners?
Student Perceptions of Europe’s Migrant Crisis in Latvia

Indra Ekmanis
(U of Washington, US)
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Peter Horváth
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Richard Brix
richard.brix@gmail.com
(U of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, Slovakia)
The Social Impact of Migrants in the Visegrad Countries

Marco Mogiani
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Refugees Welcome? Re-Bordering Practices behind the New European Discourses and Policies

DISCUSSANT
Klaus Bachmann
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PANEL EU2

Chinese and Post-Soviet Development in Central Asia: Conceptualizations, Assessments, Comparisons

CHAIR
Heather deHaan
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PAPERS

Morgan Liu
(Ohio State U, US)
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Conceptualizing Petroleum-Fueled Development in Post-Soviet Central Asia and Azerbaijan

Nikolaos Olma
(U of Copenhagen, Denmark)
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Uzbek Strokes on a Soviet Canvas: Identity-Building Architecture and its Effect on the Memoryscape and Urban Identity of Tashkent, Uzbekistan

Adrien Fauve
(Sciences Po, Paris, France)
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Neo-Liberal Development in Astana: Politics of the Future

Sean Roberts
(George Washington U, US)
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Modernization with Chinese Characteristics: Implications of the PRC’s Retro-Development Model in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region

DISCUSSANT

Amanda Wooden
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PANEL K1
Opposition 2.0 Challenging Authoritarianism

CHAIR
Scott Radnitz
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PAPERS
Katy Pearce
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Digital Knives are Still Knives: The Affordances of Social Media for a Repressed Opposition Against an Entrenched Authoritarian Regime in Azerbaijan

Sofie Bedford
(Uppsala U, Sweden)
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“Opposition” Without Revolution?
A New Look at “Failed Opposition” in Azerbaijan and Belarus

Jeremy Teigen
(Ramapo College of New Jersey, US)
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Julie George
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Detecting Defections: The Causes of Party Breakdown in Georgia, 1999-2004

DISCUSSANT
Murad Nasibov
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PANEL TK7
*Insurgency, Self-Determination, and Shifting Identities in the Middle East*

CHAIR
Thomas Goltz  
(Author and Filmmaker, US)  
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PAPERS

Güneş Murat Tezcür  
(U of Central Florida, US)  
tezcur@ucf.edu  
*Homegrown Radicalization: Jihadist Recruitment in Turkey*

Ceren Lord  
(LSE, UK)  
cerenlord@gmail.com  
*A New “Minority” of the Middle East?*  
*The Alevis of Turkey in the Wake of the Syrian Conflict*

Hande Sözer  
(Middle East Technical U, Northern Cyprus Campus)  
hsozer@metu.edu.tr  
*Syrian Refugees In Turkey: Being Stranded in an Uncertain Present,*  
in between a Deadly Past and a Precarious Future

DISCUSSANT

Costantino Pischedda  
(Princeton U, US)  
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PANEL R7
*Binding State & Nation in Russia*

**CHAIR**
Troy McGrath  
(U College of the Carribean, Jamaica)  
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**PAPERS**

**Nathaniel Knight**  
(Seton Hall U, US)  
knightna@shu.edu  
*The Three Circles of Russianness: Ethnic, Imperial and Cultural Identities in Historical Perspective*

**Geir Flikke**  
(U of Oslo, Norway)  
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*The Primordialization of the Russian State: The Politics of National Unity (NatsEd) in Putin’s Third Period*

**Elena Rakhimova-Sommers**  
(Rochester Institute of Technology, US)  
elena.sommers@rit.edu  
*Seeking Fertile, Patriotic Woman: Public Awareness Advertising and Russian Identity Construction*

**Jardar Nuland Østbø**  
(U of Oslo, Norway)  
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*Double Fear: Securitizing Russian National Identity*

**DISCUSSANT**
Anne O’Donnell  
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PANEL U9

*Fighting Corruption in Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan: New Approaches to an Old Problem*

**CHAIR**
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**PAPERS**

Oksana Nesterenko  
(U Kyiv Mohyla Academy, Ukraine)  
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*Anti-Corruption Sweeping Reform in Ukraine: Successes and Challenges*

Nikola Milicic  
(U of Toronto, Canada)  
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*Green Politics: Climate Change, Corruption and Authoritarian Politics in Kazakhstan*

Elizabeth Teague  
(Independent Scholar, Oxford, UK)  
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*The All-Russia Popular Front and the Monitoring of Corruption in the Regions*

**DISCUSANT**
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PANEL M2  
*Migrants in the Economy*

**CHAIR**  
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**PAPERS**  
Robin A. Harper  
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What’s the Time?  
*In Search of the Meaning(s) of Time for Temporary Labor Migrants*

Katalin Kovaly  
(Institute of Geography, Budapest, Hungary)  
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The Role of Social Capital in Economic Performance of Ukrainian Migrant Entrepreneurs in the Czech Republic

Meltem Yılmaz Şener  
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Getting Adapted? A Comparative Study of “Qualified” Turkish Return Migrants from Germany and the US

**DISCUSSANT**  
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PANEL N15
Clash of Memories: World War II and Communism

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Ulf Zander
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What’s in a Date?
The Politics of Memory and the End of the Second World War in Europe

Daina S. Eglitis
(George Washington U, US)
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Mortal Threat: Latvian Jews at the Dawn of Nazi Occupation

Alana Holland
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Between Wartime Atrocity and the Genocide of the Jews:
Early Soviet Representations of the Nazi Death Camps and Polish Responses, 1944-1945

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL BO8/N20

*Book Panel on David Laitin et al., Why Muslim Integration Fails in Christian-Heritage Societies (Harvard, 2016)*

**CHAIR**

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*David D. Laitin*
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PANEL BK15

Breaking Down or Re-Building Walls?
The EU and the Balkans Facing New Challenges (Roundtable)

CHAIR
Francine Friedman
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PAPERS

Julie Mostov
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The EU and the Balkans: Walls and Borders

Stefano Bianchini
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EU and the Balkans in Trouble: Between Solidarity and Nationalism

Craig Nation
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Russian and American Influence on EU-Balkan Border Dynamics

Francesco Privitera
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The Effect of Immigration Flows on the European Union-Balkans Dynamics

James Gow
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Waving Them on vs. the New Krajina: More Legal Innovation in the Balkans?
PANEL BK25
“How We See Us, and How The Others See Us”: The Slavic Speaking Muslim Communities in Macedonia and Kosovo

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Vjollca Krasniqi
(U of Pristina, Kosovo)
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Borderlands and Crossroads: Identity Negotiations and Everyday Life of Gorani in Kosovo

Ivan Damjanovski and Zoran Ilievski
(U of Ss.Cyril and Methodius-Skopje, Macedonia)
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Explaining Variation of Self-Identification of the Slavic Speaking Muslim Communities in Macedonia and Kosovo

Nenad Markovikj
(U of Ss.Cyril and Methodius-Skopje, Macedonia)
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Ascriptive Factors of Identity Formation among the Gorani and Torbeshi/Macedonian Muslim Communities on the Balkans

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL CE9
Complexities of Nationhood in the Post-Soviet States: Nation, Identity and Tactics

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Egle Keslyyte-Alliks
(U of Oslo, Norway)
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National Flag and Nationhood in Post-Soviet Lithuania: Institutional and Societal Discourses Compared

Selbi Hanova
(U of St. Andrews, UK)
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Looking for a State’s Self:
Practices of Creating State Identities in Foreign Policies in Central Asia

Maryia Rohava
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Identity in an Autocratic State or What Belarusians Talk about When They Talk about National Identity

Elena Zhirukhina
(U of St Andrews, UK)
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Protecting the State: Russian Repressive Tactics in the North Caucasus

DISCUSSANT
Helge Blakkisrud
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PANEL K3
Exploring the Security-Democracy Nexus in the Caucasus

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Tamar Khutsishvili
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Microcredit and Solidarity groups in an Armenian Border

Jean Radvanyi
(INALCO, Paris, France)
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The Caucasian Reality through the Prism of Statistics: When the Numbers Become Subject to Political and National Issues

Weronika Zmiejewski
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The Ideal Georgia

Ekatrina Sokirianskaya
(International Crisis Group, Turkey)
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North Caucasus Insurgency and Syria: A Hijacked Jihad?

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL R4
Russian-Western Tensions

CHAIR
Isabelle Fortin
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PAPERS
Robin Brooks
(Columbia U, US)
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Reactors, Russia-Centrism, and the Subversion of US Interests in Eastern Europe

Kiril Avramov
(U of Texas, US)
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Reconquering Hearts and Minds: Russian Propaganda Offensive in Eastern and Central Europe

Yulia Nikitina
(Moscow State U of International Relations, Russia)
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World Order a la Russe: What Role for State-Building and Nation-Building?

DISCUSSANT
William Hill
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PANEL R14
Post-Communist Authoritarian Regimes and Protests

CHAIR
Don Van Atta
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Ana Maria Albulescu
(King’s College London, UK)
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*Escalation and Internationalization of Conflicts in the Post-Soviet Space: Exploring Continuity and Change*

Jane Leftwich Curry
(Santa Clara U, US)
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*Rethinking America’s Role in the Electoral Revolutions of Serbia, Georgia, and Ukraine and the Failed Ones*

Martin Marinos
(U of Pittsburgh, US)
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will be presenting the documentary Plamen (21 mins. 2014) on self-immolation during the 2013 mass protests in Bulgaria. He is the film’s screenwriter.

DISCUSSANT
Robert Person
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---
PANEL M3
The Refugee Crisis and the EU

CHAIR
Caress Schenk
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PAPERS
Albana Shehaj
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(U of Michigan, US)
Immigration and Electoral Support for Right Wing Populist Parties: Evidence from Immigrant-Hosting European States

Henry Carey
(Georgia State U, US)
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European Multi-Level Governance of Refugee and Asylum Laws

Rebekah Dowd
(Georgia State U, US)
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Balancing Foreign Policy Decisions: Why do EU Policy-Makers Differ in Their Refugee Policy Commitments?

Nina Michalikova
(U of Central Oklahoma, US)
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Explaining Naturalization of New Eastern European Immigrants in the United States

DISCUSSANT
Iuliia Kononenko
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PANEL U6  
*Post-Maidan Governance, Society and Law*

**CHAIR**  
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**PAPERS**  
Jennifer Carroll  
(Brown U, US)  
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*Power Struggles: Addiction, War, and Other Forms of Conflict in Ukraine*

Nazar Boyko  
(Monitoring-Analytical Group CIFRA, Ukraine)  
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*Masters, Servants and Talents: Patterns of Local Executives’ Appointments in Post-Revolutionary Ukraine*

Klaus Bachmann  
(U of Social Sciences and Humanities, Poland)  
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*Transitional Justice in Ukraine 2014-2015*

Igor Lyubashenko  
(SWPS U of Social Sciences and Humanities, Poland)  
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*Transitional Justice Instruments in the Donbas Conflict*

**DISCUSSANT**  
Maureen Flaherty  
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PANEL U10/BO1

Book Panel on George Liber’s Total Wars and the Making of Modern Ukraine, 1914-1954 (Toronto, 2016)

CHAIR
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PARTICIPANTS
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George Liber
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FRIDAY APRIL 15TH // SESSION VIII // 5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL N10
Politics of Citizenship and Belonging

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Unequal Citizens: Variations in States’ Citizenship Policies toward Women

Hadas Aron
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Reaching Across the Border:
Internationalizing Citizenship as Domestic Strategy

Jacek Raciborski
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Wojciech Rafałowski
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State Identity in Europe Today:
Some Determinants

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PANEL BO13/BK27

*Book Panel on Veljko Vujacic, Nationalism, Myth, and the State in Russia and Serbia* (*Cambridge, 2015*)

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PANEL BK20

Legacies of the Balkans and the Region’s European Perspective

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Memory and Nation-Building: The Case of Bulgaria in the Nineteenth Century

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The Muslim Nation-Building Process in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1960s

Isabel Stroehle
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The Brioni Plenum (July 1966) and its Aftermath in Kosovo:
Uncovering “Deformations” and Physical Violence in the State Security Agencies

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European Union Accession and the Challenges of Liberalism in Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina

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PANEL BK26
Nationalism, National Identity, and Public Opinion in Greece and Macedonia

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PAPERS
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Perceptions of Identities on the Name Dispute with Greece

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The Populism of National Discourses:
Nationalism vs. Multiculturalism in Inter-State Disputes

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PANEL CE8

*History and Memory in Central Europe’s Public Space*

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**PAPERS**

**Peter Dan**  
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*The Fight to Control the Past: Psychosociology and the Case of Romania*

**Monica Grigore**  
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*The Aiud “Prison Saints”: History, Memory and Lived Religion*

**Hope M. Harrison**  
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*German Historical Memory of the Berlin Wall and National Identity*

**Alina Urs**  
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*The Role of the Sacred in Interpreting the Memory of the Recent Past: The Case of the Pitești Communist Prison in Romania*

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PANEL CE10

Ethnicity, Autonomy and Political Community in Central and Eastern Europe and Beyond

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National-Cultural Autonomy Today: To What End and for Whom?

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Ethnic Minority Activism in Europe from a Transnational Perspective

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Ethnic Diversity, Autonomy and Political Community in Central and Eastern Europe: The Case of Hungary

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Russia, National Cultural Autonomy and (A)Political Community

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Civil Society & Democratization in the Caucasus

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Can Civic Education Programs Close the Democratic Capacity Gap in Transitioning Democracies? Evidence from Georgia

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Influences of Domestic and External Actors on the Consolidation of Democracy

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Value Change in Georgia between 2009-2015: A Shift towards a More “Western” Way of Thinking?

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Compositional Modalities of Citizenship Representation Styles in Georgia

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PANEL TK2
Nationalism and Identities on the Margins

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Turkish Humanists and the Incorporation of Western Classics into the National Canon

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Political Crimes and “Turkishness of Ordinary People” in 1945-1960s Istanbul

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Conscientious Objection and Ethnicity in Turkey and Israel: A Comparative-Historical Perspective

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PANEL R2
Role-Model, Hegemon or Spoiler? Mapping Russia’s Regional Influence

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The Costs of Influence: Russia in Belarus

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EU-Russia Competition in their Shared Neighbourhood: Mapping the External Agency’s Impact on Democratic Reforms in Ukraine and Moldova

Murad Nasibov
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Russia as a Role Model Hybrid Regime for the Neighboring Countries in the Post-Soviet Space: The Case of Azerbaijan

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Russia’s Problematic Relations with Turkey: Energy Diplomacy and Regional Politics

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PANEL U7  
*Measuring Identity Changes and Continuities in Ukraine*

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*Banderists or Nationalists? Terrorists or Separatists? Exploring Dreams of Democracy with Men in Ukraine*

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Reconciliation in Ukraine: Within and Across the Boundary

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*Nationality as a Social Identity in Ukraine: 2010 Survey Data*

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The Foundations of Support for Cultural Cosmopolitanism in Ukraine

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PANEL N7

Economic Aspects of Nationalism

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The Limits of Indirect Rule:
Internal Colonialism, Non-State Revenue and Nationalism in Corsica

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PANEL N16  
*Sports and Nationalism*

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Games of Belonging: Negotiating National Identity in Football

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Football National Teams and Conflicting Identities in the Post-Yugoslav Space

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Sochi 2014, Which National Narrative? Olympic Games and Memorial Policies

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PANEL BK11

*Between Disempowerment and Politicization: Exploring Nongovernmental Agency in Bosnian Politics*

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**PAPERS**

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*Transformative Potentials of Nongovernmental Justice-Seeking Initiatives in Bosnia: REKOM and the Women’s Court for the Balkans*

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*A Comparative Analysis of Diaspora Contribution to the Post-Dayton Interethnic Political Cooperation within Local Governmental Institutions in Bosnia*

Jessie Hronesova  
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*The Politics of Suffering: Victims and Political Parties in Bosnia*

Daniela Lai  
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*Between Dissolution and Institutionalization? Bosnian Grassroots Movements in the Aftermath of the 2014 Protests*

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PANEL BK14
Culture Politics in Southeastern Europe

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French Repertoire, German Education and Slavic Guests:
Cultural Transfers of the National Theatre in Belgrade

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National Pasts, International Futures:
Urban Space and the Temporality of Yugoslav Socialism

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“Children of the 90s”: Growing Up in Serbia under Milosevic

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Early Socialism and the Politics of Domestic Alignment:
The Introduction of Provincial Yugoslav Socialism in a District in Ljubljana, Slovenia

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PANEL BK18
Macedonian Politics between Shifting Identities and Continued Crisis

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The Macedonian Question: Navigating Multiple Labyrinths

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Beyond Identity:
National Indifference and the Balance of Priorities in Macedonia, 1870-1918

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“Right Turn on Red”: The Museum of Macedonian Struggle and the Shifting Post-Socialist Historical Discourses in Macedonia

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Macedonia’s Antiquization and the Construction of a Dual Ethnic Identity

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PANEL CE15/M10
Central European Diasporas

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Intraethnic Unmixing, Neoliberalism, and the Fate of Diaspora:
Hungarian Higher Education in Romania

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The European Union’s Role in Transforming the Post-Soviet Ethnocentrism in Eastern Europe:
The Case of the Polish Minority in Lithuania

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The Narratives of Displacement in Post-Soviet Diasporas:
A Case Study of Lithuanians in Karelia

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A Baltic Identity in South America?
Lithuanian Diaspora in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay

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PANEL BO4/CE19

*A Conversation with Timothy Snyder on Black Earth* (*Tim Duggan, 2015*)

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PANEL TK10
Nationalism and Academic Freedom in Turkey
(Roundtable)

On the heels of the recent campaigns launched by the Turkish military against the Kurds in the southeast, about 1,500 academics from all over the world have signed a petition denouncing these operations. The Turkish signatories have since become the target of investigations over alleged “terror propaganda,” which culminated in the arrest of three prominent academics on March 15, 2016. The roundtable aims to consider the possibility of action in solidarity with our persecuted colleagues.

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PANEL EU5

Political Institutions and Political Order under Authoritarianism

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Degrees of Separation: How Many Hands Must a Kazakh Citizen Shake Until She Reaches the President?

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Exit, Voice, Loyalty…and Sanctions: Options and Strategies for Opposition Movements in Kazakhstan

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History in the Caucasus

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Stages of Nation-Building: The 1938 Dekada of Azerbaijani Art

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New Look for Old Tbilisi:
Preservation and Identity in the Tbilisi Historic District

Devi Dumbadze
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Gertsel Baazov: A Telling Witness to Anti-Semitism in Soviet Georgia

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The Village Strikes Back:
Hrant Matevosyan and the Redefinition of the Nation in the Postwar Soviet Union

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History & Rationality in Russia’s Wars

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Rescue Fantasies: Russian Invasions as Affective Geopolitical Storylines

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Russian Military Intervention in Syria:
Lessons from the Ukrainian Battlefield and their Implications for NATO

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The Multiple Goals of Russia’s Military Intervention in Syria

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The Impact of Competing Soft Powers in the Post-Soviet Era on Crimea’s “Way Home”

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Securitization of Identity Borders: The Case of Ukraine

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PANEL U8
Ukrainian Literature and Politics

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The Ideological Slaughter of 1947: Literary Purges in Ukraine Under Kaganovich

Natalia Kovaliova  
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Punishment by Madness: the Story of Leonid Plyushch in History’s Carnival: A Dissident’s Autobiography

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Plotting the Nation: Representations of Ukraine in the Prose by Contemporary Ukrainian Women Writers

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Teaching the Ukrainian Internment through Novel: The Literary Construction of a Ukrainian Canadian Identity

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PANEL M1
Public Resistance to Refugees and Migrants

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Public Opposition to Immigration in Western and Central/Eastern Europe

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Patterns of Sociological and Social-Psychological Determinants of Islamophobia in Europe

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Social Integration of Refugees in Germany’s Rural Regions:
A Strategy of Coping With Demographic Changes

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Arab Media Views of Central Europe in Light of the Refugee Crisis

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Understanding Rights in Ethno-National States:
A Socio-Legal Case Study of African Asylum Seeker’s Rights in Israel

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PANEL N14

*Performative and Discursive Constructions: Science, Technology and the Nation*

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**PAPERS**

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*Imagining the Canadian Internet: A Case of Discursive Nationalization of Technology*

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*Dam-Nations? An Analysis of the Interplay between Dams, Nation-Building, and Transboundary Water Relations*

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*Tangible Enlightenment: Technological Innovation and Ethno-National Interpretation in late 19th Century Japan*

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PANEL BO9/N21
Book Panel on Margaret Moore, A Political Theory of Territory (Oxford, 2015)

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SATURDAY APRIL 16TH // SESSION X // 11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL SE1
Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet States, 25 Years After Independence: Russia, Central Asia, Baltics

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PANEL BK3
EU Enlargement Policy in the Western Balkans

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Evaluating the EU’s “New Approach” to Judicial Reform in the Western Balkans: Unintended Consequences or Unrealised Goals?

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Civil Society and EU Integrations: How to Empower Democratic Forces in the Western Balkans

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Olympic Land Grabbing and the EU: From Strategic Sponsor to Spectator?

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Nationalism, Europeanization, and Bosnian Agricultural Policy

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PANEL BK4
Local Perspectives on Peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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PANEL CE2
Roma at Critical Junctures: Migration, Citizenship, and Media

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Muslim Romani Refugees from Kosovo in Germany:
Gendered and Cultural Responses to Trauma

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Media Mirrors? Framing Hungarian Romani Migration to Canada
in Hungarian and Canadian Press

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Roma Migration vs. the Migration of Roma within Europe:
The Role of Ethnic Networks and Inter-Ethnic Ties in the European Mobility of the Roma

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PANEL EU7  
*Nation-Building in Central Asia*

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**PAPERS**  
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*Nation-Building and Higher Education in Kazakhstan*

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*Benjamin Sutcliffe*  
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*Trifonov’s Thaw: The Karakum Canal and the Thirst for Sincerity*

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PANEL K8
Religion in the Southern Caucasus

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PAPERS
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Church and Public Education in Contemporary Serbia and Georgia: Secularization or De-Secularization?

Ketevan Gurchiani
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The Creative Presence of Religion in Georgian Public Schools

Inga Popovaite
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Georgian Muslim Women: Strangers in their Own Country

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PANEL TK5/M14

Borders and Migration

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PAPERS
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Making Migration and Refugee Governance in Turkey

Bilal Gorentaş
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Nation, Bordering and Identity at the Turkey/Iraq Border

Eugene Michail
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“Welcome to Greece, F**k the Police”:
The Syrian Refugee “Crisis” and the Breaching of the Aegean Border

Meagan McManus
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will be presenting the documentary Learning to Swim
(2014, 23 mins.) on Syrian refugees in Lebanon

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PANEL R5

*Ethnicity, Religion, and Homeland Construction*

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**PAPERS**

**Dina Zisserman-Brodsky**  
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*The Rise of Post-Secular Fundamentalism in Russia*

**Kelsey Davis**  
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*Sacred Memorialization: The Russian Orthodox Church’s Role in Commemorating Victims of Soviet Repression*

**Meagan Todd**  
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*Moscow’s Cathedral Mosque and the Critical Geopolitics of Islam in Moscow and Russia*

**Eleonora Narvselius**  
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*Collective Memories, Historical Narration and Virtualisation of the Dissonant German Heritage in Kaliningrad, Russian Federation*

**Petia Mankova**  
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*The Komi on the Kola Peninsula: The Historical Constructions of Home and Homeland*

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*Actors in the Donbas War*

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**PAPERS**

**Philippe Roseberry**
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*Fragmentation and Cohesion in Combatant Organizations: Comparing Post-Communist Conflicts in the Former Yugoslavia and Southeastern Ukraine*

**Serhiy Kudelia**
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*Opolchentsy or Terrorists? Local Views of the Donbas Insurgents*

**Artem Remizov**
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*Foreign Fighters in the Ukraine-Russia Conflict: Origins, Motivations, and Impact*

**DISCUSSANT**

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PANEL M6  
Diasporas and Homelands

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PAPERS
Daniel Naujoks  
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Affinity Diasporas: Shedding Blood for Love

Zachary Adamz  
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(Re-)Membering the Korean Nation: Territory, Identity, and the Korean Diaspora

Cathy Wilcock  
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The Importance of Shared Political Imagination in Diasporic Identity Formation among UK-Based Sudanese Activists

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PANEL BO10/M7

Book Panel on David Miller, Strangers in our Midst: The Political Philosophy of Immigration (Harvard, 2016)

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SATURDAY APRIL 16TH // SESSION XI // 2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL N1
Nationalist Insurgencies and the State

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PANELISTS
Peter Krause
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To the Victor Go the Spoils?
Hierarchy and the Impact of Group Strength on Regime Capture

Jacqueline L. Hazelton
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Andrew Radin
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Hybrid Hype: The Mislessons of Insurgency in Ukraine

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PANEL N13
Nationalism, Symbols, and Culture

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PAPERS
Zbigniew Wojnowski
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Building Capitalism in the Socialist Bloc:

Kristin Hissong
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Rethinking Well-Being: Nationalism, Memory, and the Capability Approach

Jonathan Blake
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The Politics and Anti-Politics of Culture in Post-Conflict Societies

Yemima Cohen-Aharoni
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The Temple of Jerusalem:
The Memory of the Future and the Politics of the Present

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PANEL SE2
* Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet States, 25 Years After Independence: Caucasus *

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PANEL BK5  
Violence and State-Building Processes

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PAPERS
Vladimir Unkovski-Korica  
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World War II and the National Question:  
The Ethnic Cleansing of Germans from the Vojvodina and Post-War Yugoslav Federalism

Mila Dragojevic  
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Violence, Borders, and Political Ethnicities in Croatia

Gordana Bozic  
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Violence Against Women and Women Against Violence During the War:  
Field Results from Ten Bosnian Villages

Pellumb Kelmendi  
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When and Why Nonviolent Movements Give Way to Armed Insurrection: Evidence from Kosovo

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL BK16
Historical Perspectives on Nationalism and State-Building

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PAPERS
Ali Zeren
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From Independence to War: The Origins of Post-Ottoman Irredentism in the Balkans

Stefan Peychev
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One Plan, Two Cities: Imagining Ottoman Sofia in the Twentieth Century

Jelena Dureinovic
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The Turns in Memory Politics and Diplomatic Relations Intertwined: The Commemorations of the Day of the Liberation of Belgrade in Contemporary Serbia

Maria Falina
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Making Yugoslavia: Religious Diversity as a Challenge and Opportunity, 1918-1929

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL BK24

Negotiating Islam in Plural Societies: Institutional Choices, Local Traditions and Religious Practices

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PAPERS
Berfu Aygenc
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Post-Kemalism in Turkey

Arolda Elbasani
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Managing Islam in Plural Societies: Intellectual Ideals, Political Projects and Historical Memories

Laura J. Olson
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Pomak Women’s Narratives of Muslim Piety in Post-Socialist Bulgaria

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PANEL CE5
Roma in Romania and Hungary

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PAPERS
Lidia Balogh
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Allusions to Ethnicity and Social Status in the Crime News Released by the Hungarian Police

Andras Pap
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Racial, Ethnic, or National Minority?
Legal Discourses and Policy Frameworks on the Roma in Hungary and Beyond

Zsuzsa Plainer
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Memories of a Roma Colony in Romania Through Roma and Non-Roma Representations

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“People of Freedom and Unlimited Movement”:
Representations of Roma in Post-Communist Memorial Museums

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL K5
Identity & Memory Politics in Georgia

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PAPERS
Minna Lundgren
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Borders as Spaces of Risk: Power and Otherness along the Georgian-Abkhazian Boundary Line

Peter Kabachnik
(College of Staten Island, CUNY, US)
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The Soviet Past Today: Understanding Stalin and the Soviet Era in Georgia

Ana Kirvalidze
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National Identity and Collective Memory Formation Processes in Post-Soviet Georgia

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Georgian Alter-Nation: Counter Elites and Counter Idioms of the Nationhood

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PANEL R1
Memory, Politics, Affect: Rethinking Generational Transmission in Russia and Eastern Europe

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PAPERS
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The Sound of One Hand Clapping:
Second Thoughts on the Transmission of Memory in Russia

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Emma Williams-Baron
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Masculinity, Aggression and Soviet Ukrainian Selves:
An Exploration of the Reception of Fieldwork in Ukrainian Sex by Oksana Zabuzhko

Anton Popov
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Flags, Churches and Other “Dysfunctional Places”:
Memory of (post)Socialism in a Georgian Town

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PANEL R11
*Media and Nationalism in the Digital Age*

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Kevin Limonier  
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*How Internet Became an Object of Identity: The Case of Runet*

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*Transnational Civic Activity Online and Offline: Young Russian-Speakers in North-East Europe*

Stefan Stankovic  
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*Globalizing the Past and Visualizing the Future: The Circassian Internet Campaign for Recognition in the Context of Sochi 2014*

Natalia Ishchenko  
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*War Myths Creation and a Role of Mass Media*

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PANEL TK4/M16
Syrian Refugees and the Transnational Implications of the War

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The Politics of Immigration and Asylum in Greece

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Syrian Refugees in Turkish Agriculture

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Adil Çamur
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Reaching Out to Syrian Refugees in Izmir:
Society for Building a Solidarity Bridge between Peoples

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EU, NATO and Ukraine

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The Administrators of Sovereignty:
The Crisis in Ukraine and European Constitutional Interventionism

Robert M. Jenkins
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The Crisis in Ukraine and the Contradictions of EU Foreign and Security Policy

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The “Soft Balance of Power”:
Measuring EU and Russian Soft Power in Ukraine

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PANEL BO5/U14

*Book Panel on Tarik Cyril Amar, The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv (Cornell, 2015)*

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PANEL M5

Impact of Diaspora Mobilization: Bridging Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives

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PAPERS

Maria Koinova
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“Politically Relevant Environment” for Transnational Diaspora Mobilization

Klavdia Tatar
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Still ‘Wedded to the Cause’?: Ethnic-Based Political Activism of Ukrainian Canadians and Canada’s Ukrainian Policies (1991-2014)

Dženeta Karabegović
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Sustaining Peace from Afar? Diaspora Translocal Engagement

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PANEL N2
*Nationalism and History*

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PAPERS
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*Ethnic Autonomy*

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*A Theory of Identity Choice: Religion, Ethnicity and the State*

Jessica Valisa
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*Neo-Turanism and Neo-Eurasianism: Two Emerging Ideologies in a Post-Modern World*

Meirav Jones
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*Jewish Sovereignty and the Foundations of the Modern State*

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