

30th Annual World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN)

28-30 MAY 2026

Convention Panels

Session 1

THURSDAY MAY 28, 10.00 -11.40 AM

Session 2

THURSDAY MAY 28, 12.00-1.40 PM

Session 3

THURSDAY MAY 28, 3.20-5.00 PM

Session 4

THURSDAY MAY 28, 5.20-7.00 PM

Session 5

FRIDAY MAY 29, 10.00-11.40 AM

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SATURDAY MAY 30, 10.00-11.40 AM

Session 9

SATURDAY MAY 30, 12.00-1.40 PM

PANEL BE2
**Government, Authoritarianism, and Nationalism
in Contemporary Belarus**

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501

CHAIR

William Buckley
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PAPERS

Tatsiana Chulitskaya
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*Good Governance Promotion in the Context
of Authoritarian Consolidation:
The Case of Belarus*

Anton Saifulayeu
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*Belarusian Banal Nationalism in the Context of
Other National (Autocratic) Models Within Ex-Soviet States*

Yury Chavusau
(Independent Researcher, Belarus)
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*Civil Society in Contemporary Belarus:
Legal Environment and Capacities for Advocacy*

David Marples
(U of Alberta, Canada)
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Rewriting the History of the Second World War in Belarus

DISCUSSANT

Sofie Bedford
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PANEL BK9
Foreign Affairs and Europeanization

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501A

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Michele Debernardi

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Funding Values: The EU, Civil Society, and the Rule of Law in Serbia

Aaron Erlich

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*Thinking About Europe and Governance Expectations:
Evidence from an EU Candidate Country (Montenegro)*

Ida Manton

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*The EU Accession Process as a New Opportunity for Historical Revisionism
and Nationalism: The Macedonian Case*

Ferenc Németh

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*Clashes of Nations: Albanian Interests and Engagement
in North Macedonia's Bilateral Disputes*

DISCUSSANT

Marko Zilovic

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PANEL CE6
**Imperial and Post-Imperial History
in Central Europe**

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501B

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Peter Haslinger

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*Anxieties and Ambiguities of Nation Building in a Multinational Empire:
The Case of Austria-Hungary, 1867–1914*

Jaikirti Havlick

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*To Stabilize an Empire: Authoritarianism, Nationalism,
and Electoral System Design in Late Imperial Austria*

Nelu Cristian Ploscaru

(Alexandru Ioan Cuza U, Romania)

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*"A Showcase for the Orthodox Peoples": Institutions, Colonial Practices and Imperial Rule
in Bessarabia as a Model of Reform, 1818–1834*

Izabela Konopka

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*The Treatment of a Former Occupier's National Group
by Formerly Occupied Nations in 20th Century Europe*

Izabela Mrzygłód

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*A Peasant Believes Us and Joins Us in a Struggle: Networks and Transfers of Violence
between Warsaw and the Provinces in Interwar Poland*

DISCUSSANT

Daniel Epstein

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PANEL EU5
National Identity in Central Asia and China

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 405A

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Aiduosi Amantai
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*Between East and West:
Chinese-Kazakh Identity in the Works of Omarghazy Aitan*

Chunxi Tong
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*A Maoist Reading of Carl Schmitt:
A Theoretical Justification of Nationalism in China*

Ning Chia
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*A Personal Journey of Nationality under State Policy of Nationalities:
Manchu Identity under Discussion*

David Stroup
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*Sinicization's Sharp Eyes: Surveillance, Islamophobia, and China's Authoritarian
Governance of Islamic Communities*

Michael Masterson
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*Exhibiting Nationalism:
National Identity in Museums in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL K7
**Political Change and Social Activism
in the Caucasus**

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 409

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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Security Forces and Autocratization in Georgia

Egor Lazarev

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*The Perils of Discontinuous Democratization:
How Judicial Autonomy Facilitated the Autocratic Turn in Georgia*

Artur Simonyan

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*In Search of Peripheral Historiographies of International Law
in Post-Soviet Space: The Armenian Case*

Ekaterine Pirtskhalava

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Giorgi Tskhakaia

(Tbilisi State U, Georgia)

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*Youth Political Participation and the Psychology of Efficacy in Post-Soviet Georgia:
Between Apathy and National Belonging*

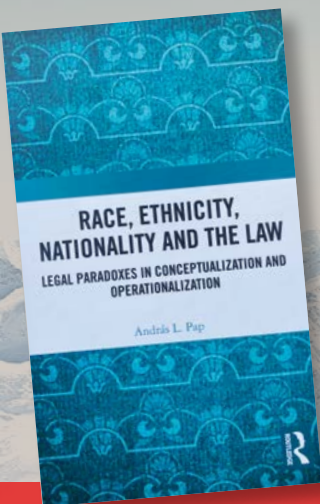
DISCUSSANT

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PANEL N5

Book Panel on Andras Pap's
Race, Ethnicity, Nationality and the Law
(Routledge, 2026)



THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 402

CHAIR

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PANEL N14
**Violence and Nationalism
in the United States**

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 402B

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Carmen Caporizzo Melillo

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Popular "Terror":

Conceptualizing Radical Italian/American Political Violence in Historical Perspective

Dina Rosenberg

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*How Far-Right Populism Harms Ethno-Racial Minorities' Health:
The Case of the United States*

Fadim Apaydin

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*Patterns of Anti-Sikh Hate Crimes in the U.S.:
A Decade of Evidence from FBI Data*

Louis Kontos

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Conspiracism as Policy :

How the Street Gang Became a Worthy Enemy of the State

Sylvia Maier

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Legal Responses to Honor-Based Violence in the United States

DISCUSSANT

Mohammad Siddiqui

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PANEL R11
**Russian Autocracy, Public Opinion
and the War in Ukraine**

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 1512

CHAIR

Dasha Akhova

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PAPERS

Natalia Savelyeva

(U of Wisconsin Madison, US)

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*By Their Enemies Shall Ye Know Them:
Enemy Images in Wartime Russia*

Jesse Driscoll

(UC San Diego, US)

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*Measuring Loss of Resolve in a "Spin Dictatorship":
Tracking Russian Public Opinion Since the 2022 Invasion of Ukraine*

Dima Kortukov

(U of Alabama, US)

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*Putin's Many Bodies:
Conspiracy Theories, Political Theology, and the Perils of Personalism*

Maria Sergeeva

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*Branding the Nation at War:
Digital Propaganda, Historical Memory, and Identity Formation in Rostov-on-Don*

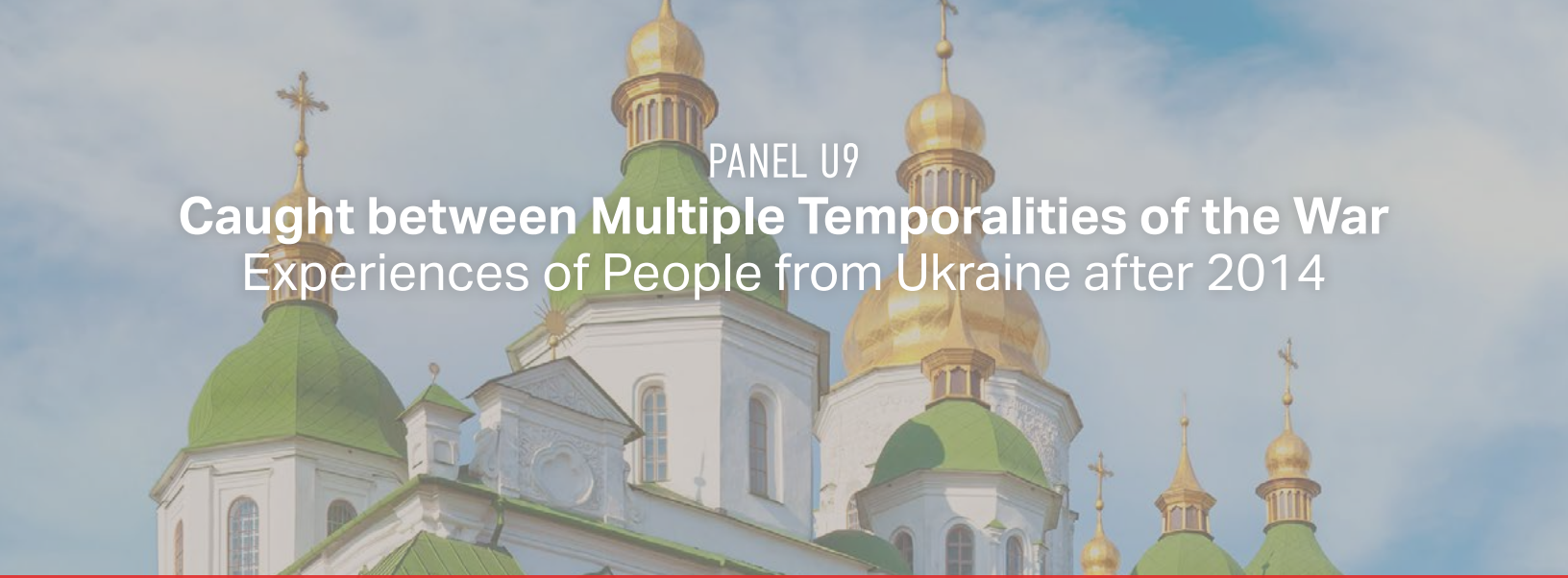
DISCUSSANT

Matthew Light

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PANEL U9

Caught between Multiple Temporalities of the War

Experiences of People from Ukraine after 2014

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 1219

CHAIR

Tom Røseth

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PAPERS

Yuliya Yurchuk

(Södertörn U, Sweden)

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Tracing Time in the Darkness: Perceptions of Temporality in Ukrainian Intellectual Discourse during the Russo-Ukrainian War

Anna Wylegała

(Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Poland)

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*Between Loyalty, Habit, and Expectations:
Changing Language Practices of the Ukrainian Refugees in Poland after 2022*

Natalia Otrishchenko

(Lviv Centre for Urban History, Ukraine)

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*(Im)Possible Futures during the War:
Proximity to the Rupture and Assessing Time in Ukrainian Society after 2022*

DISCUSSANT

Emily Channell-Justice

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PANEL U18
Russia-Ukraine War
Shifts in Narratives, Identities, and Value Systems

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 418

CHAIR

Elise Giuliano

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PAPERS

Antonina Berezovenko

(Kyiv Polytechnic, Ukraine)

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The Image of the Hostile "Other"
in the Socio-political Narrative of Ukraine and Russia

Tamara Hundorova

(Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, Germany)

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*Towards the Anthropology of War:
Constructing (De)Military Masculinity by Ukrainian Combatant Authors*

Lada Kolomiyets

(Dartmouth College, US)

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*I-Witnessing to the Truth in War:
Ukrainian Women's Testimonial Poetry, Interviews, and Diaries*

Olga Gomilko

(Institute of Philosophy, Ukraine)

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*New Enlightenment as a Way to Overcome Fakes in the Challenges of
Contemporary Democracy and the Threats of Authoritarianism*

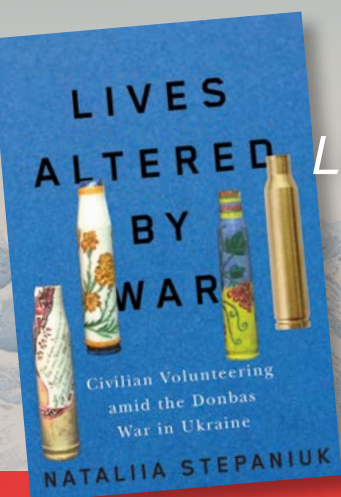
DISCUSSANT

Nadiia Honcharenko

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PANEL U22

Book Panel on Nataliia Stepaniuk's

*Lives Altered by War: Civilian Volunteering
amid the Donbas War in Ukraine*

(McGill-Queen's, 2025)



THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 1201

CHAIR

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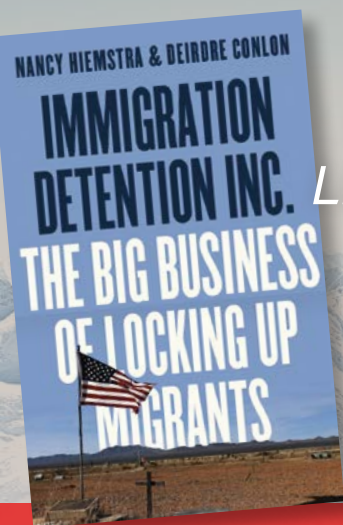
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PANEL M6

Book Panel on Nataliia Stepaniuk's

*Lives Altered by War: Civilian Volunteering
amid the Donbas War in Ukraine*

(McGill-Queen's, 2025)



THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 404

CHAIR

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Nancy Hiemstra

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PANEL BK4

Symbolic Nation and Identity Building

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 409

CHAIR

Dijana Mujkanović

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PAPERS

Mehdi Sejdiu

(U of Heidelberg, Germany)

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The Kosovar National Team Fighting for Recognition at Home and Abroad

Nevena Dakovic

(U of Arts in Belgrade, Serbia)

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Cinema of Nationalism:

Serbia's Submission for the Oscars (2006-2026)

Jeta Abazi Gashi

(GWU, US)

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The Construction of the Kosovar Self in Cinema (2017-2025)

Armina Galijas

(U of Graz, Austria)

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Religious Nationalism:

What Do Contemporary Serbian Orthodox Church Walls Tell Us?

DISCUSSANT

Emina Zoletic

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PANEL CE8
Minorities Politics in Central Europe

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 418

CHAIR

Agathe Dudzinski
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PAPERS

Ionas Aurelia Rus
(U of Cincinnati Blue Ash, US) ionas.rus@uc.edu
*The Level of Support for Bessarabian Autonomy and Independence in 1917-1918
among the Bessarabian Moldovans and Minorities*

Matthew Reichert
(Harvard U, US)
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*Cultural Professionals as Political Leaders:
The Baltic National Movements as Case Study*

Leena Leetmaa
(Trinity College Dublin, Ireland)
leetmaa.leena@gmail.com
*"Motherhood with Dignity": How Estonian Women Rewrote Nationhood
and Resistance in the Late Soviet Era*

Dmitri Teperik
(National Centre of Defence, Estonia) dmitri.teperik@kaitsen.ee

Solvita Denisa-Liepniece
(Vidzeme U, Latvia) solvita.denisa@va.lv
*From Vulnerability to Agency:
Ethnolinguistic Minorities and Youth Resilience in the Baltics*

Svetluša Surová
(Minorities Issues Research Institute, Slovakia) svetlusa_surova@biari.brown.edu
*Ethnic Data Collection in Slovakia:
Challenges and Limitations*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL EU4
Gender Dynamics in Central Asia

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 413

CHAIR

Yuliya Biletska

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PAPERS

Alua Samat

(Columbia U, US)

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*Aesthetic Labor among Women in Modern Kazakhstan:
Navigating Ambivalence, Discipline, Gender Scripts
and Postcolonial Sentiments*

Leyla Zuleikha Makhmudova

(Johns Hopkins U, US)

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*At the Borderlands of the Ferghana Valley:
The Role of Local Women Peacebuilders from NGOs*

Jarkyn Shadymanova

(American U of Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan)

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*Gendered Stigma and Nasvai Use in Kyrgyzstan:
Concealment and Informal Social Norms*

DISCUSSANT

Michelle Commercio

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PANEL K8

Contested Identities and Belonging in Georgia

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 402B

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Shota Bekadze

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Contested Belonging: Meskhetian Identity and Displacement in the Post-Soviet Space

Tinatin Bolkvadze

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Megrelain and Svan Languages in Soviet and Post-Soviet Georgia

Nino Chikovani

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*Making Heroes, (Re)shaping the Past:
Memory Construction in Georgia in the First Years of Independence*

Irakli Chkhaidze

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*Between Identity Discourses:
Rebranding the National Hero in the Wake of Georgia's Independence Movement*

Megi Tedoradze

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*Queer Resistance and National Anxiety in Magda Kalandadze's The Second Room:
Politics, Protest, and Literature in Contemporary Georgia*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL M3
The Changing Contours of Diaspora

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 404

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Klavdia Tatar

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*Bridging Divisions: The Effect of Democratization at Home
on Ukrainian and Tunisian Diasporas in Canada*

Daria Malyuta

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*Fractured Solidarity: Identity Negotiation and Mobilization
in the French Russian-Speaking Jewish Diaspora after February 2022*

Anastasiia Soshenko

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*How Cultural Proximity Frames Refugee Experiences:
Syrians and Ukrainians in the UK*

Emily Curtin

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*Politics Lived through the Body:
How Belarusian Migrants Navigate Health, Illness, and Care in Exile*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL N6
Everyday Nationalism

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 405

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Nadav Shelef

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The Impact of National Holidays on Nationalist Attitudes

Paul Hamilton

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Tristan Sheppard

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The Nationalist Politics of Flag Design : Debates and Processes in Canada and New Zealand

Karolina Lendák-Kabók

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Everyday Nationalism through the Lens of Mixed Families: Connecting Micro–Meso–Macro Scales

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL N12
The Far Right, Populism and Conflict

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 405A

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Yunus Sözen

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*From Competitive to Hegemonic Authoritarianism:
Government-Opposition Dynamics in Autocratizing Regimes*

Pavjo Gjini

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*How did the Far Right Replace the Liberal Opposition in a Hybrid Regime?
The Case of Albania*

Maria Snegovaya

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*Old Dogs with New Tricks: Elite Continuity and Reproduction of Patronal
Politics across Post-Soviet Eurasia*

Neophytos Loizides

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*Mediators in Peace Settlement Talks:
A Citizens Conjoint in What Works Best*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL R8
The Russian Orthodox Church
Nationalism and the State

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 501A

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Dmitry Biriukov

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Sobornost between Ecclesiology and National Ideology in the Rhetoric of Patriarch Kirill (Gundyaev) from the Soviet Period to the Present

George Soroka

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The Transnational Reach of Russian Soft Power: Propaganda, War, and Influence in the Diaspora and Russian Orthodox Church

Jadie Minhas

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*Faith and Force:
Religious Rhetoric and the Legitimation of Authoritarianism in Putin's Russia*

Nikolay Zakharov

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Churches in Post-2020 Belarus: Raising Voices in the Time of Repression and War

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL R10
Russian Foreign Policy and the War

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // ROOM 501B

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PAPERS

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Inna Oliinyk
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*Russia's Authorization of Sexual Violence in Ukraine
at the UN Security Council, 2014-2024*

Emmanuelle Rousseau
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*Observing Russia's Wartime Diplomacy:
Everyday Disruption in the OSCE*

Dani Belo
(Webster U, US)
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*Incentives, Opportunities, and Interventions:
Explaining Russia's Gray Zone Campaigns in Ethnic Conflicts through the IOI Model*

Dessie Zagorcheva
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*Authoritarian Alliances and the Failure of Offensive Realism:
Russia's Use of Non-State Actors in its Foreign Policy*

DISCUSSANT

Peter Rutland
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PANEL TK3

Kurdish Identity in a Changing Domestic and International Environment

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 402

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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Islam and Ethnicity: Explaining Secular and Nonsecular Identity Forms

Ekrem Karakoc

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Devout but Distant:

Political Secularization in Response to Religious Nationalist Policies in Turkey

Tomris Ozlem Yilmaz

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The Influence of Turkish-Islamic Synthesis in History Textbooks:

Between Continuity and Transition

Karol Kaczorowski

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Across Borders, Within Homes:

Public Activism, Gender, and the Trans-local Kurdish Family

Yeter Tan

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Diasporic Abolitionism Across Borders:

Global Circulation of the Justice Model of the Kurdish Freedom Movement

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL U10

Minorities in Ukraine and Transnistria Past and Present

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 501

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Victoria Khiterer

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Echo of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee Affair in Kyiv

Artem Zakharchenko

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*The Crimean Tatar National Narrative and the Problem of its Interaction
with the Ukrainian National Narrative*

Magdalena Dembińska

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*Minority Informal Representation in Non-Democratic Settings:
Polish Minority Ethnic Brokers in Transnistria*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL U13
Europe and Ukraine — Ukraine in Europe

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 1512

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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When and How Was Europe on the Table?

Mapping EU Salience in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine

Alina Nychyk

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Ukraine's Foreign Policy towards the EU post-2022

Oleksiy Kandyuk

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*Rethinking European Union Enlargement against the Background
of Ukraine's Integration*

DISCUSSANT

Per Ekman

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PANEL U26
Enduring Resistance
Recognizing and Rethinking Ukrainian Resilience
in the Fifth Year of Full-Scale War
(ROUNDTABLE)

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 1201

CHAIR

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SPEAKERS

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*Coping with Destruction, Planning for Recovery: Local Democracy and
Public Engagement in Front-line Communities of Ukraine*

Alexandra Wishart

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*Understanding Ukrainian Cultural Activism:
The Janus-head of Civil Society Resilience*

Oksana Mikheieva

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*Occupation as Social Order:
Social Dynamics and the Space of Everyday Resistance*

Emma Mateo

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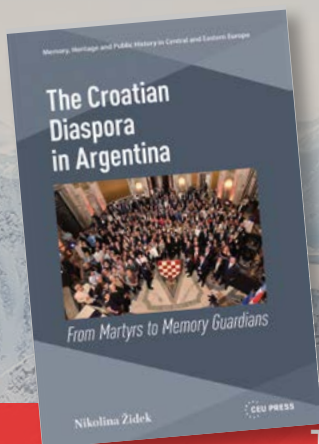
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*Doing What Must be Done:
Civilian Wartime Engagement and the State in Ukraine*

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PANEL BK2

Book Panel on Nikolina Židek's
*The Croatian Diaspora in Argentina:
From Martyrs to Memory Guardians*
(CEU, 2026)



THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 402

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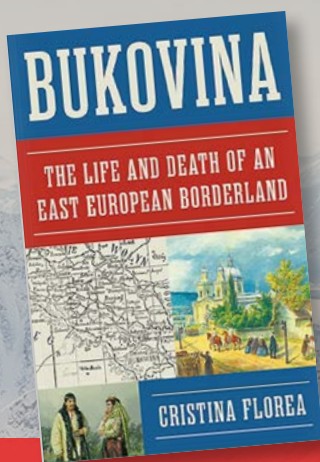
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PANEL CE10

Book Panel on Cristina Florea's
*Bukovina: The Life and Death
of an East European Borderland*
(Princeton, 2025)



THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 402B

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PANEL K6

Conflict, Security, and Order in the Caucasus

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 405A

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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Open Solution Dialogue in the Protracted Conflict Context: Abkhazia and South Ossetia

Margarita Tadevosyan

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Human Security in Divided Societies:

Insights from Georgian–South Ossetian and Georgian–Abkhaz Contexts

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Benjamin Wofford

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*Small State Strategies and Regional Order Formations
in the South Caucasus and the Middle East*

Anna Gvetadze

(Alterbridge U/Tbilisi State U, Georgia) anna.gvetadze@tsu.ge

*Shifting Attitudes and Social Distance Toward Russians Among Ethnic Georgians:
A Comparative Study Before, During, and After the Russian Invasion of Ukraine*

Sama Naser Totah

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Beyond the Borderland: The Transnational Dimensions of the Abkhaz War

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL EU1
Gender Dynamics in Kyrgyzstan

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM /Room 409

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Michelle Commercio

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Obstacles to Women's Political Participation in Kyrgyzstan

Aksana Ismailbekova

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Beyond Religious Retraditionalization:

*Islamic Women's Activism as an Element of Post-Socialist Civil Society
in Kyrgyzstan*

Elena Kim

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The Local Effects of Global

CE8Human Rights to Health:

An Institutional Ethnography of an HIV/AIDS Project in Kyrgyzstan

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL M5
Refugee Identities, Policies, and Pathways

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 404

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PAPERS

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Rights on Paper, Wrongs in Practice:

The Gap Between EU Asylum Directives and Czech Legal Aid Reality

Malak Harb

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Rentier Refugee States at the Local Level: Sectarianism and the Role of Lebanese Local Authorities in the Commodification of Syrian Refugees

Taufiq E Faruque

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The Long Shadow of Nation-Building:

Institutional Legacies and the Persistence of Refugee Policy Scripts in Bangladesh

Armen Balasanyan

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Return Migration and the Transformation of Identity:

The Reception of Refugees from Syria in Armenia

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL N8
Exclusion/Inclusion of Minorities

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 501

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PAPERS

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National Minority Protection at a Crossroads: Reframing or Quiet Retreat?

Domosity – Towards a Fourth Anti-Discrimination Principle

Ryan Griffiths

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The Downstream Effects of Prior Statehood on Contemporary Secessionism

Anindita Ghosh

(U of Illinois Chicago, US) aghosh39@uic.edu

Indigenous Will and Demand for Plebiscite: Indigenous Ideations of Nation in South Asia

Tassie Katherine Hirschfeld

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Onshore Microsovereignties: Illicit Financial Flows and Ethno-National Boundaries among Indigenous Populations in North America 1980-1990

Chungse Jung

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*Resurgence of Ethnonationalism in the Post-Pandemic Era:
Racialization and Exclusion of Korean Communities*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL N13

The Political Economy of Nationalism

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 405

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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Economic Adversity and National Attitudes

Anthony J Evans

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Did Transition Work?

A Comparative Assessment of the Legacy of Shock Therapy versus Gradualism

Lena Pieber

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*Researching Economies in Hard-to-Access and Data-Sparse Settings:
Methodological Reflections from Eurasian De Facto States*

Sinziana Stanciu

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Founding an (Inter)National Oil Industry: Romanian Oil, 1895-1913

Don Van Atta

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Water Power in Tajikistan:

(Agrarian) Politics in a post-Soviet Hydraulic Society

DISCUSSANT

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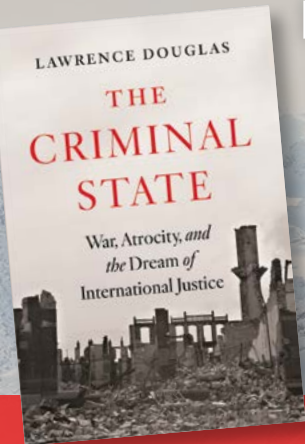
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PANEL N16

Book Panel on Lawrence Douglas'

*The Criminal State:
War, Atrocity, and the Dream
of International Justice*

(Princeton, 2026)



THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 1219

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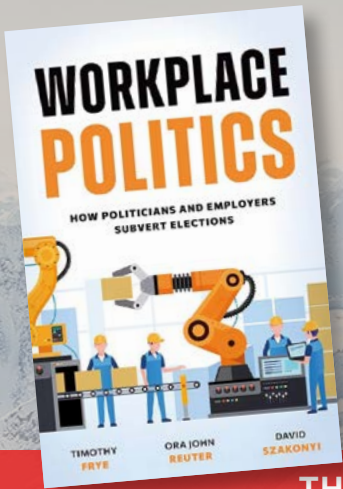
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PANEL R4

Book Panel on Timothy Frye's *Workplace Politics: How Politicians and Employers Subvert Elections*

(Oxford, 2025)



THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 501B

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PANEL TK6
The Iran War
Implications for Türkiye and the Region
(ROUNDTABLE)

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 418

CHAIR

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SPEAKERS

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Israel's War on Iran:

From a 12-Day Adventure to a Regional and Domestic Mishap

Evren Balta

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Between Autonomy and Alignment:

Turkey's Strategy in the Iran War

Kochar Altaeishi

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Kurdish Responses to the Iran War

Senem Aydın-Düzgit

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The EU Response to the Iran War:

What Role for Europe in Escalating Conflict

Jesse Driscoll

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The Russia-Ukraine War Since the U.S.-Iran War

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PANEL U3
Ukraine at War

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // 501A

CHAIR

Sophia Wilson

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PAPERS

Paul D'Anieri

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Will Neutrality Protect Ukraine?

Evaluating the Impact of Neutrality on the Outbreak of War

Per Ekman

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Missed Chances? Why the West Failed to Secure Ukraine

Grygoriy Riy

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Representatives of Russia's Ethnic Minorities in the Ukrainian Armed Forces:

Combat Participation and the Pursuit of National Independence

DISCUSSANTS

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PANEL U7

Identities, Narratives, and Politics in the Context of Russia's War against Ukraine

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 1512

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Volodymyr Kulyk

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War, Emotions, and Identity:

Panel Survey Evidence from Ukraine

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*The Effect of the Full-Scale Invasion on Both Loyal
and Disloyal Members of the Servant of the People Party*

Oxana Shevel

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*"If I Can't Have You, No-One Else Will": The Escalatory Cycle in Russia's
Relationship with its Post-Soviet Neighbours*

Aaron Brantly

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The Social War:

Ukrainian Narratives of War through Social Media Channels

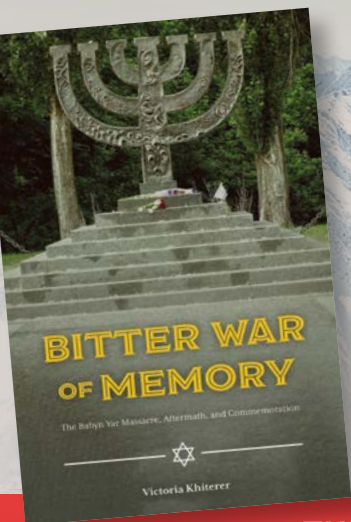
DISCUSSANT

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PANEL U25
Book Panel on Victoria Khiterer's
*Bitter War of Memory:
The Babi Yar Massacre,
Aftermath, and Commemoration*
(Purdue, 2025)



THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 1201

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PANEL BK5
War, Memory and Belonging in the Balkans

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 402B

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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*The Role of Elites (Athletes and Politicians)
in Promoting Interethnic Contact
after a Violent Conflict*

Emina Zoletic

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*Reframing the Past:
Intergenerational Transmission of Memory, Activism,
and Nationalism in Bosnia*

Vujo Ilić

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*Social Foundations of Insurgent Mobilization:
Evidence from Kosovo*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL CE3
Hungary After the Elections
(ROUNDTABLE)

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 501

CHAIR

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SPEAKERS

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*Hungary's Electoral Moment:
Lessons for Democracy in an Age of Uncertainty*

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Confronting Goliath: Competitive Authoritarian Elections in Hungary

Julia Sonnevend

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Orban's Loss Show How a Strongman Can Be Defeated

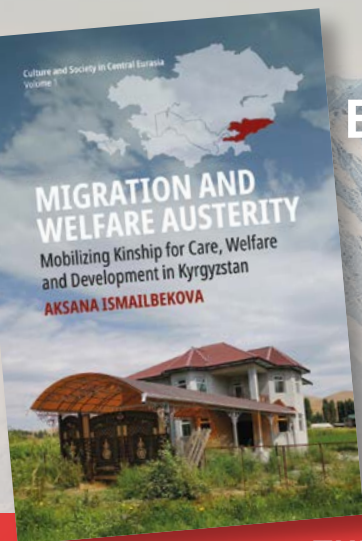
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*The Role of Preferential Electoral Provisions for National Minorities
in the 2026 Elections*

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PANEL EU2

Book Panel on Aksana Ismailbekova's

*Migration and Welfare Austerity:
Mobilizing Kinship for Care, Welfare,
and Development in Kyrgyzstan*

(Berghahn, 2026)



THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 409

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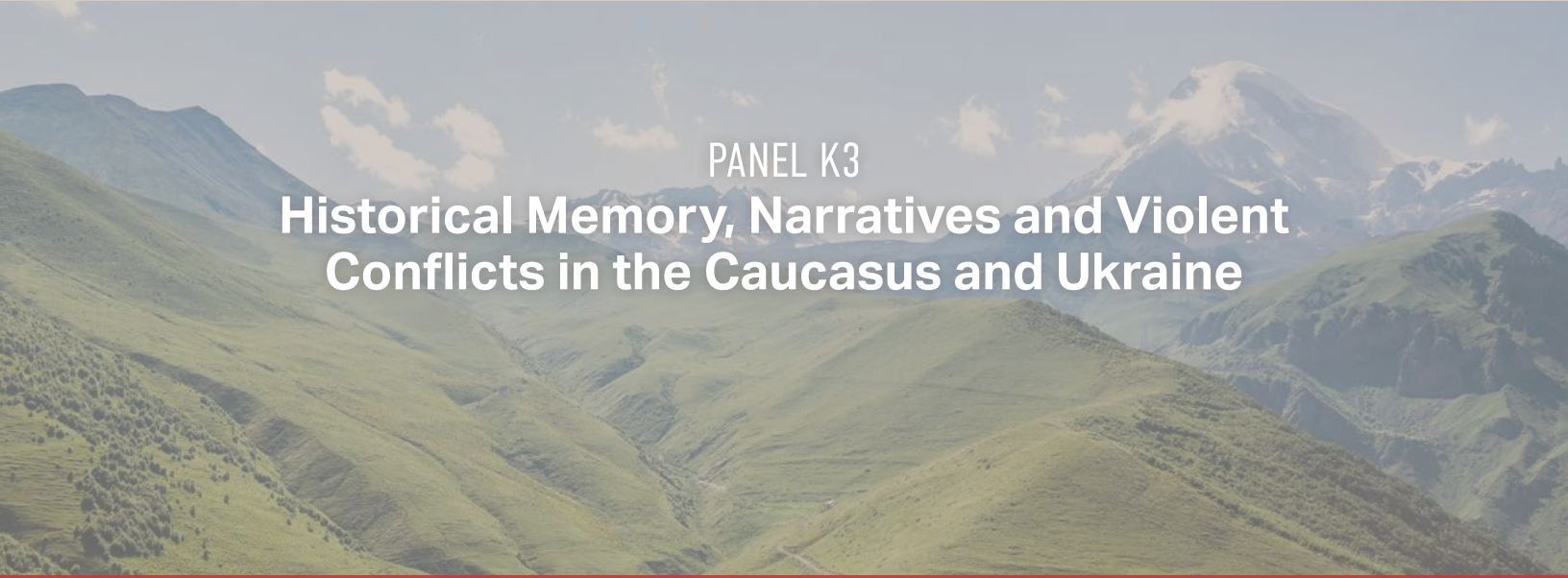
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PANEL K3

Historical Memory, Narratives and Violent Conflicts in the Caucasus and Ukraine

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 405A

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PAPERS

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Traumatic Memories, Mobilisation, War: Experiences Between Violent Conflict and Pragmatic Peace in the North Caucasus, 1957–94

Marat Ilyasov

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Yoshiko Herrera

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The Recolonization of "Chechnya"?

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Political Violence in Ukraine in 2014 and the Construction of Divergent Memories and Narratives

Anna Ivanova

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Politics of Memory at War: Urban Space, Exclusion, and Belonging amidst the Russian Invasion of Ukraine

Matthew Kelbaugh

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"The Battleground of Historical Memory":

Ukraine, Georgia, and the Politics of Genocide Recognition in the Post-Soviet Sphere

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL M1
Emerging Issues in Global Migration

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 405

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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Temporary Labor Migrants in Areas in Crisis

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Conflict, Coexistence, and Everyday Encounters: Russian- and Ukrainian-Speaking Migrants in Germany after 2022

Zara Salzmann

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Becoming French/German in Istanbul? National Belonging, Mobility, and Racialization Among Women of Turkish Descent in France and Germany

Yuliya Biletska

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Beyond Integration: Rethinking Religious Conversion and National Identity Among Ukrainian Migrants in Turkey

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL N10

Conceptual Insights into Nationalism and Nation Building

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 404

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Gender Gap in Nationality

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Theodor Adorno and the Critique of German Nationalism

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*"Breaking Free from Oppression"? : The Narratives of the Nationalist
independence movements in Quebec and Catalonia*

Razi Ahmad

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Projectionist Nationalism in Indian News Media

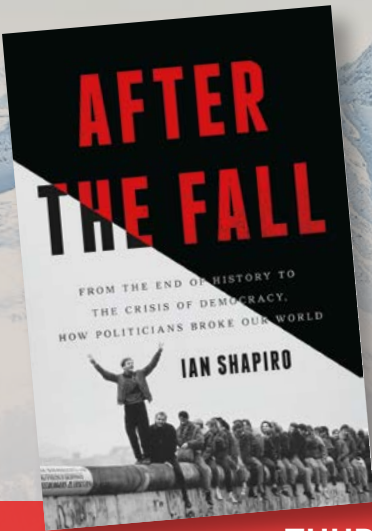
DISCUSSANT

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PANEL N17

Book Panel on Ian Shapiro's
*After the Fall: From the End of
History to the Crisis of Democracy,
How Politicians Broke Our World*

(Basic Books, 2026)



THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 402

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PANEL R2

Legitimization Strategies for Russia's Warfare and Occupation

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 1219

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PAPERS

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Normalizing Sanctions and War in Putin's Russia

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*Russian Civil Society and War Legitimation:
Instrumentalising Civil Society Organisations as Policy Implementation*

Håvard Bækken

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*Repurposing Yunarmia for War: Wartime Legitimation Strategies
and the "Military-Patriotic" Expansion into Occupied Territories*

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PANEL R5
Scripts of Power
Literature, Cultural Codes, and the Making
of Russian National Identity

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 1201

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Joanna Getka

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*Russian Imperial Cultural Myths as a Challenge to the Construction
of the Modern National Identity of Belarusians, Ukrainians, and Russians*

Petia Mankova

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*The Cultural Codes of Russia:
Imperial Anxieties and the Rejuvenation of the Peripheries of the Russian North*

Andrei Muchnik

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*Regionalization and Decolonizing Tendencies
in Contemporary Russian Literature*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL TK5
Insiders and Outsiders in Erdoğan's Turkey

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 418

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Kemal Büyükyüksel

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*The Continuity of Exclusionary Nation-Building in Turkey:
From the 1980 Military Regime to the Erdoğan Era*

Elifcan Coruk

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Looking at Falafel Places in Istanbul Through the Frame of Everyday Nationalism

Cansu Ece Nirun

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*A Past More Unpredictable Than the Future:
Staging History in Erdoğan Era Political Videos in Turkey*

Merve Ulukaya

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*Education Under Displacement: School Attendance, Child Labor, and Early Marriage
Among Syrian Refugee Children in Turkey*

Aysem Biriz Karacay

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*"Soon I'll Be Saying Goodbye to İstanbul":
Russian Relocants' Uncertain Lives in Motion*

DISCUSSANT

Selin Bengi Gümrükcü

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PANEL U8

Obstacles to and Successes in Fostering the Study of Ukraine Across Disciplines Abroad (an ASN 30th Anniversary Colloquium)



THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 1512

CHAIR

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PANEL U24
Soviet/Russian Identity on Ukraine and Armenia

THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM // Room 501B

CHAIR

Richard Arnold

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PAPERS

Tetiana Shestopalova

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Border Chronotopes and Anti-Colonial Resistance in the Archival Legacy of Ukrainian Literary Figures Abroad after World War II

Daniel Berardino

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"As Strong as a Diamond":

The Soviet People, the Friendship of Peoples, and the Ukrainian Nation in 1968

Shushan Grigoryan

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Post-National Nationalism? Understanding Extra-Territorial Nationalist Sentiments through the Case of Russia and Armenia

Svitlana Pidoprygora

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Visible after Invasion?

Ukraine's Representation in Global Comics before 2014

Tetiana Hrachak

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Erasing the Other: How the Narrative of "Ukrainian Nationalism/Nazism" Shapes Contemporary Russian Self-Identity

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL BK7
**Inter-Ethnic Relations and Divisions
in the Balkans**

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501

CHAIR

Dragana Svraka
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PAPERS

Fedor Popov

(U of Colorado Boulder, US)

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"The Border Exists":

Territorial Attachment and Nationalist Attitudes in Republika Srpska

Kevin Gatter

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*They've Done It Before, They'll Do It Again:
Support for Irredentism in Republika Srpska*

Dijana Mujkanović

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Individual Pathways:

*Cross-Ethnic Relationship Orientations in Divided Societies
(Bosnia and Israel)*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL CE2

Minorities and Generations in the Hungarian Parliamentary Elections

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501A

CHAIR

Karolina Lendák-Kabók

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PAPERS

Balázs Vizi

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*Minority Right to Participation in Public Life in the Parliament
under International Law and in Hungary*

Balazs Dobos

(Eötvös U, Hungary)

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*Representation of Whom, by Whom and for Whom?
Minorities and the Hungarian Parliamentary Elections, 2014-2026*

Levente Székely

(George Mason U, US)

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*Generational Divides and Political Polarization in Hungary:
The Role of the Digital World Ahead of the 2026 Elections*

Tamas Dudlak

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*From Hegemony to Contestation:
Governance Failures and Emerging Political Challenges in Hungary*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL K2

Authoritarian Drift and Democratic Resilience?

Assessing Georgia's Political Crossroads

(ROUNDTABLE)

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 409



CHAIR

Julie George

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SPEAKERS

Natia Mezvrishvili

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Countering Electoral Authoritarianism:

Resilience Strategies of Georgia's Democratic Actors

Eteri Tsintsadze-Maass

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Georgia's Crisis and the Emancipatory Power of Societal Movements

Per Ekman

(Stockholm School of Economics, Sweden)

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Navigating Georgia's Political Crisis :

Internal Dynamics and Geopolitical Repercussions

Sofie Bedford

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sofie.bedford@ires.uu.se

Gendered Dimensions of Georgia's Authoritarian Turn

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PANEL M2
Immigration in the United States

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 402

CHAIR

Anna Law

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PAPERS

Serra Kocak

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*Halal New York: How Success Happens for Second-Generation
American Muslim Women in New York City*

Nazreen Bacchus

(SUNY Farmingdale, US)

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*Negotiating Diaspora Symbolism:
A Case Study of Second-Generation Indo-Caribbean American Rituals*

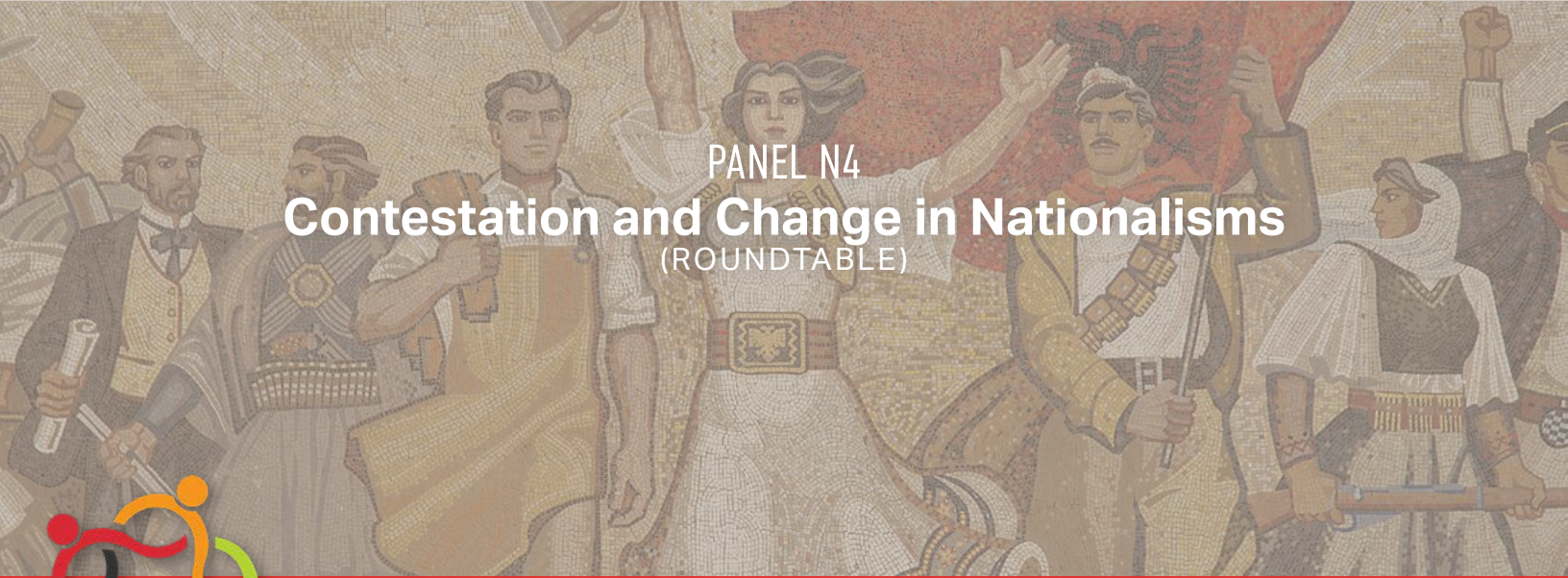
DISCUSSANT

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PANEL N4

Contestation and Change in Nationalisms

(ROUNDTABLE)



FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 405A

CHAIR

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SPEAKERS

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The Impact of Political Conditions of National Identity

Şener Akturk

(Koc U, Turkey)

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Continuity and Change in Regimes of Ethnicity since 2010

Maya Tudor

(U of Oxford, UK)

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India: From Unity in Diversity to Hindu Chauvinism Since 2019

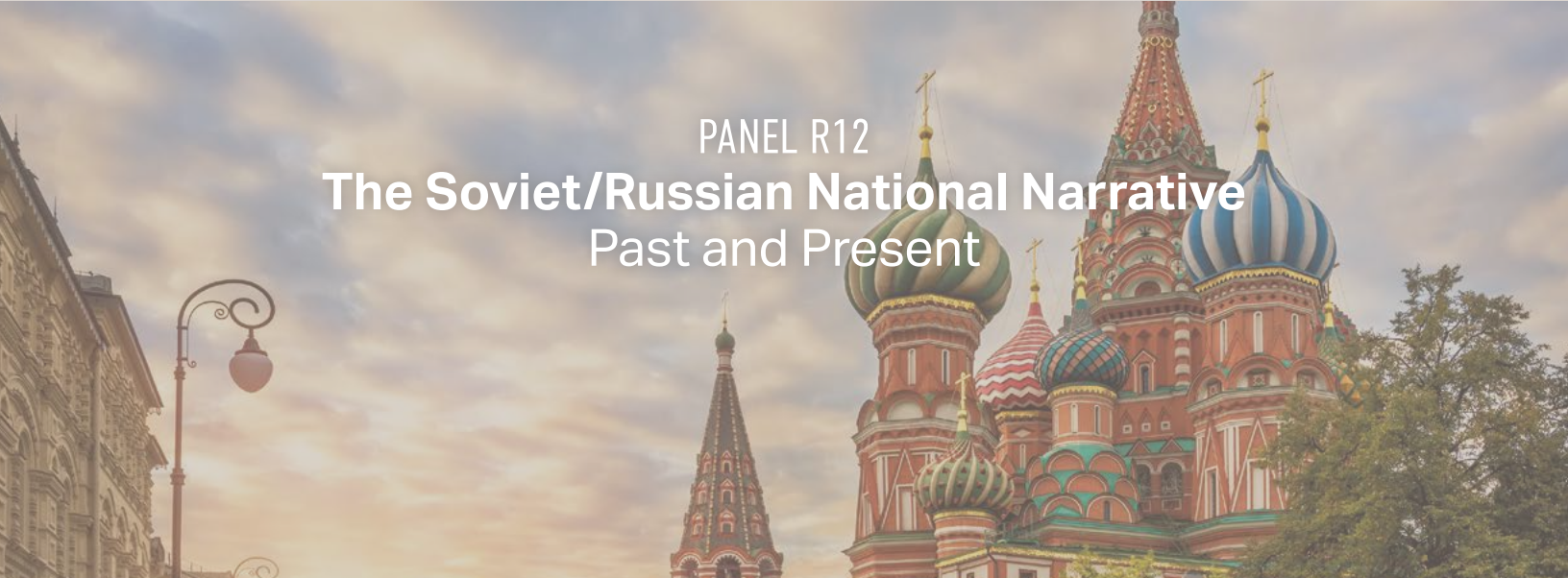
Harris Mylonas

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The Politics of Changing Dominant Narratives

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PANEL R12

The Soviet/Russian National Narrative Past and Present

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501B

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Sofia Gavrilova

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Producing the Geo-Body of Russia:

The Russian Geographical Society, and Populist Pedagogy

Alexandra Lindqvist

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Monumental Architecture and the Production of Civilizational Nationalism in Putin's Russia

Thomas Sherlock

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Russia's Youth and the Failure of Patriotic Mobilization

Inga Miller

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Deterrence or Deployment:

Identity-Driven Nuclear Narratives of Russian Foreign Policy

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL TK4
The Changing Geopolitical Environment of Turkey

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 418

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Aviad Rubin

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*Turkey's Elites & Maritime Policy:
Reconsidering the Essence of Mavi Vatan*

Oya Dursun-Ozkanca

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EU-NATO Relations in a Changing Geopolitical Context

Sofia Tipaldou

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*Political Polarization and Geopolitical Implications:
Russia as a Friend or Foe to the Greek Nation?*

László Szerencsés

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*Local Agency against Transnational Authoritarianism:
Turkey's Failed Co-optation of Serbia's Muslim Elites*

Ramin Jabbarli

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*Testing the Boundaries:
Ritual Intensity and National Belonging in Turkey and Iran*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL U6
**Understanding Citizen Experiences in Wartime
Across Space and Time**

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 1512

CHAIR

Grigore Pop-Eleches

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PAPERS

Isabelle DeSisto

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*Past Repression, Present Solidarity:
Mnemonic Opportunities in Eastern Europe*

Cynthia Buckley

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*Attitudes and Priorities Across Migrant Groups in Ukraine:
What can be Accurately Gleaned from the General Population Survey Results?*

Henry Hale

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*How Does PTSD Impact Political Behavior?
Information-Seeking, Tolerance, and Orientation to Authority in Wartime Ukraine*

Olga Onuch

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*War and Democratic Resilience: Panel Survey Analysis of the Relationship Between
PTSD/CPTSD, War Stressors, and Civilian Support for Democracy in Wartime*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL U19
**Thinking About Nationalism since
the Russian Invasion of Ukraine**
Overcoming National Indifference in Academia
(ROUNDTABLE)

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 1219

CHAIR

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SPEAKERS

Oksana Dudko

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*Thinking About Nationhood, Methodological Nationalism,
and Postcolonial Studies After 2022*

Yuliya Yurchuk

(Södertörn U, Sweden)

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*What's New in Nationalism for Memory Studies?
Perspectives on Securitisation, Transnationalism, and Regionalism
in East European Memory Conundrum*

Daria Mattingly

(U of Chichester, UK)

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*National Indifference, Imperial Violence, and Ukrainian Nationhood:
Rethinking the Holodomor after 2022*

Dominique Arel

(U of Ottawa, Canada)

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*The Return of Nationalism:
The Good, the Bad (the Dangerously Bad), and the Hopeful*

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PANEL U23

Book Panel on Greta Uehling's
*Decolonizing Ukraine :
The Indigenous Peoples of Crimea
and Pathways to Freedom*
(Rowman and Littlefield, 2025)



FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 1201

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Marina Sapritsky-Nahum

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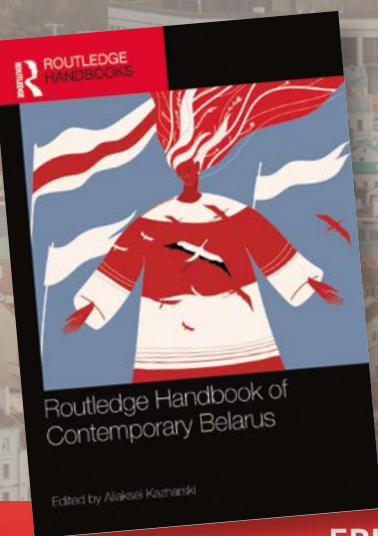
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Greta Uehling

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PANEL BE1
Roundtable on
The Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Belarus
(Routledge, 2026)

Aliaksei Kasharski

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 404

CHAIR

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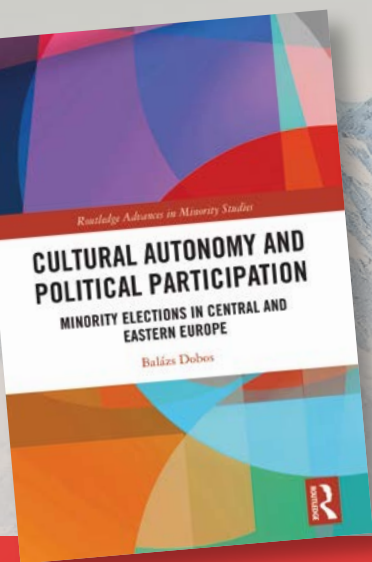
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PANEL CE1
Book Panel on Balázs Dobos'
*Cultural Autonomy and
Political Participation: Minority Elections
in Central and Eastern Europe*
(Routledge, 2025)



FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 501A

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PANEL EU3
**Trade, Natural Resources,
and State Security in Eurasia**

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 409

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Elizabeth Wishnick

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Kazakhstan's Mineral Wealth: Source of Leverage or Arena for Competition?

Lawrence Markowitz

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Contracting Chinese Security Aid: The Case of Tajikistan

Almira Sagimbayeva

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*China's Engagement in Transboundary Water Management in Central Asia:
Insights from the Amu Darya and Syr Darya Basins*

Eric McGlinchey

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*Planes, Trains, and Autocratic Deals:
Securing Central Asian Illiberal Rule through Great Power Trade*

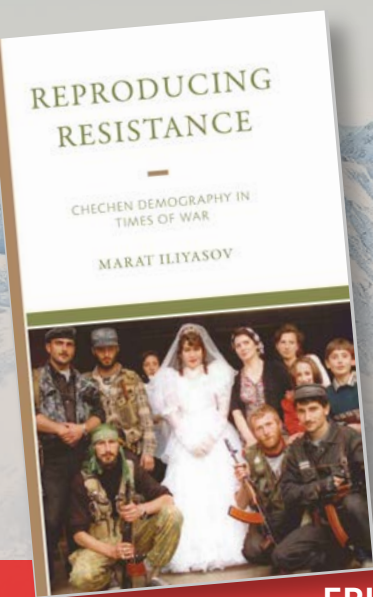
DISCUSSANT

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PANEL K1

Book Panel on Marat Ilyasov's *Reproducing Resistance: Chechen Demography in Times of War*

(Bloomsbury Academic, 2025)



FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 1201

CHAIR

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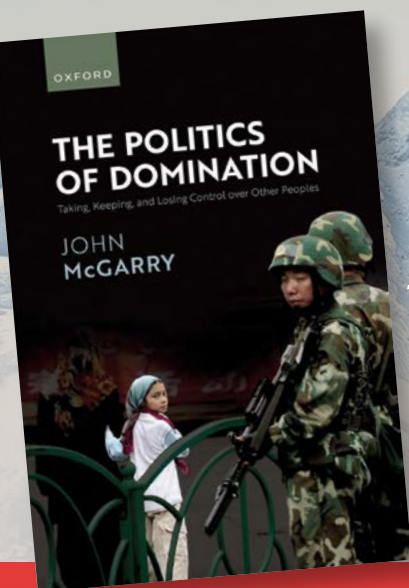
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PANEL N2

Book Panel on John McGarry's
*The Politics of Domination:
Taking, Keeping, and Losing Control
over Other Peoples*
(Oxford, 2026)



FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 1512

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John McGarry

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PANEL N15
Nationalism and Jewish Identity

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 405A

CHAIR

Franziska Plümmer

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PAPERS

Kelsey Davis

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Visualizing the Jewish Question:

A Quantitative Analysis of Jews in the Imperial Russian Press

Bat-Sheva Margalit Stern

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Between Poland and British-Ruled Palestine:

Examining the Paradoxes of Peace and War

Felicia Waldman

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Jewish Leadership in Times of Crisis:

Chief Rabbi Alexandre Safran in World War II Romania

DISCUSSANT

Peter Dan

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PANEL R6
Activism Across Borders
Humanitarian and Exile Civic and Political
Engagement After the Start of Full-Scale Invasion of Ukraine

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 501B

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Ekaterina Kalinina
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*Shadow Infrastructures of Care and Resistance:
Russian Civic Activists during Wartime*

Irina Meyer Olimpieva
(GWU, US)
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*Professional Civil Society in Exile:
Integration Trajectories of Russian Activists After 2022*

Tatiana Golova
(ZOiS, Germany)
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Generational Politics in Russian Anti-War Mobilization in Germany

Margarita Zavadskaya
(Finnish Institute of International Affairs)
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Sophie Jaeger
(CEU, Austria)
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*Who Leads, Who Follows?
Experimental Evidence on Russian Political Leader Traits and Civic Participation in Exile*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL TK2
**Imperial Breakdown and
Greek National Identity**

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 418

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Charalampos Gappas

(UNC Chapel Hill, US)

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Imperialism, Nationalism and Minorities from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic

Tasos Kostopoulos

(Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Greece)

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The Nation as a Political Party:

Modalities of the Passage to Nationhood in Late Ottoman Macedonia, 1860-1912

Timon Grubar

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The Autonomous Cretan State, a Case of Non-Territorial Autonomy, 1898-1913

Alexandros Balatsoukas

(Justus Liebig U Giessen, Germany)

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Print Alliances:

How the Greek Press Built and Unbuilt Balkan and Ottoman Solidarities, 1912-1913

Victoria Salomon

(McGill U, Canada)

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The Politics of Greek National Identity in the Italian-occupied Dodecanese (Twelve Islands)

DISCUSSANT

Yunus Sözen

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PANEL U4
Memory, Museums, and Materiality

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 402

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Sara Nesteruk
(Manchester Metropolitan U, UK)
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*Embodied Archives:
Animated Testimonies from Ukraine in the Holodomor*

Olha Korniienko
(Leibniz Centre Potsdam, Germany)
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*Threads of Identity:
Ukrainian Diaspora Self-Expression through Fashion, 1940s–1980s*

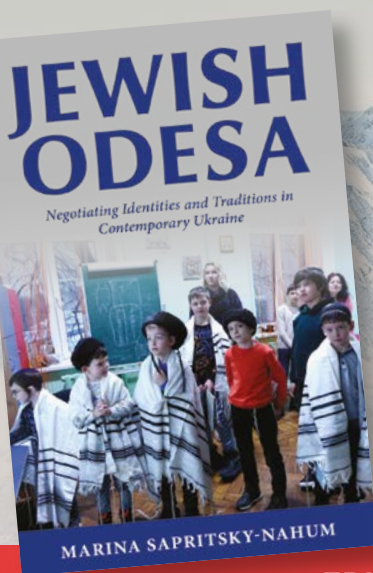
Yana Prymachenko
(Princeton U, US)
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*Frontier of Memory: World War II and the Decolonization
of History in Wartime Ukraine (The Case of Zaporizhzhia)*

Eleonora Narvselius
(Lund U, Sweden)
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*From Testimony to Heritage:
Remembering the Russo-Ukrainian War*

DISCUSSANT

Vitaly Chernetsky
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PANEL U20
Book Panel on
Marina Sapritsky-Nahum's
*Jewish Odesa :
Negotiating Identities and Traditions
in Contemporary Ukraine*
(Indiana, 2024)



FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 402B

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PANEL U21

Book Panel on Anastasia Fomitchova's

*Volia: engagée volontaire
dans la résistance ukrainienne*

[A Volunteer in the Ukrainian Resistance]

(Grasset, 2025)



FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 1219

Anastasia Fomitchova was a frontline combat medic in 2022

CHAIR

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PANEL BK1

Legacies and Meanings of Antifascism in Yugoslavia and Beyond

(ROUNDTABLE)

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 501

CHAIR

Nicole Albrecht

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SPEAKERS

Nikolina Židek

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Solidarity with Brothers in Arms:

The Spanish Exile in Tito's Yugoslavia (1945-1975)

Jelena Đureinović

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Partisan Resistance Goes Global:

Antifascist and Anticolonial Solidarity between Yugoslavia and Africa

Eric Ušić

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Borderland Graffiti:

Traces of Antifascism and Italo-Slavic Solidarity in the Northern Adriatic

Vjeran Pavlaković

(U of Rijeka, Croatia)

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Rijeka's Missing Spaniard:

Memory, Monuments, and Representations of Yugoslavs in the Spanish Civil War

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PANEL CE9
Geopolitics of War and Migration

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 405A

CHAIR

Lou Raisonnier

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PANELISTS

Tomasz Stepniewski

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*The Russia-Ukraine War and the Transatlantic Response:
A Shift in Security Paradigm for NATO's Eastern Flank and EU-NATO Cooperation*

Anastasiia Vlasenko

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*Beyond Declarations:
Examining the Mismatch in the EU's Democracy Promotion Efforts in Eastern Europe*

Magdalena Lesinska

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Bastian Sendhardt

(German Institute of Polish Affairs)

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Diaspora Engagement Policies as Global Nation-Building: The Case of Poland

Antonio Amuza

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*Affective Geopolitics and Post-Soviet Imaginaries: Algorithmic Sentiment in Romanian
and Moldovan Media Coverage of Donald Trump and the United States, 2023–25*

DISCUSSANT

Isabelle DeSisto

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PANEL EU7
Migration and Forced Displacement in Eurasia

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 409

CHAIR

Cynthia Buckley

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PAPERS

Scott Radnitz

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Geopolitics and Migration: The Case of the Relokanty in Kyrgyzstan

Christopher Hartwell

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Diabolus ex Machina: The Machinery of Forced Migration in Kazakhstan

Malika Zehni

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Undesirable Shelter:

Seeking Refuge in and out of Tsarist Central Asia

DISCUSSANT

Olena Nikolayenko

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PANEL K4

Peace Processes in the South Caucasus Current Challenges and Opportunities

(ROUNDTABLE)



FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 402B

CHAIR

Eteri Tsintsadze-Maass

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SPEAKERS

Margarita Tadevosyan

(George Mason U, US)

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*Georgia–Russia Dynamics, Abkhazia, South Ossetia,
and Shifts in Security Architecture*

Olesya Vartanyan

(George Mason U, US)

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*Armenia–Azerbaijan Peace Process :
Political and Societal Trajectories*

Kamran Mamedovi

(George Mason U, US)

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Georgia's Evolving Regional Position in a Time of Domestic Political Turbulence

Natia Chankvetadze

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Civic Agency in Georgian Conflict Transformation

Kemal Buyukyuksel

(George Mason U, US)

kbuyukyu@gmu.edu

Insights from Turkey's Peace Process and Implications for the Wider Region

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PANEL N3
APSA at the ASN
Nationalism in Political Science in Volatile Times
(ROUNDTABLE)



FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 404

CHAIR

David Stroup

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SPEAKERS

Lars-Erik Cederman

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Beyond Congruence:

Redefining Nationalism to Include its Dominant Variants

Kanchan Chandra

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Majoritarianism without Majorities

Maya Tudor

(U of Oxford, UK)

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Nationalism and Democratic Decline

Oded Haklai

(Queen's U, Canada)

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*The Alignment of Sociological Boundaries
and Territorial Borders of Nations*

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PANEL R1

Hybrid Wars, Volunteerism, and Governance in Russia, Ukraine, and Eastern Europe

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 1201

CHAIR

Alina Nychyk

(ZHAW Zurich, Switzerland)

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PAPERS

Matthew Light

(U of Toronto, Canada)

matthew.light@utoronto.ca

*Publicizing Espionage Arrests and Trials:
Estonia in Comparative Perspective*

Richard Arnold

(Muskingum U, US)

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*Tracking the Rot: The Use of Wagner Paramilitaries
to Train Voluntary Battalions in the Russian Army*

Marcello Fantoni

(Miami U Ohio, US)

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*Borrowed Cars and Old Guns:
The Social Structure of Volunteer Units in Ukraine*

Artur Jach-Chrzaszcz

(U National Education, Poland)

artur.jach-chrzaszcz@uken.krakow.pl

Russian Cyberattacks in Eastern Europe after 2022

DISCUSSANTS

Julie George

(CUNY Graduate Center, US)

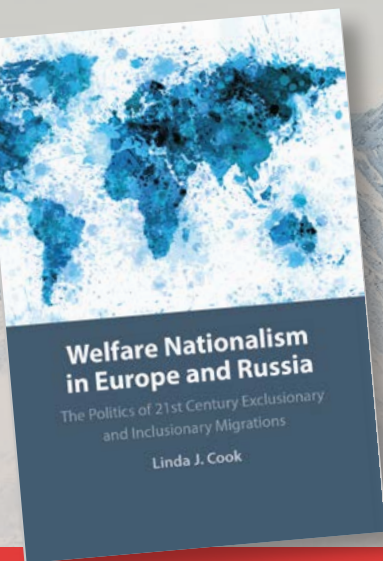
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Andrey Davydov

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PANEL R3
Book Panel on Linda Cook's
*Welfare Nationalism
in Europe and Russia*
(Cambridge, 2024)



FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 1219

*Co-Winner of the Rothschild Harriman ASN Book Prize
at the ASN 2025 Convention*

CHAIR

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Linda Cook

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PANEL TK1
Navigating the Eurasian Reordering
The Middle Power Dilemma
(ROUNDTABLE)

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 418

CHAIR

Anna Ohanyan
(Stonehill College, US)
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SPEAKERS

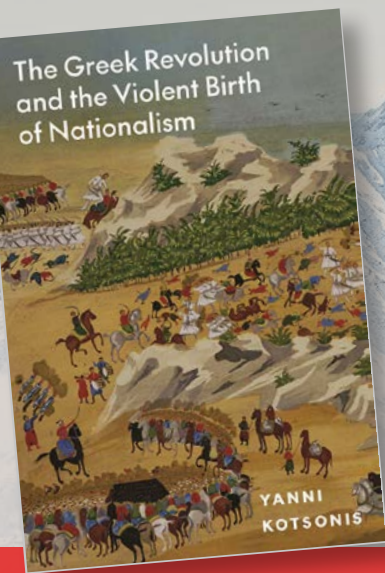
Senem Aydin-Duzgit
(Sabanci U, Turkey)
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*Middle Powers in a Multipolar Age:
Regime Security, Historical Narratives, and Global Tensions*

Evren Balta
(Ozyegin U, Turkey)
evren.balta@ozyegin.edu.tr
*Rethinking Turkish–Russian Relations
through the Concept of Middle Powers*

Davit Gasparyan
(Independent Researcher, US)
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Middle Powers and the Making of Eurasian Connectivity

Davit Antonyan
(Independent Researcher, US)
antonyandavit@gmail.com
*The Ambiguous Power:
Navigating Aspiration and Restraint in the Case of India*

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PANEL TK7

Book Panel on Yanni Kotsonis' *The Greek Revolution and the Violent Birth of Nationalism*

(Princeton, 2025)



FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 402

CHAIR

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PANEL U12
Civil Society in Ukraine

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 501A

CHAIR

Agathe Dudzinski

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PAPERS

Serge Cipko

(U of Alberta, Canada)

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*The Holodomor through the Prism of the Ukrainian American Press:
The Case of the Periodical Narodna volia*

Roman Tashlitskyy

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*The Vyshhorod Group:
A Grassroots Dissent Movement in 1960s Soviet Ukraine*

Tetiana Lukeria

(ZOiS Berlin, Germany/U of St. Gallen, Switzerland)

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*Together in Diversity:
How Inclusion and Social Cohesion Shape Citizen Participation
in Ukrainian Local Communities*

Margaryta Khvostova

(U of Surrey, UK)

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*Human Rights, Legitimacy, and Democratic Resilience in Hybrid Warfare:
The Case of Ukraine, 2014-2022*

DISCUSSANT

Dmitri Teperik

(National Centre of Defence, Estonia)

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PANEL U17
Digital Media and War in Ukraine

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 501B

CHAIR

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PANELISTS

Ganna Kolesnyk

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From Folklore to the Frontline:

Nationalist Feminities in Ukrainian Wartime Social Media Imagery

Kristian Feigelson

(U Sorbonne Nouvelle, France)

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Russian Media :

Post-Truth or the Use of "Kino-Pravda" during the War in Ukraine

DISCUSSANT

William Ronald Debnam

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PANEL SE2

Deep Strikes and Diplomatic Deadlocks

Russia's War and Ukraine's Fight Looking Ahead

(Special Event)

FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM // Room 1512

MODERATOR

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SPEAKERS

Andrii Melnyk

(Permanent Representative of Ukraine
to the United Nations)

Kristina Kallas

(Minister of Education and Research
of the Republic of Estonia)

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PANEL BK8
**Identity, Belonging, and Exclusion
in the Balkans**

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 402B

CHAIR

Pavjo Gjini

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PAPERS

Erkjad Kajo

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Martyrs of the Nation:

Religion, Sacrifice, and the Politics of Memory in Late Ottoman Albania

Ivana Spirovska

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Under the Invisibility Cloak:

The Struggle for Recognition and Rights of Stateless Roma in North Macedonia

Alexander Aleksovski

(Ludwig Maximilians U Munich, Germany)

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Mapping Multilingual Visibility:

A Macro–Micro Approach to Public Signage in Macedonian City Centers

Diana Malaj

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Building Homes as Self-Narration:

Women's Practices of Urban Formation in Kamza, Albania

DISCUSSANT

Nicole Albrecht

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PANEL N7
Political Memory

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 405A

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Berikbol Dukeyev

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Negotiating the Past:

Memory of the 1931-1933 Kazakh Famine in School History Education

James Richter

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*Managing the Tension between the National and Transnational in Memory Activism:
Defusing Czech and German Antagonisms over Post-War Forced Migrations*

Blaze Joel

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"War Minus the Shooting": Soccer and Polarized Memory in Post-Conflict Europe

Francisco Villamil

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*Understanding the Backlash over Transitional Justice Policies
in Divided Societies*

Maryam Gooyabadi

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*Political Messaging in Exile, Between
Restoring the Past and Inventing the Future*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL N11

Nationalism, Illiberalism, and Populism

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 409

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Peter Dan

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The Evolution of Populism

Tsveta Petrova

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What Democracy Do Populist Voters Want?

Aviad Rubin

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*The Tension Between Religious Commitment
and Populist Politics in Israel*

Alberto Spektorowski

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The Post-Colonial Radical Right and the Zionist Question

DISCUSSANT

Christopher Hartwell

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PANEL R13
Empire and Otherness in Russia
Before and After the War in Ukraine

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 402

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Alexei Pimenov

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*Provincializing the Nation: Pre-National Identity Models
and the Theoretical Lessons of the Russia-Ukraine War*

Andrey Davydov

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*Platform Divergence in Radical Right Rhetoric
Across Russian Pro-Regime Media*

Şener Akturk

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*After Empire:
Post-Ukrainian Russia in Comparative Perspective*

Ekaterina V Klimenko

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*Mnemonic Colonization of Occupied Ukraine:
Between Empire and Nation-Building*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL U2
Citizen and the State in Ukraine

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501A

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Jordan Gans-Morse

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Timothy Frye

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Does War Make States – Or Societies?

The Case of Ukraine at War

Galyna Zelenko

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*The Transformation of Ukraine's System of Checks and Balances
under the Impact of the War: A Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis*

Mykola Nazarov

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*The Role of Civilian-Military Cooperation
in the Ukrainian Asymmetric War Strategy*

Eteri Tsintsadze-Maass

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*Foreign Fighters and Vicarious Identification:
The Georgian Legion in Ukraine*

DISCUSSANT

Benjamin McClelland

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PANEL U15
Identity in Ukraine

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 501B

CHAIR

Alexandra Wishart
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PAPERS

Ksenia Bakhtiarova
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*Does National Identity Shape Perceptions of Victimhood?
Insights from Ukraine*

Daniel Epstein
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Ukrainian National Identity Today : Civic, Ethnic, European, Multicultural?

Viktoriya Sereda

(Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, Germany/ Kyiv School of Economics, Ukraine)

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*The Dynamics of Ukrainian-Russian Bilingualism in Ukraine and Migration:
A Multilingual Perspective*

Pavlo Smytsnyuk

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'Sophia of Kyiv' against Russkii Mir:

Political Theology and Religious Nationalism in Contemporary Ukraine

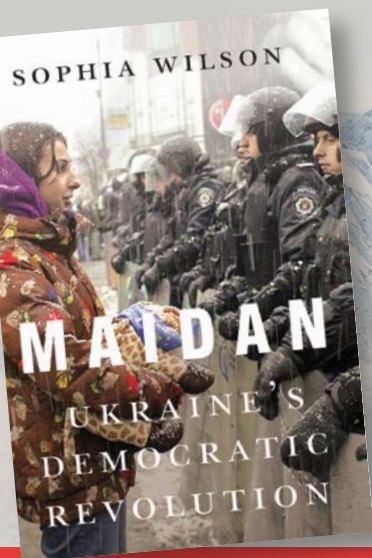
DISCUSSANT

Uliana Movchan

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PANEL U16
Book Panel on Sophia Wilson's
Maidan: Ukraine's
Democratic Revolution
(McGill-Queen's, 2026)



SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM // Room 1512

CHAIR

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Sophia Wilson
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PANEL BK3
**Protests, Civil Society Mobilization
and Youth in Serbia**

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 501

CHAIR

Arnaud Kurze

(Montclair State U, US)

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PAPERS

Florian Bieber

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The Serbian Protest Marathon: The Generative Force of Mass Movements

Marko Zilovic

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*Storytelling Movements: Renegotiating the Inclusivity of National Stories
within the Serbian Student Movement*

Aleksandra Krstic

(U of Belgrade, Serbia)

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*Institutional Capture and Media Decline:
The Case of Serbia's Regulatory Body for Electronic Media*

DISCUSSANT

Vujo Ilić

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PANEL CE5
**Ethnic Relations and Security
under Conditions of War**

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 409

CHAIR

Troy McGrath

(Saint Elizabeth U, US)

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PAPERS

Raivo Vetik

(Tallinn U, Estonia)

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Security-Driven Integration:

Reframing of Estonian Nationalism under War Conditions

Piotr Sieniawski

(Cardinal Wyszynski U, Poland)

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*The Sustainability of Transnistria as a De Facto State
in the Light of the Russo-Ukrainian War*

Martynas Petrikas

(Vilnius U, Lithuania)

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Theatre in the Times of War:

Lithuanian Response to the War in Ukraine

Balázs Tárnok

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From Copenhagen to Kyiv:

Recalibrating EU Minority Protection in a New Geopolitical Era

DISCUSSANT

Paul D'Anieri

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PANEL EU6
**Religion and National Identity
in Central Asia**

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 402

CHAIR

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PAPERS

Valeriy Dzutsati

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«You are What You Read:»

Muslims' Perceptions of Islamic Radicalism in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan

Didar Kassymova

(Valikhanov Institute of History, Kazakhstan)

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*In Search of Kazakh Marianne: Violence against Women
during the 1986 December Riots in Soviet Kazakhstan*

Adrienne Edgar

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Gender and Nation after Socialism: Mixed Marriages in Kazakhstan

DISCUSSANT

Bhavna Dave

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PANEL K5
Pre-Soviet and Soviet Caucasus

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 418

CHAIR

Dominik Massicotte

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PAPERS

Enes Samil Kiraz

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*Imperial Order-Building in the Russo-Ottoman Borderland
and Its Discontents, 1878-1894: The Case of the Armenians*

Ana Lolua

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*Between Imperial and Anti-Imperial :
From Caucasian Collections to the Georgian State Museum,
1880s-1930s*

Diego Benning Wang

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*Lenin, Stalin, and Their Three Underage Admirers: Revolution, Nation,
and Anti-Imperial Orientalism in the Soviet South Caucasus,
mid-1920s-mid-1930s*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL M4
Comparative Research on Diasporas
Impact, Identity, and Inclusion

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 402B

CHAIR

Lisa Koryushkina
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PAPERS

Oluremi Toyin Ajayi
(U of Tras-os-Montes, Portugal)
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*Transnational Flows, Diaspora Influence, and Postcolonial Identity:
Nigerian Consumer Engagement with Second-Hand Clothing*

Mohammad Siddiqui
(UC Irvine, US)
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*New Noncitizen Arabian Gulf Diasporas:
Rethorizing Diasporas in the Global South*

Haci Cevik
(Humbolt U, Germany)
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*The Kurdish Experience in Japan:
Statelessness, Transnational Nationalism, and Diasporic Belonging*

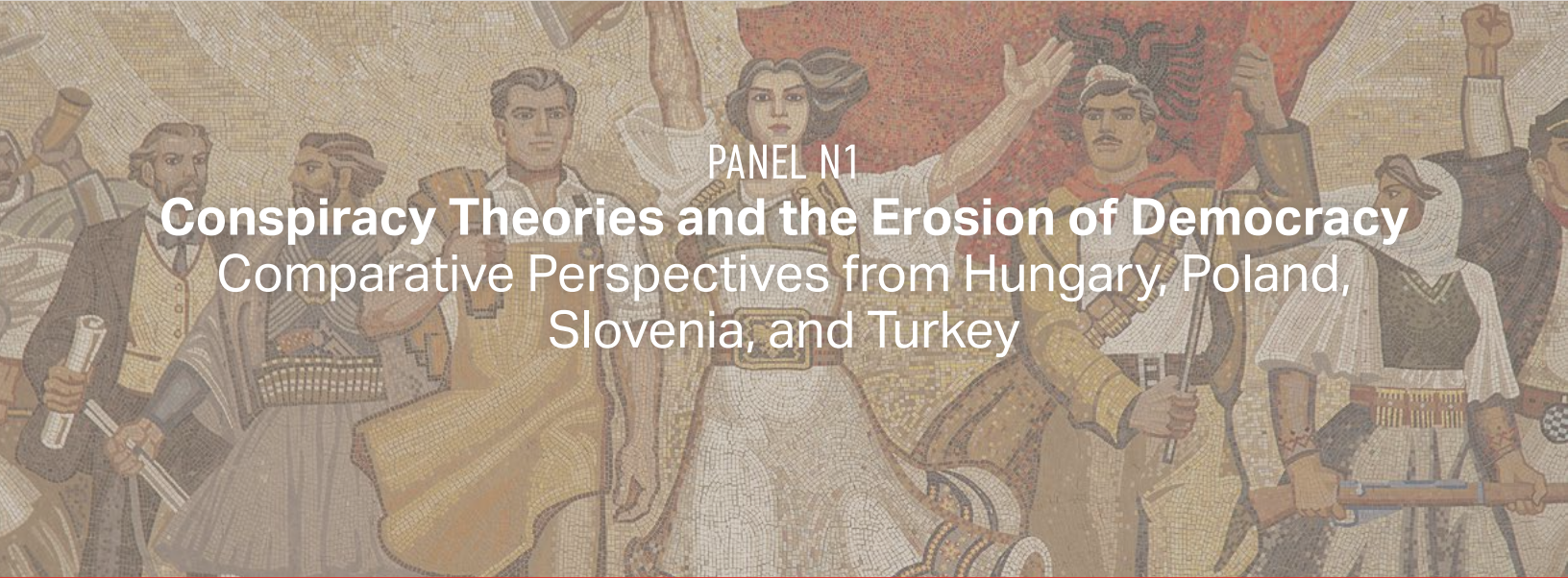
Franziska Plümmer
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*"I Know the Truth When I See It":
Authoritarian Echoes and Security Narratives of Chinese Migrants in Europe*

Abrham Yohannes
(Northshore Community College, US)
onlyabri@gmail.com
*Ethnic Dynamics, Digital Discourse, and Diaspora Influence:
Perspectives on Ethiopian Nationhood*

DISCUSSANT

Daniel Naujoks
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PANEL N1

Conspiracy Theories and the Erosion of Democracy

Comparative Perspectives from Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, and Turkey

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 404

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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*Conspiracy Theories' Role in Democratic Erosion:
Cases of the United States and Turkey*

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*Conspiracy Theories as Propaganda in Authoritarian Regimes:
The Gezi Trial in Turkey*

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Simona Kukovic

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The Mysterious Lure of Conspiracy Theories and Populism in Slovenia

Boglarka Koller

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*Narrating the Nation Through Conspiracies :
Competing Visions of Hungarian Nationhood in the 2026 Electoral Campaigns*

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Christian Welzel

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*Another Dark Triad of Misogyny:
System Aversion, Political Distrust and Conspiracy Beliefs*

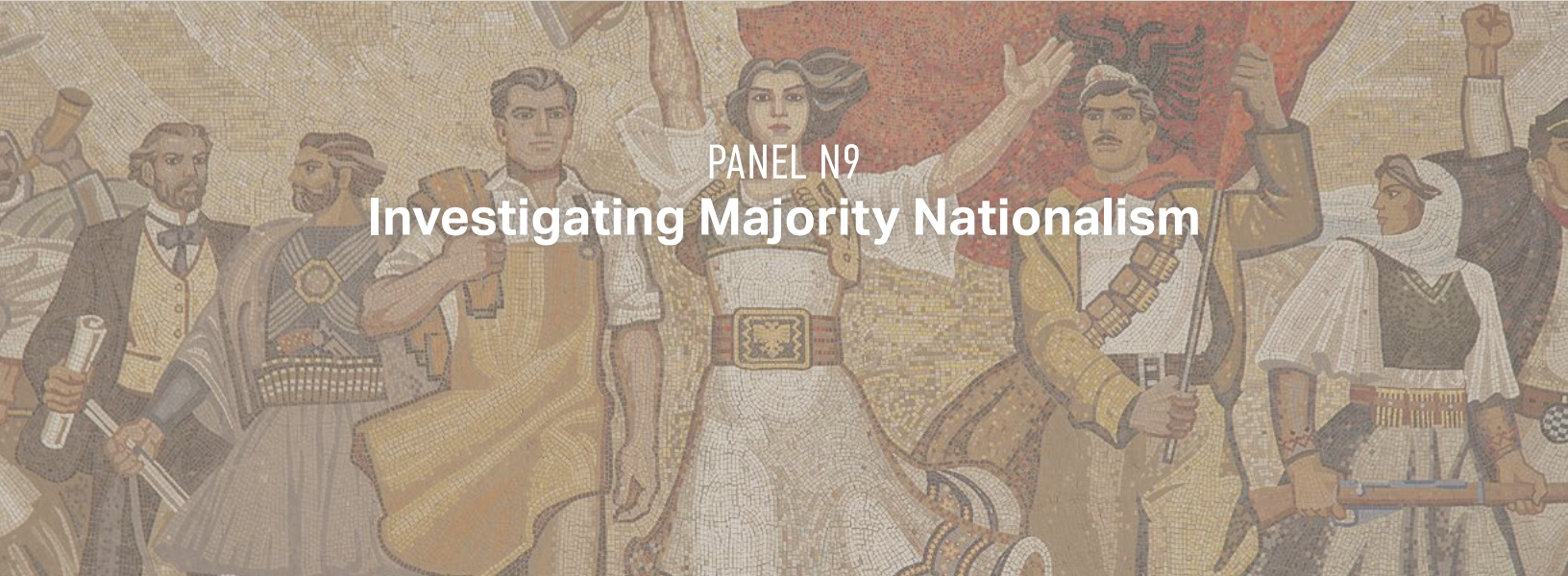
DISCUSSANT

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PANEL N9
Investigating Majority Nationalism

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 405

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PAPERS

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Majority Nationalism: Concept and Operationalization for Cross-National Study

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*Beyond Civic and Ethnic Nationalism:
Ascriptive Martial Republicanism and Inclusive Civic Republicanism in American Identity*

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Whiteness and the Unequal Costs of Anti-System Politics in the United States

Mariann Dömös

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*The Path of Citizenship:
From Second-Generation Immigrants to New-Generation Italians*

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*Forging Majoritarianism:
The Neoliberal-Diaspora Nexus in India's Ethno-Nationalist Turn*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL R7
Book Panel on Inna Leykin's
*Caring Like a State:
The Politics of Russia's
Demographic Crisis*
(Indiana, 2025)



SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 501A

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PANEL R9
Russian Regions
The Imperial and Soviet Past, and the War in Ukraine

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 501B

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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*Legacies of Historical Conflict on Nationalism:
Evidence from the Russian Empire*

Nayalia Chernyaeva

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*The Colonial Gaze of Ethnographic Photography in Tuva
at the Turn of the 20th Century*

Gregory Martin

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*Making and Breaking Nations:
Collectivization and Chuvash Revival in the Village of Ilim-gora*

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Thinking About the War in Russia's Republics

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*Disposable Soldiers: Authoritarian Governance, Colonial Legacies,
and Wartime Militarized Inequality in Russia*

DISCUSSANT

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PANEL U1

Russian Political Warfare against Ukraine and Its Allies in the West

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 1219

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PAPERS

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Intelligence During War:

How Russia Recruits Traitors, Spies and Saboteurs in Ukraine

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Russian Political Warfare against Ukraine and Its Allies in the West

Iryna Baran El Ghali

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Information War Crimes: Incitement to Genocide and

War of Aggression in the Russian Media Space

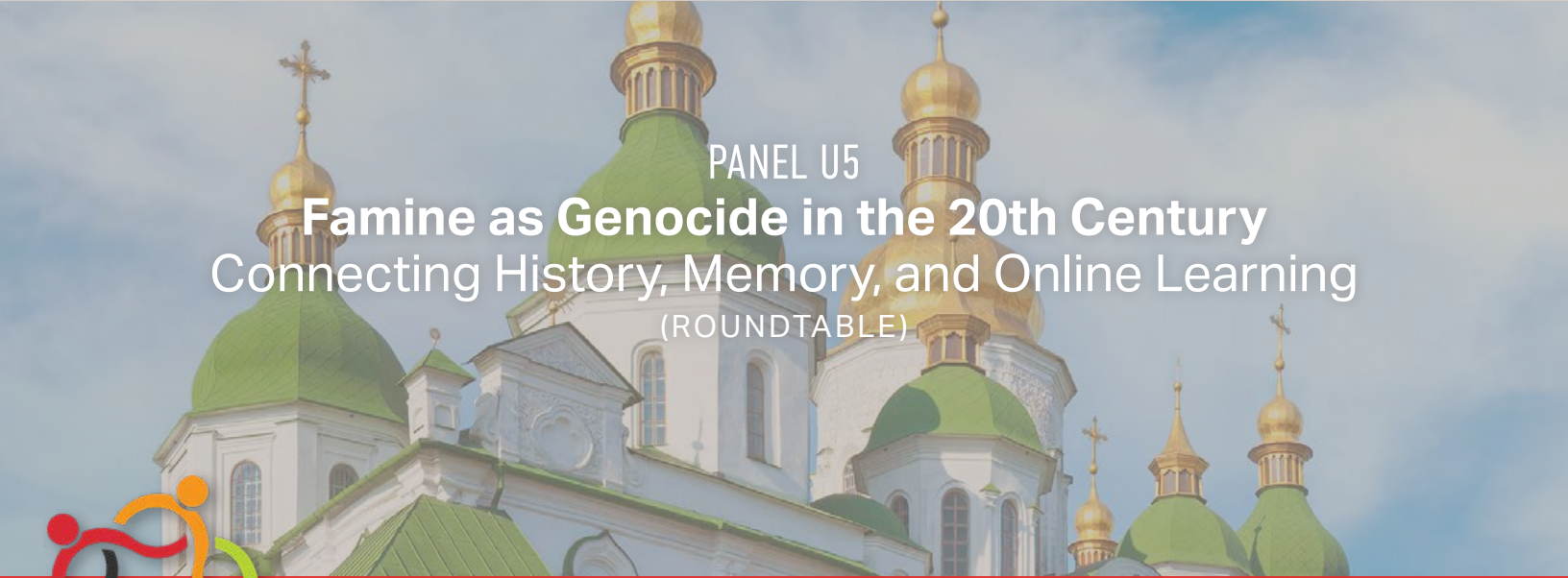
DISCUSSANT

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PANEL U5

Famine as Genocide in the 20th Century

Connecting History, Memory, and Online Learning

(ROUNDTABLE)



SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 1512

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SPEAKERS

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Teaching Holodomor in Sociology

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Teaching Holodomor in Cultural

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Teaching Holodomor in History

Kristina Hook

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Teaching Holodomor in Genocide Studies

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PANEL U14
**Influence of International Actors
and Aid in Ukraine**

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 413

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PAPERS

Rob Grace

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*Understanding Humanitarian Access Obstruction:
Evidence from Russia's Large-Scale Invasion of Ukraine*

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*What Remains after USAID has Left?
The Impact of the Shifting Priorities of External Aid on Ukraine's Educational Sector*

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Resilience and Internationalization in Ukrainian Higher Education

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*Exploring Volunteer Motivations in a Non-Profit Organization Supporting Ukrainian Refugees:
Ethnographic Insights from a German Town*

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PANEL SE1

How to Get Published in Academic Journals

A Conversation with Nationalities Papers Editors

SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM // Room 405A

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