

29th Annual World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN)

22-24 MAY 2025

Convention Panels

Session 1

THURSDAY MAY 16, 10.00 -11.40 AM

Session 2

THURSDAY MAY 16, 12.00-1.40 PM

Session 3

THURSDAY MAY 16, 3.20-5.00 PM

Session 4

THURSDAY MAY 16, 5.20-7.00 PM

Session 5

FRIDAY MAY 17, 10.00-11.40 AM

Session 6

FRIDAY MAY 17, 12.00-1.40 PM

Session 7

FRIDAY MAY 17, 3.20-5.00 PM

Session 8

SATURDAY MAY 18, 10.00-11.40 AM

Session 9

SATURDAY MAY 18, 12.00-1.40 PM

PANEL BK5
Language, Education, Belonging

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501A

CHAIR

Dea Marić

(U of Zagreb, Croatia)

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PAPERS

Robert Greenberg

(U of Newcastle, Australia)

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Thirty Years after Dayton:

The Status of the Bosnian and Serbian Languages in Post-Yugoslav States

Mehmet Yavuz

(Kansas State U, US)

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Umut Ozkaleli

(Ada U, Azerbaijan)

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*Queering Microaggression and Social identity Complexity
in Post-Accord Bosnia and Herzegovina*

Elena Petroska

(Montana State U, US)

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Unsubstantiated Denial:

Bulgarian Efforts to Undermine Macedonian Linguistic Identity

DISCUSSANT

Emina Zoletic

(U of Warsaw, Poland)

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PANEL BK8
**Ageing and Demographic Nationalism
in Southeast Europe**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501B

CHAIR

Claudia Laštro

(U of Graz, Austria)

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PAPERS

Andi Balla

(Leibniz Institute, Germany)

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*Demographic Anxiety in Albania:
Impact of Emigration on
a Rapidly Aging Society*

Orsolya Udvari

(Hungarian Demographic
Research Institute)

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*Exploring Ageing in Population Discourses:
A Media Analysis from Hungary*

Ivana Spirovska

(U of Graz, Austria)

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*The "Apocalypse": Demographic Nationalism
and Ageing Amidst Population Decline in
Bulgaria, North Macedonia and Serbia*

DISCUSSANT

Florian Bieber

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PANEL CE5
**Central European Political Movements
in the 19th Century**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 402

CHAIR

Bat-Sheva Margalit Stern

(Schechter Institute of
Jewish Studies, Israel)

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PAPERS

Kellen Sincoff

(NYU, US)

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Transatlantic Nationalism and the Sorbian Diaspora

Cosmin-Ionuț Mihuț

(Alexandru Ioan Cuza U Iasi, Romania)

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Wallachia's Path to Modernity between Russia and France (1836-1842)

Nelu Cristian Ploscaru

(Alexandru Ioan Cuza U Iasi, Romania)

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Parochialism, Local Power and Identity:

Lasi, Chernivtsi and Kishinev in the Second Half of the 19th Century

Ladislav Vörös

(Institute of History SAS, Bratislava)

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*A Typical Hungarian Party? Political Strategies of the Slovak National Party
in the Dualist Kingdom of Hungary*

Elif Sinan

(NYU, US)

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*Music, Nationalism, and Rebellion: How Hungarian and Czech Composers
Expressed Nationalist Sentiments in Their Music in the Habsburg Monarchy*

DISCUSSANT

Adam Fagan

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PANEL CE9
**Nationalist Policies and Illiberalism
in Central Europe**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 402B

CHAIR

Márk Sima

(U of the National Education Commission, Poland)

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PAPERS

Laura Howells

(Princeton U, US)

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*Consequences of Contemporary Nation-Building:
The Effects of a Nationwide Monolingual Education Policy in Estonia*

Codin Alexander Olteanu

(Queen's U, Canada)

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*Beyond the Culture as Security and Security as Culture Double Helix
of the European Project: A Romanian Case Study*

Zsuzsanna Arendas

(Centre for Social Sciences,
Democracy Institute, Hungary)

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*From Promising Students to Precarious Migrants: The Paradoxes of Hungary's
Stipendium Hungaricum Program Amidst Political Illiberalism*

Mitchell Rutledge

(Columbia U, US)

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*The Rise of Illiberalism in Poland: LGBTQ+ Rights & the EU's Role in Influencing
Their Reception Amongst the Polish Population*

DISCUSSANT

Stephen Deets

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PANEL CE20

Beyond the Nation and the Empire

Identities and Subjectivities in 20th Century Eastern Europe

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 404

CHAIR

Peter Kabachnik

(CUNY College of Staten Island, US)

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PAPERS

Nataliia Laas

(Yale U, US)

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*Waste Anxieties and Environmental
Thinking in the Late Soviet Union*

Serhiy Bilenky

(CIUS, U of Alberta, Canada)

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*The Murder of Petliura and the Relations
between Ukrainian and Jewish Socialist Revolutionaries*

Andriy Zayarnyuk

(U of Winnipeg, Canada)

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*One Day in the Life of a Restaurant Inspector:
Towards the Origins of "Public Control" in Communist Poland*

Susanne Kranz

(Zayed U, UAE)

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The Male Body, Manhood and Masculinity under State Socialism

DISCUSSANT

Oksana Mikheieva

(Ukrainian Catholic University, Ukraine)

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PANEL CE22

Combating Russian Narratives in Central and Northeastern Europe

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 405

CHAIR

Jesse Driscoll

(UC San Diego, US)

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PAPERS

Olena Nikolayenko

(Fordham U, US)

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Trade Unions and Labor Mobilization in Belarus

Jessica K. Graybill

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Aleksandr Sklyar

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(Colgate U, US)

What Makes a State "Great?"

Considering two Derzhavas

Juris Pupčēnoks

(Marist College, US)

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*Responding to Russian Strategic Narratives
in North-East Europe*

DISCUSSANT

Inga Miller

(U of Albany SUNY, US)

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PANEL K8
**Nationalism and History in Armenia
and Georgia**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 405A

CHAIR

Ani Tepnadze

(West Virginia U, US)

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PAPERS

Diego Benning Wang

(Princeton U, US)

benningw@princeton.edu

*"Hail Lenin Pasha!": Revolution, Nation,
and Folklore in Soviet Armenia*

Daniel Pommier Vincelli

(Ada U Baku, Azerbaijan)

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*Armenian Terrorism in Italy (1974-1986):
New Documentary Evidence*

Sona Mnatsakanyan

(Humboldt U of Berlin, Germany)

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*Khachatur Abovian's Disappearance and the Politics of Mythmaking
in Armenian National Discourse*

Ivane Tsereteli

(Tbilisi State U, Georgia)

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*Political Figure as a place of Memory:
Eduard Shevardnadze*

DISCUSSANT

Oliver Reisner

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PANEL N5

The Politics of Culture under Populism

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 409

CHAIR

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(U of Ottawa, Canada)

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PAPERS

Santiago Lacroix Eussler

(Ohio State U, US)

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*Cultural Strategies of Populism: Explaining
Shifts from Statism to Market Reform*

Lejla Veskovic

(Ohio State U, US)

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*Manifestation of Culture in the Ideological Concepts of the So-called Russian
and Serbian World: Understanding Similarities and Differences*

Luke Bendick

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Populism in Poland: Culture as a Nationalist Tool

Luna (Xinnian) Duan

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Cultural Crossroads after Brexit

Zülâl Fazlıoğlu Akin

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Quest for Cultural Hegemony: Cultural Policy under a Populist Authoritarian Regime

DISCUSSANT

Katie Stewart

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PANEL N10
**Performing Everyday, Banal
and Popular Nationalisms**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 407

CHAIR

Jeta Abazi Gashi

(GWU, US)

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PAPERS

Jon Fox

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Why Humdrum Rituals are Good for Nationalism

Paul Hamilton

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Tristan Sheppard

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(Brock U, Canada)

Banal Nationalism in Canada:

Debating Canadian Political Symbols 1963-2024

John Bessai

(U College of the North, Canada)

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*National Identity and Cultural Resurgence through Public Media:
The National Film Board of Canada as a Lens for the Canadian Aporia*

Zala Pavsic

(CEU Democracy Institute, Hungary)

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Friendship, Mountains and Nationalism: Framing "Yugoslav" Alpinism

DISCUSSANT

Renée Buhr

(U of St. Thomas, US)

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PANEL R10
**Ethnic Minorities in Russia
Amidst the Ongoing War**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501

CHAIR

Klavdia Tatar

(U of Ottawa, Canada)

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PAPERS

Guzel Yusupova

(Freie U Berlin, Germany)

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*Intersections of Ethnicity, Class and Spatial
Mobility in Russia Unveiled by the Russo-Ukrainian War*

Elise Giuliano

(Columbia U, US)

eg599@columbia.edu

*Is Russia's War Stimulating Ethnic
Grievances in Russia's Republics?*

Petia Mankova

(UIT Arctic U, Norway)

petia.mankova@uit.no

*Sami Indigenous Sports:
Official Agendas and Local Memories*

DISCUSSANT

Kim Lacey

(Washington U in St. Louis, US)

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PANEL U3
**Public Opinion & State-Citizen Interactions
in Ukraine**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 1512

CHAIR

Sabrina Hermosilla

(Columbia U, US)

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PAPERS

Marc P. Berenson

(King's College London, UK)

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*How Do Wars Make States? Institutional Trust and Attitudes
toward*

Tax Compliance in Wartime Ukraine

Anastasiia Vlasenko

(Columbia U, US)

av3228@columbia.edu

*Through Protest to Reform: Euromaidan
and Decentralization in Ukraine*

Coline Maestracci

(EHESS, France)

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*A Moral Economy of Volunteers: The Return to Civilian Life of Ukrainian
Volunteer Combatants between 2014 and 2022*

Aaron Erlich

(McGill U, Canada)

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War Fatigue in Ukraine: Experimental Evidence

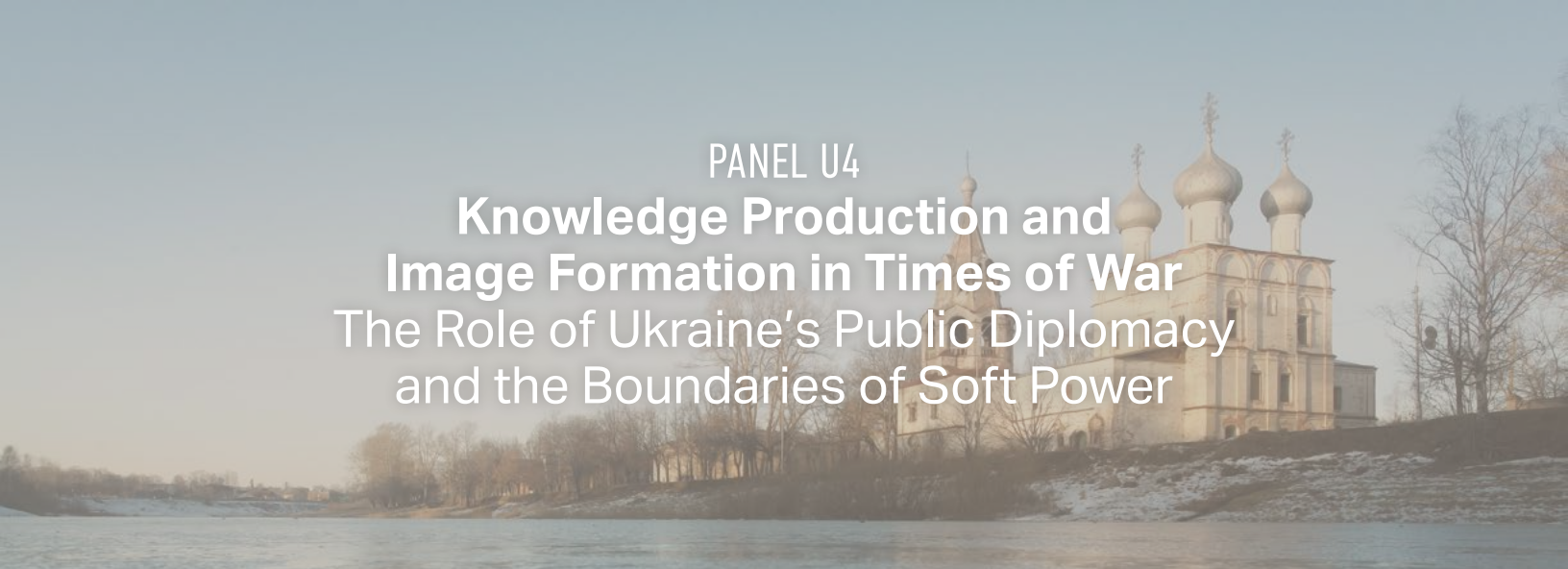
DISCUSSANT

Volodymyr Kulyk

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PANEL U4

Knowledge Production and Image Formation in Times of War

The Role of Ukraine's Public Diplomacy and the Boundaries of Soft Power

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 1219

CHAIR

Katerina Sviderska

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PAPERS

Nadiia Bureiko

(CEU, Austria/Foreign Policy Council 'Ukrainian Prism', Ukraine)

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Strong Effect of Soft Power?

Ukraine's Public Diplomacy in Times of War

Mariia Protsiuk

(Ukrainian Institute, Ukraine)

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Russian "Cultural Diplomacy" in Germany:

Destructive Influences under the Guise of Culture

Kateryna Bondar

(Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study)

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Citizenship Dynamics: Exploring Ukrainian

Youth Perspectives Amidst the Russian

Maksym Yakovlev

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Oleh Sabura

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(U Kyiv Mohyla Academy)

*How to (Re)place Ukraine on the Mental Maps in Latin America, Africa,
and South-East Asia: Reflections on Successes and Failures Military Invasion*

Hanna Starkova

(Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study/ Kuznets Kharkiv U, Ukraine)

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The News Agenda of the All-out Russian-Ukrainian War

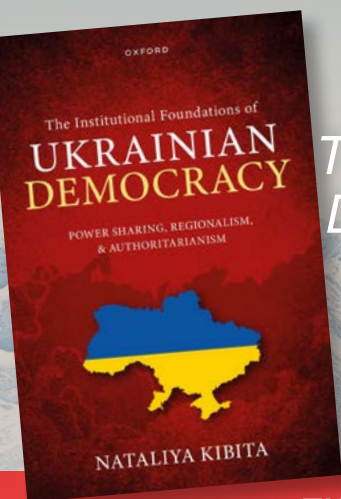
DISCUSSANT

Yuliya Bidenko

(GWU, US/Karazin Kharkiv U, Ukraine)

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PANEL U8

Book Panel on Nataliya Kibita's
*The Institutional Foundations of Ukrainian
Democracy: Power, Sharing, Regionalism
and Authoritarianism*
(Oxford, 2024)



THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 1201

CHAIR

Jessica Pisano

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PARTICIPANTS

Paul D'Anieri

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Mark R. Beissinger

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Nataliya Kibita

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PANEL U27
**Aspects of the Polish-Ukrainian Cultural
and Historical Encounter**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 418

CHAIR

Tamara Hundorova
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PAPERS

Katarzyna Jakubowska-Krawczyk
(U of Warsaw, Poland)
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*Themes of Resettlement and Refugees in Recent Polish-Ukrainian Literature:
the Experience of a Child*

Lidia Stefanowska
(U of Warsaw, Poland)

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*Operation Vistula: Forced Deportation of Ukrainians
by the Polish Communist Government in 1947*

Michael M. Naydan
(Penn State U, US)

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*Yuri Vynnychuk's Reconstruction of Polish
Cultural Life of 1930s-1940s Lviv in His Novels*

DISCUSSANT

Mark Andryczyk
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PANEL BK12

Book Panel on Ivana Stepanovic's
*Polygynous Marriages Among the Kyrgyz:
Influencers, Online Alliances
and Reconciliation
in Southeast Europe #Balkans*
(Oxford, 2024)



THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 501A

CHAIR

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PARTICIPANTS

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Ivana Stepanovic

(Institute of Advanced Studies Koszeg, Hungary)

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PANEL BK15

Hate Speech in Multiethnic Societies

Political, Legal, and Social Dimensions in the Balkans

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 501B

CHAIR

Rodoljub Jovanović

(U of Rijeka, Croatia)

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PAPERS

Elena Mujoska Trpevska

(Center for Strategic Research MAS, North Macedonia)

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*Words as Weapons: The Impact of Political Rhetoric
and Hate Speech on Democratic Stability in the Balkans*

Lidija Georgieva

(Ss Cyril and Methodius U, North Macedonia)

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*Hate Speech and Appeasement in Macedonian Society:
Does the Peace Agreement Justify It?*

Aleksandar Stevanović

(Institute for Sociological Research, Serbia)

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*Analyzing Hate Speech Within the Framework of Political Discourse:
The Case of Countries Emerging from the Former Yugoslavia*

Nikola Vujičić

(Union U, Serbia)

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*The Strengthening of Penal Populism in Serbia's Public
and Political Discourse*

DISCUSSANT

Robert Greenberg

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PANEL CE2

Noticing Otherwise

De-Centring Modes of Representation
and Research on Minority and Migrant Populations
in 'Eastern Europe'

(ROUNDTABLE)



THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 402

CHAIR

Dragana Svraka

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SPEAKERS

Mariana Irby

(NYU, US)

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Conceptualizing Racial Otherness in Russia:

Insights from Ethnographic Research on Central Asian Migrant Populations

Marija Norkūnaitė

(Vilnius U, Lithuania)

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*Studying Economic and Fiscal Dimensions of Citizenship
Among the Russian-Speaking Communities in the Baltics*

Alina Jašina-Schäfer

(U of Mainz, Germany)

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*The Labour of Belonging: Ethnography of Work, Human Worth,
and Embodied Hierarchies in East-West Mobilities*

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PANEL CE8
**Confronting Authoritarianism
in Central Europe**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 402B

CHAIR

Agatha Dudzinski

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PAPERS

Adam Fagan

(King's College London, UK)

adam.fagan@kcl.ac.uk

*Green Activism in the Era of Re-democratization:
Does a Centre-Left Government in Power Make a Difference?*

Stephen Deets

(Babson College, US)

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Confronting Populism in Budapest : Understanding Opposition Fractures

Vladimír Naxera

(U of West Bohemia, Czechia)

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Frontlash, Backlash, and Populism: (Not Only) the Czech Experience

Paulina Pospieszna

(Adam Mickiewicz U, Poland)

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*Exploring Citizens' Assemblies and the Commons:
New Pathways of Civic Engagement in Poland*

Cristina Ioana Dragomir

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Matei Lacatus

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*Environmental Justice at the Margins:
Addressing Climate Vulnerability in Roma Communities in Romania*

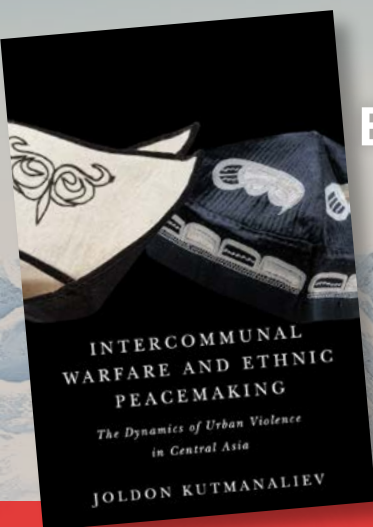
DISCUSSANT

András L. Pap

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PANEL EU6

Book Panel on Joldon Kutmanaliev's
*Intercommunal Warfare and Ethnic
Peacemaking : The Dynamics of
Urban Violence in Central Asia*
(McGill-Queen's, 2023)



THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 407

CHAIR

Nina Lutterjohann
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PARTICIPANTS

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Joldon Kutmanaliev
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PANEL K6

War, Violence, and Peace in the Caucasus and Ukraine

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 409

CHAIR

Kamran Memedovi
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PAPERS

Julia Vassileva
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*Women's Leadership in Peace Processes in the Post-Soviet Space:
The Cases of Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Moldova*

Jane Kitaevich
(U of Michigan, US)

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*Voices from the Borderlands: Formation of Public Opinion
and Regime Preferences in the Shadow of Conflict Violence in Armenia*

Nina Lutterjohann
(U of St Andrews, UK)

nl33@st-andrews.ac.uk

*International Organizations and Post-Soviet Conflicts
in Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine : The Limitations of Imagining Peace*

Ohannes Geukjian

(American U of Beirut, Lebanon)

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*Resolving the Russia-Ukraine Conflict:
Conditions, Obstacles and Prospects*

DISCUSSANT

William Buckley
(Georgetown U, US)

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PANEL K7
Refugees and Migrants in the Caucasus

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 405

CHAIR

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(College of the Holy
Cross, US)

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PAPERS

Maryam Sugaipova

(Norwegian Institute of International Affairs)

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*"Some Survived, and Some Didn't": Processes of Adaptation of Chechens
in the Qyzylorda Region of Kazakhstan between 1944 and 1957*

Ekaterine Pirtskhalava

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(Tbilisi State U, Georgia)

Lifestyle Changes of Deported Muslim Meskhetian in Georgia and the United States

Polina Vlasenko

(U of Oxford, UK)

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*Mediating Reproductive Labor: Migration Infrastructures
and Central Asian Surrogates in Georgia*

Valentina Chabert

(Sapienza U of Rome, Italy)

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*The Right to Return in International Law:
Lessons from the South Caucasus*

Evgeny Romanovskiy

(Charles U, Czechia)

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*Europe in the Caucasus, the Caucasus in Europe: How Europeanisation is Changing Local
Communities and how Local Communities are Changing Europe*

DISCUSSANT

Diego Benning Wang

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PANEL TK4
Defining Identity in Türkiye

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 324

CHAIR

Yunus Sozen

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PAPERS

Kutbettin Kilic

(American U of Ras Al Khaimah, UAE)

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Islam and Ethnicity: Secular and Non-Secular Forms of Turkish Identity

Ekrem Karakoc

(U of Binghamton SUNY, US)

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*From Assimilation to Independence:
Transition in Kurdish Identity in Turkey*

Silan Tank

(Bogazici U, Turkey)

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*The Political Consequences of Methodological Nationalism
in Analyzing Kurdish Women*

Erik Blackthorne-O'Barr

(Columbia U, US)

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*From Pedarşâhi to Patriarchy:
The Iranian Woman in Ottoman/Turkish Feminist Discourse*

Sumeyye Mine Itekin Gocer

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*Crises, Elections and Immigration Hostility
in the United States and Turkey*

DISCUSSANT

Halil Ege Ozen

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PANEL N4
Understanding Violence

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 411

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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*Killing the Nation: Genocide's Troubling Fit
with Human Rights and Criminal Law*

Henry Theriault

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The Nation and Nationalism in Genocide Studies

Giuditta Fontana

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*Addressing Fragmented Heritage after Civil War:
Peace Accords as Windows of Opportunity*

Emre Amasyali

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*Closer to the Source: Examining the Role of
Cultural Status Inequalities in Civil Wars*

Lou Raisonnier

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*Who Understands Violent Women? Reframing Women's Agency in
"Terrorist" Organizations Beyond Psychologization*

DISCUSSANT

Aaron Erlich

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PANEL N14
Nationalism and Colonialism

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 413

CHAIR

Katalin Rac

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PAPERS

Elissa Berwick

(McGill U, Canada)

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Dynamics of Anti-colonialism: Nationalist Movement in Ireland, India and Egypt 1905-1922

Anat Kidron

(Tel-Hai College, Israel)

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Negotiating Nativeness: Hebrew Education and Jewish Arabic-speaking Communities in Zionist Identity Formation

Eun A Jo

(Dartmouth College, US)

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Democratic Origins of Postcolonial Memory in South Korea and Taiwan

Paolo Perri

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Paolo Gheda

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(U of Aosta Valley, Italy)

Re-Imaging Belonging: The Commonwealth's Role in Redefining National Identity in South Africa and Rwanda

DISCUSSANT

Rashmini Koparkar

(Jawaharlal Nehru U, India/Harvard U, US)

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PANEL R8
Russian Uncivil Society

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 501

CHAIR

Ekaterina V. Klimenko

(Kennan Institute, US)

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PAPERS

Richard Arnold

(Muskingum U, US)

rarnold@muskingum.edu

The Difference a Subculture Makes?

Evaluating Biographies of Players from Private Military Companies

Matthew Reichert

(Harvard U, US)

mreichert@g.harvard.edu

*Some Origins of Post-Soviet Autocracy in
the University and Creative Union*

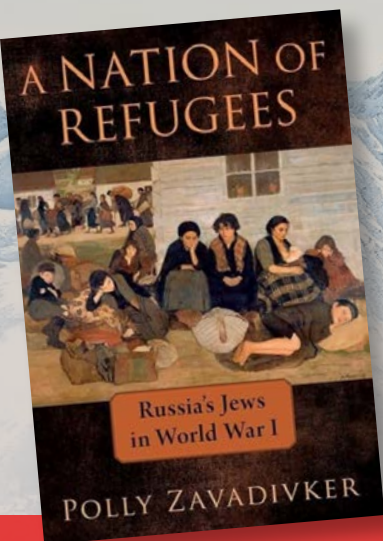
DISCUSSANT

Mariya Omelicheva

(National Defense U, US)

omelicheva.mariya@gmail.com

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PANEL R17

Book Panel on Polly Zavadiivker's

*A Nation of Refugees:
Russia's Jews in World War I*

(Oxford, 2024)



THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 405A

CHAIR

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Olga Petrova

(CEU, Austria)

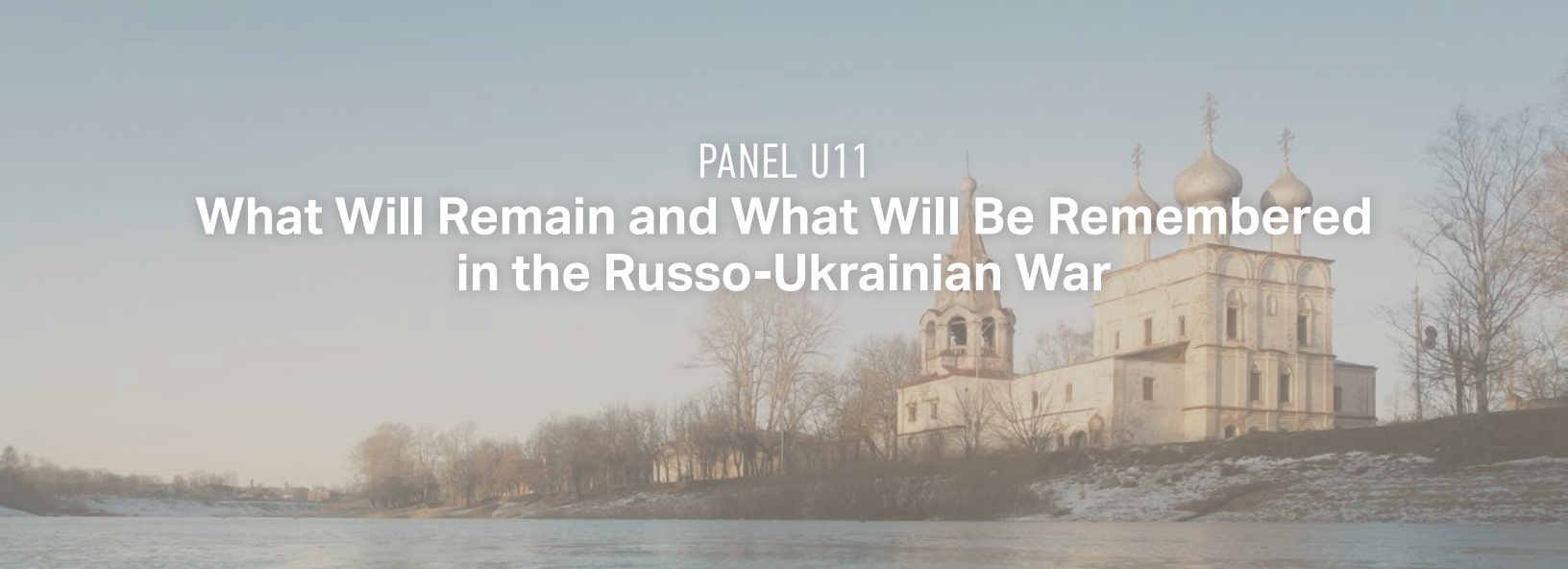
petrova_olga@phd.ceu.edu

Polly Zavadiivker

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pollyz@udel.edu

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PANEL U11

What Will Remain and What Will Be Remembered in the Russo-Ukrainian War

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 1201

CHAIR

Anna Kutkina

(UBC, Canada)

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PAPERS

Grace Mahoney

(U of Michigan, US)

mahoneyg@umich.edu

*Literary Memorials in Wartime:
Symbols for the Reshaping of Society*

Lubava Illyenko

(U of Augsburg, Germany)

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Restitution Begins at Home – on Looted Ukrainian Treasures

Yuliya Yurchuk

(Södertörn U, Sweden)

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*Heritage Diplomacy in the Context of
Ongoing War: An example of Swedish-Ukrainian Cooperation*

Svitlana Kot

(Saarland U, Germany)

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*Virtual Remembrance: Digital Commemorative Spaces
of the Russo-Ukrainian War*

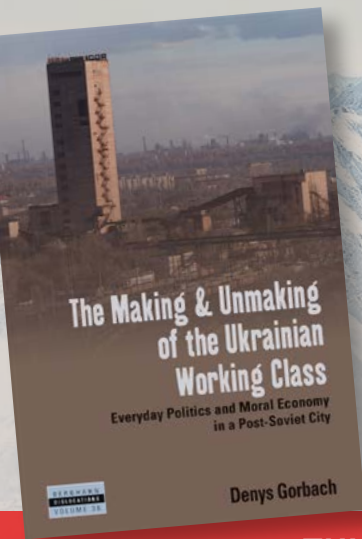
DISCUSSANT

Maria Sonevytsky

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PANEL U16

Book Panel on Denys Gorbach's
*The Making and Unmaking of
the Ukrainian Working Class:
Everyday Politics and
Moral Economy in a Post-Soviet City*
(Berghahn, 2024)



THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 404

CHAIR

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Denys Gorbach
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PANEL U19
War, Identity, and Political Behavior in Ukraine

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 1512

CHAIR

Timothy J. Colton

(Harvard U, US)

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PAPERS

Mikhail Alexseev

(San Diego State U, US)

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*Democracy Resilience vs. the War Of Attrition:
Panel Survey and Focus Group Evidence from Ukraine 2021-2024*

Henry E. Hale

(GWU, US)

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*War Dynamics and Presidential Support:
Attitudes to Zelensky in Ukraine*

Volodymyr Kulyk

(Kyiv School of Economics, Ukraine)

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*From Resolve to Fatigue: Ukrainian Identity
at Two Stages of the Full-Scale War*

Olga Onuch

(U of Manchester, UK)

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Effects of PTSD on Political Behavior in Wartime Ukraine

DISCUSSANT

Timothy Frye

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PANEL U20
**Europe on the Mental Maps of Ukrainian Intellectuals
of the 19-20th Centuries**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 418

CHAIR

Andriy Zayarnyuk
(U of Winnipeg, Canada)
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PAPERS

Yana Prymachenko
(Institute of History of Ukraine NAS, Ukraine)
yana.prima@gmail.com
*(Anti-)Utopian Projection: The Outcome of Russia's War in Ukraine in Russian
and Ukrainian Science Fiction as Mental Maps of the Future*

Tamara Hundorova
(Princeton U, US)
hundorova@gmail.com
*Yuri Shevelov and Arnold Toynbee:
The Discussions of Occidentalism in Ukrainian DP Camp, 1946-48*

Lidia Stefanowska
(U of Warsaw, Poland)
lstefanowska@uw.edu.pl
*Europhiles, Europhobes, Eurosceptics: Mystetskyj Ukrainskyi Rukh and
the European Dilemmas in the Ukrainian Emigration Environment after World War II*

Taras Koznarsky
(U of Toronto, Canada)
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Historiography in Viktor Petrov's Novel "Bez gruntu"

DISCUSSANT

Daria Mattingly
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PANEL BK14
**Contemporary Perspectives of
Indigenous and Minority Participation**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 501

CHAIR

Colette Mazzucelli

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PAPERS

András L. Pap

(HUN-REN Centre for Social Sciences, Hungary)

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*Indigenous Political Rights from a Nationalism and National Minority Rights
Perspective: a Legal and Political Context for the Failed Australian Voice Referendum*

Balázs Vizi

(HUN-REN Centre for Social
Sciences, Hungary)

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Minority Participation and Parliamentary Elections in Kosovo

Balázs Dobos

(HUN-REN Centre for Social Sciences, Hungary)

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*Talking About or to Minorities? Understanding the Role of Minority
Spokespersons on Facebook in Hungary*

Öner Yigit

(Binghamton U, US)

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*Determinants of Ethnic Minority Rights Recognition: Why Are Some Struggles
for Recognition More Successful Than Others?*

DISCUSSANT

Katalin Rac

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PANEL CE12

Activism in Hard Times

What Can We Learn from CEE Activists?

(ROUNDTABLE)



THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 402B

CHAIR

Lisa Koryushkina

(Williams College, US)

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SPEAKERS

Paula Pickering

(William & Mary U, US)

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*Civic Activists' Strategies for Addressing
Problems in Constrained Civic Space*

Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves

(Jagiellonian U, Poland)

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*Civic Power: The Polish Experience with Democratic Erosion
and the Transformative Potential of Civil Society*

Patrice C. McMahon

(Council on Foreign Relations /

U of Nebraska-Lincoln, US)

pmcmahon2@unl.edu

*Ordinary People : How Russia's War in Ukraine Created
a Transformative Humanitarian Movement in Poland*

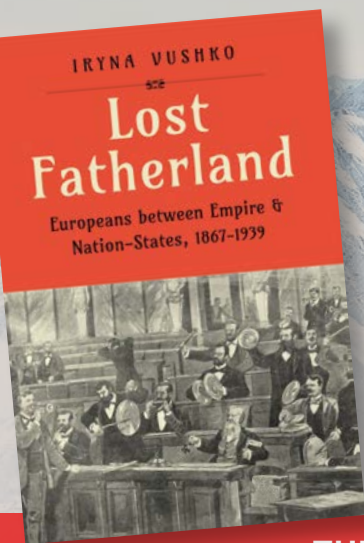
Adam Fagan

(King's College London, UK)

adam.fagan@kcl.ac.uk

*When Activists in CEE Make a Difference:
Evidence from the Clean-Air Campaign in Poland*

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PANEL CE21

Book Panel on Iryna Vushko's *Lost Fatherland: Europeans Between Empire & Nation-States, 1867-1939*

(Yale, 2024)



THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 404

CHAIR

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Cristina Florea

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Iryna Vushko

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PANEL EU1
Ethnicity and Conflict in Soviet Central Asia

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 409

CHAIR

Brent Hierman

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PAPERS

Zhannat Kundakbayeva

(Al-Farabi National U, Kazakhstan)

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*His Agency Far Surpasses Mere Resistance to the Soviets:
Alikhan Bukeikhanov's Project of the Kazakh Nation*

Manara Kalybekova

(Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology, Kazakhstan)

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*The Temirtau Events of 1959:
The Soviet Experience of Ethno-Social Conflict Management*

Didar Kassymova

(Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology, Kazakhstan)

didarkassymova87@gmail.com

*Ethnically Framed Claims for Social Justice in the Mining Areas of Kentau in 1965:
Soviet Politics of Administering*

Riccardo Mario Cucciolla

(U degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale, Italy)

rcucciolla@unior.it

*"Unfriendship of Peoples":
The 1969 Pakhtakor Incidents in Uzbekistan and their Aftermaths*

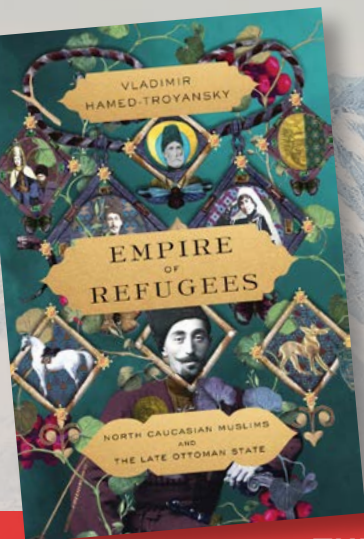
DISCUSSANT

Aziz Burkhanov

(Nazarbayev U, Kazakhstan)

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PANEL K10
Book Panel on
Vladimir Hamed-Troyansky's
*Empire of Refugees:
North Caucasian Muslims
and the Late Ottoman State*
(Stanford,, 2024)



THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 418

CHAIR

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Vladimir Hamed-Troyansky
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PANEL TK2
War, Memory, and Greek-Turkish Relations

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 405A

CHAIR

Ekrem Karakoc

(U of Binghamton SUNY, US)

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PAPERS

Alexandros Solomos Balatsoukas

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Contested Past(s), Fractured Present(s):

Museums and the Perpetuation of Greco-Turkish Nationalism

Nur Çetiner

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Ezgi Mutlu

(Istanbul U, Turkey)

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*Exploring National Narratives, Colonial Legacies, and Political Discourses through
Television: A Comparative Analysis of «Famagusta» and «Bir Zamanlar Kıbrıs»*

Guldeniz Kıbrıs Atabay

(İbn Haldun U, Turkey)

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Ezgi Siir Kıbrıs

(U of Rochester, US)

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*Cinematic Modernity: Early Republican Turkey's Use of Promotional Films
for Nation-Building and International Diplomacy*

Charalampos Gappas

(UNC Chapel Hill, US)

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*Between Multiple Identities and Nationalism: The Vlach-Romanian Relations and
the Greek State from the Interwar to World War II*

DISCUSSANT

Spyridon Tsoutsoumpis

(Princeton U, US)

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PANEL N2

Nation-Building, Institutions and Civic Participation

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 407

CHAIR

Robert Greenberg

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PAPERS

David Sinclair

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The Evolution of Somali Claims to Self-Determination in Ethiopia

Aviad Rubin

(U of Haifa, Israel)

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Homeseas in the 21st Century

Piers Eaton

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*Progress and Decline in Welsh Political Memory:
Differing Temporal Frameworks in Welsh National Imaginings*

Guillaume Rousseau

(U de Sherbrooke, Canada)

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*Unitary Nation-State and Decentralization
in France and Québec*

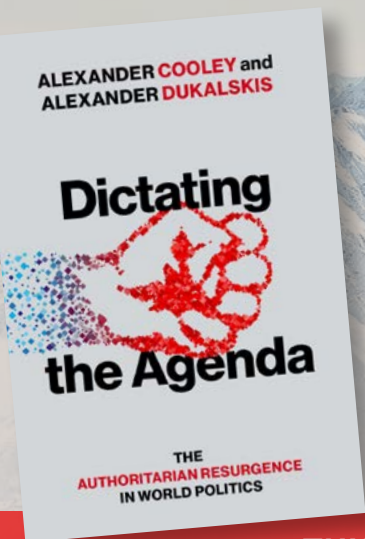
DISCUSSANT

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PANEL N11
**Book Panel on
Alexander Cooley &
Alexander Dukalskis'**
*Dictating the Agenda:
The Authoritarian
Resurgence in World Politics*
(Oxford, 2025)



THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 1219

CHAIR

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Alexander Cooley
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PANEL R2
Russian War Narratives

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 1201

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Ekaterina Klimenko

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*"Kievan Rus' Is Ours!" The (Dis)continuity of Russia's Past
and the Invasion of Ukraine*

Inga Miller

(U of Albany SUNY, US)

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*Barbarians at the Gate? The Trope of Barbarism in Russian
and Ukrainian Public Discourses, 2022-2024*

Andrey Davydov

(McGill U, Canada)

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Radical Right Narratives in Russian Pro-Regime Discourses

Martin Laryš

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*'Liberation' through Genocide:
Discourses on Ukrainians in Putin's Regime*

DISCUSSANT

Juris Pupčenko

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PANEL R5
**Russian Power Repertoires in MENA
and Black Sea Region**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 501A

CHAIR

Magsud Mammadov
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PAPERS

Jakub Godzimirski
(Norwegian Institute of International Affairs)
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*Russian Power Repertoire: What General Conclusions can be Drawn from the Russian
Engagement and Unwilling Disengagement in Ukraine and the MENA Region?*

Julie Wilhelmsen
(Norwegian Institute of International Affairs)
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Russia's Syria (Dis)Engagement: Moscow's Strategic Kabul-Moment?

Jeffrey Mankoff
(National Defense U, US)
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*Russia and Turkey:
The Strange Case of Great Power Cooperative Rivalry/Competition*

Muzaffer Şenel
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*Between Strategic Autonomy and Alliance Politics:
Turkish Foreign Policy during the Russia-Ukraine War*

DISCUSSANT

Robert O. Freedman
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PANEL U6
**The Past and the Present of Greeks
in Ukraine**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // 402

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Svitlana Arabadzhy

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The Greeks and the Development of Mariupol as a Port City (1780–1869)

Yuliia Labetska

(U of Cyprus / Mariupol State U, Ukraine)

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*Linguistic and Cultural Connections of the Azov Greeks as Seen
Through the Texts of Rumeika Folk Songs*

Panayiotis Xenophontos

(U of Oxford, UK)

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What is Greek Literature of Ukraine?

Tetiana Liubchenko

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*Digital Project "The Legacy of the Mariupol Greeks":
Studying the Dialects of Mariupol Greeks*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL U10
Popular Culture in Times of War

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // 405

CHAIR

Nadia Kaneva
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PAPERS

Olha Polischchuk
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Voices of War: Diaries as a Means of Reflection and Memory

Anna Glew
(U of Liverpool, UK)
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*Ukrainian Popular Music after Russia's 2022 Full-Scale Invasion:
Narrating Past, Present and Future in Times of War*

Sara Nesteruk
(Manchester Metropolitan U, UK)
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Memory, Testimony and the Imagination: Jerry Berman's Letters

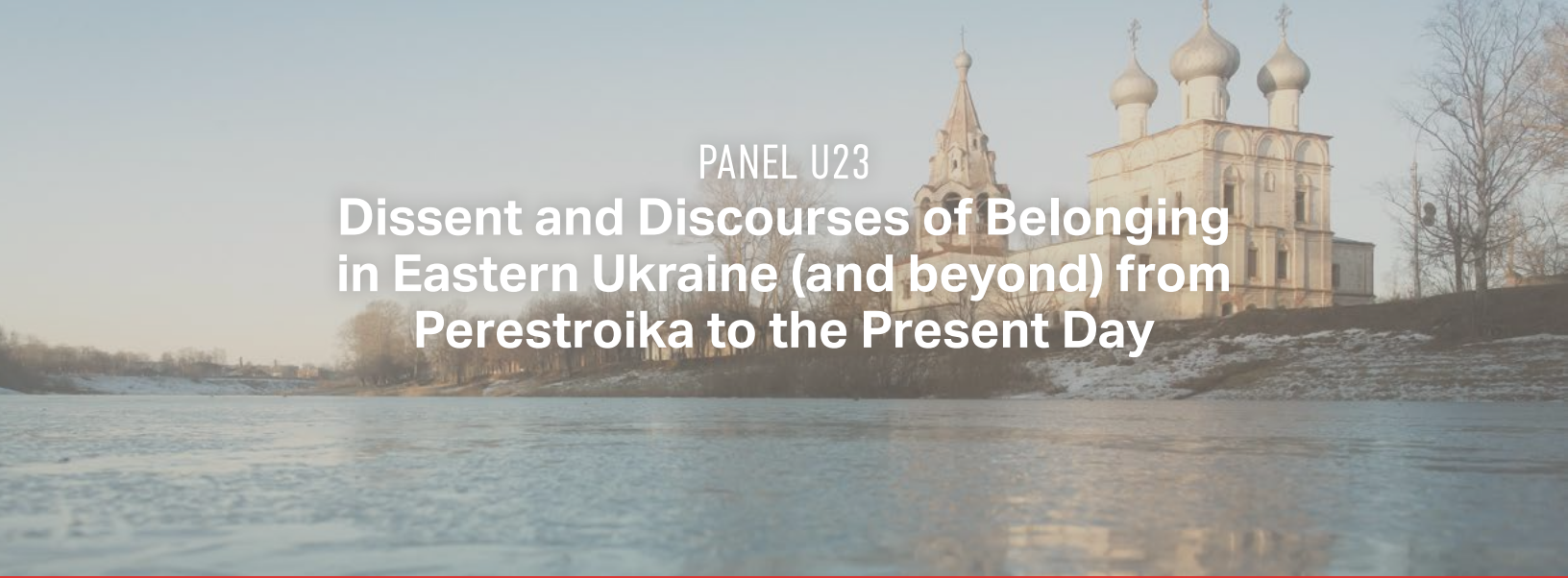
Yuliya Ladygina
(Penn State U, US)
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Bare Life and Occupied Body: Women and War in Recent Ukrainian Feature Films

Nerijus Milerius
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War, Reformable and Deformed Bodies

DISCUSSANT

Giuditta Fontana
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PANEL U23

Dissent and Discourses of Belonging in Eastern Ukraine (and beyond) from Perestroika to the Present Day

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // 501B

CHAIR

Oksana Kis

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PAPERS

Yevhenii Monastyrskyi

(Harvard U, US)

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*Strangers with Benefits: Political Migrants
and Belonging in the Late Soviet Union, 1953–1991*

Katerina Szylo

(U of Oxford, UK)

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*The Depths of Dissent: Labor, Environmental, and Political Dynamics
in the Donbas Miners' Strikes*

Daniel Thomas

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*Beyond the Wild Field: Ukrainian Historians' and Social Activists' Struggle
against Russian Disinformation about Donetsk and Luhansk Regions*

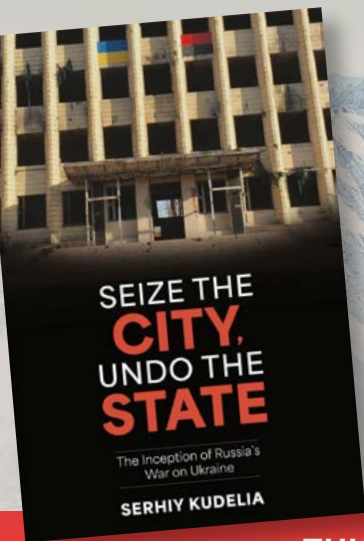
DISCUSSANT

Paul D'Anieri

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PANEL U35
Book Panel on Sergiy Kudelia's
*Seize the City, Undo the State:
The Inception of Russia's War
on Ukraine*
(OXFORD, 2025)



THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 1512

CHAIR

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Sergiy Kudelia
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PANEL BK1
**Identity, Nationalism and Nation-State
in the Balkans**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 501A

CHAIR

Danica Trifunjagic

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PAPERS

Jelena Đureinović

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"The Biggest Friend of Africa in Europe":

The Memory and Appropriation of Non-Alignment in Contemporary Serbia

Dragana Svraka

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Banal Nationalism in the Eye of the Beholder

Grega Ulen

(Tsinghua U, China)

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From Nations to Communes: Socialist

Yugoslavia and the Road Not Taken

Erkjad Kajo

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*Print, Mobility and Dissent: The Transnational Debates of
Late Nineteenth-Century Albanian Intellectuals on Nationalism*

DISCUSSANT

Nicole Albrecht

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PANEL BK7
**Understanding War and its Legacies in Bosnia
and Herzegovina and Beyond**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 501B

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Harry Blain
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"Our Credibility is on the Line": Reassessing the Road to Dayton

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*Far from Memory, Far from the State:
The Unwanted Matrix Pill in Balkan Post-Conflict State-Building*

Emina Zoletic
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*Intergenerational Perspectives on Mnemonic Processes and Identity Formation
in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Diaspora*

Sanja Vico
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*The Role of Focus Groups Moderators in Data
Collection on Topics of War Legacies*

DISCUSSANT

Faime Alpagu
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PANEL CE11

The Effects of the War in Ukraine in Central Europe, the Baltics and the Balkans

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 402

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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Janet Elise Johnson

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(Bronx Community College, CUNY, US)

Transnationalism and Feminist Networks

in Latvia in Response to Russia's War on Ukraine

Armand Goşu

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Alexandru Gussi

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(U of Bucharest, Romania)

Russia's Interference in the 2024 Presidential Elections

in Romania and Moldova

Alin Rus

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Sophie Gleizes

(EHESS/Laboratory of Social Anthropology, France)

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Ethnic Identity, Ritual, and Social Change

in a Romanian Community in Southwestern Ukraine

Milan Varda

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The Matrix Escalation: How Russia's Virtual

Power Escalates Post-Conflict Order in Western Balkans

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL K1
**Historical Memory and Narratives
in Conflict Transformation**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 402B

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Cécile Druey

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*When Trauma Meets Grievances: the Memory of the Stalinist Deportation
and Political Mobilisation in the North Caucasus (1986-1994)*

Murat Shogenov

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*Pragmatic Peace or Marginalised Voices? Historical Memory
in Kabardino-Balkaria during the Post-Soviet Transition in 1991*

Marat Ilyasov

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*Re-shaping History: How Regime in Chechnya use Historical Memory
in its Attempt to Justify and Encourage Mobilization*

Oksana Myshlovska

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*Spoiling and Negotiating Peace: Multilevel Relational Dynamics
in the Geneva Agreement of April 2014*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL M6
**Asylum and the Politics of Crisis
and National Emergency**

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 405A

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Ryo Kuboyama

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*The Genealogy of the Safe Third Countries Rule and Practices as Political Notion:
Its Conceptualization in Europe Between the Late 1960s and the Early 1990s*

Rey Koslowski

(U of Albany SUNY, US)

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US Asylum Policy, Immigration Courts and the Challenges of Deportation

Jeroen Doomernik

(U of Amsterdam, Netherlands)

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"Crisis" as a Tool of National Migration Governance

Tiphaine Le Corre

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The Politics of Crisis:

Small Boats, Brexit, and Symbolically Autocratic Policymaking

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL N1
The Far Right
Ideologies, Parties and Mythologies

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 404

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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(Turkish-German U, Turkey)

*Reimagining Europe: Populist Right
Campaigns for the 2024 EU Elections*

Renée Buhr

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*Under the "Protection" of the Right? Nationalist Right-Wing Appeals
to Jewish Voters in France, 2017-2022*

Florian Bieber

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*Nationalist Visions of Europe: Europeaness
as a Transnational Idea of the Far Right*

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Yunus Sozen

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*Divergent Right-Populist Responses to the
Syrian Migrant Crisis in Turkey and Hungary*

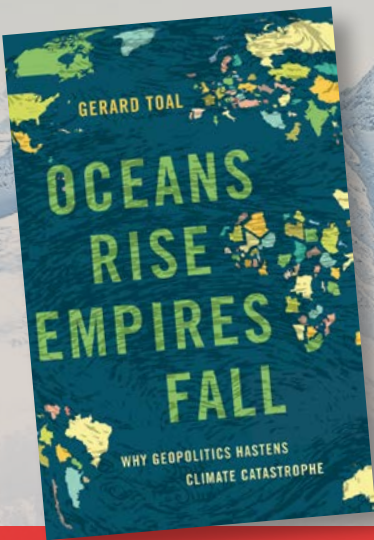
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PANEL N8

Book Panel on Gerard Toal's
*Entangle Oceans Rise Empires Fall:
Why Geopolitics Hastens
Climate Catastrophe*
(Oxford University Press, 2024)



THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 405

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Gerard Toal

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PANEL R6
Ideological Change in Russia
State, Society, and Military Developments
(ROUNDTABLE)



THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 409

CHAIR

Michael Reynolds

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SPEAKERS

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*Attack and Distract: Women Politicians on
the Frontline of Russian Disinformation*

Valentina Izmirlieva

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The International Face of Russia's "Church Militant"

Julian Waller

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*Reactive Elites and Illiberal Institutions in
the Russian Dictatorship: Ideological Maturation, Saturation, and Coherency*

Dinissa Duvanova

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*Right-Wing Populist Mimicry and the Evolution
of Russian Autocracy*

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PANEL R13
Russian Society and the War

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 418

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Věra Stojarová

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Building Russkiy Mir Online – Russia's Competing Narratives

Natalia Savelyeva

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*The Transformation of Social Contract in Wartime Russia:
The Case of The "Put' Domoy" Movement*

Thomas Sherlock

(US Military Academy, West Point)

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*How Threat Perception in Russia Divides
Society and Undermines Wartime Resolve*

Maria Snegovaya

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Elite Cues, Identity Primes and War Support in Russia

Grégoire Le Gall

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Defining the Other in Russian-Ukrainian Kinships

DISCUSSANT

Peter Rutland

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PANEL U2
Beyond the Contact Line
Occupation and Foreign Fighters in Ukraine

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 1219

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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Russia's Occupation of Ukrainian Territories

Fear, Violence, Collaborationism, and Moral Dilemmas

Yana Volkova

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Russian Extraterritorial Nation-Building in the Occupied Ukrainian Territories

Magdalena Lachowicz

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Occupation in the Name of Destabilization:

Russia's Policies Towards Donetsk and Luhansk

Kateryna Novikova

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*Researching Digital Societal Landscape of the Ukrainian Occupied Territories
in 2014-2024: Methods, Risks, Opportunities, Ethical Considerations*

Nick Pehlman

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Latin American Fighters in the Russo-Ukrainian War

DISCUSSANT

Jadwiga Biskupska

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PANEL U18

Ukrainian Women's Resilience During Russia's War on Ukraine

Sources, Practices, Potential

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 501

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Oksana Mikheieva

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*Women's Response to Occupation: Resisting Slow Dependency Mechanisms
on the Russian-Occupied Ukrainian Territories*

Oksana Kis

(Institute of Ethnology NAS, Ukraine)

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*"Combat Witches": Revised Tradition
as a Source of Women's Resilience in War-Torn Ukraine*

Mayhill C. Fowler

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*Women Theatre-Makers in Wartime Ukraine:
Reshaping Narratives and Networks*

Catherine Wanner

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Animals and the Women Who Save Them During War

DISCUSSANT

Alexandra Hrycak

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PANEL U33

Book Panel on Eugene Finkel's *Intent to Destroy*

(Basic Books, 2024)

THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 1512

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AUTHOR

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PANEL SE1

The End of the Nations in Transit Paradigm?

(SPECIAL ROUNDTABLE)



THURSDAY MAY 22 // Session 4 // 5:20-7:00 PM // Room 1201

CHAIR

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SPEAKERS

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PANEL BK2
Youth, War and Memory
(ROUNDTABLE)

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501A

CHAIR

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SPEAKERS

Ivana Polić

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*Youth and National Identity:
Croatian State-Sponsored Trips to Vukovar*

Vjeran Pavlaković

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*Political Graffiti, Street Art, and Murals:
From Vandalism to Sites of Memory*

Rodoljub Jovanović

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*Youth in the Post-Yugoslav Space: Navigating
Education and Public Memory 30 Years After the Conflict*

Dea Marić

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*Youth's Representations of Croatian History
Between National Master Narrative and Historical Thinking*

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PANEL BK9
Minority Politics Across the Balkans

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501B

CHAIR

Balázs Vizi

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Sciences, Hungary)
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PAPERS

Zsolt Körtvélyesi

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*The Balkan Chalk Circle or Weaponizing Anti-discrimination?
A Study in Competing Jurisdictions and Minority Rights in Kosovo*

Ruth Vollmer

(Bonn International Centre for
Conflict Studies, Germany)

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*"There is Nothing for Me There":
Access-Theoretical Analysis of Data on "Minority Returns"*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL CE1
**Utopia and the Nation in Eastern
and Central Europe**

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 402

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Zsolt Czigányik

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Nationality in Central European Utopias

Iva Dimovska

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*From Socialism to Utopia: Gender and Nationalism
in Post-1960s Yugoslav Writings*

Daryna Koryagina

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*Down with the Exclusivity of the Sun Machine:
How Should We Discuss Ukrainian Utopian Literature and its Authors
in the 1920-30s?*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL CE4
**Parties and External Influence
in Central Europe**

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 402B

CHAIR

Stephen Deets
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PAPERS

Ani Tepnadze
(West Virginia U, US)
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*Intra-Ethnic Cleavages and Ethnic Party
Formation in Post-Communist Societies*

Boris Sokolov
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*Does Disillusionment Explain
Euroscepticism in Post-Communist East-Central Europe?*

Robert Erdei
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*Bucharest to Brussels: The Eurorealist Parliamentary Diplomacy of the Alliance
for the Union of Romanians Amid Sovereignist Shifts in Europe*

Sandor Seremet
(Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, Hungary)
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*The Role of the Hungarian Community of
Zakarpattia in the Hungarian-Ukrainian Relations*

Claudia Postelnicescu
(U of Bucharest, Romania)
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*Russian Influence in the Romanian
Presidential Elections? The Case of TikTok
Candidate Calin Georgescu*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL EU3
Ethnic and National Identities in Central Asia

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 405A

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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Between Narratives: Contemporary Art Collectives in Kyrgyzstan Navigating Nationalism, Globalization, and Marginalized Voices

Brent Hierman
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*National Identification in Central Asia:
Testing the Effects of Modernization, Status, and Labor Migration*

Angelina Zsófia Nagy
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*The Korean Diaspora in Central Asia and
Its Impact on Relations with South Korea*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL K4

Governance and Accountability

Regime and Legitimacy in the Caucasus and Eastern Europe

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 405

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Lori Pirinjian

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*Caught Between Two Powers: Gender, Nationalism,
and Armenia's Domestic Violence Law*

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Jesse Driscoll

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*Backlash, Backsliding, Or Bullying? Whether Retrospective or Prospective
Voting Theories Better Explain Georgia's 2024 Election*

Julie Wilhelmsen

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*Resistance will not be Killed: Force, Consent,
and Russia's Hegemony over Chechnya*

Rosaria Puglisi

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*State Capture and the Security Sector:
Lessons Learned from Georgia and Moldova*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL M2
Forcible Displacement
Concepts, Identities, and Narratives

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 409

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Aya Boubel

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*The Interweaving of Language, Power
and Injustices in European Parliamentary Discourses*

Halyna Lemekh

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*Ukrainian Refugees in New York:
Embracing or Rejecting the Refugee Label?*

Robert Lipinski

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*A Tale of Two Contexts.
Ukrainian and Afghan Refugee Crises in Canada and the UK*

Medea Badashvili

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*The Russian Invasion of Ukraine :
Human Cost, Refugee Crisis and Migration Challenges*

Teodora Domotor

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*Transnationalism and the Trauma of
Expatriation in Sándor Márai's Life and Work*

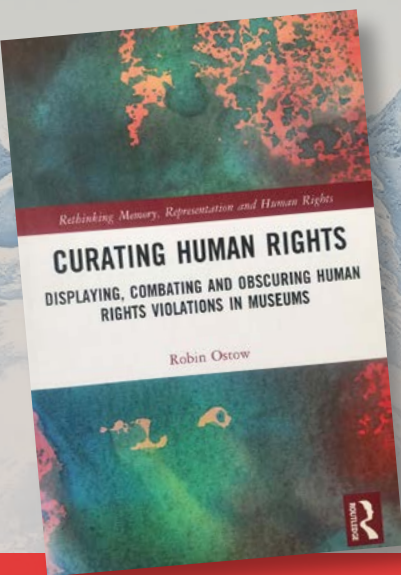
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PANEL N6

Book Panel on Robin Ostow's
*Curating Human Rights:
Displaying, Combating
and Obscuring Human Rights
Violations in Museums*
(Routledge, 2025)



FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 418

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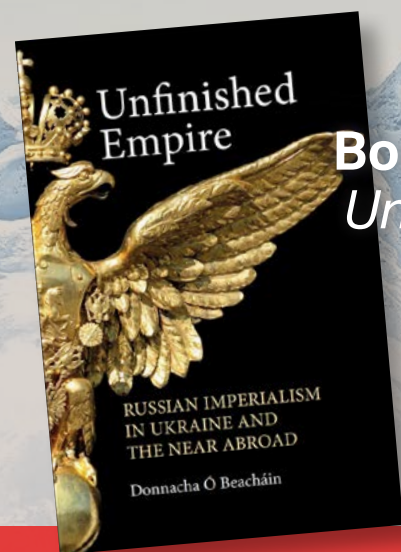
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PANEL R14

Book Panel on Donnacha Ó Beacháin's *Unfinished Empire: Russian Imperialism in Ukraine and the Near Abroad*

(Columbia, 2025)



FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 1512

CHAIR

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PANEL R16
Russians Outside Russia

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 404

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Alena Struzh

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*Homeland No More? Community Building
and Political Behavior in the New Russian Diaspora*

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The Identity Crisis in New "Relocant" Russian-Language Prose

Sophia Winkler

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*When Histories Collide: How Migrants Navigate Tensions
in Transnational Belonging*

Armina Galijas

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Russians in Belgrade

Violetta Soboleva

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*Higher Education as Battleground: Russian Fulbright Students' War-Related
Narratives as Transitions to Civic Development*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL U17
From Resistance to Recovery
The Role of Local and International Professional
and Creative Communities in Ukraine

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Alexandra Wishart

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*Understanding Ukrainian Cultural and Civic Activism through the framework of
Civil Society and/or Contentious Practices*

Yuliya Bidenko

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*Professional and Civil Society Coalitions in
Projecting Reconstruction of Ukrainian Cities*

Anna Vozna

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*Non-State Teachers' Organizations in
Rebuilding Ukrainian Educational System*

DISCUSSANT

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ECOCIDE IN UKRAINE

The Environmental Cost of Russia's War



DARYA
TSYMBALYUK

PANEL U21

Book Panel on Darya Tsymbalyuk's *Ecocide in Ukraine: The Environmental Costs of Russia's War* (Polity, 2025)



FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 1219

CHAIR

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PANEL U22
**The Transformation of the Politics of
Memory in Ukraine**
(ROUNDTABLE)



FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501A

CHAIR

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SPEAKERS

Ieva Gudaitytė
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Independent Community Radio Networks as Solidarity Infrastructure

Alexandra Wishart
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*The Role of Location and Gender in the Production of Solidarity:
Kyiv's Cultural Community at War*

Mariia Shuvalova
(U of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine)
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*Once Upon a Time, When the Beasts Spoke and People Were Silent:
Ukrainian War Time Fairy Tales*

Hanna Deikun
(U of Illinois Chicago, US)
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Documenting the War in 2022: My Favorite Job

DISCUSSANT

Emily Channell-Justice
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PANEL U28

Book Panel on Lada Kolomiyets and Antonina Berezovenko's's *Living the Independence Dream : Ukraine and Ukrainians in Contemporary Socio-Political Context*

(Basic Books, 2024)



FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 407

CHAIR

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PANEL BK6
Constructing Identity in the Former Yugoslavia

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 501A

CHAIR

Emina Zoletic

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PAPERS

Blaze Joel

(U of Texas, US)

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Sarajevstvo Under Siege: How the War in Bosnia Impacted Sarajevo Identity

Nicole Albrecht

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Yugoslav Rural Identity and Reactions to Political and Economic Innovations of the Communist Regime in 1952 Yugoslavia

Damir Vučićević

(U of Illinois, US)

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National Question: Non-Aligned Foreign Policy and the Development of Muslim National Identity in Yugoslavia

Bakir Ovčina

(Vanderbilt U, US)

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Teaching about «The Turks» - The Ottoman Empire in Socialist Bosnian-Herzegovinian History Textbooks (1945-1990)

Ivan Aleksandrov

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Building Overarching Identity through Propaganda: The Case of Yugoslavs

DISCUSSANT

Jelena Đureinović

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Daniela Simon
**DIE BEDROHTE
ORDNUNG
DER VIELFALT**
Kulturelle Hybridität in Istrien, 1870-1914



[transcript] | Historie

PANEL BK11

Book Panel on Daniela Simon's
Die bedrohte Ordnung der Vielfalt.
Kulturelle Hybridität in Istrien, 1870-1914
[The Threatened Order of Diversity:
Cultural Hybridity in Istria, 1870-1914]
(Transcript, 2024)



FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 501B

CHAIR

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Danica Trifunjagic

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Studies, Germany)

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PANEL CE3
Religious and National Minorities

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 402

CHAIR

Agatha Dudzinski

(U of Ottawa, Canada)

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PAPERS

Riho Altnurme

(U of Tartu, Estonia)

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National Ideas in the Study of the History of Christianity in Estonia

Marianna Makarova

(Tallinn U, Estonia)

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*History Perceptions and Identity in Context
of War in Ukraine: The Case of Estonian Russians*

Natalia Shlikhta

(National U of Kyiv Mohyla Academy, Ukraine)

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*Ukrainian Eastern Christian Churches in Times of War (2014–2024):
External Challenges and Their Search for Answers*

Ioana-Alexandra Nicolae

(CEU, Hungary)

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*Crusader of the Orthodox Nation: Copying the Hungarian Populist
Instrumentalization of Religion in Romania*

DISCUSSANT

Evgeny Romanovskiy

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PANEL CE19
Jewish History in Central Europe

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 402B

CHAIR

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Commission, Poland)
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PAPERS

Kelsey Davis

(ASN Convention, US)
kelseydavisfelder@gmail.com

*Crooks or Casualties: A Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis of the Jewish
Question Through the Lens of the Russian Press, 1860-1869*

Bat-Sheva Margalit Stern

(Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies, Israel)
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*Adam, Eve, and the Paradise Perdu:
Gender Paradoxes in the 1930s Polish-Jewish Right-Wing*

Felicia Waldman

(U of Bucharest, Romania)
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*On the Way to Palestine: The Incredible Journey of the Jewish Orphans
from Transnistria on the Bellacita*

DISCUSSANT

Katalin Rac

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PANEL EU5
Power and Violence in Central Asia

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 418

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Riccardo Mario Cucciolla
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*"Unfriendship of Peoples": The 1969 Pakhtakor Incidents
in Uzbekistan and their Aftermaths*

Lawrence Markowitz
(Rowan U, US)
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Changing Patterns of Organized Criminal Violence in Central Asia

Gemma Taylor
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*40 Warriors: Legitimation of the Kyrgyz Far- Right Under the Presidency
of Sadyr Japarov*

Akbota Karibayeva
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Ungrateful Successors : Why Do Authoritarian Leaders Turn On Their Predecessors?

Azamat Junisbai
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Erich Steinman
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(Pitzer College, US)

*In the Shadow of War: Exploring Perceptions of Russian
and Soviet Settler Colonialism Among Ethnic Qazaqs*

DISCUSSANT

Bhavna Dave
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PANEL K5
The Crisis in Georgia
Domestic and International
(ROUNDTABLE)



FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 405

CHAIR

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SPEAKERS

Stephen Jones
(Harvard U, US)
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*Cycles of Constitutional Crisis and
Revolutionary Upheavals in Georgia*

Natia Chankvetadze
(Harvard U, US)
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*Conceptual Manipulations of War and
Peace in Georgian Politics*

Malkhaz Toria
(Ilia State U, Georgia)
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*Weaponization of Historical Memory
and Georgia's Democratic Decline*

Eteri Tsintsadze-Maass
(Hampton U, US)
eteri.mass@hamptonu.edu
*Georgia's Crisis as a Litmus Test
for State Ontology*

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PANEL TK3
Geopolitics and Security Dilemmas in Turkey,
Greece, and the Caucasus

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 501

CHAIR

Robert O. Freedman
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PAPERS

Oya Dursun-Ozkanca
(Elizabethtown College, US)
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NATO's Deconfliction Mechanism and Greek-Turkish Relations

Klementina Kozma
(Mathias Corvinus Collegium, Hungary)
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*Who Wins on the Black Sea? Regional
Power Competition and the Role of Türkiye*

Mher Sahakyan
(Johns Hopkins U, US)
mher@jhu.edu
*The US Geostrategy in the South Caucasus:
Not Prioritized but Important Relations*

Magsud Mammadov
(Davis Center, Harvard U, US)
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*Asian Giants on a New Frontier:
Understanding China and India's Strategic
Engagement in South Caucasus Geopolitics*

DISCUSSANTS

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PANEL M3
Diaspora and Return

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 324

CHAIR

Daniel Naujoks

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PAPERS

Neophytos Loizides

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*Consensus Building: Identifying
Mechanisms for Peaceful Voluntary Return*

Emil Chról

(U of Warsaw, Poland)

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*A Study of Identity Discourses and Practices Among Diaspora and
Migrant Communities in Canada and Poland*

Klavdia Tatar

(U of Ottawa, Canada)

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*Trauma and Mnemonic Politics: The Role of Transnational Diaspora in
the Mnemonic Preservation and Promotion of Holodomor Narratives in Canada*

Mashura Akilova

(Columbia U, US)

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*American Dream: Experiences, Challenges, and Wellbeing of Central Asian
Immigrants' Integration in the United States*

DISCUSSANT

Matej Jungwirth

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PANEL N9

The State of the Everyday What Can We Learn from Two Decades of Everyday Nationalism?

(ROUNDTABLE)



FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 404

CHAIR

Sanja Vico

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SPEAKERS

Kanchan Chandra

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Majoritarianism Without Majorities

Paul Goode

(Carleton U, Canada)

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Moving Beyond Ethnography in Everyday Nationalism

David Stroup

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*Back to the Future: Lessons for the Future of
Everyday Nationhood from Two Decades of Research*

Jon Fox

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Everyday Nationhood Redux

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PANEL R11

Book Panel on Alexis Lerner's
Post-Soviet Graffiti:
Free Speech in Authoritarian States
(U of Toronto Press, 2025)



FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 405A

CHAIR

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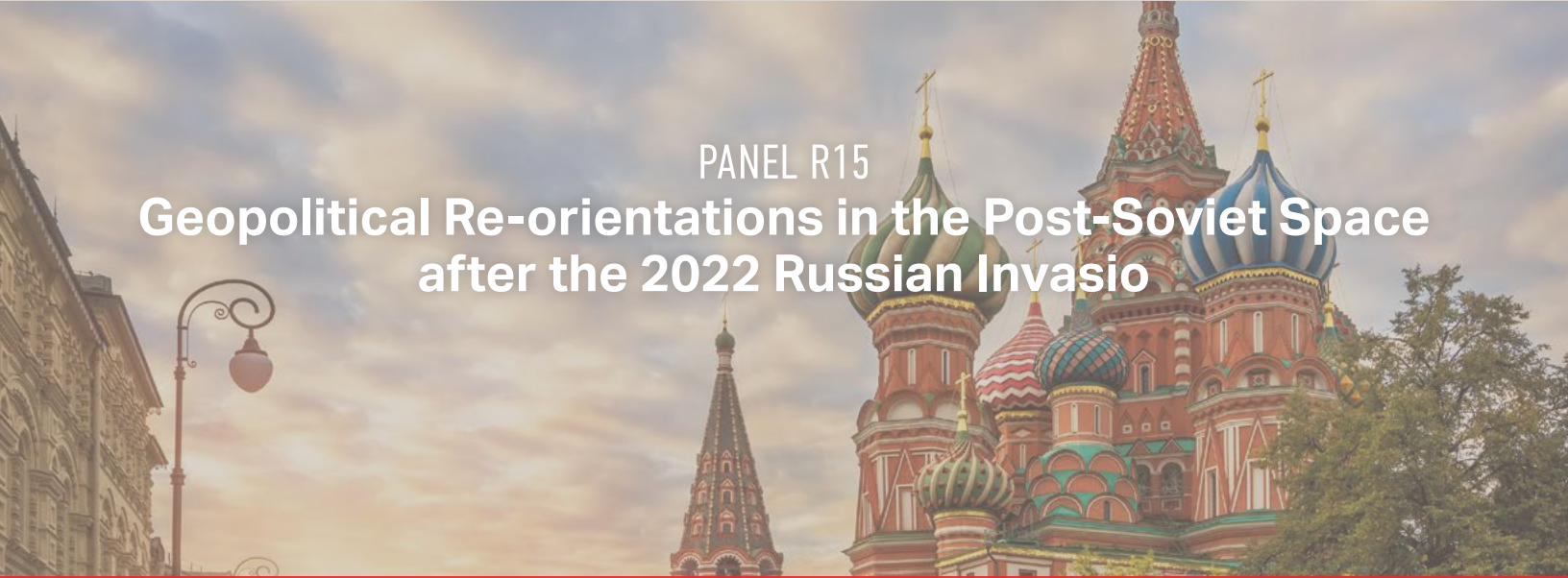
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Alexis Lerner
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PANEL R15

Geopolitical Re-orientations in the Post-Soviet Space after the 2022 Russian Invasion

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 1219

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Gerard Toal

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Theorizing Geopolitical Re-Orientations in Post-Soviet Space, 2014-2024

John O'Loughlin

(U of Colorado Boulder, US)

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Geopolitical Re-Orientations: Data from 2020-2024 Panel Surveys in Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Kazakhstan

David Sichinava

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Did We Become European? Tracking Geopolitical Attitudes Among Georgians Before and After Russia's War Against Ukraine

Fedor Popov

(U of Colorado Boulder, US)

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"Russia's Border Doesn't End Anywhere": Imitation of Homeland-Making in the Nationalist Rhetoric of Vladimir Putin

DISCUSSANT

Pål Kolstø

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PANEL U15
Remembering Traumatic Pasts
Jewish Ukrainian Relations in the 20th Century

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 1201

CHAIR

Françoise Cromer
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PAPERS

Roman Tashlitskyy
(U of Toronto, Canada)
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*Disinformation and Manipulation:
Kievlianin's Coverage of Ukrainization in 1917*

Olga Petrova
(CEU, Austria)
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*Negotiating Autonomy:
Ukrainian-Jewish Relations and the Revolution of 1917*

Victoria Khiterer
(Millersville U, US)
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*Peculiarities of the Anti-Cosmopolitan
Campaign and the "Doctors' Plot" in Kyiv*

Hanna Protasova
(U of Western Ontario, Canada)
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*Towards a Multidirectional Memory: How Ukrainian Literature Reflected
on the Holocaust in the 1940s–1960s*

DISCUSSANT

Keith Darden
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PANEL U24
Living Through War
Civilian Experiences of and Responses
to Russia's Invasion(s) of Ukraine

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 407

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Katerina Sviderska

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*The «Human Safari»: Drone Warfare
and the Targeting of Civilians in Kherson*

Elise Giuliano

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*Mapping Popular Attitudes in Kharkiv
before and after February 2022*

Emma Mateo

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*"If Not Us Then Who?": How Civilians Under
Fire Responded to Russia's Full-Scale Invasion of Ukraine*

Nicholas Kyle Kupensky

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*«Not a Hollywood Movie»: The Stories
of the Dnipro River Crossing*

DISCUSSANT

Olga Onuch

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PANEL U29

Book Panel on Tamara Hundorova's

*Transyt'na kul'tura
i postkolonial'na travma*
(*Transit Culture and Postcolonial*)

(Vikhola, 2024)



FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 409

CHAIR

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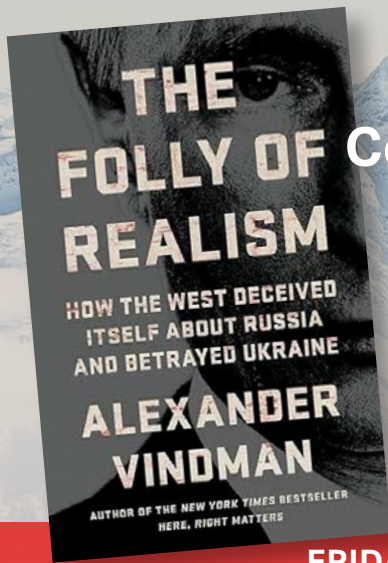
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PANEL U34

Conversation on Alexander Vindman's
*The Folly of Realism:
How the West Deceived Itself
About Russia and Betrayed Ukraine*
(Hachette, 2025)



FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 1512

MODERATOR

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PANEL BK3

Youth Identities, Activism and Politics in the Contemporary Balkans

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 501

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Karolina Lendák-Kabók

(Eötvös Loránd U, Hungary)

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*Navigating Dual Identities: Youth Perspectives from
Mixed Serb-Hungarian Families in Vojvodina (Serbia)*

Gala Naseva

(U of Graz, Austria)

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*The Intersection of Activism and Contemporary Theatre: Challenging Gender
Dynamics in Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia*

Danica Trifunjagić

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Daniela Simon

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(Institute for Danube Regional Studies, Germany)

*Media Coverage of Student Protests
in Serbia in 1996-1997 and 2024-2025*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL CE6
Migration Debates in Central Europe

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 402

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Klaas Anders
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*Between Inclusion and Exclusion: Czechoslovak Migration in Austria
between Anti-Communism and Eastern Europeanism*

Vera Messing
(Institute for Sociology HUN-REN, Hungary)
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*Migration-Making in the Illiberal Autocratic Contexts:
The Case of Hungary*

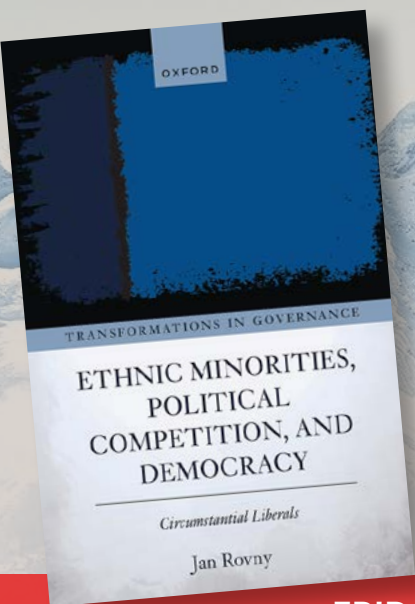
Timothy Anderson
(Tallinn U, Estonia)
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*Reimagining "Estonianness": Borders, Belonging,
and National Narrative in an Estonian Asylum Center*

Matej Jungwirth
(Northwestern U, US)
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*Thinking About Going Back Home in War:
Ukrainian Refugees in the Czech Republic*

DISCUSSANT

Alexandra Novitskaya
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PANEL CE17

Book Panel on Jan Rovny's
Book Panel on Jan Rovny's
Ethnic Minorities, Political
Competition, and Democracy :
Circumstantial Liberals
(Oxford, 2024)



FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 402B

CHAIR

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PANEL EU4
Geopolitics in Central Asia and the Caucasus

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 405A

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Raushan Zhandayeva

(GWU, US)

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*Anxiety and Strategic Narratives About the War in Ukraine:
Lessons from Kazakhstan*

Shahnoza Nozimova

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*Reproductive Silk Road:
Emerging Trends in Mobilities and Fertility Care in Central Asia*

Angelina Zsófia Nagy

(John von Neumann U, Hungary)

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*The Korean Diaspora in Central Asia and
Its Impact on Relations with South Korea*

Alec Bresler

(Independent Scholar, US)

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Jessica Graybill

(Colgate U, US)

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*The Politics of Infrastructure:
Post-Soviet Sovereignty and China's New Silk Road*

DISCUSSANT

Brent Hierman

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PANEL K9
Armenia and Azerbaijan

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 407

Asya Darbinyan

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PAPERS

Anna Gvetadze

(Tbilisi State U, Georgia)
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*Exploring the Diaspora Interactions and Acculturation Experiences
of Armenians and Azeris in Georgia*

Anatolii Tokmantcev

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Religious Nationalism and Protestant Religious Minorities in Post-Soviet Armenia

Cesare Figari Barberis

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Narratives of Displaced Azerbaijanis: Trauma, Blame and Reconciliation

Piotr Sieniawski

(Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński U, Poland)
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Mechanisms of De Facto States' Extinction: The Case of Nagorno-Karabakh

Margarita Tadevosyan

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Armenia 2020–2025: The Evolving Vision of Peace—Elusive or Real?

DISCUSSANT

Henry Theriault

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PANEL M5

Book Panel on Volha Charnysh's
*Uprooted: How post-WWII Population
Transfers Remade Europe*
(Cambridge, 2024)



FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 324

MODERATOR

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Volha Charnysh

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PANEL N7
Nationalism in the US and Canada

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 409

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Anastasja Abraham

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The Legacy of the Lost Cause in American Politics

Halil Ege Ozen

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The American Melting Pot Reconsidered: Racial, Ethnic and Immigration Status Interactions in National Belongingness

Eteri Tsintsadze-Maass

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The Enduring Narrative of American Exceptionalism

Sabine Mannitz

(Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, Germany)

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The Continuum of Violence in (Post-)Colonial Figurations: Memories of and Memories Before Violence in Canadian Settler Society

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL N12
Nationalism in South Asia

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 418

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Deniz Aksoy
(Washington U in St. Louis, US)
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*Territorial Disputes and Inter-Ethnic Relations:
Evidence from India*

Sobia Paracha
(Syracuse U, US)
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*From Entrenched to Abandoned:
Domestic Drivers of Nationalism in Pakistan's Territorial Conflicts*

Samia Khan
(Queen's U, Canada)
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Rewriting a Common Past by Engineering the Present

DISCUSSANT

Komal Preet Kaur
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PANEL R9
Russia's External Influence
Past and Present

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 501A

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Tatyana Muradova

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*Hijacking 1940s Pan-Slavism in America:
Soviet Russia's Missed Opportunity*

Ryan Hitch

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*The Legacy of Power: Network Coercion
and Russian Influence in the Post-Soviet Space*

Anna Batta

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Russia-German Relations in the Context of the Ukraine War

Dessie Zagorcheva

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The Global Authoritarian Network That Challenges Democracies

DISCUSSANT

Natalia Savelyeva

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PANEL R18

Book Panel on Ekaterina Haskin's
*Remembering the War,
Forgetting the Terror:
Appeals to Family Memory
in Putin's Russia*
(Penn State, 2024)



FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 501B

CHAIR

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PANEL U12
**Russia's War Against Ukraine
in the Information Space**

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 404

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Antonina Berezovenko
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*Russia's War against Ukraine:
The Information Front Line*

Olha Homilko
(Skovoroda Institute of Philosophy, Ukraine)
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*Fake News as an Information Weapon
in the Russian War against Ukraine*

Lada Kolomiyets
(Dartmouth College, US / Shevchenko U, Kyiv, Ukraine)
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*Neo-folkloric War Narration Strategies
on Ukrainian Public Platforms*

DISCUSSANT

Victoria Somoff
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PANEL U30
Russia's Aggression against Ukraine
and Fields of Study
(ROUNDTABLE)



FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 1201

CHAIR

John Vsetecka

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SPEAKERS

Peter Rutland

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*The Limits of Realism in Explaining the
Russo-Ukrainian War*

Sophia Wilson

(Southern Illinois U Edwardsville, US)

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*Constructivism and Russia's Genocidal War
against Ukraine*

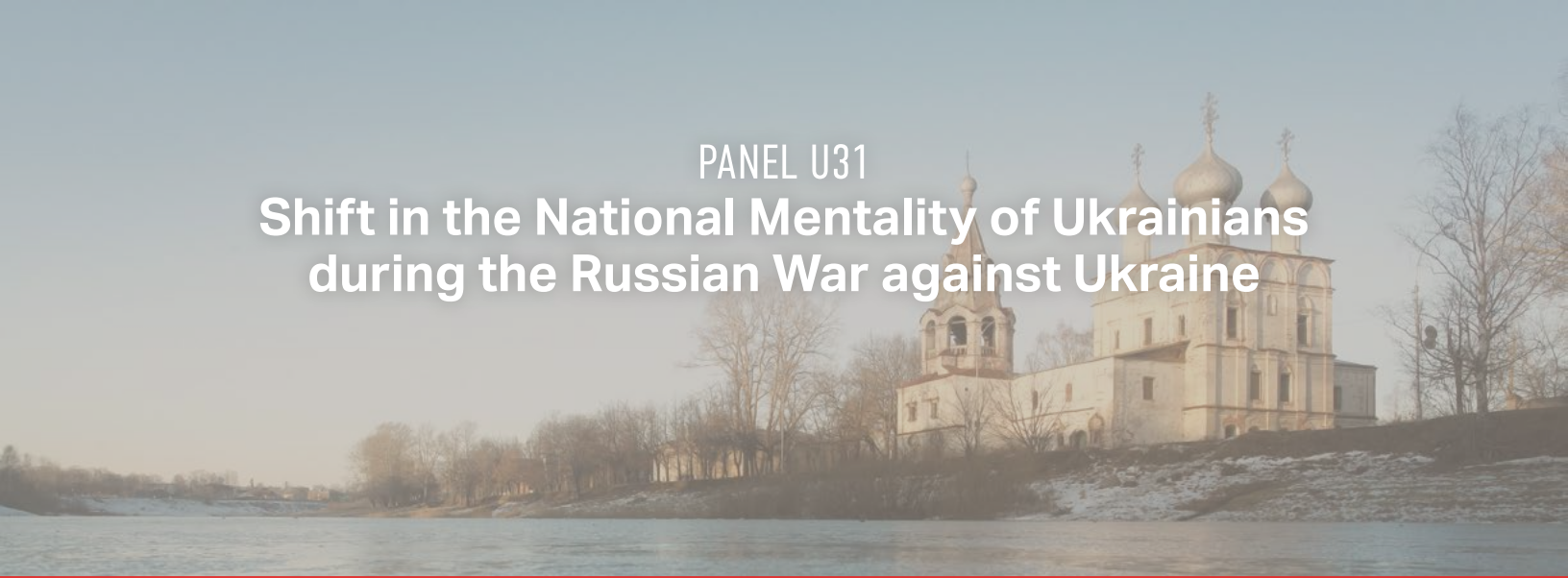
Oxana Shevel

(Tufts U, US)

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*Some Lessons from the Post-Soviet Era
and the Russo-Ukrainian War for the Study of Nationalism*

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PANEL U31

Shift in the National Mentality of Ukrainians during the Russian War against Ukraine

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 405

CHAIR

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National U, Ukraine)

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PAPERS

Iryna Voloshyna

(Indiana U Bloomington, US)

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*Genre Analysis of Vernacular Nationalism
During the War in Ukraine*

Olesia Naumovska

(Shevchenko U, Kyiv, Ukraine)

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*Contemporary Military Culture in the
Context of Ukrainian National Identity*

Ivanna Svitliar

(Old Dominion U, US)

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Renaming Toponyms as a Tool of Nation-Building in Ukraine

Nataliia Naumovska

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*The Phenomenon of Linguistic and Cultural Distancin
from Russian Influence as an Expression of National Identity*

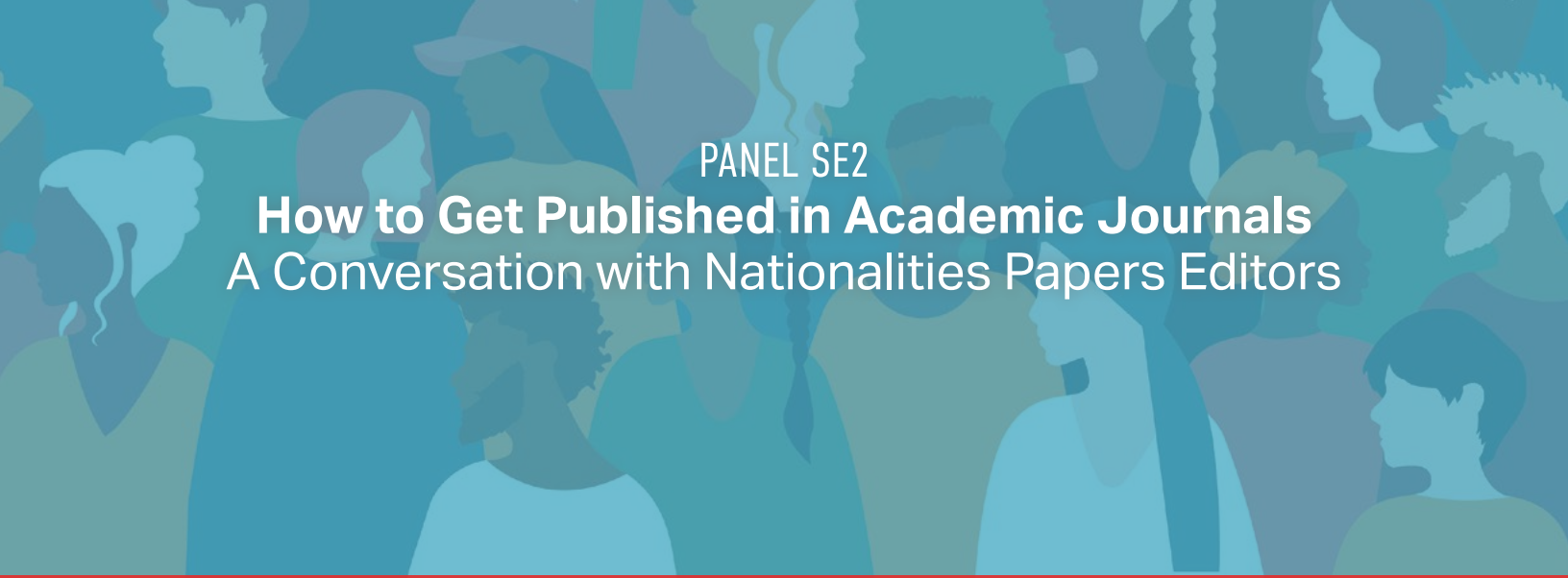
DISCUSSANT

Viktoriia Savchuk

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PANEL SE2

How to Get Published in Academic Journals

A Conversation with Nationalities Papers Editors

FRIDAY MAY 23 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 1219

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PANEL BK4
**Illiberal and Right-Wing Political Parties
and Elites**

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Lana Jurman

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*Slovenian 'Exceptionalism' and the Right:
Explaining the Resilience of the SDS*

Claudia Laštro

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*Do Elite Splits Stabilise Autocratic Regimes
After All? Insights from Serbia and Montenegro*

Vassilis Petsinis

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*Croatia's National Conservative Right
in the European Elections of 2024*

Denisa Sarajlic

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*The Role of Nationalist Rhetoric and Political
Narratives in Historical Revisionism and Democratic Backsliding*

DISCUSSANT

Dragana Svraka

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PANEL CE10

Party Politics, Democracy and Citizenship in Central Europe

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 402

CHAIR

Jan Rovny

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PAPERS

Thomas Szigeti

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*Untraveled Avenues: Hungarian Political
Imagaries of France, 1867-1894*

Magdalena Gibiec

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*Radicalisation to Violence:
The Assassinations of Minister Bronislaw
Pieracki and King Alexander I in Comparative Perspective*

Adam Hudek

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*Slovak Wartime Anti-Fascism as a Symbolic
Battlefield of Contemporary National Narratives*

Mihaela Serban

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*Law and the Collective Memory of
Communism in Romania: The Ursu Case*

DISCUSSANT

Emma Rosenberg

(NYU, US)

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PANEL CE15
Nationalism in Central Europe

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 402B

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Karolis Dambrauskas

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*Mapping Ethnicity-Property Nexus: Unfinished Post-Socialist Land Restitution
in Several Ethnically Heterogeneous Regions of Lithuania, Slovakia and Romania*

Janos Fiala-Butora

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*The Lasting Impact of the Beneš Decrees
in Slovakia: Applying Collective Guilt in the European Union?*

Michal Vasecka

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Primordialist Approach to a Nation within Diaspora Policies in Slovakia

Eszter Salgo

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Architecture and Nationalism: The House of Hungarian Music in Budapest

Márk Sima

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The Spatial Concepts of Polish and Lithuanian Nationalism

DISCUSSANT

Myra Waterbury

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PANEL EU2
Soviet Legacy in Central Asia

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 405A

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Aziz Burkhanov

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Narratives on Gulag Heritage in Kazakhstan: Memories, Reflections, Identity

Rustem Zholdybalin

(Nazarbayev U, Kazakhstan)

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*The Qazaq Newspaper's Cultural Reform (1913–1918):
Competing Orthographies and the Kazakh National Movement*

Erich Steinman,

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Azamat Junisbai

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Obstacles to Recognizing Russian and Soviet Settler Colonialism in Kazakhstan

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Day of Abolition of Kalym, 1924-1932

Kim Lacey

(Washington U in St. Louis, US)

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Rodina : The Evolving Identity and Belonging of Soviet Koreans Post-1

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL K2
Social Cohesion in Georgia

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 407

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Oliver Reisner

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Resilient bonds - On the Specifics of Social Cohesion in Georgia's Regions

Irakli Chkhaidze

(Tbilisi State U, Georgia)

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Manipulating Fears: Identity-Based Euroscepticism and Demonization of the West in Georgia

Nino Chikovani

(Tbilisi State U, Georgia)

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Heroes and Anti-Heroes in the Process of the Construction of "New Memory" in Georgia

DISCUSSANT

Stephen F. Jones

(Harvard U, US)

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PANEL M7

Immigration and Public Policy

The Roles of Religion, Ethnicity and Nationality in the Rise of Nationalist Populism

(ROUNDTABLE)



SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 409

CHAIR

David M. Elcott
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SPEAKERS

Barnabas Aspray
(St. Mary's Seminary U, US)
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*Immigration, Religion and Public Policy:
Case Study Hungary*

Zeki Saritoprak
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*Islam and (Im)migration:
Theological and Practical Insights*

Mariann Dömös
(U of Pécs, Hungary)
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*Immigration. Integration?
A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany*

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PANEL N3
**Populism, Cults of Personality
and the Politics of Crisis**

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 418

CHAIR

Paul Hamilton

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PAPERS

Olga Talal

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Ethnic Minorities at Times of Democratic Crisis

Peter Kabachnik

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Navigating the Personality Cult: Everyday Life and Place-Making in North Korea

Alberto Spektorowski

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*The Gaza Crisis and the West Ideological
Fracture: Israel and Western Right Wing Populism*

Peter Dan

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The Persistence of Antisemitic Memes in Political Cartoons

Sofia Tipaldou

(Panteion U, Greece)

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Lucia Alexandra Popartan

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*Spatial Dynamics of Populist Social Movements: How the Catalan Barcelona
en Comú and the Greek Golden Dawn appropriate the Public Square*

DISCUSSANT

Alexandros Solomos Balatsoukas

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PANEL R3
Russian War Online

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501A

CHAIR

Richard Arnold

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PAPERS

Scott Radnitz

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Russian Influence on European Online Extremist Groups

Věra Stojarová

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Building Russkiy Mir Online – Russia's Competing Narratives

Yann Breault

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Cybersecurity and Digital Threats: What is Russia's Strategy

Anthony Seaboyer

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Russian AI-enabled Disinformation

DISCUSSANT

Isabelle DeSisto

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PANEL R12
Russia at War
Regional Actors and Regime Legitimation

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501B

CHAIR

Agatha Dudzinski

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PAPERS

Irina Busygina

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*The Role of Regional Governors in Legitimation
of Russia's Personalist Regime in Time of War*

Helge Blakkisrud

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*Legitimation through Adaptation: Renegotiating Federal Narratives
and Local Memories in Regional School History Textbooks*

Bojidar Kolov

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*Legitimation From Below or Top-down Ideology Diffusion
Church, State, and Right wing Civil Society in Russia's Regions*

Matvey Lomonosov

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*Environmental Nationalism and Urban Citizenship in Contemporary Russia:
Moscow, Tyumen, and Ufa*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL U7
Identity and Belonging in Times of War

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 404

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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Nataliia Kasianenko

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*The Fluidity of National Identity among Russian-Speaking Ukrainians
after the Full-Scale Invasion*

Yuliya Krylova-Grek

(Uppsala U, Sweden / U Kyiv Mohyla
Academy, Ukraine)

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*Nation, Political Nation, and National Identity in Legal and Political Contexts:
The Ukrainian Perspective*

Daniel J. Epstein

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*Dr. Konstantin Frank: Unsung Ukrainian (Viti)cultural Hero?
In Search of Historical Root-Stock for Ukrainian Civic National Identity*

Ali Karakaya

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*(Y)Eva Biss(ová): A Case Study of National
Identity in Slovak-Ukrainian Literature*

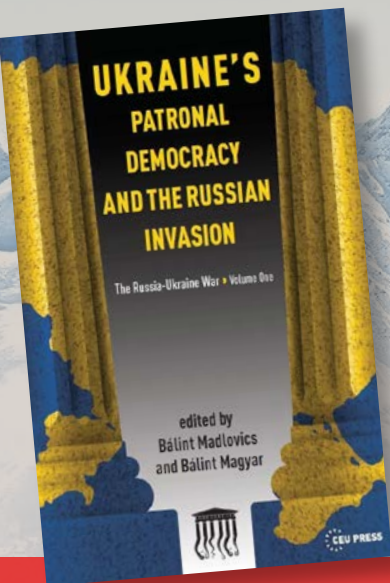
DISCUSSANT

Yana Volkova

(Queen's U Belfast, UK/Odesa Mechnikov U, Ukraine)

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PANEL U9

Book Panel on Bálint Magyar and Bálint Madlovics'

*Ukraine's Patronal Democracy
and the Russian Invasion:
The Russia-Ukraine War*
(CEU, 2024)



SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 405

CHAIR

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Bálint Madlovics

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PANEL U1

Nationalism, Sexuality, and Marginalized Lives Rethinking Gender, Heroism and Resistance during Russia's Full-Scale Invasion of Ukraine

(ROUNDTABLE)



SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 1201

CHAIR

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SPEAKERS

Maryna Shevtsova

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*"I am Queer, and I am Ready to Die for my Country":
Unpacking (Homo)nationalism in the Context of Russia's War in Ukraine*

Renata Konrad

(Worcester Polytechnic Institute, US)

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*Identifying Potential Human Trafficking Recruitment in Social Media Platforms:
The Case of Ukrainian Refugees in Europe*

Dafna Rachok

(UNC Chapel Hill, US)

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*Challenges and Difficulties for People Living
with HIV after the Full-Scale Invasion*

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PANEL U13
What Will Remain and What Will Be Remembered?
Part Two: Memory Politics and War(s)

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 1512

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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*Negative Heritage and Nation Building:
Museums of Occupation(s) in the Post-Soviet Space*

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Boris Noordenbos
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(U of Amsterdam, Netherlands)
*The Temporality of Memory Politics: An Analysis of Russian State Media
Narratives on the War in Ukraine*

Petra Hudek
(Institute of History SAS, Slovakia)
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*From Liberation to Controversy:
The Politics of Memory Surrounding Soviet Memorials in Central Europe*

Petia Mankova
(UIT Arctic U of Norway)
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*Project Nordland Railway: How Heritage Diplomacy Derailed
between Norwegian Aspirations and Russian Appropriations*

DISCUSSANT

Yuliya Yurchuk
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PANEL BK10

Media, Discourses and Practices of Memory in the Post-Yugoslav Space and Beyond

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 501

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Jeta Abazi Gashi

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*The Self and the Other in Public Diplomacy: The Shifting Discourses
from the Perspective of Actors in Kosovo and the United States*

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Foreign Wars, Domestic Foes

Michele Debernardi

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*The Rule of Money: Exploring EU Aid to
Serbia through the Lens of the Rule of Law*

Tijana Karić

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*Loyal, Critical, Detached or Distrustful:
Understanding Political Attitudes in Serbia*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL BK13

Book Panel on Sanja Vico's
*Doing Nation' in a Digital Age:
Banal Expressions of Nationalism and
Cosmopolitanism in Polymedia
Environments*
(Routledge, 2025)



SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 501B

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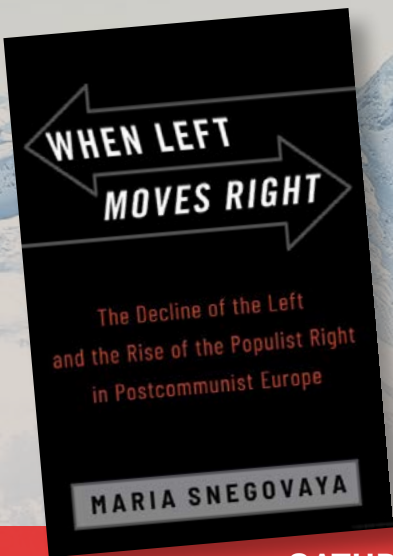
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PANEL CE7

Book Panel on Maria Snegovaya's
*When Left Moves Right:
The Decline of the Left and
the Rise of the Populist Right
in Postcommunist Europe*
(Oxford, 2024)



SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 402

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PANEL CE18

The Impact of Russia's War on Kin Politics in the Region

(ROUNDTABLE)



SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 402B

CHAIR

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SPEAKERS

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Magdalena Dembińska

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Transnistrian Poles, Between the Kin-State and the Patron Russia

Myra Waterbury

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*Rethinking Kin-State Politics in the Shadow
of War: Revisionism, Transnationalism, and Illiberalism*

Zsuzsa Csergő

(Queen's U, Canada)

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Unwilling Kin-Minorities

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PANEL M1
Migrant Well-Being and National Identity

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 405A

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Aksana Ismailbekova
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Umut Abazbek Kyzy
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(Leibniz Zentrum Moderner Orient, Germany)
*Mental Health and Shame: The Gendered
Mobility of Central Asian Divorcees in Turkey*

Andrei Korobkov
(Middle Tennessee State U, US)
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Emigration from Belarus: Motivating Concerns for Out-Migration

Theodoros Fouskas
(U of West Attica, Greece)
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*Caught Between Slavery and Precarity in the Agricultural Sector:
Migrant Farm Laborers' Working Conditions, Health,
and Quality of Life in Greece*

DISCUSSANT

Sabrina Hermosilla
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PANEL N13
Far Right Violence

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 404

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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Neo-Nazi Fight Clubs: The Political Philosophy of Active Clubs

Emma Rosenberg

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Unlikely Bedfellows: Racial and Religious Tokenization in the Far-right

Inga Saikkonen

(Åbo Akademi U, Finland)

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*Populist and Far Right Parties and Support
for Democracy: Evidence from Elite and Citizen Surveys*

Elyamine Settoul

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*Emotional and Digital Drivers of Terrorist Violence:
A Case Study of an Activist from the Ultra-right Wing OAS Group*

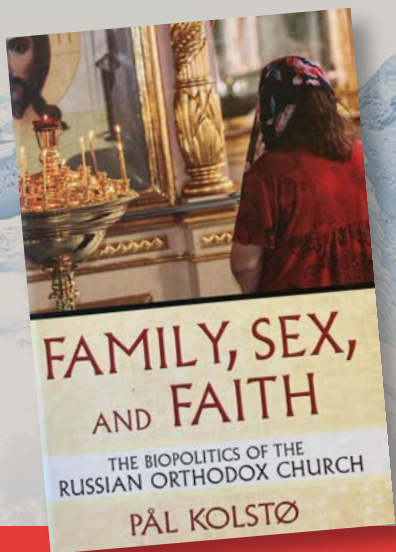
DISCUSSANT

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PANEL R1

Book Panel on Pål Kolstø's *Family, Sex and Faith: The Biopolitics of the Russian Orthodox Church*

(Northern Illinois, 2025)



SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 409

CHAIR

Michele Rivkin-Fish

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PANEL R7

States of Surveillance

Ethnic Politics and Practices of National Security in the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 418

CHAIR

Guzel Yusupova

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PAPERS

Nikolas Weyland

(Harvard U, US)

nikolasweyland@g.harvard.edu

*Tensions of the Nazi Dictatorship: Adjudicating Accusations against German
Citizens of Polish Descent in the WWII-Era Ruhr*

Sophia Kalashnikova Horowitz

(Harvard U, US)

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*Denunciation and Informing as Interrelated Phenomena in Soviet Political Policing
in Ukraine, the Baltic States, and Moldova*

Philip Decker

(Princeton U, US)

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A Soviet Metallurgical Delegation Visits the Ruhr, October-December 1939

Dina Rosenberg

(Rowan U, US)

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Digital Panopticon: Experimental Evidence of Public Support for Surveillance in Russia

DISCUSSANT

Samuel Finkelman

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PANEL U5
International Dimension of the Russo-Ukrainian War

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 405

CHAIR

William Buckley
(Georgetown U, US)
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PAPERS

Alina Nychyk
(Zurich U of Applied Sciences,
Switzerland)
nych@zhaw.ch
The New Era of Ukraine's Foreign Policy towards the EU

Emina Muzaferija
(Virginia Tech, US)
muzaferija@vt.edu
*(De)mining Ukraine: Minelaying, Mine Clearance and
Territorial Recovery Amid Ongoing Conflict*

Taras Romashchenko
(Bielefeld U, Germany/Khmelnitsky U Cherkasy, Ukraine)
taras.romashchenko@uni-bielefeld.de
*The Return of Ukrainian Refugees: from
Exaggerated Expectations to Harsh Reality*

Daniel Kashnitsky
(Paris Cité U, France)
kashnitsky@gmail.com
*HIV Care for Ukrainian Refugees in Europe:
Barriers, Challenges, and Recommendation*

DISCUSSANT

Mher Sahakyan
(Johns Hopkins U, US)
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PANEL U14
**The Holodomor and Cold War Politics
Memory and Denial**

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 1512

CHAIR

Marta Baziuk

(CIUS, U of Alberta, Canada)

hrec@ualberta.ca

PAPERS

Bohdan Klid

(CIUS, U of Alberta, Canada)

bklid@ualberta.ca

*Cold War Politics in the United States and the Use of Memory:
Ukrainian Testimonies before the US House Select Committee
on Communist Aggression in 1954*

John Vsetecka

(Nova Southeastern U, US)

jvseteck@nova.edu

*Famine Justice: Investigative Famine Commissions, Ukraine,
and Transitional Justice in the Age of Cold War Decolonization*

Karolina Koziura

(EUI, Italy)

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The Holodomor and the Ukrainian Diaspora during the Cold War

DISCUSSANT

Daria Mattingly

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PANEL U25
Resistance and Resilience in Ukraine

SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 1219

CHAIR

Nadiia Bureiko

(CEU, Austria/Foreign Policy Council 'Ukrainian Prism', Ukraine)

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PAPERS

Isabelle DeSisto

(Princeton U, US)

isabelledesisto@princeton.edu

Decentralization and Attitudes Toward Local Governance in Ukraine

Uliana Movchan

(Karazin Kharkiv National U, Ukraine)

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Resilience in Local Governance in Ukraine: Lessons from the War

Sara Clair

(San Jose State U, US)

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*Resistance and Resilience in Ukraine :
A Study of Libraries on the Frontlines of the Information War*

Olga Onuch

(U of Manchester, UK)

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What Drives Democratic Resilience at the Individual Level?

DISCUSSANT

Emma Mateo

(NYU, US)

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INVISIBLE REVOLUTIONARIES

Women's Participation in Ukraine's Euromaidan



OLENA NIKOLAYENKO

PANEL U26

A Conversation on Olena Nikolayenko's

Invisible Revolutionaries:
Women's Participation in
Ukraine's Euromaidan

(Cambridge, 2025)



SATURDAY MAY 24 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 407

CHAIR

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