

# 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

### Session 6

FRIDAY MAY 29, 12.00-1.40 PM

### Session 7

FRIDAY MAY 29, 3.20-5.00 PM

### Session 8

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**  
(Georgetown U, US)  
[wjb22@georgetown.edu](mailto:wjb22@georgetown.edu)

PAPERS

**Tatsiana Chulitskaya**  
(Vilnius U, Lithuania)  
[chulitskaya@gmail.com](mailto:chulitskaya@gmail.com)

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

**Anton Saifulayeu**  
(U of Warsaw, Poland)  
[a.saifullayeu@uw.edu.pl](mailto:a.saifullayeu@uw.edu.pl)

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

**Yury Chavusau**  
(Independent Researcher, Belarus)  
[chavusau@gmail.com](mailto:chavusau@gmail.com)  
*Civil Society in Contemporary Belarus:  
Legal Environment and Capacities for Advocacy*

**David Marples**  
(U of Alberta, Canada)  
[dmarples@ualberta.ca](mailto:dmarples@ualberta.ca)  
*Rewriting the History of the Second World War in Belarus*

DISCUSSANT

**Sofie Bedford**  
(Uppsala U, Sweden)  
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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL BK9  
**Foreign Affairs and Europeanization**

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

**CHAIR**

**Aleksandra Krstic**

(U of Belgrade, Serbia)

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**PAPERS**

**Michele Debernardi**

(Geneva Graduate Institute, Switzerland)

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

**Aaron Erlich**

(McGill U, Canada)

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

**Ida Manton**

(PACE Global Strategies, US)

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

**Ferenc Németh**

(Corvinus U Budapest, Hungary)

[ferenc.nemeth2@stud.uni-corvinus.hu](mailto:ferenc.nemeth2@stud.uni-corvinus.hu)

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

**DISCUSSANT**

**Marko Zilovic**

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



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

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM //**

**CHAIR**

**Ana Lolua**

(UPenn, US)

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**PAPERS**

**Peter Haslinger**

(Herder Institute Marburg, Germany)

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

**Henry Thomson**

(Arizona State U, US) [henry.thomson@asu.edu](mailto:henry.thomson@asu.edu)

**Jaikirti Havlick**

(Arizona State U, US) [jhavlick@asu.edu](mailto:jhavlick@asu.edu)

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

**Nelu Cristian Ploscaru**

(Alexandru Ioan Cuza U, Romania) [cploscaru@yahoo.com](mailto:cploscaru@yahoo.com)

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

**Izabela Konopka**

(GWU, US) [izabela.konopka@gwu.edu](mailto:izabela.konopka@gwu.edu)

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

**Izabela Mrzygłód**

(German Historical Institute, US) [izabela.mrzyglod@dhi.waw.pl](mailto:izabela.mrzyglod@dhi.waw.pl)

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

**DISCUSSANT**

**Daniel Epstein**

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



PANEL EU5  
**National Identity in Central Asia and China**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM //**

CHAIR

**Eric McGlinchey**  
(George Mason U, US)  
[emcglinc@gmu.edu](mailto:emcglinc@gmu.edu)

PAPERS

**Aiduosi Amantai**  
(SUNY Binghamton, US) [aamanta1@binghamton.edu](mailto:aamanta1@binghamton.edu)  
*Between East and West:  
Chinese-Kazakh Identity in the Works of Omarghazy Aitan*

**Chunxi Tong**  
(New School U, US) [tongc715@newschool.edu](mailto:tongc715@newschool.edu)  
*A Maoist Reading of Carl Schmitt:  
A Theoretical Justification of Nationalism in China*

**Ning Chia**  
(Central College, US) [chian@central.edu](mailto:chian@central.edu)  
*A Personal Journey of Nationality under State Policy of Nationalities:  
Manchu Identity under Discussion*

**Hannah Theaker**  
(U of Plymouth, UK) [hannah.theaker@plymouth.ac.uk](mailto:hannah.theaker@plymouth.ac.uk)  
**David Stroup**  
(U of Manchester, UK) [david.stroup@manchester.ac.uk](mailto:david.stroup@manchester.ac.uk)  
*Sinicization's Sharp Eyes: Surveillance, Islamophobia, and China's Authoritarian  
Governance of Islamic Communities*

**Michael Masterson**  
(Missouri State U, US) [mmasterson@missouristate.edu](mailto:mmasterson@missouristate.edu)  
*Exhibiting Nationalism:  
National Identity in Museums in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan*

DISCUSSANT

**James C Meador**  
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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



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

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM //**

CHAIR

**Janet Johnson**

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PAPERS

**Julie George**

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*Security Forces and Autocratization in Georgia*

**Egor Lazarev**

(Yale U, US)

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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**

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

DISCUSSANT

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL N14  
**Violence and Nationalism US**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM //**

**CHAIR**

**Stephen Deets**  
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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**  
(Rowan U, US)

[balalaeva@gmail.com](mailto:balalaeva@gmail.com)  
*How Far-Right Populism Harms Ethno-Racial Minorities' Health:  
The Case of the United States*

**Fadim Apaydin**  
(UC Riverside, US)

[fapay002@ucr.edu](mailto:fapay002@ucr.edu)  
*Patterns of Anti-Sikh Hate Crimes in the U.S.:  
A Decade of Evidence from FBI Data*

**Louis Kontos**

(John Jay College, US)  
[lkontos@jjay.cuny.edu](mailto:lkontos@jjay.cuny.edu)  
*Conspiracism as Policy :  
How the Street Gang Became a Worthy Enemy of the State*

**Sylvia Maier**

(NYU, US)  
[sm173@nyu.edu](mailto:sm173@nyu.edu)  
*Legal Responses to Honor-Based Violence in the United States*

**DISCUSSANT**

**Mohammad Siddiqui**  
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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



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

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM //**

**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**

(Carleton U, Canada)

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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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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



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 //**

**CHAIR**

**Tom Røseth**

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**PAPERS**

**Svitlana Odynets**

(Mid Sweden U, Sweden)

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*Rethinking Temporal Belonging in the Ukrainian Refugee Experience:  
Politics of Time Across Refuge and Return*

**Yuliya Yurchuk**

(Södertörn U, Sweden)

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*Tracing Time in the Darkness: Perceptions of Temporality in Ukrainian Intellectual  
Discourse in Times of 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**

(HURI Harvard U, US)

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



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

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 1 // 10.00-11.40 AM //**

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)

[hundorova@gmail.com](mailto:hundorova@gmail.com)

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

**Lada Kolomiyets**

(Dartmouth College, US)

[lada.kolomiyets@dartmouth.edu](mailto:lada.kolomiyets@dartmouth.edu)

*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*

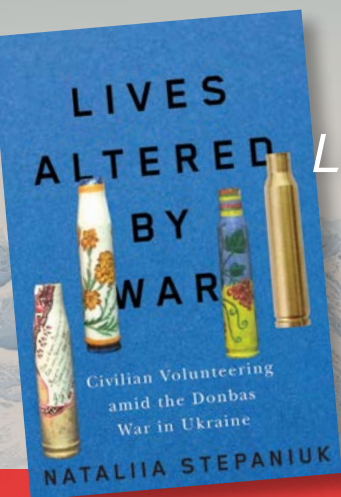
DISCUSSANT

**Nadiia Honcharenko**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



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 //**

**CHAIR**

**Katerina Sviderska**

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**PARTICIPANTS**

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**Emma Mateo**

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**Olga Onuch**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL BK4  
**Symbolic Nation and Identity Building**

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

**CHAIR**

**Dijana Mujkanović**

(U of Pittsburgh, US)

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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 Belgrade, Serbia)

[n.m.dakovic@gmail.com](mailto:n.m.dakovic@gmail.com)

*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?*

**Pavjo Gjini**

(U of Graz, Austria)

[gjinied@hotmail.com](mailto:gjinied@hotmail.com)

*How did the Far Right Replace the Liberal Opposition in a Hybrid Regime?*

*The Case of Albania*

**DISCUSSANT**

**Emina Zoletic**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL CE8  
**Minorities Politics in Central Europe**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Agathe Dudzinski**  
(U of Ottawa, Canada)  
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**PAPERS**

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

**Magdalena Dembińska**  
(U de Montréal, Canada) [magdalena.dembinska@umontreal.ca](mailto:magdalena.dembinska@umontreal.ca)  
*Minority Informal Representation in Non-Democratic Settings:  
Polish Minority Ethnic Brokers in Transnistria*

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

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

**DISCUSSANT**

**Peter Vermeersch**  
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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL EU4  
**Gender Dynamics in Central Asia**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR  
TBA**

**PAPERS**

**Alua Samat**

(Columbia U, US)

[isas7833@columbia.edu](mailto:isas7833@columbia.edu)

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

**Leyla Zuleikha Makhmudova**

(Johns Hopkins U, US)

[zmakhmu1@jh.edu](mailto:zmakhmu1@jh.edu)

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

**Jarkyn Shadymanova**

(American U of Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan)

[shadymanova\\_j@auca.kg](mailto:shadymanova_j@auca.kg)

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

**DISCUSSANT**

**Michelle Commercio**

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



PANEL K8  
**Contested Identities and Belonging in Georgia**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Dominik Massicotte**

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**PAPERS**

**Shota Bekadze**

(Indiana U, US)

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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 the Soviet and Post-Soviet Georgia*

**Nino Chikovani**

(Tbilisi State U, Georgia)

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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**

(U of Illinois Urbana, US)

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

**DISCUSSANT**

**Olesya Vartanyan**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)

PANEL M3  
**The Changing Contours of Diaspora**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Daniel Naujoks**

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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**

(U Paris Cité, France)

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

**Anastasiia Soshenko**

(U of Cambridge, UK)

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

**Anna Chechel**

Mariupol State U, Ukraine/U of Cambridge, UK)

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*Ukrainian Displaced Women Entrepreneurs in the UK*

**Emily Curtin**

(UNC Chapel Hill, US)

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

**DISCUSSANT**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL N6  
**Everyday Nationalism**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Paul Goode**

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**PAPERS**

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**Nadav Shelef**

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*The Impact of National Holidays on Nationalist Attitudes*

**Paul Hamilton**

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**Tristan Sheppard**

(Western U, Canada)

[tsheppa8@uwo.ca](mailto:tsheppa8@uwo.ca)

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

**Karolina Lendák-Kabók**

(Eötvös U, Hungary)

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

**DISCUSSANT**

**David Stroup**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL N12  
**Democratic Answers to Populism and Conflict**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Lou Raisonnier**

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**PAPERS**

**Yunus Sözen**

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**Maria Snegovaya**

(Georgetown U, US)

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

**Neophytos Loizides**

(U of Warwick, UK)

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

**Didem Seyis**

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*Opposition Strategies to Counter Democratic Erosion in Ecuador*

**DISCUSSANT**

**Connie Robinson**

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



PANEL R8  
**The Russian Orthodox Church  
Nationalism and the State**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

CHAIR

**Pavlo Smytsnyuk**  
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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**  
(Harvard U, US)

[soroka@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:soroka@fas.harvard.edu)

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

**Jadie Minhas**  
(Arizona State U, US)

[jminhas@asu.edu](mailto:jminhas@asu.edu)

*Faith and Force:*

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

**Nikolay Zakharov**  
(Södertörn U, Sweden)

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

DISCUSSANT

**Oxana Shevel**  
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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL R10  
**Russian Foreign Policy and the War**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

CHAIR

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PAPERS

**Janet Johnson**  
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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**  
(UQAM, Canada)  
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*Observing Russia's Wartime Diplomacy:  
Everyday Disruption in the OSCE*

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

**Dessie Zagorcheva**  
(CUNY, US)

[dessie.zagorcheva@gmail.com](mailto:dessie.zagorcheva@gmail.com)  
*Authoritarian Alliances and the Failure of Offensive Realism:  
Russia's Use of Non-State Actors in its Foreign Policy*

DISCUSSANT

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL TK3  
**Kurdish Identity in a Changing Domestic  
and International Environment**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Selin Bengi Gümrükcü**

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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*

**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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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL U10  
**Multiculturalism in Ukraine**  
Past and Present

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**John Vsetecka**  
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**PAPERS**

**Victoria Khiterer**  
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*Echo of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee Affair in Kyiv*

**Yana Prymachenko**  
(Princeton U, US)  
[yana.prima@gmail.com](mailto:yana.prima@gmail.com)  
*Frontier of Memory: World War II and the Decolonization of History in Wartime Ukraine (The Case of Zaporizhzhia)*

**Artem Zakharchenko**  
(Shevchenko U, Ukraine)  
[artem.zakh@gmail.com](mailto:artem.zakh@gmail.com)  
*The Crimean Tatar National Narrative and the Problem of its Interaction with the Ukrainian National Narrative*

**DISCUSSANT**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL U13  
**Europe and Ukraine — Ukraine in Europe**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 2 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Jesse Driscoll**  
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**PAPERS**

**Katerina Sviderska**  
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*When and How Was Europe on the Table?  
Mapping EU Salience in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine*

**Alina Nychyk**  
(ZHAW Zurich, Switzerland)  
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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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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



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 //

### CHAIR

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### SPEAKERS

**Yuliya Bidenko**

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

**Alexandra Wishart**

(U of Ottawa, Canada)

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

**Oksana Mikheieva**

(Kyiv School of Economics, Ukraine)

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

**Emma Mateo**

(HURI, U of Harvard, US)

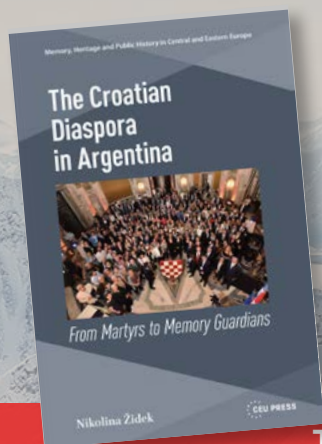
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*Doing what Must be Done:  
Civilian Wartime Engagement and the State in Ukraine*

BACK TO SUMMARY

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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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)

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 //**

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**Cristina Florea**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL K6  
**Conflict, Security, and Order in the Caucasus**

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

CHAIR

**Susan Allen**

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PAPERS

**Natia Chankvetadze**

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

**Margarita Tadevosyan**

(George Mason U, US) [mtadevos@gmu.edu](mailto:mtadevos@gmu.edu)

*Human Security in Divided Societies:*

*Insights from Georgian–South Ossetian and Georgian–Abkhaz Contexts*

**Dashiell Yardumian**

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**Anna Ohanyan**

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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**

(Tbilisi State U, Georgia) [anna.gvetadze@tsu.ge](mailto: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**

(U of Michigan, US) [totah@umich.edu](mailto:totah@umich.edu)

*Beyond the Borderland: The Transnational Dimensions of the Abkhaz War*

DISCUSSANT

**William Buckley**

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BACK TO SUMMARY



PANEL EU1  
**Gender Dynamics in Kyrgyzstan**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM //**

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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**Umut Abazbek kyzy**

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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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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)

PANEL M5  
Refugee Identities, Policies, and Pathways

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

CHAIR

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PAPERS

**Tomáš Kožnárek**

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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*

**Sezgi Karacan**

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*Internal Borders and Asylum Pathways: The Im/mobility of Syrian Refugees in Turkey*

**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

**Leah Zamore**

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BACK TO SUMMARY



PANEL N8  
**Exclusion/Inclusion of Minorities**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM //**

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**PAPERS**

**András Bethlendi**

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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](mailto: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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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



PANEL N13

# The Political Economy of Nationalism

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

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## PAPERS

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*Economic Adversity and National Attitudes*

**Sinziana Stanciu**

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

**Anthony J Evans**

(ESCP Business School, UK)

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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*

**Don Van Atta**

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*Water Power in Tajikistan:*

*(Agrarian) Politics in a post-Soviet Hydraulic Society*

## DISCUSSANT

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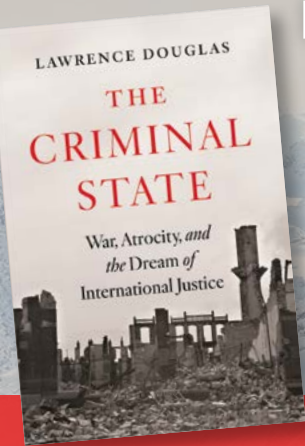
BACK TO SUMMARY

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 //

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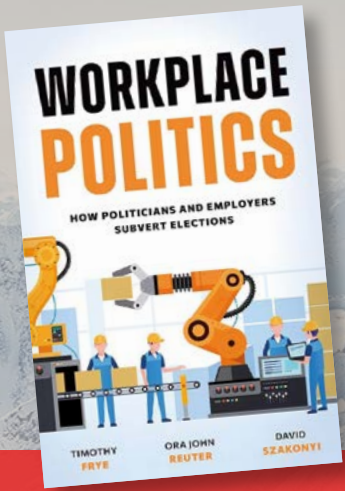
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BACK TO SUMMARY



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 //**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)

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

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM //**



**CHAIR**

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**SPEAKERS**

**Louis Fishman**

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*Israel's War on Iran:*

*From a 12-day adventure to a Regional and Domestic Mishap*

**Evren Balta**

(Ozyegin U, Turkey)

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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*

[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL U3  
**Ukraine at War**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM // ???**

**CHAIR**

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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**

(Stockholm School of Economics, Sweden)

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*Missed Chances? Why the West Failed to Secure Ukraine*

**Grygoriy Riy**

(Karazin Kharkiv U, Ukraine)

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

*Combat Participation and the Pursuit of National Independence*

**DISCUSSANTS**

**Sofia Tipaldou**

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



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 //**

**CHAIR**

**Eleonora Narvselius**

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**PAPERS**

**Volodymyr Kulyk**

(KSE, Ukraine)

[v\\_kulyk@hotmail.com](mailto:v_kulyk@hotmail.com)

*War, Emotions, and Identity:*

*Panel Survey Evidence from Ukraine*

**Khrystyna Pelchar**

(West Virginia, US)

[kp00013@mix.wvu.edu](mailto:kp00013@mix.wvu.edu)

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

**Oxana Shevel**

(Tufts U, US)

[oxana.shevel@tufts.edu](mailto:oxana.shevel@tufts.edu)

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

**Aaron Brantly**

(Virginia Tech, US)

[abrantly@vt.edu](mailto:abrantly@vt.edu)

*The Social War:*

*Ukrainian Narratives of War through Social Media Channels*

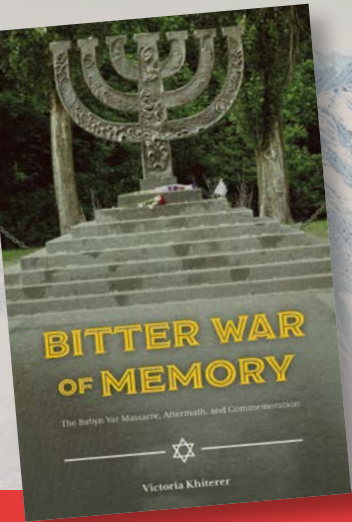
**DISCUSSANT**

**Grigore Pop-Eleches**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL U25

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



**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 3 // 3.20-5.00 PM //**

**CHAIR**

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**Naya Lekht**  
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**Victoria Khiterer**  
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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL BK5  
**War, Memory and Belonging in the Balkans**

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

CHAIR

**Vjeran Pavlaković**  
(U of Rijeka, Croatia)  
[vjeranp@gmail.com](mailto:vjeranp@gmail.com)

PAPERS

**Denisa Kostovicova**  
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*Symbolic Patronage, Thin Dialogue:  
Turkey and the Digital Memory of Srebrenica*

**Sanja Vico**

(U of Exeter, UK)

[s.vico@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:s.vico@exeter.ac.uk)

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

**Emina Zoletic**

(U of Warsaw, Poland)

[eminazoletic81@gmail.com](mailto:eminazoletic81@gmail.com)

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

**Vujo Ilić**

(U of Belgrade, Serbia)

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*Social Foundations of Insurgent Mobilization:  
Evidence from Kosovo*

DISCUSSANT

**Armina Galijas**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)

PANEL CE3  
**Hungary After the Elections**  
(ROUNDTABLE)

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



CHAIR

**Katalin Rac**

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SPEAKERS

**Zsuzsa Csergo**

(Queen's U, Canada)

[csergo@queensu.ca](mailto:csergo@queensu.ca)

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

**Andras Bozoki**

(CEU, Austria)

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*Confronting Goliath: Competitive Authoritarian Elections in Hungary*

**Julia Sonnevend**

(New School U, US)

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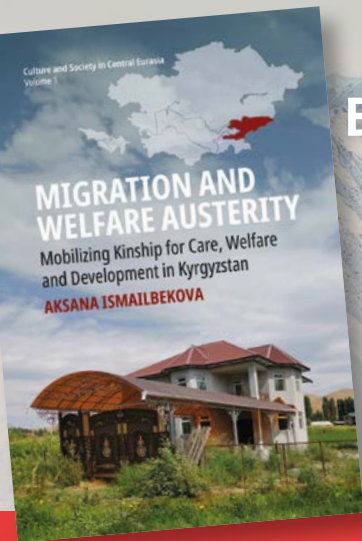
*Orban's Loss Show How a Strongman Can Be Defeated*

**Balázs Dobos**

(Eötvös U, Hungary)

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



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 //**

**CHAIR**

**Michelle Commercio**

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**Marintha Miles**

(George Mason U, US)

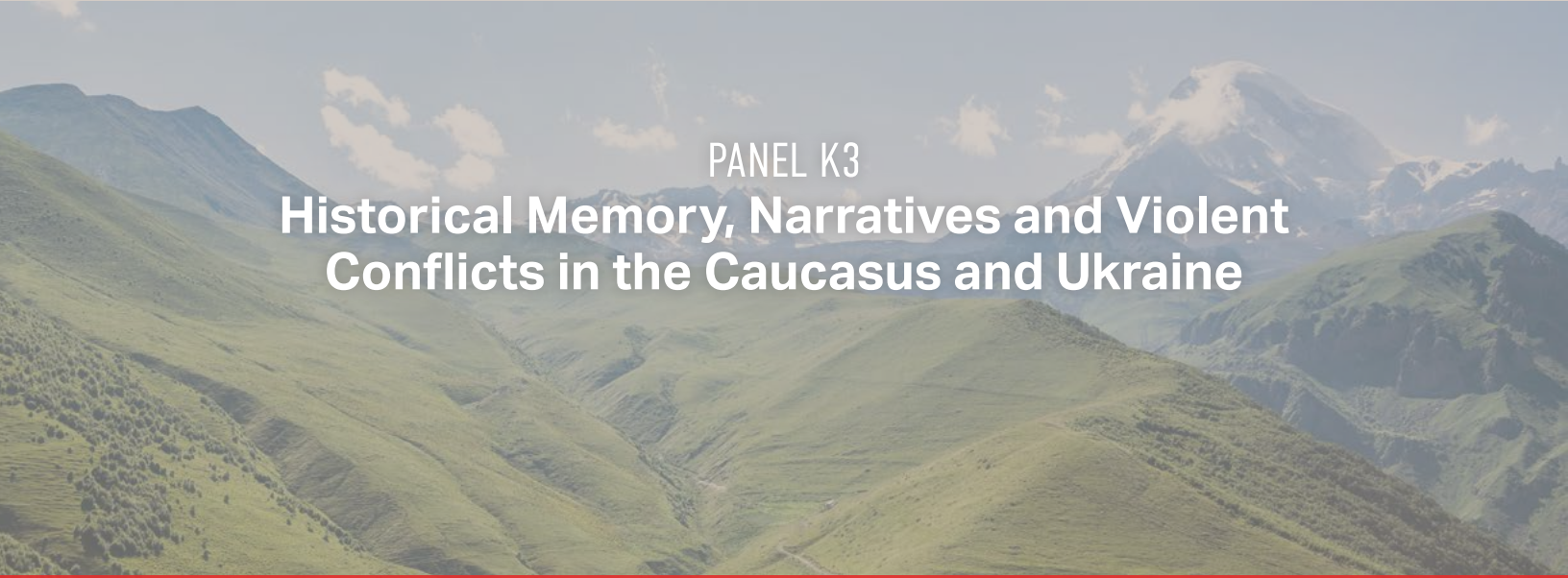
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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL K3  
**Historical Memory, Narratives and Violent  
Conflicts in the Caucasus and Ukraine**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Natia Chankvetadze**

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**PAPERS**

**Cécile Druey**

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

**Marat Iliysov**

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**Yoshiko Herrera**

(U of Wisconsin Madison, US) [yherrera@wisc.edu](mailto:yherrera@wisc.edu)

*The Recolonization of "Chechnya"?*

**Ivane Tsereteli**

(Tbilisi State U, Georgia) [Ivane.tsereteli@tsu.ge](mailto:Ivane.tsereteli@tsu.ge)

*Collective Memory and Power: Zviad Gamsakhurdia in the Political Discourse  
of Eduard Shevardnadze and Mikheil Saakashvili*

**Oksana Myshlovska**

(U of Bern, Switzerland) [oksana.myshlovska@unibe.ch](mailto:oksana.myshlovska@unibe.ch)

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

**Anna Ivanova**

(Justus Liebig U Giessen, Germany) [anna.ivanova@sowi.uni-giessen.de](mailto:anna.ivanova@sowi.uni-giessen.de)  
*Politics of Memory at War: Urban Space, Exclusion, and Belonging amidst  
the Russian Invasion of Ukraine*

**DISCUSSANT**

**Adam Lenton**

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**

PANEL M1  
**Emerging Issues in Global Migration**

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

CHAIR

**Cynthia Buckley**  
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PAPERS

**Robin Harper**  
(Graduate Center CUNY, US)  
[rharper@york.cuny.edu](mailto:rharper@york.cuny.edu)  
*Temporary Labor Migrants in Areas in Crisis*

**Christian Froehlich**  
(U of Hamburg, Germany)  
[froehlich@ifsh.de](mailto:froehlich@ifsh.de)  
*Conflict, Coexistence, and Everyday Encounters: Russian- and Ukrainian-Speaking Migrants in Germany after 2022*

**Ryo Kuboyama**  
(Hosei U, Japan)  
[ryo.kuboyama@uni-bielefeld.de](mailto:ryo.kuboyama@uni-bielefeld.de)  
*How Migration and Migrants Have Been Transnationally (Re) Configured as Political Object in Germany and the United States*

**Zara Salzmänn**  
(U Sorbonne, France)  
[zarasalzmänn@gmail.com](mailto:zarasalzmänn@gmail.com)  
*Becoming French/German in Istanbul? National Belonging, Mobility, and Racialization Among Women of Turkish Descent in France and Germany*

**Yuliya Biletska**  
(Karabuk U, Turkey)  
[yuliyabiletska@karabuk.edu.tr](mailto:yuliyabiletska@karabuk.edu.tr)  
*Beyond Integration: Rethinking Religious Conversion and National Identity Among Ukrainian Migrants in Turkey*

DISCUSSANT

**Achilles Kallergis**  
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BACK TO SUMMARY



PANEL N10  
**Conceptual Insights into Nationalism  
and Nation Building**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Linda Cook**  
(Brown U, US)

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**PAPERS**

**Benham Amini**  
(York U, Canada)

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*National Colonialism*

*Theorizing Colonial Relations in the Nation-State Form*

**Müge Uguz**  
(GWU, US)

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*Gender Gap in Nationality*

**Saira Rafiee**

(CUNY Graduate Center, US)

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*Theodor Adorno and the Critique of German Nationalism*

**Janina Renard**

(Freie U Berlin, Germany)

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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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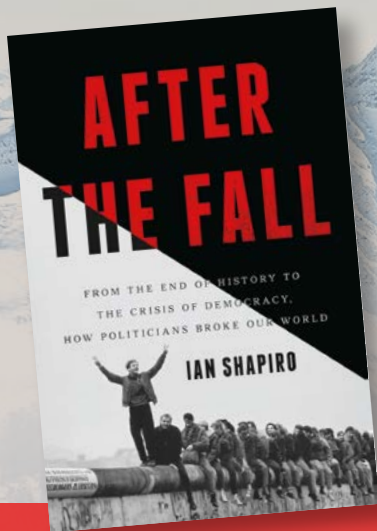
*Projectionist Nationalism in Indian News Media*

**DISCUSSANT**

**Manu Goswami**  
(NYU, US)

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



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 //**

MODERATOR

**Connie Robinson**

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**Sheri Berman**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL R2  
**Legitimization Strategies for  
Russia's Warfare and Occupation**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Tobias Sæther**

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**PAPERS**

**Paul Goode**

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*Normalizing Sanctions and War in Putin's Russia*

**Bendik Mogens Manum**

(Norwegian Defence U College, Norway)

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

**Håvard Bækken**

(Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies)

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

**Mykola Homanyuk**

(Kherson State U, Ukraine)

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*Victory in the "Special Military Operation":  
The Legitimization of Aggression in Russian Public Opinion*


**DISCUSSANT**

**Gulnaz Sharafutdinova**

(King's College London, UK)

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



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 //

CHAIR

**Monika Gracka**

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PAPERS

**Joanna Getka**

(U of Warsaw, Poland)

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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**

(Arctic U of Norway)

[petia.mankova@uit.no](mailto:petia.mankova@uit.no)

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

**Andrei Muchnik**

(Independent Researcher, NY, US)

[andrei.muchnik@gmail.com](mailto:andrei.muchnik@gmail.com)

*Regionalization and Decolonizing Tendencies  
in Contemporary Russian Literature*

DISCUSSANT

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BACK TO SUMMARY



PANEL TK5  
**Insiders and Outsiders in Erdoğan's Turkey**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Haci Cevik**

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**PAPERS**

**Kemal Büyükyüksel**

(George Mason U, US) [kbuyukyu@gmu.edu](mailto:kbuyukyu@gmu.edu)  
*The Continuity of Exclusionary Nation-Building in Turkey:  
From the 1980 Military Regime to the Erdoğan Era*

**Elifcan Coruk**

(Istanbul U, Turkey) [elifcan.coruk@gmail.com](mailto:elifcan.coruk@gmail.com)  
*Looking at Falafel Places in Istanbul Through the Frame of Everyday Nationalism*

**Tomris Ozlem Yilmaz**

(Catholic U Lille, France) [tomrisoyilmaz@gmail.com](mailto:tomrisoyilmaz@gmail.com)  
*The Influence of Turkish-Islamic Synthesis in History Textbooks:  
Between Continuity and Transition*

**Cansu Ece Nirun**

(EHESS, France) [nirunece@gmail.com](mailto:nirunece@gmail.com)  
*A Past More Unpredictable Than the Future:  
Staging History in Erdoğan Era Political Videos in Turkey*

**Merve Ulukaya**

(George Mason U, US) [mulukaya@gmu.edu](mailto:mulukaya@gmu.edu)  
*Education Under Displacement: School Attendance, Child Labor, and Early Marriage  
Among Syrian Refugee Children in Turkey*

**Aysem Biriz Karacay**

(Istanbul Commerce U, Turkey) [biriz.karacay@gmail.com](mailto:biriz.karacay@gmail.com)  
*"Soon I'll Be Saying Goodbye to İstanbul":  
Russian Relocants' Uncertain Lives in Motion*

**DISCUSSANT**

**Selin Bengi Gümrükcü**

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



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 //

CHAIR

**Olga Onuch**

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SPEAKERS

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BACK TO SUMMARY



PANEL U11  
**Genocide and Occupation in Ukraine**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Volodymyr Kulyk**

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**PAPERS**

**Matthew Kelbaugh**

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*"The Battleground of Historical Memory": Ukraine, Georgia, and the Politics of Genocide Recognition in the Post-Soviet Sphere*

**Ekaterina V Klimenko**

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

**Olga Skrypnyk**

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**Iryna Baran El Ghali**

(Crimean Human Rights Group, Ukraine)

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*Information War Crimes:*

*Incitement to Genocide and War of Aggression in the Russian Media Space*

**DISCUSSANT**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL U24  
**Soviet/Russian Identity on Ukraine and Armenia**

**THURSDAY MAY 28 // Session 4 // 5.20-7.00 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Richard Arnold**

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**PAPERS**

**Tetiana Shestopalova**

(Saarland U, Germany)

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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**

(UC Berkeley, US)

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*"As Strong as a Diamond":*

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

**Shushan Grigoryan**

(Institute for Security Analysis, Armenia)

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

**Svitlana Pidoprygora**

(U of Innsbruck, Austria)

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*Visible after Invasion?*

*Ukraine's Representation in Global Comics before 2014*

**Tetiana Hranchak**

(Binghamton U, US)

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

**DISCUSSANT**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



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**  
(APSA, US)

[dsvraka@apsanet.org](mailto:dsvraka@apsanet.org)

**PAPERS**

**Fedor Popov**

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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**

**Sanja Vico**

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



PANEL CE2  
**Minorities and Generations  
in the Hungarian Parliamentary Elections**

**FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM //**

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**

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

**Levente Székely**

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

**Tamas Dudlak**

(U of Pecs, Hungary)

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

DISCUSSANT

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)

PANEL K2  
**Authoritarian Drift and Democratic Resilience?**  
Assessing Georgia's Political Crossroads  
(ROUNDTABLE)



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

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**  
(Hampton U, US)  
[etsintsa@gmail.com](mailto:etsintsa@gmail.com)  
*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**  
(Uppsala U, Sweden)  
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*Gendered Dimensions of Georgia's Authoritarian Turn*

BACK TO SUMMARY



PANEL M2  
**Immigration in the United States**

**FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM //**

**CHAIR**

**Anna Law**

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**PAPERS**

**Sumeyye Itekin Gocer**

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*Political Cues, Partisanship and Immigration Attitudes in the United States*

**Serra Kocak**

(SUNY Binghamton, US)  
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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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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL N4  
**Contestation and Change in Nationalisms**  
(ROUNDTABLE)



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

CHAIR

**Andreas Wimmer**

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SPEAKERS

**Dominika Koter**

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*The Impact of Political Conditions of National Identity*

**Şener Akturk**

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*Continuity and Change in Regimes of Ethnicity since 2010*

**Maya Tudor**

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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*

BACK TO SUMMARY



PANEL R12  
**The Soviet/Russian National Narrative**  
Past and Present

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

CHAIR

**Olena Nikolayenko**

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PAPERS

**Sofia Gavrilova**

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*Producing the Geo-Body of Russia:  
The Russian Geographical Society, and Populist Pedagogy*

**Luyang Zhou**

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*The Soviet Byzantinology during the Second World War and its Aftermath*

**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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BACK TO SUMMARY



PANEL TK4  
**The Changing Geopolitical Environment of Turkey**

**FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Charalampos Gappas**  
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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*

**DISCUSSANTS**

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



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

**FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 5 // 10.00-11.40 AM //**

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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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)

PANEL U19

# Thinking About Nationalism under the Rise of the Far Right and the Russian Invasion of Ukraine Overcoming National Indifference in Academia

(ROUNDTABLE)

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



## CHAIR

**David Marples**

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## SPEAKERS

**Dominique Arel**

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

**Oksana Dudko**

(U of Manitoba, Canada)

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

**Daria Mattingly**

(U of Chichester, UK)

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

BACK TO SUMMARY



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 //

CHAIR

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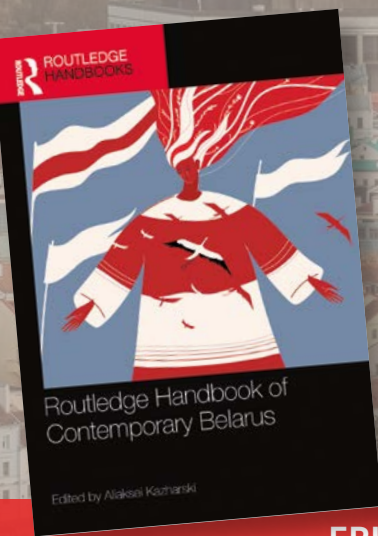
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BACK TO SUMMARY



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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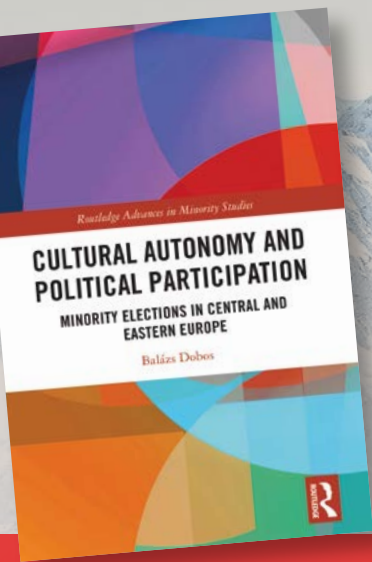
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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



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 //

CHAIR

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BACK TO SUMMARY



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

**FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Lena Pieber**

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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*

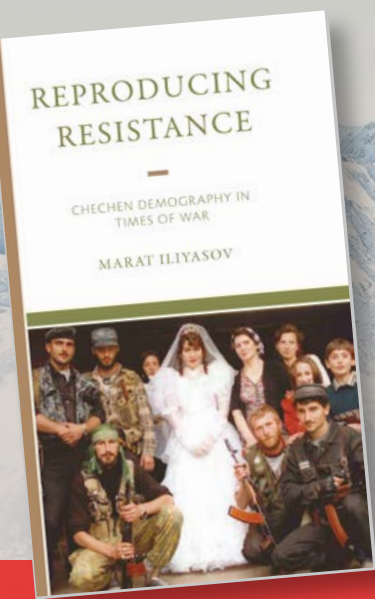
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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



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 //

CHAIR

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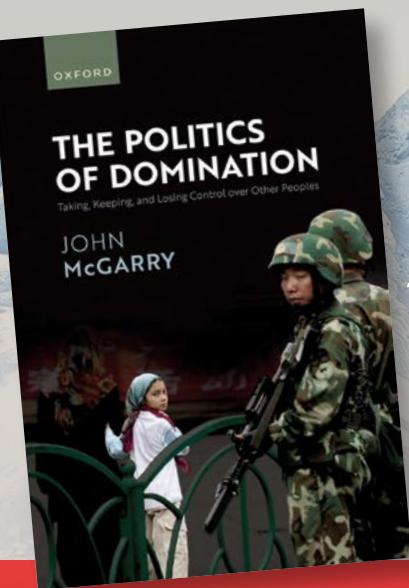
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BACK TO SUMMARY



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 //

CHAIR

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BACK TO SUMMARY



PANEL N15  
**Nationalism and Jewish Identity**

**FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR**

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*Visualizing the Jewish Question:*

*A Quantitative Analysis of Jews in the Imperial Russian Press*

**Ketevan Kakitelashvili**

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*National and Socialist:*

*Jewish Identity (Trans)Formation in Early Soviet Georgia*

**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**

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



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 //

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**  
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*Professional Civil Society in Exile:  
Integration Trajectories of Russian Activists After 2022*

**Tatiana Golova**  
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*Generational Politics in Russian Anti-War Mobilization in Germany*

**Margarita Zavadskaya**  
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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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BACK TO SUMMARY



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

**FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

CHAIR

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PAPERS

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

**Tasos Kostopoulos**

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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**

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*Print Alliances:*

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

**Victoria Salomon**

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

DISCUSSANT

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL U4  
**Memory, Museums, and Materiality**

**FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 6 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR**

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*Embodied Archives:  
Animated Testimonies from Ukraine in the Holodomor*

**Hanna Protasova**  
(Western U, Canada)  
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*On the Margins of Two Occupations:  
Holocaust Representation in Yuri Vynnychuk's Tango of Death*

**Olha Korniienko**  
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*Threads of Identity:  
Ukrainian Diaspora Self-Expression through Fashion, 1940s–1980s*

**Eleonora Narvselius**  
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*From Testimony to Heritage:  
Remembering the Russo-Ukrainian War*

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*"Why we are Going to Win?":  
Amateur Musealization of Russo-Ukrainian War*

**DISCUSSANT**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



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 //**

**CHAIR**

**Rebecca Kobrin**  
(Columbia U, US)  
[rk2351@columbia.edu](mailto:rk2351@columbia.edu)

**PARTICIPANTS**

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**Victoria Khiterer**  
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**Marina Sapritsky-Nahum**  
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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



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 //

CHAIR

**Peter Vermeersch**

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PARTICIPANTS

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**Anastasia Fomitchova**

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BACK TO SUMMARY

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**

(Georgetown U, US)

[na902@georgetown.edu](mailto:na902@georgetown.edu)

## SPEAKERS

**Nikolina Židek**

(IE U Madrid, Spain)

[nizidek@gmail.com](mailto:nizidek@gmail.com)

*Solidarity with Brothers in Arms:*

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

**Jelena Đureinović**

(U of Vienna, Austria)

[dureinovicjelena@gmail.com](mailto:dureinovicjelena@gmail.com)

*Partisan Resistance Goes Global:*

*Antifascist and Anticolonial Solidarity between Yugoslavia and Africa*

**Eric Ušić**

(U of Rijeka, Croatia)

[usic.eric@gmail.com](mailto:usic.eric@gmail.com)

*Borderland Graffiti:*

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

**Vjeran Pavlaković**

(U of Rijeka, Croatia)

[vjeranp@gmail.com](mailto:vjeranp@gmail.com)

*Rijeka's Missing Spaniard:*

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

BACK TO SUMMARY



PANEL CE9  
**Geopolitics of War and Migration**

**FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Lou Raisonier**

(U of Ottawa, Canada)

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**PANELISTS**

**Tomasz Stepniewski**

(Catholic U Lublin, Poland) [tomasz.stepniewski5@gmail.com](mailto:tomasz.stepniewski5@gmail.com)

**Alicja Zygula**

(Catholic U Lublin, Poland) [alicja.zygula@kul.pl](mailto:alicja.zygula@kul.pl)

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

**Anastasiia Vlasenko**

(Columbia U, US) [av3228@columbia.edu](mailto:av3228@columbia.edu)

*Beyond Declarations:*

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

**Magdalena Lesinska**

(U of Warsaw, Poland) [m.lesinska@uw.edu.pl](mailto:m.lesinska@uw.edu.pl)

**Bastian Sendhardt**

(German Institute of Polish Affairs) [sendhardt@dpi-da.de](mailto:sendhardt@dpi-da.de)

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

**Nadiia Bureiko**

(Ukrainian Prism, Kyiv, Ukraine) [nadia.bureiko@gmail.com](mailto:nadia.bureiko@gmail.com)

*Mobilising Knowledge in Wartime:*

*Ukrainian Expert Diplomacy and the Soft Power of Resilience*

**Antonio Amuza**

(U of Bucharest, Romania) [antonio.amuza@fjsc.ro](mailto:antonio.amuza@fjsc.ro)

*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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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



PANEL EU7  
**Migration and Forced Displacement in Eurasia**

**FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM //**

CHAIR

**Bhavna Dave**  
(SOAS, U of London, UK)  
[bd4@soas.ac.uk](mailto:bd4@soas.ac.uk)

PAPERS

**Scott Radnitz**  
(U of Washington, US)  
[srad@uw.edu](mailto:srad@uw.edu)

*Geopolitics and Migration: The Case of the Relokanty in Kyrgyzstan*

**Christopher Hartwell**  
(Zurich U of Applied Sciences, Switzerland)  
[harw@zhaw.ch](mailto:harw@zhaw.ch)

*Diabolus ex Machina: The Machinery of Forced Migration in Kazakhstan*

**Malika Zehni**  
(U of London, UK) [malika.zehni@sas.ac.uk](mailto:malika.zehni@sas.ac.uk)  
*Undesirable Shelter: Seeking Refuge in and out of Tsarist Central Asia*

**Mukhtarbek Shaikemelev**  
(Institute of Philosophy, Kazakhstan)  
[mukash2424@gmail.com](mailto:mukash2424@gmail.com)  
*The Influence of Ethnodemographic and Foreign Policy Factors on the Social Strategies of Ethnic Groups in Kazakhstan*

DISCUSSANT

**Olena Nikolayenko**  
(Fordham U, US)  
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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)

PANEL K4

# Peace Processes in the South Caucasus Current Challenges and Opportunities

(ROUNDTABLE)

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



## CHAIR

**Eteri Tsintsadze-Maass**

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## SPEAKERS

**Margarita Tadevosyan**

(George Mason U, US)

[mtadevos@gmu.edu](mailto:mtadevos@gmu.edu)

*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**

(Harvard U, US)

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*Civic Agency in Georgian Conflict Transformation*

**Kemal Buyukyuksel**

(George Mason U, US)

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

BACK TO SUMMARY



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



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

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**

(NYU, US)

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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)

[haklai@queensu.ca](mailto:haklai@queensu.ca)

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

BACK TO SUMMARY



PANEL R1  
**Hybrid Wars, Volunteerism, and  
Governance in Russia, Ukraine, and  
Eastern Europe**

**FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Alina Nychyk**

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**PAPERS**

**Matthew Light**

(U of Toronto, Canada)

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*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)

[fantonm@miamioh.edu](mailto:fantonm@miamioh.edu)

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

**Artur Jach-Chrzaszcz**

(U National Education, Poland)

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*Russian Cyberattacks in Eastern Europe after 2022*

**DISCUSSANTS**

**Julie George**

(CUNY Graduate Center, US)

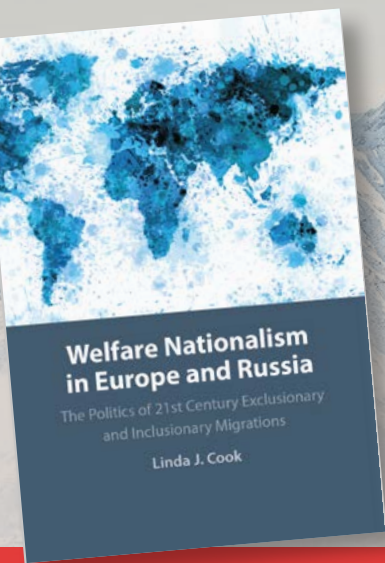
[jageorge98@gmail.com](mailto:jageorge98@gmail.com)

**Andrey Davydov**

(McGill U, Canada)

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



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 //**

**CHAIR**

**Marintha Miles**  
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**Linda Cook**  
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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)

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

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



CHAIR

**Anna Ohanyan**

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SPEAKERS

**Senem Aydin-Duzgit**

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*Middle Powers in a Multipolar Age:  
Regime Security, Historical Narratives, and Global Tensions*

**Evren Balta**

(Ozyegin U, Turkey)

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*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)

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*The Ambiguous Power:  
Navigating Aspiration and Restraint in the Case of India*

BACK TO SUMMARY



PANEL U12  
**Civil Society in Ukraine**

**FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM //**

**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**

(U of Toronto, Canada)

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

**Tetiana Lukeria**

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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**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL U17  
**Digital Media and War in Ukraine**

**FRIDAY MAY 29 // Session 7 // 3.20-5.00 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Dasha Akhova**

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**Ganna Kolesnyk**

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*From Folklore to the Frontline:*

*Nationalist Femininities in Ukrainian Wartime Social Media Imagery*

**Kristian Feigelson**

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*Russian Media :*

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

**Arsene Saparov**

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**Kalthoum Alhefeiti**

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*War, Drones and the Normalization of War Crimes:*

*How International Media Unsees Drone-Facilitated War Crimes in the Russia-Ukraine War*

**DISCUSSANT**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



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

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

**CHAIR**

**Pavjo Gjini**

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**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**

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*Mapping Multilingual Visibility:*

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

**Diana Malaj**

(U of Graz, Austria) [diana\\_malaj@hotmail.com](mailto:diana_malaj@hotmail.com)

*Building Homes*

*as Self-Narration:*

*Women's Practices of Urban Formation in Kamza, Albania*

**Juliana Ajdini**

(U of Tirana, Albania)

[jajdini@gmail.com](mailto:jajdini@gmail.com)

*Invisible Citizens:*

*Perceptions of Social Exclusion among Vulnerable Groups in Albania*

**DISCUSSANT**

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



PANEL CE7  
**Political Mobilization, National Identity,  
and Migration**

**SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM //**

CHAIR

**Ekaterine Pirtskhalava**  
(Tbilisi State U, Georgia)  
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PAPERS

**Matthew Reichert**  
(Harvard U, US)  
[mreichert@g.harvard.edu](mailto:mreichert@g.harvard.edu)  
*Cultural Professionals as Political Leaders:  
The Baltic National Movements as Case Study*

**Leena Leetmaa**  
(Trinity College Dublin, Ireland)  
[leetmaa.leena@gmail.com](mailto:leetmaa.leena@gmail.com)  
*"Motherhood with Dignity":  
How Estonian Women Rewrote Nationhood and Resistance in the Late Soviet Era  
towards Earlier Non-Slovak Owners of Manor Houses*

DISCUSSANT

**Mehdi Sejdiu**  
(U of Heidelberg, Germany)  
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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL N7  
**Political Memory**

**SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM //**

**CHAIR**

**Mila Dragojević**

(Sewanee U of the South, US)

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**PAPERS**

**Blaze Joel**

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

**Francisco Villamil**

(U of Carlos III de Madrid, Spain)

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

**I. Amy Matesan**

**Maryam Gooyabadi**

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(Wesleyan U, US) [mgooyabadi@wesleyan.edu](mailto:mgooyabadi@wesleyan.edu)

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

**Berikbol Dukeyev**

(Nazarbayev U, Kazakhstan)

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*Negotiating the Past:*

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

**DISCUSSANT**

**Joyce Apstel**

(New York U, US)

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



PANEL N11

# Nationalism, Illiberalism, and Populism

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

## CHAIR

**Lou Raisonier**

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## PAPERS

**Peter Dan**

(Long Island U, US)

[peterdan13@hotmail.com](mailto:peterdan13@hotmail.com)

*The Evolution of Populism*

**Tsveta Petrova**

(Columbia U, US)

[tp2379@columbia.edu](mailto:tp2379@columbia.edu)

*What Democracy Do Populist Voters Want?*

**Aviad Rubin**

(U of Haifa, Israel)

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

**Alberto Spektorowski**

(Tel Aviv U, Israel)

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*The post-Colonial Radical Right and the Zionist Question*

## DISCUSSANT

**Christopher Hartwell**

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BACK TO SUMMARY



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

**SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM //**

CHAIR

**Troy McGrath**

(Saint Elizabeth U, US)

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PAPERS

**Alexei Pimenov**

(Independent Researcher, US)

[pimenov44@hotmail.com](mailto:pimenov44@hotmail.com)

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

**Andrey Davydov**

(McGill U, Canada)

[andrey.davydov@mail.mcgill.ca](mailto:andrey.davydov@mail.mcgill.ca)

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

**Şener Akturk**

(Koc U, Turkey)

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*After Empire:*

*Post-Ukrainian Russia in Comparative Perspective*

DISCUSSANT

**Richard Arnold**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL U2  
**Citizen and the State in Ukraine**

**SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM //**

**CHAIR**

**Anna Vozna**

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**PAPERS**

**Jordan Gans-Morse**

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**Timothy Frye**

(Columbia U, US) [tmf2@columbia.edu](mailto:tmf2@columbia.edu)

*Does War Make States – Or Societies?*

*The Case of Ukraine at War*

**Cressida Arkwright**

(U of Manchester, UK) [cressida.arkwright@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk](mailto:cressida.arkwright@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk)

*From Rebellion to Dialogue :*

*Youth Understandings of Power and Political Participation in Ukraine*

**Galyna Zelenko**

(Kuras Institute, Ukraine) [zgalina@ukr.net](mailto:zgalina@ukr.net)

*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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**Nurlan Aliyev**

(College of Europe, Poland) [nurlan.aliyev@coleurope.eu](mailto:nurlan.aliyev@coleurope.eu)

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

**DISCUSSANT**

**Benjamin McClelland**

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



PANEL U15  
**Identity in Ukraine**

**SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 8 // 10.00-11.40 AM //**

**CHAIR**

**Alexandra Wishart**  
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**PAPERS**

**Ksenia Bakhtiarova**  
(George Mason U, US) [kbakhtia@gmu.edu](mailto:kbakhtia@gmu.edu)  
*Does National Identity Shape Perceptions of Victimhood?  
Insights from Ukraine*

**Daniel Epstein**  
(Harvard U, US) [depstein@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:depstein@fas.harvard.edu)  
*Ukrainian National Identity Today : Civic, Ethnic, European, Multicultural?*

**Viktoriya Sereda**  
(Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, Germany/ Kyiv School of Economics, Ukraine)  
[sereda.vik@gmail.com](mailto:sereda.vik@gmail.com)  
*The Dynamics of Ukrainian-Russian Bilingualism in Ukraine and Migration:  
A Multilingual Perspective*

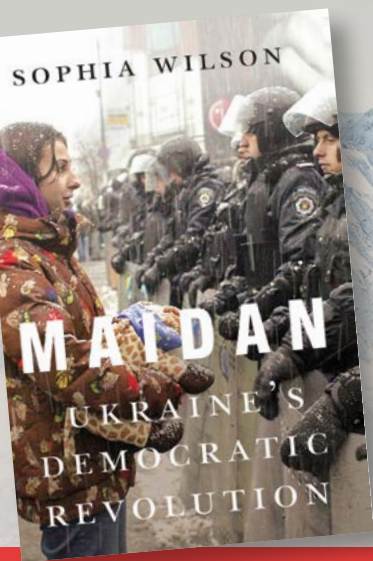
**Pavlo Smytsnyuk**  
(NYU, US) [p.smytsnyuk@nyu.edu](mailto:p.smytsnyuk@nyu.edu)  
*'Sophia of Kyiv' against Russkii Mir:  
Political Theology and Religious Nationalism in Contemporary Ukraine*

**Daria Popil**  
(Ukrainian Institute, Kyiv) [daria.popil@ui.org.ua](mailto:daria.popil@ui.org.ua)  
*The Representation of Ukraine in Regional Studies in Europe and North America*

**DISCUSSANT**

**Uliana Movchan**  
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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



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 //**

**CHAIR**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



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**

(U of Graz, Austria)

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*The Serbian Protest Marathon: The Generative Force of Mass Movements*

**Marko Zilovic**

(U of Belgrade, Serbia)

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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*

**Ana Devic**

(U Aix-Marseille, France)

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*Pro-Ukraine Activism in Serbia:  
Diasporas and Locals against the War in a State of Adversity*

**DISCUSSANT**

**Vujo Ilić**

(U of Belgrade, Serbia)

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



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

**SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Troy McGrath**

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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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*Security-Driven Integration:*

*Theatre in the Times of War: Lithuanian Response to the War in Ukraine*

**Antonio Amuza**

(U of Bucharest, Romania)

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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*

**Balázs Tárnok**

(Ludovika U, Hungary)

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*From Copenhagen to Kyiv:*

*Recalibrating EU Minority Protection in a New Geopolitical Era*

**DISCUSSANT**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



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

**SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Elena Kim**  
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**PAPERS**

**Valeriy Dzutsati**  
(Augusta U, US)

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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**

(UC Santa Barbara, US)

[edgar@history.ucsb.edu](mailto:edgar@history.ucsb.edu)

*Gender and Nation after Socialism: Mixed Marriages in Kazakhstan*

**DISCUSSANT**

**Bhavna Dave**  
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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL K5  
**Pre-Soviet and Soviet Caucasus**

**SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

CHAIR

**Dominik Massicotte**

(U of Ottawa, Canada)

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PAPERS

**Ana Lolua**

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

**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*

**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*

**Roiala Mamedova**

(U of Pardubice, Czechia)

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*Women in Court: Family Law, Divorce, and Everyday Negotiation  
in Early Soviet Azerbaijan*

DISCUSSANT

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)

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

**SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Lisa Koryushkina**  
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**PAPERS**

**Oluremi Toyin Ajayi**  
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[oluremiajayi3@gmail.com](mailto:oluremiajayi3@gmail.com)  
*Transnational Flows, Diaspora Influence, and Postcolonial Identity:  
Nigerian Consumer Engagement with Second-Hand Clothing*

**Mohammad Siddiqui**  
(UC Irvine, US)  
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**Froilan Malit Jr**  
(SOAS U of London, UK)  
[ftmjr22@gmail.com](mailto:ftmjr22@gmail.com)  
*New Noncitizen Arabian Gulf Diasporas: Retheorizing Diasporas in the Global South*

**Haci Cevik**  
(Humbolt U, Germany)  
[haci1cevik@gmail.com](mailto:haci1cevik@gmail.com)  
*The Kurdish Experience in Japan:  
Statelessness, Transnational Nationalism, and Diasporic Belonging*

**Franziska Plümmer**  
(U of Amsterdam, Netherlands)  
[f.s.plummer@uva.nl](mailto:f.s.plummer@uva.nl)  
*"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](mailto:onlyabri@gmail.com)  
*Ethnic Dynamics, Digital Discourse, and Diaspora Influence:  
Perspectives on Ethiopian Nationhood*

**DISCUSSANT**

**Daniel Naujoks**  
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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



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 //**

CHAIR

**Peter Vermeersch**

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PAPERS

**Mert Can Bayar**

(U of Washington, US) [mertcanby@gmail.com](mailto:mertcanby@gmail.com)

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

**Ceren Belge**

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

**Miro Hacek**

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**Simona Kukovic**

(U of Ljubljana, Slovenia) [simona.kukovic@fdv.uni-lj.si](mailto:simona.kukovic@fdv.uni-lj.si)

*The Mysterious Lure of Conspiracy Theories and Populism in Slovenia*

**Boglarka Koller**

(Ludovika U, Hungary)

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

**Agnieszka Turska-Kawa**

(U of Silesia Katowice, Poland)

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**Christian Welzel**

(Leuphana U, Germany) [cwelzel@gmail.com](mailto:cwelzel@gmail.com)

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

DISCUSSANT

**Andras Bozoki**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL N9  
**Investigating Majority Nationalism**

**SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

**CHAIR**

**Agathe Dudzinski**

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**PAPERS**

**Dragana Svraka**

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*Majority Nationalism: Concept and Operationalization for Cross-National Study*

**Alexandra Filindra**

(U of Illinois Chicago, US)

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

**H Ege Ozen**

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

**Mariann Dömös**

(U of Pécs, Hungary)

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

**Samia Khan**

(Queen's U, Canada)

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

**DISCUSSANT**

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**BACK TO SUMMARY**



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 //**

**CHAIR**

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



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

**SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

CHAIR

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PAPERS

**Adam Lenton**

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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*

**Elise Giuliano**

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*Thinking About the War in Russia's Republics*

**Liudmila Listrovaya**

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

DISCUSSANT

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL U1

# Russian Political Warfare against Ukraine and Its Allies in the West

**SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

CHAIR

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PAPERS

**Tom Røseth**

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*Intelligence During War:*

*How Russia Recruits Traitors, Spies and Saboteurs in Ukraine*

**Nina Andriianova**

(National Defence U, Ukraine)

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*Analysis of Russia's Influence on the Political Forces of European States  
with the Aim of Reducing Support for Ukraine*

**Andrew Wilson**

(UCL, UK)

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*Russian Political Warfare against Ukraine and Its Allies in the West*

**Vitalii Fedoriienko**

(National Defence U, Ukraine)

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*Dynamics of Russian Narrative: Impacts on Audiences in Ukraine  
and its Allies using the Case of Nuclear Intimidation*

DISCUSSANT

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BACK TO SUMMARY



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 //**

### CHAIR

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### SPEAKERS

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*Teaching Holodomor in Cultural Studies*

**Taras Koznarsky**

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*Teaching Holodomor in History*

**John Vsetecka**

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*Teaching Holodomor in Genocide Studies*

**Kristina Hook**

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*Teaching Holodomor in Sociology*

[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



PANEL U14

# Influence of International Actors and Aid in Ukraine

**SATURDAY MAY 30 // Session 9 // 12.00-1.40 PM //**

## CHAIR

**Uliana Movchan**

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## PAPERS

**Rob Grace**

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

**Anna Vozna**

(U of Ottawa, Canada)

[avozn026@uottawa.ca](mailto:avozn026@uottawa.ca)

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

**Andrew Misura**

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*Resilience and Internationalization in Ukrainian Higher Education*

**Eteri Tsintsadze-Maass**

(Hampton U, US)

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

**Lejla Smjecanin**

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

## DISCUSSANT

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)



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

### MODERATOR

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[BACK TO SUMMARY](#)