INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BUILDING (IAB)

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

Registration (15th Floor, Central Space)
Thursday (April 19): 10 AM - 6 PM
Friday (April 20): 8 AM - 5 PM
Saturday (April 21): 8 AM - 5 PM

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

ASN 40th Anniversary Special Event (15th Floor, 1512)
Thursday: 6 - 8 PM
Co-MCs: Zsuzsa Csergo and Bhavna Dave
Guests: Michael Rywkin, Leonid Rudnytzky, Henry Huttenbach, David Crowe

Opening Reception (15th Floor, Central Space)
Thursday: 7:45 PM
Dedicated to the ASN 40th Anniversary
Welcoming by Alex Cooley, Harriman Institute
Co-MCs: Lisa Koriouchkina and Florian Bieber

Closing Reception (15th Floor, Central Space)
Saturday: 7:00 PM
Presentation of the ASN 2012 Best Doctoral Student Paper Awards, the Harriman ASN 2012 Book Prize and the ASN 2012 Audience Award for Film
Co-MCs: Julie George and Harris Mylonas

ASN Meetings
Friday: 1:20 - 2:50 PM (Program Committee) (Room 1219)
Saturday: 9-11 AM (Executive Committee) (Room 1219)
Saturday: 11:20 AM - 1:20 PM (NP Editorial Board) (Room 1201)
Saturday: 1:20 - 2:50 PM (AAUS) (Room 1201)
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION I  11:00 AM - 1:00 PM

PANEL BK1

Nation Building and Symbols in the West Balkan States, I: The Cases of Serbia, Croatia and Montenegro

CHAIR

Ivana Djuric
(Central European U, Budapest, Hungary)
< ivana_duric@yahoo.com >

PAPERS

Pål Kolstø
(U of Oslo, Norway)
< Pal.kolsto@ilos.uio.no >
Nation Building vs. Yugo-nostalgia in the Yugoslav Successor States

Vladan Jovanović
(Institute for the Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade)
< gsvlucky@yahoo.com >
Informal Allies on a Common Mission: The Serbian State and the Orthodox Church in Recent Nation Building Processes

Vjeran Pavlaković
(U of Rijeka, Croatia)
< vjeranp@gmail.com >
War, Remembrance and Nation Building Strategies in Croatia

Jelena Dzankic
(European U Institute, Florence, Italy)
< dzankic@gmail.com >
Reconstructing the Meaning of being ‘Montenegrin’: Symbolic Nation Building

DISCUSSANT

Nida Gelazis
(Wilson Center, DC, US)
< nida.gelazis@wilsoncenter.org >
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION I  11:00 AM - 1:00 PM

PANEL SE4

A Conversation with Anatol Lieven on America Right or Wrong:

MODERATORS

Harris Mylonas
(George Washington U/Harvard Academy, US)
< mylonas@gwu.edu >

Sherrill Stroschein
(U College London, UK)
< s.stroschein@ucl.ac.uk >

SPEAKER

Anatol Lieven
(King’s College London, UK)
< anatol.lieven@kcl.ac.uk >
PANEL CE8

Roma Nation-Building and Advocacy within the European Union

CHAIR

András L. Pap
(Central European U, Hungary)
<pap@jog.mta.hu></p>

PAPERS

Lidia Balogh
(Eötvös Loránd U, Hungary)
<p>lidia.balogh@gmail.com</p>
Aesthetics for Common Purpose: ‘On the Communal Role of Symbols, Myths and Allegories: the Case of Present-Day Roma Nation-Building Initiatives

Jekatyerina (Katya) Dunajeva
(U of Oregon, US)
<p>dunajeva@uoregon.edu</p>
Minorities and ‘Nationalizing States’: Roma in Russia and Hungary

Dalibor Mišina
(Lakehead U, Canada)
Neil Cruickshank
(Algoma U, Canada)
<p>dmisina@lakeheadu.ca > < neil.cruickshank@algomau.ca</p>
Repertoires of Contention: Identity, Cultural Autonomy, Political Sovereignty and (the Search for) Trans-territorial Romani State

DISCUSSANT

Enkelejda Sula-Raxhimi
(U of Montreal, Canada)
<p>enkelejda.sula@umontreal.ca</p>
PANEL CE12

Domestic and Geopolitical Dynamics of Hungarian Nationalism

CHAIR
Myra Waterbury
(Ohio U, US)
< waterbur@ohio.edu >

PAPERS
David Haglund
(Queen’s U, Canada)
< david.haglund@queensu.ca >
*Going Against the Flow: Sinn Féin’s Unusual Hungarian “Roots” and the Issue of Intra-European “Policy Transfer”*

Umut Korkut
(Glasgow Caledonian U, UK)
< umut.korkut@gcu.ac.uk >
*An Alternative Globalist Geopolitical Imagination in the Middle of Europe: Hungarian Turanism*

Erin Marie Saltman
(U College London, UK)
< e.saltman@ucl.ac.uk >
*Heroes, Holidays and the Hungarian Guard: Radical Right Youth Culture in Hungary*

Leslie Waters
(UCLA, US)
< leslie.waters@fulbrightmail.org >
*Returning Home: The Political and Historical Symbolism of the First Vienna Award in Hungary, November 1938*

DISCUSSANT
László Kürti
(U of Miskolc, Hungary)
< kurti1953@gmail.com >
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION I  11:00 AM - 1:00 PM

PANEL EU8

*The National Question in China*

**CHAIR**

Marie-Eve Reny  
(U of Chicago, US)  
< mreny@uchicago.edu >

**PAPERS**

Nick Holdstock  
(U of Edinburgh, UK)  
< nholdstock@hotmail.com >  
*Post-conflict identities amongst Uighurs and Han Chinese- ‘Good-‘, ‘Bad-‘ and ‘Non-Muslims‘*

Henryk Szadziewski  
(Uyghur Human Rights Project, US)  
< hszad@uhrp.org >  
*Loyal Supporters? Soccer and the Modern Uyghur Identity*

Colin Mackerras  
(Griffith U, Australia)  
< c.mackerras@griffith.edu.au >  
*Causes of the July 2009 Riots in the Xinjiang Capital Ürümq*

Kilic Kanat  
(Penn State U, US)  
< kbkanat@gmail.com >  
*Rallying Against the Minorities: Researching the Implications of Domestic Level Diversionary Theory of War in the Context of China’s Policy Towards Its Minorities*

Jeanette A Barbieri  
(Hollins U, US)  
< jbarbieri@hollins.edu >  
*Against the Spectacle of Disaster Citizenship: Documentary Counter-narratives on the Wenchuan 2008 Earthquake*

**DISCUSSANT**

Robbie Barnett  
(Columbia U, US)  
< rjb58@columbia.edu >
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION I  11:00 AM - 1:00 PM

PANEL K8

*Understanding Ethnic Mobilization and Secession*

**CHAIR**

Noah Tucker  
(US Department of Defense)  
< ntucker@post.harvard.edu >

**PAPERS**

Loretta Dell’aguzzo  
(Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane, Italy)  
< loretta.dellaguzzo@hotmail.it >  
*Explaining Different Patterns of Ethno-nationalist Mobilization and Political Violence in the Post-socialist Secessionist Entities*

David Szakonyi  
(Columbia U, US)  
< ds2875@columbia.edu >  
*Democracy after Secession: Institutions and Threats to the Political Regime in Unrecognized States*

Giulia Prelz Oltramonti  
(U Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium)  
< gprelzol@ulb.ac.be >  
*Looking at Abkhazia and South Ossetia through a Political Economic Perspective: Protracted Conflicts, Motive and Feasibility*

Lasha Tchantouridze  
(Norwich U, US)  
< ltchanto@norwich.edu >  
*Contested Notions of Nationhood: Protodiplomacy and Armed Conflict in Georgia*

**DISCUSSANT**

Tamar Zurabishvili  
(Tbilisi State U, Georgia/CUNY Graduate Center, US)  
< tamar.zurabishvili@gmail.com >
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION I  11:00 AM - 1:00 PM

PANEL N10
Political Myths about the Nation and Its Others: I

CHAIR
Kaja Sirok
(National Museum for Contemporary History, Slovenia)
<kaja.sirok@muzej-nz.si>

PAPERS
Ioana Bunescu
(Malmö U, Sweden)
<ioana.bunescu@mah.se>
The Creative Use of Mainstream Myths in Legitimizing Transnational Minority Representation. The Case of Romanian Roma Kings

Anamaria Dutceac
(Lund U, Sweden)
<anamaria_dutceac.segesten@slav.lu.se>
At the Intersection of Nation and Church: Political Myth in the Balkans

Bo Petersson
(Malmö U, Sweden)
<bo.petersson@mah.se>
Between Glory and Disorder: Political Myth in Russia

DISCUSSANT
Olga Malinova
(INION, Moscow, Russia)
<omalinova@mail.ru>
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION I  11:00 AM - 1:00 PM

PANEL R2
Panel Elections and Political Mobilizations in Russia since 2007

CHAIR
Elise Giuliano
(Columbia U, US)
< eg599@columbia.edu>

PAPERS
Dan Epstein
(Colgate U, US)
< depstein@colgate.edu >
Birth of Informal Norms in Post-Soviet Bryansk Oblast:
Impact of Early Trends in Executive-Legislative Relations.

Lou Brenez
(U Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium)
< lbrenez@ulb.ac.be >
The Electoral Mobilization of a “Pro-Kremlin Opposition Party” at the Local Level:
The Strategic Dilemmas of Just Russia in Tomsk in 2007-2010

Tatyana Shukan
(Sciences Po Paris, France)
< tatyana.shukan@gmail.com >
The « Street » Opposition and Electoral Mobilization: Youth Protests
in Russia from the 2007-2008 to the 2011-2012 Electoral Cycles

Clémentine Fauconnier
(Sciences Po Paris, France)
< clementine.fauconnier@wanadoo.fr >
Mobilization and Demobilization of the Party of Power
United Russia during the 2011-2012 Electoral Cycle

DISCUSSANT
J. Paul Goode
(U of Oklahoma, US)
< paulgoode@ou.edu >
THURSDAY, APRIL 19TH
SESSION I
11:00 AM - 1:00 PM

PANEL U8

_Ukrainian Migration_

CHAIR

_Mica Hall_
(Defense Language Institute, US)
<mica.hall1@gmail.com>

PAPERS

_Michal Nekorjak_
(Masaryk U, Czech Republic)
<nekorjak@fss.muni.cz>
*Exploitation and Violence in Ukrainian Ethnic Economy in the Czech Republic: Praxeological Versus Ethnocultural Explanations*

_Halyna Lemekh_
(New York City College of Technology, US)
<hlemekh@citytech.cuny.edu>
*Novices versus Veterans: Ukrainian Newly Arrived Immigrants in New York*

_Natalia Khanenko-Friesen_
(U of Saskatchewan, Canada)
<natalia.khanenkofriesen@gmail.com>
*Between a Rock and a Hard Place: The Literary, the Folk, and the Religious in Contemporary Ukrainian Labour Migrant Writing*

DISCUSSANT

_Oleh Wolowyna_
(U of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, US)
<olehw@aol.com>
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION II  1:20 - 3:20 PM

PANEL BK11
Bosnia and Herzegovina 20 Years after Independence: Perspectives on Governance, Economics and Social Progress

CHAIR
Valery Perry
(Public International Law and Policy Group, Sarajevo, Bosnia)
< valeryperry@yahoo.com >

PAPERS
Iva Vukusic
(Sense News Agency, The Hague, The Netherlands)
< vukusic.iva@gmail.com >
Successes and Failures of the ICTY in Relation to Bosnia and Herzegovina

Tina Mavrikos-Adamou
(Hofstra U, US)
< tinamavadamou@gmail.com >
Political Challenges facing post-Communist, post-Conflict Societies: Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo

Soeren Keil
(Canterbury Christ Church U, UK)
< soeren.keil@canterbury.ac.uk >
Power-Sharing in the Western Balkans

DISCUSSANT
Adam Fagan
(Queen Mary, U of London, UK)
< a.fagan@qmul.ac.uk >

THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION II  1:20 - 3:20 PM

PANEL BK21  
*Negotiating Minority Identities in Southern Europe*

**CHAIR**  
*Tanya Domi*  
(Columbia U, US)  
<td207@columbia.edu>

**PAPERS**  

*Marko Zilovic*  
(U of Belgrade, Serbia)  
<marko.zilovic@gmail.com>  
*Comparative External Citizenship Regimes in South-Eastern Europe*

*Suzana K Ostojic*  
(Bunyevci Information Center, Serbia)  
<suzanako@open.telekom.rs>  

*Aleksandar Raic*  
(Comity of Science, Serbia)  
<anojzac@gmail.com>  
*The Sustainability of National Development of the Bunyevci Ethnic Minority in Serbia*

*Julija Sardelic*  
(U of Ljubljana, Slovenia)  
<sardelic.julija@gmail.com>  
*Repositioning the Roma in Post-Socialist Slovenia and Croatia*

*Ina Merdjanova*  
(Trinity College Dublin, Ireland)  
<merdjand@tcd.ie>  
*"Neither Bulgarians among Bulgarians nor Turks among Turks": The Contested Identities of Pomaks in Bulgaria*

**DISCUSSANT**  
*Marlene Spoerri*  
(U of Amsterdam, Netherlands/Columbia U, US)  
<marlenespoerri@gmail.com>
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION II  1:20 - 3:20 PM

PANEL B02

CHAIR
Berel Rodal
(UJE Board Director, Ottawa, Canada)
< rodal@imti.com >

PARTICIPANTS
Vitaly Chernetsky
(Miami U, US)
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Tamara Hundorova
(Institute of Literature, Kyiv, Ukraine)
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Catharine Theimer Nepomnyashchy
(Barnard College, NY, US)
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Alexander J. Motyl
(Rutgers u, Newark, US)
< ajmotyl@andromeda.rutgers.edu >
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION II  1:20 - 3:20 PM

PANEL CE3
*The Internationalization of Memory Games: Actors and Institutions*

CHAIR
Georges Mink  
(CNRS, Paris, France)  
< mink@u-paris10.fr >

PAPERS
Pascal Bonnard  
(Sciences Po, Paris, France)  
< pascal.bonnard@sciences-po.org >  
*Memory, Ethnic Conflict and European Norms on Diversity in Latvia*

Laure Neumayer  
(U Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne, France)  
< laure.neumayer@univ-paris1.fr >  
*The Transformations of Hungarian Memory Policy: From “Nation Policy” to the Protection of National Minority Rights in the EU*

Zofia Waślicka  
(U Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense, France)  
< zosiawaslicka@gmail.com >  
*Memory Conflicts of the “March of the Living” in the Former Death Camp Auschwitz-Birkenau*

DISCUSSANT
Dominique Arel  
(U of Ottawa, Canada)  
< darel@uottawa.ca >
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION II  1:20 - 3:20 PM

PANEL CE4
Non-Resident Citizenship in Hungary: Normative Dilemmas and Political Implications

CHAIR
Mária M. Kovács
(Central European U, Hungary)
< kovacsma@ceu.hu >

PAPERS
Myra Waterbury
(Ohio U, US)
< waterbur@ohio.edu >
Ethnic Citizenship in Hungary: Explaining Recent Policy Changes and their Comparative Implications

Szabolcs Pogonyi
(Central European U, Hungary)
< pogonyi@ceu.hu >
Non-Resident Citizenship in Hungary: Interethnic and Interstate Relations

Balázs Majtényi
(Eötvös Loránd U, Hungary)
< foldresz@gmail.com >
Justifications and Caveats: The Current Legislation on External Citizenship for Hungarians

Zsolt Körtvélyesi
(Central European U, Hungary)
< kortvelyesi_zsolt@ceu-budapest.edu >
Remedial Justice, Nationality, and the Hungarian Context

Mónika Ganczer
(Széchenyi István U, Hungary)
< ganczermonika@yahoo.com >
International Law and Dual Nationality of Hungarians Living Outside the Borders

DISCUSSANT
András L. Pap
(Central European U, Hungary)
< pap@jog.mta.hu >
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION II  1:20 - 3:20 PM

PANEL EU10
Nation Building through the Arts in Central Asia

CHAIR
Hélène Thibault
(U of Ottawa, Canada)
< hthib097@uottawa.ca >

PAPERS
Slavomir Horak
(Charles University, Czech Rep)
< slavomir.horak@post.cz >
The Architecture of the Great Renaissance in Turkmenistan

Katherine Hughes
(School of Oriental and African Studies, UK)
< katherine_hughes@yahoo.com >
Heritage, Memory and Pastiche: Modern Tajik Architecture and Memorial Culture Since Independence

Diana Kudaibergenova
(U of Cambridge, UK)
< dk406@cam.ac.uk >
Nazarbayev’s Substitution Ideology for post-Soviet Kazakhstan: Problems and Myths of Legitimation and National Identity

Marcie Patton
(Fairfield U, US)
< mpatton309@sbcglobal.net >
Heritage(s) in the National Historic Museum of Kyrgyzstan

DISCUSSANT
Olivier Ferrando
(Sciences Po, Paris, France)
< olivier.ferrando@sciences-po.org >

● ● ●
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th SESSION II 1:20 - 3:20 PM

PANEL K4
Politics of Regime and State in Georgia (Roundtable)

CHAIR
Donnacha Ó Beacháin
(Dublin City U, Ireland)
< donnacha.obeachain@dcu.ie >

PARTICIPANTS
Stephen Jones
(Mount Holyoke College, US)
< sfjones@mtholyoke.edu>
Georgia: Towards a Virtuous Democracy?

Lincoln Mitchell
(Columbia U, US)
< lam13@columbia.edu >
What if the Coming Elections are not a Turning Point:
Semi-Authoritarianism and Semi-Democracy in Georgia

Robyn Angley
(Harvard U, US)
< angleyrobyn@gmail.com >
Troubled Succession: What Leadership Change Reveals about the Georgian Political System
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th SESSION II  1:20 - 3:20 PM

PANEL R3
*Migration across the East-West Borders*

**CHAIR**
Denise Mishiwiec  
(SSRC, NY, US)  
< michiwiec@ssrc.org >

**PAPERS**

**James Meyer**  
(Montana State U, US)  
< james.meyer7@Montana.edu >  
*The Leaky Frontier: Muslim Cross-border Travelers Between the Russian and Ottoman States*

**Andreas Siegert**  
(Potsdam U, Germany)  
< siegertandreas@web.de >  
*Transaction Costs as Mean to Explain Migration Pattern of Russian Academics to Germany*

**Olena Fimyar**  
(Freie U Berlin, Germany)  
< olena.fimyar@cantab.net >  
*Return Academic Migration in Post-Communist Europe*

**Shushanik Makaryan**  
(European U Institute, Italy)  
< shushanik.makaryan@email.wsu.edu >  
*Migration Policy-Making in the Eastern Neighborhood of the European Union and in Russia*

**DISCUSSANT**
Timothy Heleniak  
(U of Maryland, US)  
< heleniak@umd.edu >
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION II  1:20 - 3:20 PM

PANEL TH3
Jewish Culture and Politics in Central Europe

CHAIR
Alti Rodal
(UJE Co-Director, Ottawa, Canada)
< altirodal@gmail.com >

PAPERS
Jess Olson
(Yeshiva U, US)
< jess.olson74@gmail.com >
The House that Straucher Built: Architecture and Jewish Nationalism in Early 20th Century Czernowitz

Francine Friedman
(Ball State U, US)
< fsfriedman@hotmail.com >
The Economic, Social, Political, and Cultural Life of the Bosnian Jews in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries

Amalia Levi
(U of Maryland, College Park, US)
< amaliasl@gmail.com >
Borderlands and Boundaries: Recasting the History of Jewish Communities in the Balkans through New Media

Geneviève Zubrzycki
(U of Michigan, US)
< genez@umich.edu >
Philo-Semitism and the Building of Pluralism in Contemporary Poland

DISCUSSANT
Robin Ostow
(U of Toronto, Canada)
< robinostow@hotmail.com >
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION III  3:40 - 5:40 PM

PANEL BK23  
*Enlarging and Declining? The EU Crisis and the Balkans*

**CHAIR**
Francine Friedman  
(Ball State U, US)  
< fsfriedman@hotmail.com >

**PAPERS**

**Stefano Bianchini**  
(U of Bologna, Italy)  
< stefano.bianchini@unibo.it >
*The Yugoslav and EU Declines: Diversities, Dynamics of Dissolutions and Sovereignty Reframed*

**Craig R. Nation**  
(War Army College, Pennsylvania, US)  
< nationr@dickinson.edu >
*American Concerns about the Future of Europe*

**Ana Ješe**  
(U of Ljubljana, Slovenia)  
< ana.jese@gmail.com >
*National Heroes vs. EU Benefits: Croatia and EU Conditionality*

**Roswitha King**  
(Østfold University College, Norway)  
< roswitha.king@hiof.no >
*Explaining Aspirations to Join the EU in Post-Independence Kosovo*

**DISCUSSANT**
Bruno Coppieters  
(Vrije U, Brussels, Belgium)  
< bruno.coppieters@vub.ac.be >
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION III  3:40 - 5:40 PM

PANEL B06


**CHAIR**

Abbey Steele  
(Princeton U, US)  
<Abbey.steele@gmail.com>

**PARTICIPANTS**

Yelkan Turkyilmaz  
(Duke U, US)  
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Rachel Goshgarian  
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Ronald Grigor Suny  
(U of Michigan, US)  
<rgsuny@umich.edu>
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION III  3:40 - 5:40 PM

PANEL CE19
Secret Files, Public Revelations: Exploring the Social Lives of the Communist Secret Service Archives

CHAIR
Katherine Verdery
(CUNY Graduate School, US)
< kverdery@gc.cuny.edu >

PAPERS
Saygun Gökariksel
(CUNY Graduate School, US)
< sgokariksel@gc.cuny.edu >
Neither Conformist nor Oppositionist nor Independent: A Socialist Informer?

Maya Nadkarni
(Swarthmore College, US)
< mnadkar1@swarthmore.edu >
Secrecy and the Scandal of Informer Revelations in Postsocialist Hungary

Florin Poenaru
(Central European U, Hungary)
< poenaru_florin@ceu-budapest.edu >
The Religious Core of the Former Secret Police Archive:
Scapegoating as a Political Strategy

Cristina Vatulescu
(NYU, US)
< cv26@nyu.edu >
In the Beginning was the Missing Record:
The First Pages of Soviet-Era Secret Police Files

DISCUSSANT
Aniko Szucs
(NYU, US)
< aniko.szucs@nyu.edu >
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION III  3:40 - 5:40 PM

PANEL EU5
Minorities, Communities and the State in Central Asia

CHAIR
Violetta Yan
(OSCE Academy, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan)
<v.yan@osce-academy.net>

PAPERS
Olivier Ferrando
(Sciences Po, Paris, France)
<olivier.ferrando@sciences-po.org>
The Political Mobilization of Ethnic Minorities: A Comparative Analysis in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan

Kristin Fjæstad
(Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo)
<kf@nupi.no>

Oleh Protsyk
(U of Flensburg, Germany)
<protsyk@gmail.com>
The Impact of Political Regime and Electoral Rules on the Parliamentary Representation of Minorities in Kyrgyzstan

Lawrence Markowitz
(Rowan U, US)
<markowitzl@rowan.edu>
State Security and Ethnic Violence in Southern Kyrgyzstan

DISCUSSANT
Erica Marat
(American U, DC, US)
<erica.marat@gmail.com>
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION III  3:40 - 5:40 PM

PANEL K5
Understanding Political and Ideological Processes in the North Caucasus: A Comparative Study of Nationalism and Religion

CHAIR
Iwona Kaliszewska
(George Washington U, US)
< iwona@email.gwu.edu >

PAPERS
Barasbi Bgazhnokov
(Institute of Humanitarian Studies, Nalchik, Russia)
< kbigi@mail.ru >
Nationality and Supranational Identity in the North Caucasus

Lidia Zhigunova
(Tulane U, US)
< lzhiguno@tulane.edu >
(Re)Writing Circassian Women's (Hi)Stories

Ian Lanzillotti
(Ohio State U, US)
< lanzillotti.1@osu.edu >

Jean-François Ratelle
(U of Ottawa, Canada)
< jrate066@uottawa.ca >
Micro-Dynamics of Political Violence in the North Caucasus: An Ethnographic Analysis of Islamic Radicalisation and Violent Engagement

Sufian Zhemukhov
(George Washington U, US)
< zhemukho@gwu.edu >
East-West Dichotomy: Different Patterns of Nationalism and Islam in the North Caucasus

DISCUSSANT
Valeriy Dzutsev
(Arizona State U, US)
< vdzutsev@asu.edu >
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th      SESSION III    3:40 - 5:40 PM

PANEL R4
Center-Region Relations in Russia

CHAIR
David J Meyer
(Regent U, US)
< djmeyer@regent.edu >

PAPERS

J. Paul Goode
(U of Oklahoma, US)
< paulgoode@ou.edu >
Civic Nations and the Non-Recognition of Ethnic Majorities in Russia and Ukraine

Bulat Akhmetkarimov
(Johns Hopkins U, US)
< bakhmetkarimov@gmail.com >
Seeking Tradition within Tradition: Ideological Shifts and the State Policy Toward Islam in Russia, 1991-2012

Elizabeth Teague
(Foreign & Commonwealth Office, UK)
< elizabeth.teague@fco.gov.uk >
Can the Power Vertical be Reformed at Regional Level?

DISCUSSANT
Kate Graney
(Skidmore College, US)
< kgraney@skidmore.edu >
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION III  3:40 - 5:40 PM

PANEL U11
Most Recent Interpretations of the Holodomor

CHAIR
Alexander J. Motyl
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PAPERS

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Nataliia Levchuk
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The Dynamics of Oblast Variations of the 1932-1933 Famine Losses in Ukraine

Bohdan Klid
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Stalin, Nationalism, the National Question, and the Ukrainian famine of 1932-33

Myroslava Antonovych
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The Holodomor in Ukraine in the Broader and Narrower Contexts

Kateryna Bondar
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Legal Definition of the 1932-1933 Holodomor in Ukraine as Genocide under the Genocide Convention

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL BK4

Serbia's Choice: Earthly Europe, Heavenly Kosovo or Both?

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Hilde Katrin Haug
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The Kosovo Question in Serbian Political and Public Discourse after Milosevic

Danilo Mandić
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Weight of History, Burden of Youth: How Young Adults in Serbia and Kosovo Understand and Experience Nationalism

Michael Rossi
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Ending the Impasse in Kosovo: Partition, Decentralization or “Daytonization”?

Mladen Mrdalj
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Precedents, Principles, Pragmatism: A Comparative Study of Western Policies towards Kosovo and Cyprus

DISCUSSANT
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THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION IV  6:00 - 8:00 PM

PANEL BK16
Minorities and Territoriality in post-Yugoslav Citizenship Constellations

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Dejan Stjepanovic
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The Territorial Politics of Citizenship: Membership and sub-State Polities in the post-Yugoslav Space

Gezim Krasniqi
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State Borders, Symbolic Boundaries and Contested Geographical Space: Citizenship Struggles in Kosovo

Eldar Sarajlic
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Citizenship and Social Justice in Post-Yugoslavia

DISCUSSANT
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THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION IV  6:00 - 8:00 PM

PANEL B05

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THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION IV  6:00 - 8:00 PM

PANEL CE1

Polish Nationalism and Its Rivals: Modernization, Religion, and Internationalism in the Late 19th Century

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Jan Musekamp
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From Cooperation to Confrontation? The Royal Prussian Eastern Railroad and the Polish-German Borderland

Nathaniel Wood
(U of Kansas, US)
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“Must we Always Remain at the Tail End of the Cultural March of Nations?”
Early Polish Efforts to Participate in the Age of Speed, 1884-1939

Tim Buchen
(German Historical Institute, Warsaw)
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From Religion to “Mass-Politics”:
Jewish and Catholic Paths in fin-de-siècle Habsburg Galicia

Robert Brier
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Nationalism and International Society: The Polish Question and the Politics of Representation at the Second International

DISCUSSANT

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THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION IV  6:00 - 8:00 PM

PANEL EU7

Economic Realities in Post-Soviet Central Asia

CHAIR
John Heathershaw
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PAPERS

Violetta Yan
(OSCE Academy, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan)
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Challenges of Economic Governance in Kyrgyzstan:
Rent-seeking vs. Development

Don Van Atta
(Independent Researcher, Chapel Hill, US)
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Can Tajikistan Ever be Food Secure?

Alima Bissenova
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The Boom, the Bust, and the Mediating State: Housing Bailouts and
the Discourse of Fairness in the Wake of Financial Crisis in Kazakhstan

DISCUSSANT
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THURSDAY, APRIL 19th   SESSION IV   6:00 - 8:00 PM

PANEL R9
Russian Nationalism on the March

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Kristian Feigelson
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Russian Media and the Strange Stranger

Hanna Kirvas
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Russia – a Quest for National Identity

David J Meyer
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A Comparison of Racial Violence in Russian and Bulgaria

Dina Zisserman-Brodsky
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In Search of Mirage: The Russian March and Debates on “Robust Russian Nationalism”

DISCUSSANT
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THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION IV  6:00 - 8:00 PM

PANEL SE1  
*Reflections on the ASN 40th Anniversary*

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*Remembering ASN*

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*The Founders: Stepan Horak and the Shevchenko Society*

Henry Huttenbach  
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*The Journal: Nationalities Papers*

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*Bridging the Generations*
THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION IV  6:00 - 8:00 PM

PANEL TK5
Remembering the Population Exchange

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Onur Yildirim
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Revisiting the Plight of Refugees during
the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations, 1923-1925

Thomas W. Gallant
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How is the 1923 Greco-Turkish Population Exchange Remembered?

Akis Gavriilidis
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“Pontic Genocide”: Invented Trauma as a Tool for a New Nationhood?

DISCUSSANT
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THURSDAY, APRIL 19th  SESSION IV  6:00 - 8:00 PM

PANEL U10
Social/National Identities and Political Values in Ukrainian Public Opinion

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Stephen Shulman
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Nation versus Class in Ukraine

Oksana Malanchuk
(Institute for Social Research, U of Michigan, US)
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Multiple Social Identities as Moderators of Conflict in Ukraine?

Volodymyr Yevtukh
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Russians in Ukraine: Mythicizing of Myths

Ivan Katchanovski
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Democracy and Political Values in Ukraine

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  
SESSION V  
9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL BK8  
Kosovo: Recognition and Reconstruction

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Philippe Roseberry  
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Suffering and Recognition: Mass Violence and the Recognition of Kosovo

Klejda Mulaj  
(U of Exeter, UK)  
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Restricted Sovereignty: Challenges of Contested Statehood of Kosovo

Orli Fridman  
(School of International Training, Belgrade, Serbia)  
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Visiting Belgrade and Prishtina: Structured Encounters in Post-Conflict /Post-Yugoslav Days

Maj Grasten  
(Copenhagen Business School, Danemark)  
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State Building, International Norms and Local Knowledge: Rebuilding the Judicial Sector in Kosovo after 1999

DISCUSSANT
Fred Cocozzelli  
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION V  9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL BK27
Bosnia Before and Since the War

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Adis Maksic
Gerard Toal
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“Serbs, You Are Allowed To Be Serbs”:
Radovan Karadzic and the 1990 Election Campaign in Bosnia

Azra Aksamija
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Enemy’s Totem: Bosnian Mosques as Target during the 1992-1995 War

Adnan Selimovic
(York U, Canada)
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The Politics of the Psycho-Social in Bosnia after Dayton

Nicole Bryan
(Montclair State U, US)
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Sasha Poucki
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Post-conflict Reconstruction in Bosnia-Herzegovina:
Insights from the Field

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION V  9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL B08
Book Panel on Nina Caspersen’s Unrecognized States: The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Modern International System (Polity 2011)

CHAIR
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION V  9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL CE7
Entangled Histories: German-Yugoslav Relations
Before, in, and After World War II

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Filip Erdeljac
(NYU, US)
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An Aberration of Croatian Nationalism?
The Emergence and Popularization of Ustaša Ideology in Interwar Yugoslavia

Michael Wedekind
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German Scholars and Politics: Reshaping Slovenia, 1939–1945

Mirna Zakić
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My Life for Prince Eugene: The Volksdeutsche Waffen-SS Division “Prinz Eugen” in Anti-partisan Warfare in the Independent State of Croatia, 1943-1945

Christopher Molnar
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Communities of Victims: Croatian Émigrés and German Expellees in Postwar West Germany

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th    SESSION V   9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL CE14
National Identity and Political Contestation in Post-Communist Central Europe

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Nikolaos Biziouras
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Creating, Institutionalizing and Consolidating Ethnic Parties: Evidence from the Balkans and Central Europe

Tibor Purger
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Ethnic Self-Governance in Serbia

Marius Matichescu
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Ethnic Recruitment under Changing Electoral Rules in Romania

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION V  9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL EU11
*International Norms and Projects in Eurasia and the Balkans*

**CHAIR**

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**PAPERS**

Payam Foroughi  
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*Torture and Transition: Determinants of International Human Rights Norm Compliance for Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan*

John Westerman  
(Independent Researcher, Portland, US)  
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*Case Study of Conflict Mitigation in the Zarafashon Valley of Tajikistan*

Judith Parker  
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Gainiyia Tazhina  
(U of International Business, Kazakhstan)  
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*The Role of Distance Learning Technologies in Nation-Building in Kazakhstan*

Daniella Schmitt  
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*Peacebuilding 2.0: The Success of Environmental Peacebuilding in the Western Balkans*

**DISCUSSANT**

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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION V  9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL K10  
*Governance in Georgia*

**CHAIR**
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**PAPERS**

Robia Charles  
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*Georgia at the Crossroads: East or West?*

Sarrah Bechor  
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*Social Capital in Georgia: The Missing Piece from the Democratization Puzzle?*

Jane Curry  
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*The Role of “the Other” in the People’s Revolutions*

**DISCUSSANT**
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION V  9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL N6
Memory: Use and Creation

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PAPERS
Tuomas Tepora
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Feeling the Nation: War Sacrifice, Remembrance and Cultural Productivity

Jon Bohland
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Look Away, Look Away, Look Away to Lexington: Struggles over Neo-Confederate Nationalism, Memory, and Masculinity in a Small Virginia Town

Alexander Dukalskis
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History and Memory in Ideological Mechanisms: A Comparison of North Korea and Burma/Myanmar

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION V  9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL R10
Migration Policies in Russia, Eurasia and the European Union:
Trends, Challenges and Opportunities

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PAPERS
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Migration Policies in Russia and the European Union

Natalia Bolshova
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The Nation-State in Search of New Forms of Identity in a Multicultural Environment:
The Cases of Russia and Germany

Jakub Wojciech Korejba
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Immigration Policy in Russia: A Regional Focus

Timothy Heleniak
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Diasporas for Development in Eurasia

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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th    SESSION V   9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL TK6
Nationalism in Republican Turkey

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PAPERS
Sara-Marie Demiriz
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Sacralized Politics in Atatürk’s Turkey:
Celebration of the Nation as Directory for the People

Iklim Goksel
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Gypsy Girl of Zeugma: Daughter of the Land, Virgin of the Nation

Defne Kadioglu
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“We are the New Jews“:
The Role of Turkish Immigrants in the German Errinerungskultur

Ömer Aslan
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Turkish Islam of an Ardent Turkish Nationalist, Seyyid [Sayyid] Ahmed Arvasi:
A Compromise between Nationalism and Religion or Religion Subdued

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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION V  9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL U12
Armed Resistance in Ukraine and Romania

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PAPERS
Mikhail Akulov
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The “Fuehrerprinzip” of the Ukrainian Civil War Atamans

Larysa Zariczniak
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New Interpretations of Motivations
to Join the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

Yuri Zhukov
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Taking the Bait: Provocation of Government Reprisals
as an Insurgent Strategy

Monica Ciobanu
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Reconstructing the History of Early Commuism
and Armed Resistance in Romania

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL BK2
*Nation Building and Symbols in the West Balkan States, II: The Cases of Albania and Kosovo*

**CHAIR**
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**PAPERS**

Vjollca Krasniqi  
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*Identity, Symbolism and Power: The Politics of Nation Building in Kosovo*

Cecilie Endresen  
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*The Nation and the Nun: Mother Teresa, Albania’s Muslim Majority and the Secular State*

Gruia Bădescu  
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*Nationalism and the City: Urban Reconstruction and Post-War Reconciliation in Sarajevo and Beirut*

**DISCUSSANT**
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VI  11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL BK12  
Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2012: Stuck (or Lost?) between Dayton and Europe

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PAPERS
Ana Juncos  
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Member State Building vs. Peace Building: The Contradictions of EU State Building in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Sofia Sebastian  
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Constitutional Engineering in Divided Societies: The Case of Bosnia

Mateja Peter  
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Constructing International Authority in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Valery Perry  
(Public International Law and Policy Group, Sarajevo, Bosnia)  
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Constitutional Reform Processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Top-down Failure, Bottom-up Potential?

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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VI  11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL B09
Book Panel on Oded Haklai’s Palestinian Ethnonationalism in Israel
(U of Pennsylvania Press, 2011)

CHAIR
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th    SESSION VI    11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL CE5
(The Politics of) Memory and Commemoration in Central Europe

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PAPERS
Elidor Mehilli
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The Past as a Foreign Country: Remembering and Forgetting Communism

Robin Ostow
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Warsaw’s New Jewish Museum: Building History, a Cultural Capital and a Twenty-First Century Democracy

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VI  11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL EU6
Ethnicity, Violence, and Post-Conflict Reconciliation in Kyrgyzstan (Roundtable)

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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VI  11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL K2  
Beyond the Elites: Public Interest, Legitimacy, and Accountability in Georgian Ethnic Politics

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PAPERS  
Julie George  
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Statebuilding and (Post)conflict Processes in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Georgia

Meno Badashvili  
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Understanding Muslim Identities in Orthodox Christian Georgia: Non-Muslim Perceptions of Muslims

Donnacha Ó Beacháin  
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The Role of the EU and OSCE in Conflict Management and Resolution in the South Caucasus and Moldova

Jesse R. Driscoll  
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Creating and Re-Creating Ethnic Hierarchies: Experimental Evidence from the Republic of Georgia

DISCUSSANT  
Mark Beissinger  
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VI  11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL N3
Causes and Consequences of External Intervention in Ethnic Politics

CHAIR
Svetlana Djurdjevic-Lukic
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PAPERS
Keith Darden
(Yale U, US)
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The Politics of Divide and Rule

Alan Kuperman
(U of Texas at Austin, US)
< akuperman@mail.utexas.edu >
Intervention in Libya: A Humanitarian Success?

Arman Grigoryan
(Lehigh U, US)
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Commitment Problems, Third Parties, and State-Minority Conflicts

Mark Kramer
(Harvard U, US)
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Harris Mylonas
(George Washington U/Harvard Academy, US)
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External Actors and Secessionist Movements

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VI  11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL R1
*History, Memory, and Politics in Russia*

CHAIR
William Rosenberg  
(U of Michigan, US)  
<wgr@umich.edu>

PAPERS

Olga Malinova  
(INION, Moscow, Russia)  
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*In Search of a “Usable Past”: Discourse about National Identity in Post-Soviet Russia and Practices of Political Usage of the Past*

Mischa Gabowitsch  
(Einstein Forum, Potsdam, Germany)  
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*Dead Soldiers Fighting: Soviet War Memorials in the Cold War and Post-Soviet Memory Wars*

Marlène Laruelle  
(IERES, George Washington U, US)  
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*Public Memories, or Public Memory? The Kremlin’s Attempts to Fight against a Pluralism of Remembrance in Russia*

Valentin Behr  
Maryse Ramanbason Vauchelle  
(U of Strasbourg, France)  
<valentin.behr@gmail.com> <maryse.ramambason@gmail.com>
*History, Memory and Politics in International Relations: the Cases of Poland and Russia*

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VI  11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL TK1
The Kurdish Conflict in Turkey: Violence, Reform, and Wars of Information

CHAIR
Güneş Murat Tezcur
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< gtezcur@luc.edu >

PAPERS
Şener Aktürk
(Koç U, Turkey)
< sakturk@ku.edu.tr >
Twelve Common Misconceptions on the “Kurdish Question” of Turkey

Senem Aslan
(Bates College, US)
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“The Kurdish Opening” Initiative as Politics of Information

Ceren Belge
(Concordia U, Canada)
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Violence against Civilians and the Politics of Knowledge in the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey

Fuat Dündar
(Institut français d’études anatoliennes, Turkey)
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Birth Rates, Casualty Statistics, and the Demographic Construction of the Kurdish Question in Turkey

Evangelos Liaras
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A Barrage of Grievances: Electoral Reform and Patterns of Ethnic Voting in Turkey

DISCUSSANT
Kristin Bakke
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PANEL U13
Soviet-Era National Identity

CHAIR
Taras Hunczak
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PAPERS
Matthew Pauly
(Michigan State U, US)
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The Promise of Youth: Young Pioneers, the Komsomol, and Ukrainian Studies, 1925-1934

Harun Yilmaz
(HURI, Harvard U, US)
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How Was the Problem of Ethnogenesis Solved in Azerbaijani, Kazakh and Ukrainian National Historiographies in 1936-1941?

Oksana Iurkova
(Institute of History, Kyiv, Ukraine/Columbia U, US)
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Ukrainian Historians of 1930s in Vice: Historiographical Paradoxes and Tasks

Olga Bertelsen
(U of Nottingham, UK)
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Repressions of the Ukrainian Intelligentsia in the Writers’ Home in Kharkiv, Ukraine in the 1930s

DISCUSSANT
Yaroslav Bilinsky
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VII  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL BK15
Re-Defining the Nation: Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approaches in the Balkans

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Ivaylo Grouev
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Daniela Gorbunova
(Bulgarian Gender Research Foundation, Sofia)
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The September 2011 Ethnic Riots in Bulgaria

Astrid Reinprecht
(European U Institute, Florence, Italy)
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Evading Ethnicized Nationhood: “Counter-Public” in Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia

Lea David
(Ben Gurion U, Israel)
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A Difficult Past in Serbia: The State-Sponsored Project of Remembering and Forgetting

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VII  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL BK17
Shifts and Patterns of International Intervention in Kosovo since 2008

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Adam Fagan
(Queen Mary, U of London, UK)
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Democracy Promotion in Kosovo:
The EU’s Intervention in Comparative Perspective

Sherrill Stroschein
(U College London, UK)
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Must the State be a Vertical Network?

Ilire Agimi
(Maastricht U, The Netherlands)
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From Government to Governance in Kosovo:
Assisting Democracy at the Local Level

Jelena Obradovic-Wochnik
Anneliese Dodds
(Aston U, Birmingham, UK)
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Regulation in a Contested State: Energy Sector Regulation
in Kosovo and the Influence of External Actors

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VII  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL BK28

Nationalism, Democracy and Euro-Atlantic Integration: The Case of Macedonia

CHAIR
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PAPERS

Borce Davitkovski
Ana Pavlovska-Daneva
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Attempting a Census: Reasons, Consequences and Effects

Gordana Siljanovska
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Political Parties and the Consolidation of Democracy in the Republic of Macedonia

Elena Davitkovska
(University American College, Skopje, Macedonia)
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Timco Mucunski
(U of Ss. Cyril and Methodius, Macedonia)
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The Role of Collective Security Communities Towards Sustaining Regional Stability in the Balkans

Gordan Georgiev
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Macedonia’s EU Perspectives: Between a Rock and a Hard Place

DISCUSSANT

Edislav Manetovic
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th    SESSION VII    2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL B010
Book Panel on Roger Petersen’s Western Intervention in the Balkans: The Strategic Use of Emotion in Conflict (Cambridge, 2011)

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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th    SESSION VII    2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL BO7


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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VII  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL CE17
Gender and Nation-Building in Central Europe

CHAIR
Claire Turenne Sjolander
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PAPERS
Oana Sinziana Paltineanu
(Central European U, Hungary)
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Romanian Women's Activism in Austria-Hungary: A Case Study

Stefan Bosomitu
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Resistance from Within: Women Antifascist Volunteerism / Activism during World War II in Romania

Luciana M. Jinga
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From Housewife to Minister: Gender (Re) Construction in Communist Romania

M Roscoe Loustau
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<mrl706@mail.harvard.edu>
“She Taught Me the Language of Thieves:” Marian Devotionalism, Abortion, and the Politics of Gender at the Şumuleu Ciuc Pilgrimage Center, Harghita County, Romania

Oana Petrica
(York U, Canada)
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Gendering Capitalist Formations and Postcommunist Migration of Highly Skilled Eastern Europeans: The Case of the Romanian Migration to Canada (1990-2008)

DISCUSSANT
Oksana Kis
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PANEL CE18
Dealing with Memory Conflicts: the Circulation of Norms of Reconciliation

CHAIR
Laure Neumayer
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PAPERS
Roberto Colozza
(Sciences Po, Paris, France)
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The Birth of a Red Nation: The Memory of World War II
and Patriotic Rhetoric in Communist Propaganda in Italy and France

Guillaume Mouralis
(CNRS, Paris, France)
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The Invention of “Transitional justice” as Phrase and Praxis in the 1990s

Georges Mink
(CNRS, Paris, France)
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Memory in International Relations: Asymmetry and
Normative “Conditionality”, a Geopolitics of Readjustment in Europe

David Emler
(U Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense, France).
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Uses of Memory in Political Discourse of
French Presidents Chirac and Sarkozy

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VII  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL EU3
Religion and Change in Central Asia

CHAIR
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PAPERS
David Montgomery
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*Islam and Danger: A Reconsideration of the Link between Religiosity, Radicalism, and Rebellion in Central Asia*

David Levy
(Boston U, US)
< dplevy@gmail.com >
*Aisalkyn Botoeva*
(Brown U, US)
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*Religious Credentials and National Character: The Work of the Agency for Religious Affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic*

Davlatsulton Dorbagekova
(Rutgers U, US)
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*Tajikistan: The Challenge of Transnational Islamic Movements*

Hélène Thibault
(U of Ottawa, Canada)
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*Born Again: Post-Soviet Attitudes towards Religion in Tajikistan*

Idil Izmirli
(George Mason U, US)
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*Islam, Politics, and Intra-Religious Conflict in Crimea*

DISCUSSANT
Jesse R. Driscoll
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VII  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL K1  
*Legitimacy and Unrecognized States in World Politics*

CHAIR  
David Szakonyi  
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PAPERS  
Kristin Bakke  
(U College London, UK)  
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John O’Loughlin  
(U of Colorado Boulder, US)  
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*The Viability of de facto States:  
Post-War Developments and Internal Legitimacy in Abkhazia*

Adrian Florea  
(Indiana U, Bloomington, US)  
< florea@indiana.edu >
*De Facto States and the Dynamics of Separatism*

Lee Seymour  
(Leiden U, Netherlands)  
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*Legitimacy and the Politics of Recognition in Kosovo and Abkhazia*

DISCUSSANT  
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VII  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL N7  
Intractable Conflicts?

CHAIR  
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PAPERS  
Bruno Coppieters  
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The Impact of European Integration on National Conflicts:  
A Comparison between Interstate and Intrastate Conflicts

Mike Medeiros  
(U of Montreal, Canada)  
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The Importance of Language: The Relationship between  
Linguistic Vitality and Ethnic Conflicts

Nadav Shelef  
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Which Land is Our Land? Explaining Variation in Border Claims

Scott Weiner  
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Ethnicity, Non-Core Groups, and State Policy:  
Testing Causal Mechanisms Of Accommodation in Israel

DISCUSSANT  
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VII  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL N11
Political Myths about the Nation and Its Others: II

CHAIR
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PAPERS

Marta Postigo
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National and post-national identities in a ‘Cosmopolitan Europe’

Anders Hellström
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National Myth-Making and Populist Mobilization in Scandinavia

Pascal-Yan Sayegh
(U de Lyon - Jean Moulin, France)
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The Rule of the Sacred: Religion, Nationalism and Secularity

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VII  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL R5
Domestic Politics in Russia, Ukraine, and Poland

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Graeme Robertson  
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Protesting Putinism: Patterns of Dissent in Contemporary Russia

Viatcheslav Avioutskii  
(OCRE-EDC, Paris, France)  
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The Reconfiguration of the Ukrainian Business Clans and the 2010 Election

Krzysztof Jasiewicz  
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The Curious Case of Poland’s Vanishing Left

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VII  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL TH5
*Diaspora Labor Migration*

**CHAIR**
Laurence Couture-Gagnon  
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**PAPERS**

Isil Acehan  
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The Evolution of Middle Eastern Immigrant and Diaspora Communities in the United States (1890s- 1930s)

Tatyana Muradova  
(Russian State U for the Humanities, Moscow)  
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A Tale of Two Migrations: Slavic Immigration to US in Late 19th-Early 20th Century and in Late 20th-Early 21st Century

Alena Alamgir  
(Rutgers U, US)  
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Musical Chairs: Vietnamese Workers and Economic Constraints on State Power in State-Socialist Czechoslovakia

Paul Zachary  
(George Washington U, US)  
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Central Asia Forty Years Ago: Learning From Philippine Emigration Policy in Central Asia

**DISCUSSANT**
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VII  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL TK2
Explaining Genocide and its Aftermath

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PAPERS
Alan Whitehorn
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Exploring Aspects of Genocide: Revisiting Gregory Stanton’s Eight Stages of Genocide

Esra Elmas
(Galatasaray U, Turkey)
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Under the “Nylon Cage” of Denial: Murder of Hrant Dink and its Implications

Stefan Stankovic
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Mapping the Zones of Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire: Periphery, Core, and External Forces

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VII  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL U1

*Pasts Present and Global: The Culture and Politics of Post-World-War-Two and Post-Holocaust Memory in Ukraine*

**CHAIR**
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**PAPERS**

**John-Paul Himka**  
(U of Alberta, Canada)  
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*Ukrainian Memories of the Holocaust: The Destruction of Jews and Roma as Reflected in Memoirs Collected in 1947*

**Per Anders Rudling**  
(Lund U, Sweden)  
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*The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations*

**Sofia Dyak**  
(Center for Urban History of East Central Europe, Lviv, Ukraine)  
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*“Diaspora Battlefield”: Commemorative and Heritage Projects in Lviv After 1991*

**DISCUSSANT**
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VIII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL BK6
Exploring Contemporary Islamic Movements in the Balkans: A Common Reformist Islam?

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PAPERS
Ger Duijzings
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*Shifting Boundaries and Changing Regimes: The Oscillating Status of Balkan Muslims*

Arolda Elbasani
(Columbia U, US)
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*Muslims’ Support for European Integration: The Role of Incentives, Organizations and Idea*

Edina Becirevic
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*Moderate Islam and Wahhabism in Bosnia: Competing Discourses*

Ertug Tombus
(Columbia U, US)
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*Reluctant Democratization: The Case of Justice and the Development Party*

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VIII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL BK10
Transforming Potential of Transitional Justice in Former Yugoslavia

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Klaus Bachmann
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The ICTY and the Events in Racak 1999

Jovana Mihajlović Trbovc
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Truth Lost in Translation: Narratives of Crimes, War and History in Public Sphere of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Ana Ljubojević
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History in Crisis: Transitional Justice and the Creation of Narratives in Serbia and Croatia

Sladjana Lazić
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Where Did the Victims Go? Transitional Justice as Recognition and “Dealing with the Victims“ in Serbia’s Sandzak

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th   SESSION VIII   5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL BK14
End of Yugoslavia

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PAPERS
Gorana Grgić
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Dynamics of Nationalist Mobilization and Regional Spread of Internationalized Conflicts: A Question of Where and When

Masumi Kameda
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Religious Iconography Appropriated for Communist Propaganda

Dareg Zabarah
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The Role of Religion in Defining the Nation: An Institutional Analysis of Different Religious Heritages in Forming the Lebanese and Bosnian Nation

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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VIII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL B03

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● ● ●
PANEL B011
Book Panel on Michael Khodarkovsky’s Bitter Choices: Loyalty and Betrayal in the Russian Conquest of the North Caucasus (Cornell, 2011)

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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VIII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL CE15
World War II Pogroms in Romania

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PAPERS
Alexandru Muraru
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The Memory of a Blood Summer: First Massacres of the Romanian Holocaust: Dorohoi and Galati Pogroms in 1940

Adrian Cioflanca
(“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” U of Iasi, Romania)
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Missionaries of Death: The Anti-Semitic Propaganda before the Iasi Pogrom

Mihai Chioveanu
(U of Bucharest, Romania)
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The Security Dilemma, the Destruction of the Enemy, and the Vertigo of Impunity: An Attempt to Frame the Logic behind the Iasi Pogrom

Anca Ciuciu
(U of Bucharest, Romania)
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Ethics and Aesthetics in Holocaust Images. Study Case: the Iasi Pogrom (June 1941)

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VIII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL CE16
Identity Struggles in Moldova

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Matthew Ciscel
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Moldovan Divergence: Evidence from a Survey of Language Learning Motivation

Julien Danero Iglesias
(U Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium)
Magdalena Dembinska
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Moldovan Identity in Transnistria

Erin Hutchinson
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Between a Russophone and Turkic National Identity: The Gagauz of Moldova

Vitalie Sprinceana
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Sacred, Secular, Globalization: Moldova’s Orthodox Church and the State

Meredith Bacon
(U of Nebraska at Omaha, US)
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Religion and Moldovan Identity Formation

DISCUSSANT
Thijs Rommens
(KULeuven, Belgium)
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th    SESSION VIII    5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL EU12  
Language Policies and Practices in Kazakhstan and the Baltics

CHAIR  
Bhavna Dave  
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PAPERS  

Juldyz Smagulova  
(KIMEP U, Almaty, Kazakhstan)  
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Language Policy and Planning in Kazakhstan

Elise Ahn  
(KIMEP U, Almaty, Kazakhstan)  
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The Negotiation of a Civic and Global Identity:  
The Case of Language and Kazakhstani Higher Education

Olga Cara  
(U College London, UK)  
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Russian-Speaking Adolescents in “Russian” Schools in Riga:  
Linguistic Acculturation Strategies and Behaviour

DISCUSSANT  
Leah Haus  
(Vassar College, US)  
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VIII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL K7

Constructing Nationness through Boundaries and Institutions in Russia and the Caucasus

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Iveta Silova
Michael Mead
Garine Palandjian
(Lehigh U, US)
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Space: (Re)Mapping National Territories, Borders, and Identities in Post-Soviet Textbooks

Robert Baumann
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Opposing Narratives of Bashkir Incorporation into the Russian Empire: Voluntary Assimilation versus Subjugation

Laurence Broers
(SOAS, U of London, UK)
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Gerard Toal
(Virginia Tech, US)
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Cartographic Exhibitionism and the Karabakh Conflict

Lisa Koriouchkina
(Independent Researcher, Williamstown, MA, US)
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From “Citizens Without Rights” to Non-Citizens: Transformations of Notions of Citizenship in the Legal Status of Meskhetian Turks

DISCUSSANT
Eric McGlinchey
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VIII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL N2
The Persistence of Nationalism in a Global Age

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Gabriella Elgenius
(U of Oxford, UK)
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Nationalism and the Politics of Recognition and Patience

Lauren Langman
(Loyola U of Chicago, US)
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The News of the Death of Nationalism is a Bit Premature

DISCUSSANT
Jakub Benes
(U of California, Davis, US)
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th
SESSION VIII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL N12
Migration: Inclusion and Exclusion

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Anna Moltchanova
(Carleton College, US)
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Value Conflict and Immigrant Inclusion

Yu Sasaki
(University of Washington, US)
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Nationalism and European Animosity toward Muslim Immigrants: Explaining Variation

Kristina Kraft
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Group-Focused Enmity in the Locality: Immigrants in a Berlin Neighborhood

Andrea Carla
(New School, NY, US)
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Tensions and Challenges between New and Old Minorities: the case of South Tyrol

Robin Harper
(York College, US)
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Should They Stay or Should They Go? The Question of Accommodation or Exclusion for Non-Coethnics Who Decide to Join the Israeli Ethnic State

DISCUSSANT
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VIII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL N14
“Breaking India”: Centrifugal Forces and the Indian Nation (Roundtable)

CHAIR
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Who's Breaking up India?

Anouck Carsignol
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South Asianism: Diasporic Desis and the Questioning of Indian National Identity

Ingrid Therwath
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Re-imagining India: Long-distance Nationalism and Sub-Nationalisms

Anthony Goreau-Ponceaud
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India and Tamil Nationalism in a post-Tamil Tiger World
FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VIII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL R11
The International Politics of Russian Art Music Performance

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Ostap Sereda
(Krypiakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies, L'viv, Ukraine)
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*Russian Opera and Obrusenie kraia: Musical Theater and National Politics in Kyiv in the Period of Great Reforms, 1860s-70s*

Paul du Quenoy
(American U of Beirut, Lebanon)
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*Staging an Eastern Other: The Russian Repertoire at the Metropolitan Opera, 1910-2012*

Victoria Hallinan
(Northeastern U, US)
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DISCUSSANT
Lauren Ninoshvili
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th SESSION VIII 5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL TH1
Civil Society Development in the Post-Communist Space: Domestic and International Factors

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Tsveta Petrova
(Columbia U, US)
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The Puzzle of Eastern European Civic Democracy Promotion

J. Ariela Shapiro
(International Crisis Group, Tbilisi, Georgia)
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Islam and Azerbaijan: A Catalyst for Revolt or Mechanism for Social Change?

Robyn Angley
(Harvard U, US)
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Civil Society in Weak States: NGOs and Georgia’s Rose Revolution

DISCUSSANT
Olga Onuch
(Oxford U, UK)
< ola.onuch@gmail.com >
FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VIII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL TK4
Religion and Secularism in Turkey

CHAIR
Turkuler Isiksel
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PAPERS
Paulina Niechciał
Daniel Platek
(Jagiellonian U, Poland)
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Islam and the Public Sphere: Iran and Turkey in Comparative Perspective

Alp Eren Topal
(Bilkent U, Turkey)
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Traditional Sources of the “Social” in Turkish Nationalism:
The Case of Ziya Gökalp

Aviad Rubin
(U of Haifa, Israel)
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Is the Turkish Model of Religion and the State Suitable
for Democratizing Arab Regimes?

Murat Somer
(Koç U, Turkey)
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Moderation, Religious Politics and Democratization:
Theory and Evidence from Turkey and the Arab Spring

DISCUSSANT
Serdar Kaya
(Simon Fraser U, Canada)
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FRIDAY, APRIL 20th  SESSION VIII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL U4
Public Policy and Political Preferences in Contemporary Ukraine

CHAIR
Nanette Funk
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PAPERS
Lena Surzhko-Harned
(Mercyhurst College, US)
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“Mothers and Daughters”: Gender, Age and Political Behavior in Ukraine

Anna Vorobyova
(Simon Fraser U, Canada)
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Reproducing the Nation and Inequality: Gender Order in the Health Policy of Ukraine

Martha J. Bojko
(U of Connecticut, US)
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Assessing Male Involvement in Sexual Health and Family Development Programs in Western Ukraine

DISCUSSANT
Alexandra Hrycak
(Reed College, US)
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SESSION IX  9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL BK20
Europeanisation and the Consolidation of Democracy and Human Rights in the Western Balkans

CHAIR
Svetlana Djurdjevic-Lukić
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PAPERS
Nebojša Vladisavljević
(U of Belgrade, Serbia)
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Hybrid Regimes in the Balkans after the Cold War

Vedran Dzihic
(Johns Hopkins U, US)
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Looming Crisis of Democracy? Perceptions of Democracy and Assessment of Authoritarian Tendencies in Serbia

Marius Calu
(Queen Mary, U of London, UK)
< m.i.calu@qmul.ac.uk >
Europeanization Meets State Weakness in Kosovo: Debating Liberal Interventionism and the Legacy of the Past

Tanya Domi
(Columbia U, US)
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Can International Institutions Help Create a Sustainable Democratic Political Space that Respects Balkan Gays Human Rights?

DISCUSSANT
Connie Robinson
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION IX  9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL BK22
*Ethno-religious Identities and the Costs of Compromise: Macedonia, Serbia and EU Integration*

CHAIR
David Phillips  
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PAPERS

Zoran Ilievski  
(Ss. Cyril and Methodius U, Macedonia)  
< ilievski.zoran@gmail.com >  
*Macedonia and Turkey’s Emerging Role as a Power Player in the Western Balkans: Filling the Vacuum of Blocked EU Perspectives?*

Nenad Markovic  
(Ss. Cyril and Methodius U, Macedonia)  
< nenad.markovic@gmail.com >  
*Widening the Gap: Ethnic Parallelism in Macedonia One Decade after the Ohrid Framework Agreement*

Vladimir Bozinovski  
(Ss. Cyril and Methodius U, Macedonia)  
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*Parallel Democracy: Ethnic Political Parties and Their Impact on Public Opinion Divisions on Key Policy Issues*

Ivan Damjanovski  
(Ss. Cyril and Methodius U, Macedonia)  
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*Old Minorities, New Controversies: The Macedonian Muslim Community between Ethnicity and Religion*

Marko Kmezic  
(U of Graz, Austria)  
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*Constitutional Dimensions of Cultural and Territorial Pluralism in the Balkans in Light of the EU Integrations: Case Study — Serbia*

DISCUSSANT
Robert Hislope  
(Union College, US)  
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION IX  9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL CE9
Nationalism, Ideology and Resistance in Romania

CHAIR
Nadia Kaneva
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PAPERS
Petre Matei
(US Holocaust Memorial Museum, DC)
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The Gypsies in Romania: From Labeling to Deportation

Maria Lupas
(Aix-Marseille U, France/US Holocaust Memorial Museum, DC)
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The Nationalist Conversion of Romanian Interwar Intellectuals: The Axa Newspaper

Cristiana Oghina-Pavie
(U d’Angers, France)
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When Nationalism Rewrites the History of Science: The Case of Biology in Communist Romania (1947-1989)

Irina Nastasa-Matei
(Babes-Bolyai U, Romania)
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The Romanian Students in the Interwar Period: Between Nationalism, Anti-Semitism and Resistance

DISCUSSANT
Damianos Serefidis
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SUNDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION IX  9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL EU9
China’s Formal and Informal Policies toward National Minorities

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Allison Quatrini
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Xinjiang’s Get Along Gang: Turkic Ethnic Group Cooperation in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region from 1944-1997

Giulia Cabras
(INALCO, Paris, France)
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Language Policies in Xinjiang: The Link between Language Policies and Historical Context in Xinjiang (1950-2002)

Mettursun Beydulla
(Harvard U, US)
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History, Development and Future Prospects of Bilingual Education and Uyghur Identity

Marie-Eve Reny
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Accommodative Informal Institutions and Authoritarian Regime Survival: The Politics of Underground Protestant Churches in China

DISCUSSANT
Colin Mackerras
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PANEL K3
Insurgency in the North Caucasus

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Valeriy Dzutsev
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Is Islam Modernization or De-Modernization Force in the North Caucasus?

Emil Souleimanov
(Charles U, Czech Rep)
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Islam, Nationalism, and Blood Feud: Understanding the North Caucasus Insurgency

Oliver Bevan
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Ideas Can’t be Compromised: A Comparison of Soviet and Post-Soviet State-Building Policies

DISCUSSANT
Jean-François Ratelle
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th    SESSION IX    9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL N13
Social and National Mobilization

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Burcu Degirmen
(U of Oklahoma, US)
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A Cultural Political Economy of Social Mobilizations

Stephen Larin
(Queen’s University, Canada)
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Relational Approaches to Nations and Nationalism

Tristan Mabry
(Naval Postgraduate School, US)
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Countering Islamism with Nationalism: Suppressing Fundamentalist Mobilization by Promoting Ethno-Linguistic Identification

Daniel Nerenberg
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Defining Social Deviance: How National Norms are Shaped in Ethno-National Conflicts

DISCUSSANT
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION IX  9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL R6
Place and Memory on Russia’s Periphery

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Regan Treewater
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Mapping the Modern Immigration Narrative:
A Propp Inspired Approach to Dina Rubina’s Belaia Golubka Cordovy

Peter Kabachnik
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Competing and Contrasting Narratives of Stalin:
The Performativity of the Stalin Monument in Gori, Georgia

DISCUSSANT
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION IX  9:00 - 11:00 AM

PANEL U3
Popular Culture, the Mass Media and the Construction of New Ukrainian Identities

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Tamara Hundorova
(Institute of Literature, Kyiv, Ukraine)
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Vierka Serduchka and the Masquerade of Ukrainian Marginality

Laada Bilaniuk
(U of Washington, US)
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“Language, Sex, and Rock and Roll”: Constructing Ukrainianness in Ukraine’s East

Marian J. Rubchak
(Valparaiso U, US)
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Women Redefining Protest Tactics: Ukrainian-Style

DISCUSSANT
Vitaly Chernetsky
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PANEL BK3  
*Nation Building and Symbols in the West Balkan States III: The Cases of Macedonia and Bosnia*

**CHAIR**  
Eric Gordy  
(UC London, UK)  
< e.gordy@ssees.ucl.ac.uk >

**PAPERS**  
Ana Devic  
(Dogus U, Istanbul, Turkey)  
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*The Populism of Church Nationalism and Western-Assisted Nation-Building in the Bosnian Serb Entity*

Elma Hašimbegović  
(Central European U, Budapest, Hungary)  
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*From State Building towards Nation Building in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Reading the Lily Symbol*

Ljupco S. Risteski  
(Ss. Cyril and Methodius U, Macedonia)  
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*Monuments and Urban Nationalism in Macedonia: Project “Skopje 2014”*

Armanda Hysa  
(Institute of Cultural Anthropology, Tirana, Albania)  
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*Nation-Building in the Republic of Macedonia: Albanian Perceptions of Homeland, Patria and Nation*

**DISCUSSANT**  
Mila Dragojevic  
(Sewanee U of the South, Tennessee, US)  
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21st  SESSION X  11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL BK26
*Transnational Borders*

**Chair**
Ines Murzaku  
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**Papers**
Maria Stoilkova  
(U of Florida, US)  
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*Alterity Reloaded: Recent Immigration to Bulgaria and Populist Responses*

Andrea Pisac  
(Goldsmiths College, UK)  
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*Gambling Across National(ist) Borders: The Case of Nova Gorica, Slovenia*

**Discussant**
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION X  11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL BK29
Mission Improbable: Institutionalizing the Rule of Law in Southeastern Europe

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Bart M. J. Szewczyk
(George Washington U Law School, US)
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The Role of International Institutions in Promoting the Rule of Law in Bosnia

Calin Trenkov-Wermuth
(NYU, US)
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Addressing War Crimes through the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo

Kjell E. Engelbrekt
(Swedish National Defense College, Sweden)
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Institutionalizing the Rule of Law in Southeastern Europe: The Uniqueness of the EU’s Eastward Enlargement

DISCUSSANT
Li Bennich-Björkman
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PANEL CE10

Geopolitics, Foreign Policy, and Nationalism in Central Europe

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Ionas Aurelian Rus
(U of Cincinnati Blue Ash, US)
< Ionas.Rus@uc.edu >
The Role of Exogenous Shocks on Nation-Building:
The Union of Bukovina with Romania in 1918

David Cadier
(Sciences Po, France)
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Formative Moments and the Invention of Foreign Policy Tradition:
The Munich Allegory in the Czech Discourse

Anna Korhonen
(U of Helsinki, Finland)
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Estonian Russian-speakers and Russia’s Kin-State policy:
Do They Match?

George Soroka
(Harvard U, US)
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Between Katyn and Smolensk: Polish-Russian Political Discourse
and the Kaczyński Presidency (2005-2010)

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL SE3

A Conversation with Tim Snyder on Thinking the Twentieth Century
(*Tony Judt with Timothy Snyder, Penguin, 2012*)

MODERATOR
Dominique Arel
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SPEAKER
Tim Snyder
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PANEL CE20
Memories and Borderlands

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Ola Linkiewicz
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Social Roles and Nationalities in a Multicultural Community of Interwar Poland: Narratives, Meanings, Interpretations

Kaja Sirok
(National Museum for Contemporary History, Slovenia)
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Which History? Whose Memory? The Power of Memory in Borderland Identity Making

Katja Skrlj
(U of Nova Gorica, Slovenia)
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Thanks for the Memory: First World War Diaries and Memories of Slovenian and Italian “Ordinary” People

DISCUSSANT
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION X  11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL EU4
Challenges of Diversity in Kazakh Nation-Building

CHAIR
Erica Marat
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PAPERS
Claire P. Kaiser
(U of Pennsylvania, US)
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Betraying their Motherland: Soviet Military Tribunals of Izmenniki Rodiny in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, 1941-1953

Adrienne Edgar
(UC Santa Barbara, US)
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Between “Official Nationality” and the “Soviet Nation”: Interethnic Marriages and Families in Soviet Kazakhstan

Zhanat Kundakbayeva
(al-Farabi National U, Kazakhstan)
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Returned Diasporas and Homeland: Identity Differences between Kazakhstani Kazakhs and Oralmans

Katharina Buck
(U of Bristol, UK)
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The “Hospitality Narrative” in Kazakh Nationalism: Facilitator of Hostility?

Bhavna Dave
(SOAS, U of London, UK)
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Migration Regime in Kazakhstan: Vested Interests and Challenges of Establishing a Legal Framework

DISCUSSANT
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION X  11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL N1
Ethnic Divides and Political Regimes

CHAIR
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PAPERS

Henry E. Hale
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Identity Divides as Authoritarian Resource:
Two Decades of the Post-Soviet Experience

Margarita Balmaceda
(Seton Hall U, US/ U of Greifswald, Germany)
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Local Elites, Rent-Seeking, and the Limits to Russia’s Leverage
in the Post-Soviet Region: the Case of Transnistria

Grigore Pop-Eleches
(Princeton U, US)
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Cross-cutting Cleavages and Ethnic Conflict:
Evidence from Survey Experiments in Kyrgyzstan

Brian Shoup
(Mississippi State U, US)
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Ethnic Bipolarity and Regime Hybridity:
The Role of Asymmetric Policy Claim

DISCUSSANT
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION X  11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL R7
Youth Perspectives on Multiculturalism in Eurasia

CHAIR
Denise Mishiwiec
(SSRC, NY, US)
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PAPERS
Nicole M. Butkovich Kraus
(U of Wisconsin-Madison, US)
< nkraus@ssc.wisc.edu >
Xenophobia among Russian Youth:
Moving Forward or Looking Back?

Colin Johnson
(Brown U, US)
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Demography and Immigration:
A Xenophobic Outcome Inevitable?

DISCUSSANT
Cynthia Buckley
(SSRC, NY, US)
< buckley@ssrc.org >

● ● ●
SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION X  11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL TH4  
*Education, Nationalism, and Violence*

**CHAIR**  
**Elidor Mehilli**  
(Columbia U, US)  
< em2886@columbia.edu >

**PAPERS**  
**Shamir Yeger**  
(Hebrew U, Israel)  
< yeger450@gmail.com >  
*Education and Ideology in the Third Reich in the Years 1933-1939: History Teaching as a Way of Building a Nation*

**Hanna Schmidt Holländer**  
(U of Hamburg, Germany)  
< schmidthollaender@gmail.com >  
*Maintaining Order within Chaos: The Disciplinary Role of Education in Jewish Ghettos during the Second World War*

**Zenon Wasyliw**  
(Ithaca College, US)  
< wasyliw@ithaca.edu >  
*Holodomor Studies in the Secondary School Social Studies Curriculum: Critical Thinking and Pedagogy*

**Amanda Greber**  
(U of Toronto, Canada)  
< amandagreber@gmail.com >  
*T is for Tito: Good Language, Good Citizen, and Identity in Textbooks*

**DISCUSSANT**  
**Laura Dull**  
(Suny New Paltz, US)  
< dullj@newpaltz.edu >
SATURDAY, APRIL 21th    SESSION X    11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL TK7
_Cyprus: Narratives and Practices_

CHAIR
Peride Kaleagasi
(Independent Scholar, NY, US)
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PAPERS
Hanife Aliefendioglu
(Eastern Mediterranean U, North Cyprus)
<hanife.aliefendioglu@emu.edu.tr>
_Silent Witnesses of Ethnic Conflict? An Analysis of Turkish Cypriot Women’s Narratives on the Conflict Times_

Djordje Stefanovic
(St Mary U, Canada)
<djordje.stefanovic@smu.ca>
_Displacement and Voluntary Return Intentions in Cyprus_

DISCUSSANT
Dilan Okcuoglu
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<8do@queensu.ca>
PANEL U5

Negotiating Gender and Nation: Women’s Experiences of National Building in Ukraine

CHAIR
Oxana Shevel
(Tufts U, US)
<oxana.shevel@tufts.edu>

PAPERS
Oksana Kis
(Institute of Ethnology, Lviv, Ukraine)
<oksanakis55@gmail.com>
Femininity Used and Contested: Women’s Experiences in National Guerilla Movement in Western Ukraine in the 1940-50s

Olena Petrenko
(Ruhr U of Bochum, Germany)
<olenapotrenko@yahoo.de>
Labor Force from the East in Western Ukraine after World War II: The Case of Female Teachers

Martha Kichorowska Kebalo
(Independent Scholar, NY, US)
<mkebalo@aol.com>
The Possibility of a Nationalist Feminism in Contemporary Ukraine

DISCUSSANT
Melissa Feinberg
(Rutgers U, US)
<mfeinberg@history.rutgers.edu>
SATURDAY, APRIL 21TH  SESSION X  11:20 AM - 1:20 PM

PANEL U9

Debating National Identity and Challenging Authoritarian Rule in Belarus

CHAIR
Curt F. Woolhiser
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PAPERS
Yann Breault
(UQAM, Montreal, Canada)
<ybreault@gmail.com>
*Does “Family” Culture Matter? Cooperation and Conflicts in the Eastern Slavic Orthodox Brotherhood*

Aliaksandr Paharely
(Center for Belarusian Studes, Southwestern College, US)
< aliaksandr.paharely@sckans.edu >
*The Importance of Nurturing One’s National Character: Interwar Belarusian Debates on National Self*

Matthew Frear
(U of Birmingham, UK)
<m.j.frear@bham.ac.uk>
*Challenging Authoritarian Rule: Opposition Strategies in Belarus*

Olena Nikolayenko
(Fordham U, US)
< onikolayenko@fordham.edu >
*Learning from Losses? Protests and Repression in Belarus*

DISCUSSANT
Serhiy Kudelia
(George Washington U, US)
< skudelia@jhu.edu >
PANEL BK5
_Shifting National Spaces, Histories and Identities in the Western Balkans_

CHAIR
Altin Raxhimi
(Independent Researcher, Montreal, Canada)
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PAPERS
Ajkuna Hoppe
(CUNY Graduate Center, US)
< ahoppe@gc.cuny.edu >
“State of Exception” Sovereignty: On Violence, Nationhood and Resistance in Postwar Kosova

Hanna Kienzler
(Douglas Mental Health University Institute, McGill U, Canada)
< hanna.kienzler@mail.mcgill.ca >
Reconfiguring National Identity and Space Through “Dead-Body Politics” in Kosova

Peter Locke
(Princeton U, US)
< plocke@princeton.edu >
Trauma, Memory, and Legacies of Ethnic Violence in Post-War Sarajevo

Enkelejda Sula-Raxhimi
(U of Montreal, Canada)
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Banished by Exigencies of the Nation-State: Roma in post-Communist Albania and in Independent Kosovo

DISCUSSANT
Indira Kajosevic Skoric
(State Colleges of Vermont, US)
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PANEL BK19
War Crimes Memory

CHAIR
Connie Robinson
(Central Washington U, US)
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PAPERS
Marina Ilic
(U de Lille 2, France)
< marina.ilic.fpn@gmail.com >
Patriotism with Benefits: Paramilitary Groups, Weekend Warriors and Volunteers in Yugoslav Wars

Iva Pauker
(U of Melbourne, Australia)
< iva.pauker@gmail.com >
From Nuremberg to Hague: Can War Crimes Trials Reconcile Post-Conflict Societies?

Amila Becirbegovic
(U of Texas, US)
< miakelly577@yahoo.com >
Photographic Facticity: Bosnian Atrocity Formats through the lens of Holocaust Frames

DISCUSSANT
David Crowe
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th   SESSION XI   2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL BK24
Identity versus Borders in the Balkans: Ethno-Political Reshuffling and Its Controversies

CHAIR
Ohannes Geukjian
(American U of Beirut, Lebanon)
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PAPERS
Giuseppe Motta
(La Sapienza U, Rome, Italy)
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The Activity of the Boundary Commissions and the New Frontiers of Eastern Europe after World War I

Tjasa Ucakar
(U of Ljubljana, Slovenia)
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Symbolic Re-Bordering in post-Yugoslav Slovenia: The Case of the Erased

Sara Barbieri
(U of Bologna Italy)
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Identity versus Borders: Addressing the Use of National Councils and Cultural Autonomies in Vojvodina and Siberia

Leonas Tolvaišis
(Vytautas Magnus U, Kaunas, Lithuania)
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Enclaves, Barricades and Contested Borders: The Deadlocked Ethnic Sustainability of Kosovo Serbs

DISCUSSANT
Stefano Bianchini
(U of Bologna, Italy)
< stefano.bianchini@unibo.it >
SATURDAY, APRIL 21st  SESSION XI  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL BO12


**CHAIR**

Nathaniel Knight  
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Steve A. Barnes  
( George Mason U, US)  
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION XI  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL CE2
*German Conceptions of Space in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*

CHAIR
Andreas Siegert  
(Potsdam U, Germany)  
< siegertandreas@web.de >

PAPERS
Jacob Hamric  
(U of Tennessee, US)  
< jhamric@utk.edu >  
*Religious Nationalism and Urban Identities: German Templers, Jews, and Arabs in Ottoman Palestine, 1868-1914*

Kristin Poling  
(U of Michigan, US)  
< kpoling@umich.edu >  
*Nation Without Walls: City and Nation in the German Empire*

Geoffrey Krempa  
(U of Tennessee, US)  
< gkrempa@utk.edu >  
*International Nationalists? German and Hungarian Radical Nationalist Visions of a “White” Europe, 1920-1921*

Kathryn Julian  
(UMass Amherst, US)  
< kjulian@history.umass.edu >  
*Socialist Sites of Devotion: Sacred Space and Identity in East Germany*

DISCUSSANT
Richard Frankel  
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< frankel@louisiana.edu >
PANEL CE11  
*Intergenerational and Transnational Identity Research*

**CHAIR**

Oana Petrica  
(York U, Canada)  
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**PAPERS**

Elizabeth M Clark  
(West Texas A&M U, US)  
< eclark@wtamu.edu >  
*Remembering Mama: Inter-Cultural Identity and Generational Memory of Mothers and Daughters in Poland*

Aleksandra Jawornicka-Nowosad  
(U of Warsaw, Poland)  
< nowola@poczta.onet.pl >  
*Ethnicity, Tradition and the Collective Memory of Trauma: The Lemkos in Western Poland*

Uku Lember  
(Central European U, Hungary/Cornell U, US)  
< lemer.u@gmail.com >  
*Some Strange Patterns in Negotiation and Transmission of Family Pasts in the Inter-Ethnic Marriages in Soviet Estonia*

Stefan Wisniowski  
(Kresy-Siberia Foundation, Australia)  
< stefan.wisniowski@kresy-siberia.org >

Claire Turenne Sjolander  
(U of Ottawa, Canada)  
< cturenne@uottawa.ca >  
*From Siberia to Cyberia: Using the Internet to Rediscover a Society Shattered by World War II*

Erick Reis Godliauskas Zen  
(Sao Paulo U, Brazil)  
< erickzen@gmail.com >  
*How did Lithuanian Immigrants Build Information Networks Across South America?*

**DISCUSSANT**

Roland Spickermann  
(U of Texas, Permian Basin, US)  
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION XI  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL EU2
**Mobilization, Protest, Violence, and Voting in Kyrgyzstan**

**CHAIR**
Kristin Fjæstad  
(Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo)  
< kfj@nupi.no >

**PAPERS**

Fredrik Sjoberg  
(NYU, US)  
< fms268@nyu.edu >

*Electoral Fraud in a Democratizing State: Examining Micro-Level Evidence in Kyrgyzstan 2010-2011*

Asel Doolotkeldieva  
(U of Exeter, UK)  
< adkasymovna@gmail.com >

*How Local Politics Affected Kyrgyzstan's Elections Results in 2010 and 2011*

David Hill  
Eugene Huskey  
(Stetson U, US)  
< dhill@stetson.edu>ehuskey@stetson.edu >

*Voter Participation and Preference in the 2010 Parliamentary Election in Kyrgyzstan: Examining Precinct and District-Level Returns*

John Heathershaw  
(U of Exeter, UK)  
< J.D.Heathershaw@exeter.ac.uk >

*Non-Electoral Protest Movements in an Electoral Environment: The “New Settlements” of Bishkek and the 2011 Presidential Elections in Kyrgyzstan*

**DISCUSSANT**
Marlene Laruelle  
(George Washington U, US)  
< marlenelaruelle@yahoo.com >
PANEL K6  
*Power, Money and Message: Diaspora Politics and Images of the Caucasus*

CHAIR  
**Adil Baguirov**  
(MGIMO, Russia)  
< baguirov@gmail.com >

PAPERS  
**Sevan Beukian**  
(U of Alberta, Canada)  
< beurkibe@ualberta.ca >  
*The Impact of the Armenian Diaspora on the Armenian National Identity (1988-2010): A View from Within*

**Diana Ter-Ghazaryan**  
(Florida International U, US)  
< dterg002@fiu.edu >  
*Spaces of Diaspora Investment in the Landscape of Yerevan*

**Mikail Mamedov**  
(Georgetown U, US)  
< mamedorm@hoyamail.georgetown.edu >  
*The Image of the “Caucasian People” in Modern Russian Films: Between Past and Present*

DISCUSSANT  
**Julie George**  
(CUNY Queens College, US)  
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th   SESSION XI  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL N5
Transnational and Intrastate Ethnic Violence

CHAIR
Steven Mock
(U of Waterloo, Canada)
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PAPERS
Bill Kissane
(LSE, UK)
< b.kissane@lse.ac.uk >
The Reconstruction of National Identity
After Civil War in Twentieth Century Europe

Sam Whitt
(US Department of State, DC)
< whittsl@state.gov >
Win, Lose, or Draw:
Differential Effects of Civil War Violence on Social Preferences
in Multi-Ethnic Societies

Radu Carciunaru
Subrata K. Mitra
(Heidelberg U, Germany)
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A Tale of Four Cities: Why Ethnic Diversity
does not Necessarily Lead to Ethnic Conflict

Andrea Reisman
(U of Washington, US)
< areisman@uw.edu >
The Role of Emasculation on Post-Conflict Attitudes:
The Case of Meskhetian Turks in the United States

DISCUSSANT
Allison Quatrini
(George Washington U, US)
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION XI  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL N9  
Views on Violence

CHAIR
Roger Petersen  
(MIT, US)  
< rpeters@mit.edu >

PAPERS
Evgeny Finkel  
(U of Wisconsin, Madison / Yale U, US)  
< efinkel@wisc.edu >  
Victims’ Politics: Jewish Behavior During the Holocaust

Hannibal Travis  
(Florida International U, US)  
< travish@fiu.edu >  
Defining Genocide in the Greater Middle East:  
The Challenge of Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Bias within the United Nations

Yuval Feinstein  
(UCLA, US)  
< yuval@ucla.edu >  
American Nationalism and Popular Support for War:  
New Evidence from a Survey-Experiment

Abbey Steele  
(Princeton U, US)  
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Warfare and Displacement in Spain and Colombia

DISCUSSANT
Zeynep Bulutgil  
(Fletcher School, Tufts U, US)  
< Zeynep.Bulutgil@tufts.edu >
SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION XI  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL R8
Twenty Years of Studying Nationalism in the Former Soviet Union: What Have We Learned?

CHAIR
Elizabeth Teague
(Foreign&Commonwealth Office, UK)
< elizabeth.teague@fco.gov.uk >

PAPERS
Dmitry Gorenburg
(Harvard U, US)
< gorenburg@gmail.com >
Elise Giuliano
(Columbia U, US)
< eg599@columbia.edu >
The Unexpectedly Underwhelming Response of Ethnicity in Russian Politics, 1991-2011

Philip Roeder
(U of California, San Diego, US)
< prroeder@mail.ucsd.edu>
When is Independence the Best Response to Secessionists?

Peter Rutland
(Wesleyan U, US)
< prutland@wesleyan.edu >
Living in the Past? Nationalism in the Post-Soviet Space

DISCUSSANT
Şener Aktürk
(Koç U, Turkey)
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PANEL SE2
How to Get an Article Published (Workshop)

WORKSHOP LEADER
Florian Bieber
(U of Graz, Austria)
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Editor of Nationalities Papers

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Mark Steinberg
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Editor of Slavic Review

Adam Fagan
(Queen Mary, U of London, UK)
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Editor of Eastern European Politics

Stefan Wolff
(U of Birmingham, UK)
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Editor of Ethnopolitics

Gerald Dorey
(Taylor & Francis, UK)
< gerald.dorey@tandf.co.uk >
Publisher of Nationalities Papers and Ethnopolitics
PANEL TH6  
**Gender in Eurasia and Eastern Europe—Then and Now**

**CHAIR**  
Erin Carll  
(PILnet, NY, US)  
< erincarllasn@gmail.com >

**PAPERS**

**Zamira Yusufjonova**  
(U of California-Santa Barbara, US)  
< zamira@umail.ucsb.edu >  
*The Emancipation of Soviet Women, 1940-1970s: Analyzing Soviet Propaganda in Women’s Periodicals*

**Nazym Shedenova**  
(al-Farabi Kazakh National U, Kazakhstan)  
< nshedenova@hotmail.com >  
*Social Practices of Motherhood in Kazakhstan: An Analysis of Gender Policy and Nation-Building*

**Nazgul Mingisheva**  
(Karaganda Bolashak U, Kazakhstan)  
< nazgulm2006@gmail.com >  
*Islam, Gender and Education in Kazakhstan*

**Itir Bagdadi**  
(Izmir U of Economics, Turkey)  
< ibagdadi@hotmail.com >  
*The Natasha Syndrome: The Effects of Failed Developmental Projects on Women in Post-Communist States*

**Maureen Goldman**  
(Bentley U, US)  
< mgoldman@bentley.edu >  
*Women and the Changing Cultures of Eastern Europe: Then (1990’s) and Now*

**DISCUSSANT**  
Cynthia Simmons  
(Boston College, US)  
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION XI  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL TH7
Foreign Policy in Eastern Europe

CHAIR
Paul D’Anieri
(U of Florida, US)
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PAPERS

Dessi Kirilova
(Yale U, US)
< dessislava.kirilova@yale.edu >
*Through Foreign Eyes: How Parliamentary Elites in Three Post-Communist Countries Saw Russia in the 1990s*

Dessie Zagorcheva
(Columbia U, US)
< dessie.zagorcheva@gmail.com >
*NATO Enlargement and Balkan Security: What the Western Balkans Can Learn from East Central Europe*

Kristina Mikulova
(Oxford U, UK / Yale U, US)
< kristina.mikulova@nuffield.ox.ac.uk >
*“The Unlikely Crusade”: Norms, Norm Entrepreneurs and the Foreign Policy of the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia Ahead of the Iraq War*

Khatuna Salukvadze
(Tbilisi State U, Georgia)
< khatunia@hotmail.com >
*The World According to Moscow and Brussels: Modernization Revisited*

DISCUSSANTS

Boris Barkanov
(Harvard U, US)
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Christopher Stevens
(College of the Holy Cross, US)
< cstevens@holycross.edu >
SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION XI  2:50 - 4:50 PM

PANEL U6
Polish-Ukrainian Memory

CHAIR
Kateryna Ruban
(New School U, NY, US)
< kateryna.ruban@gmail.com >

PAPERS
Oksana Vynnyk
(U of Alberta, Canada)
< vynnyk@ualberta.ca >
Funeral Ceremonies, War Commemoration Rituals and the “Creation” of Collective Memory: The Cemetery of the “Young Eagles” in L’viv

Tatiana Zhurzhenko
(U of Vienna, Austria)
< zhurzhenko@yahoo.com >
The Border as Pain and Remedy: Remembering (and Forgetting) the Polish-Ukrainian Conflict in Lviv and Przemysl

Eleonora Narvselius
(Centre for European Studies, Lund U, Sweden)
< eleonora.narvselius@glocalnet.net >
Tragic Legacy or Agreeable Heritage? The “Vanished World” of the Expelled Poles in the Present-Day Intellectual Debate in L’viv.

Victoria Sereda
(Ivan Franko U, Lviv, Ukraine)
< sereda_vik@yahoo.com >
Contested Urban Landscape: The Politics of Memory in Donetsk and L’viv in the Post-Soviet Era

DISCUSSANT
Hugo Lane
(Independent Scholar, NY, US)
< hugolane@gmail.com >
PANEL BK7
Pictures of Peace and Justice: Visual Material, History, Politics and Memory from Nuremberg to the ICC (Roundtable)

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Rachel Kerr
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Refik Hodzic
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Iva Vukusic
(Sense News Agency, Netherlands)
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● ● ●
PANEL BK13  
*The Transformative Power of Europeanization: Reconceptualizing the “Citizenship - Rule of Law” Nexus*

**CHAIR**  
Igor Stiks  
(U of Edinburgh, UK)  
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**PAPERS**  
Jo Shaw  
(U of Edinburgh, UK)  
< jo.shaw@ed.ac.uk >  
*Thin and Thick Conceptions of the Rule of Law in the post-Yugoslav Citizenship Constellation*

Maja Spanu  
(European U Institute, Florence, Italy)  
< Maja.spanu@gmail.com >  
*Between International Norms and State Identity: Continuity and Change in the Croatian Citizenship Right Regime*

Ivana Djuric  
(CEU, Budapest, Hungary)  
< ivana_duric@yahoo.com >  
*Refugee Repatriation Policy, EU’s Conditionality and Minority Return to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo*

Simonida Kacarska  
(U of Edinburgh, UK)  
< skacarska@gmail.com >  
*Visa Liberalization as a Tool of Europeanization in the Western Balkans*

**DISCUSSANT**  
Peter Vermeersch  
(U of Leuven, Belgium)  
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th   SESSION XII   5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL BK25
*The Western Balkans between International Contradictions and Local Ownership*

CHAIR
**Nida Gelazis**  
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PAPERS
**Robert M. Jenkins**  
(U of North Carolina, US)  
< rjenkins@email.unc.edu >  
*Facing Roadblocks: The Contradictions of External Approaches in the Western Balkans*

**Remzije Istrefi**  
(U of Prishtina, Kosovo)  
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*Building Statehood under International Administration: Challenges and Barriers*

DISCUSSANT
**Mark Baskin**  
(U at Albany, US)  
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION XII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL BO1

CHAIR
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Howard Eissenstat
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Uğur Ümit Üngör
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21TH  SESSION XII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL BO4
Book Panel on Oxana Shevel’s Migration, Refugee Policy and State-Building in Postcommunist Europe (Cambridge 2011)

CHAIR
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Cynthia Buckley
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Lisa Koriouchkina
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Oxana Shevel
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION XII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL CE6
*Interethnic Relations and Minority Integration in the Baltics*

**CHAIR**

**Olga Cara**  
(U College London, UK)  
< olga_cara@yahoo.co.uk >

**PAPERS**

**Renee Buhr**  
(U of St. Thomas, US)  
< buhr6782@stthomas.edu >  
*Youth and Identity in the Post-Soviet Sphere: A Comparison of Lithuania and Belarus*

**Ieva Gruzina**  
(U of Latvia, Riga)  
< ievagruzina@gmail.com >  
*Sense of Belonging and Integration: Accounting for the Dramatic Drop in Russian Youth Expressed Attachment to Latvia, 2004-2010*

**Alena Hvozdzeva**  
(U of Vienna, Austria)  
< alena.hvozdzeva@univie.ac.at >  
*Divided Nation? Integration of Post-Soviet Latvia’s Society Reflected in the Press*

**Li Bennich-Björkman**  
(Uppsala U, Sweden)  
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*You are Not the People: Citizenship and Politics in the Baltic States*

**DISCUSSANT**

**Magdalena Dembinska**  
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th       SESSION XII       5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL CE13
Europe and Identity Today

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Montserrat Guibernau
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Towards a European Identity?

Nadia Kaneva
(U of Denver, US)
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Nation Branding in Eastern Europe:
Nationalism Meets Global Commercialism

Robert Sata
(Central European U, Hungary)
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Diversity Politics: Citizenship, Migration, and Asylum in Europe

Guido Schwellnus
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Lilla Balazs
(Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich)
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The Role of Domestic Mobilization in the Adoption of
Minority Protection Rules in New EU Member States

DISCUSSANT
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION XII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL EU1  
*The International Relations of Central Asia*

**CHAIR**
Payam Foroughi  
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**PAPERS**

**Alexander Cooley**  
(Barnard College, Columbia U, US)  
< ac210@columbia.edu >  
*Great Games, Local Rules: The New Great Power Contest for Central Asia*

**George Gavrilis**  
(Hollings Center for International Dialogue, US)  
< gavrilis.work@gmail.com >  
*Central Asia’s Borders Twenty Years On*

**Emily O’Dell**  
(Columbia U, US)  
< ejo2114@columbia.edu >  
*The Era of Turkmenistan’s Great Renaissance: Iranian and Turkmen Foreign Relations*

**DISCUSSANT**

**Henry Hale**  
(George Washington U, US)  
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PANEL K9

Ethnicity and Citizenship in Conflict Narratives: The Case of Nagorno-Karabakh

CHAIR
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(MGIMO, Russia)
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PAPERS
Parvin Ahanchi
(Institute of Ethnography, Baku, Azerbaijan)
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History, Narrative, and Citizenship: The Case of Azerbaijani IDPs of Karabakh

Ohannes Geukjian
(American U of Beirut, Lebanon)
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The Link Between Ethnicity, National Identity, Territory and Violence: Understanding the Ethno-Territorial Conflict of Nagorno-Karabakh

Artur Martirosyan
(German U, Armenia)
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Shaping Civic versa Ethnic Values for the Long-term Resolution of Nagorno-Karabagh Conflict

DISCUSSANT
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION XII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL N4
Mainstreaming the Fringe: Framing the Nation in Radical Right Discourse

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Steven Mock
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The Civic Nation and the Radical Right in Europe

Sofia Tipaldou
(Autonoma U of Barcelona, Spain)
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Who is Mainstream Now? Nationalism and the Interplay Between Radical Right Movements and Radical Right Parties in Russia

Alina Polyakova
(University of California, Berkeley, US)
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Disconnected Nationalisms: Understanding the Failure of Ukraine’s Far-Right Parties

DISCUSSANT
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PANEL N8

Autonomy as Parcelling the State

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PAPERS
Jakub Benes
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The Curious Career of Austro-Marxist Solutions to the Nationalities Question:
Interwar Continuities in East Central Europe and the Soviet Union

Zsuzsa Csergo
(Queen’s U, Canada)
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Stefan Wolff
(U of Birmingham, UK)
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Explaining Territorial Self-Governance in Europe:
Evidence From a New Dataset

Guldem Baykal Buyuksarac
(George Washington U, US)
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The Nightingale’s Dilemma: The Question of Self-Determination and Minority Nationalism

DISCUSSANT
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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION XII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL TH2
The Postsocialist Politics of Future: Youth, State, and Class

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Marina Mikhaylova
(Columbia U, US)
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Tomorrow’s Citizens: Youth as a Site of Political Contestations in Lithuania

Zhanara Nauruzbayeva
(Columbia U, US)
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The Politics of Difference: Young Artists, Art Market, and Status in Kazakhstan

Nathan Jones
(CUNY Graduate School, US)
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Making Citizens the Soviet Way: Cultivating Civic Nationalism through Soviet Competition in Contemporary Kazakhstan

Owen Kohl
(U of Chicago, US)
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Storytelling, Hip Hop Historiography, and Alternative Historical Standards: A Musical View from “ex-YU”

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PANEL TK3

Kurdish Politics

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PAPERS

Demet Mousseau
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The Costs of Nation-Making in Turkey: Kurdish Mobilization, State Repression of Human Rights and Illiberal Democracy

Güneş Murat Tezcur
(Loyola U Chicago, US)
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Language, Religion, & Violence in the Formation of Kurdish Identity in Turkey

Ozum Y esiltas
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Co-Existence versus Separation: Kurds as Transformative Actors in Turkey

Mehmet Gurses
(Florida Atlantic U, US)
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Ethnic Kin: An Obstacle or Opportunity for Peace? The Case of Kurds in Iraq and Turkey

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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION XII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL U2
The Sources of Ukrainian Foreign Policy

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Paul D’Anieri
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Explaining Stability in Ukrainian Foreign Policy

Lidiya Smola
(Lviv National U, Ukraine)
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Nadiya Kravets
(Harvard U, US)
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Who Decides in Ukraine? Leaders, Constraints, and Information

Serhiy Kudelia
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The Limits of Western Leverage: The Case of Yulia Tymoshenko’s Trial

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SATURDAY, APRIL 21th  SESSION XII  5:10 - 7:10 PM

PANEL U7
Ethno-National Identity Construction in the Austrian and Russian Empires

CHAIR
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PAPERS
Michael Khodarkovsky
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Groom and Govern: The Native Interlocutors in Asiatic Russia in the 19th Century

Sofiya Grachova
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Taras Koznarsky
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The Text of Kyiv and the Case of Beilis

Andriy Zayarnyuk
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Imperial Authorities, a Socialist Union and a ‘Nationalizing’ City: the Railway Workers of Lviv at the Beginning of the 20th Century

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