

Nationalist Responses to Economic and Political Crises

conference organized by the

**Nationalism Studies Program
Central European University (CEU)**



Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN)



Tom Lantos Institute (TLI)



Central European University,
Budapest, Hungary
12-14 June, 2014

**Nationalist Responses to Economic and Political Crises
CEU-ASN Conference, 2014
June 12-14, 2014**

The Conference Organizing Committee:

Zsuzsa Csergő, ASN President

Mária M. Kovács, CEU Nationalism Studies Program

Florian Bieber, ASN Vice-President

Szabolcs Pogonyi, CEU Nationalism Studies Program

The Conference Program Committee:

Florian Bieber

Zsuzsa Csergő

Margit Feischmidt

Elissa Helms

Erin Jenne

András Kovács

Mária M. Kovács

Alexei Miller

András Pap

Szabolcs Pogonyi

Prem Kumar Rajaram

Peter Rutland

Levente Salat

Luca Váradi

The Conference Coordinators:

Peter Kiss

Daniel Rapp



The Nationalism Studies Program was established by Central European University with the aim of engaging students in an empirical and theoretical study of issues of nationalism, self-determination, problems of state-formation, ethnic conflict, minority protection and the related theme of globalization. Drawing upon the uniquely supranational milieu of Central European University, the program encourages a critical and non-sectarian study of nationalism.

Students are encouraged to engage in an interdisciplinary study of nationalism, a subject that is inherently and fundamentally interdisciplinary. For this reason, the international teaching staff has been assembled to represent a wide range of disciplinary expertise relevant to the study of nationalism including history, social theory, economics, legal studies, sociology, anthropology, international relations and political science. The program offers a wide selection of courses that provide a complex theoretical grounding in problems associated with nationhood and nationalism combined with advanced training in the methodology of applied social science. Additional courses focus on placing problems of nationalism in the context of economic and political transition as well as constitution-building in post-1989 Central and Eastern Europe, with a comparative outlook on regime transitions outside the region.

The Master of Arts degree in Nationalism Studies is registered by the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York (US) for and on behalf of the New York State Education Department. The program also offers a PhD degree in the framework of a joint History-Nationalism PhD track in collaboration with CEU's History Department. In addition, the program's MA graduates may apply to the PhD program in Political Science based on a special agreement between the two units.

For information on the MA program and scholarships, please visit <https://nationalism.ceu.hu/>.



The Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN) is the leading international and multidisciplinary organization devoted to the promotion of knowledge and understanding of ethnicity, ethnic conflict, and nationalism studies broadly defined. Building upon our institutional legacy, the post-socialist world remains our core geographic region. Scholarship emerging about this large and diverse region has made invaluable contributions to the broader comparative and theoretical literature, and this region remains a rich and prominent terrain for scholarly explorations in our field. Additionally, given the global significance of nationalism and ethnicity studies, ASN has expanded its scope to include comparative and theoretical work from regions beyond its core geographic area. The inclusion of participants from a wide variety of countries, both in our core geographic area and beyond, is a true strength of the association.

The organization's primary activities include an annual convention at Columbia University's Harriman Institute in New York, as well as regular European conferences. The annual convention typically features over 150 panels, and its participants constitute the most international group of scholars of any North American conference in this field. ASN's biennial European conferences are co-sponsored and hosted by European academic institutions and offer ASN additional opportunities to reach out to scholars outside of North America.

An integral part of ASN is its flagship journal, *Nationalities Papers*, which was founded in 1972 and has become a unique resource for scholarly analyses on the history and contemporary developments of ASN's areas of focus. *Ethnopolitics*, a leading journal on nationalism and ethnic conflict, is also affiliated with ASN.

As ASN continues to grow, we remain committed to an inclusive community built on members who participate in our activities out of genuine interest in the advancement of scholarship in this field. We encourage you to visit our website at: <http://nationalities.org> and follow us on Facebook and Twitter.



The Tom Lantos Institute (TLI) is an independent human and minority rights organisation with a particular focus on Jewish, Roma and Hungarian communities and other ethnic or national, linguistic and religious minorities. As an international research, education and advocacy platform, TLI aims to bridge the gap between research and policy, norms and practice.

By its mandate, TLI focuses primarily on three issue areas: (1) Jewish life and anti-Semitism, (2) Roma rights and citizenship and (3) Human and minority rights.

TLI was established in Hungary in May 2011 to honour and continue the legacy of Tom Lantos, a Hungarian-American and the only Holocaust survivor ever elected to the United States Congress. A powerful voice for human rights and civil liberties throughout his life, he was the Co-Founder of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus and rose to become the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. After his death, Congress permanently established the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission.

Conference registration information

The registration desk will be in the Octagon Lobby at CEU, steps from the main entrance at Nádorstreet 9. The registration desk is open:

Thursday (June 12): 12.30 PM – 6 PM

Friday (June 13): 8.30 AM – 4 PM

Saturday (June 14): 8.30 AM – 11 AM

Conference rooms

All conference rooms are equipped with a laptop computer (with internet connection) and a projector. WI-FI internet connection is available throughout the CEU premises.

The Nationalism Studies Program office

If you have any questions that cannot be answered at the registration desk, please turn to the Conference Coordinators, Peter Kiss or Daniel Rapp, at the Nationalism Studies Program office (Room 205 in the Faculty Tower).

Conference Lobby and Japanese Garden

We have reserved the Gellner Room in the Monument Building (adjacent to the Faculty Tower, available through a passageway at the 2nd floor of the Faculty Tower) for the conference participants. You can use this room to meet other participants and to sit down at a desk with your laptop during conference breaks.

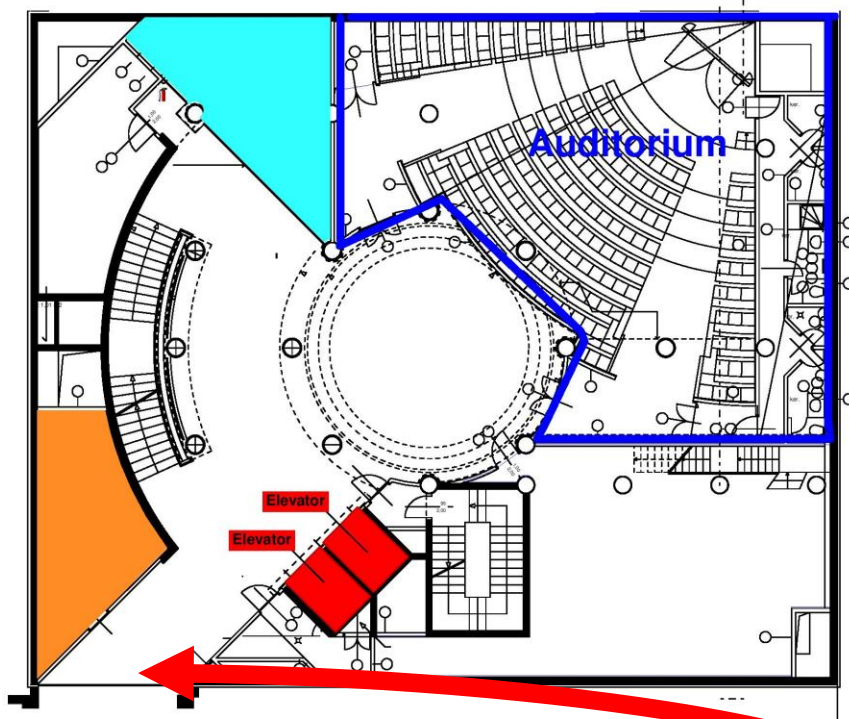
The Japanese Garden is a nice terrace that you may also use to chat and relax during breaks. The Japanese Garden is at the end of the corridor on the 2nd floor in Faculty Tower (right next to the Nationalism Studies Program office).

Opening reception

The Opening Reception on Thursday at 6 PM will take place at the Gellner Room (Monument Building). The event is sponsored by *Nationalities Papers*.

Keynote lecture

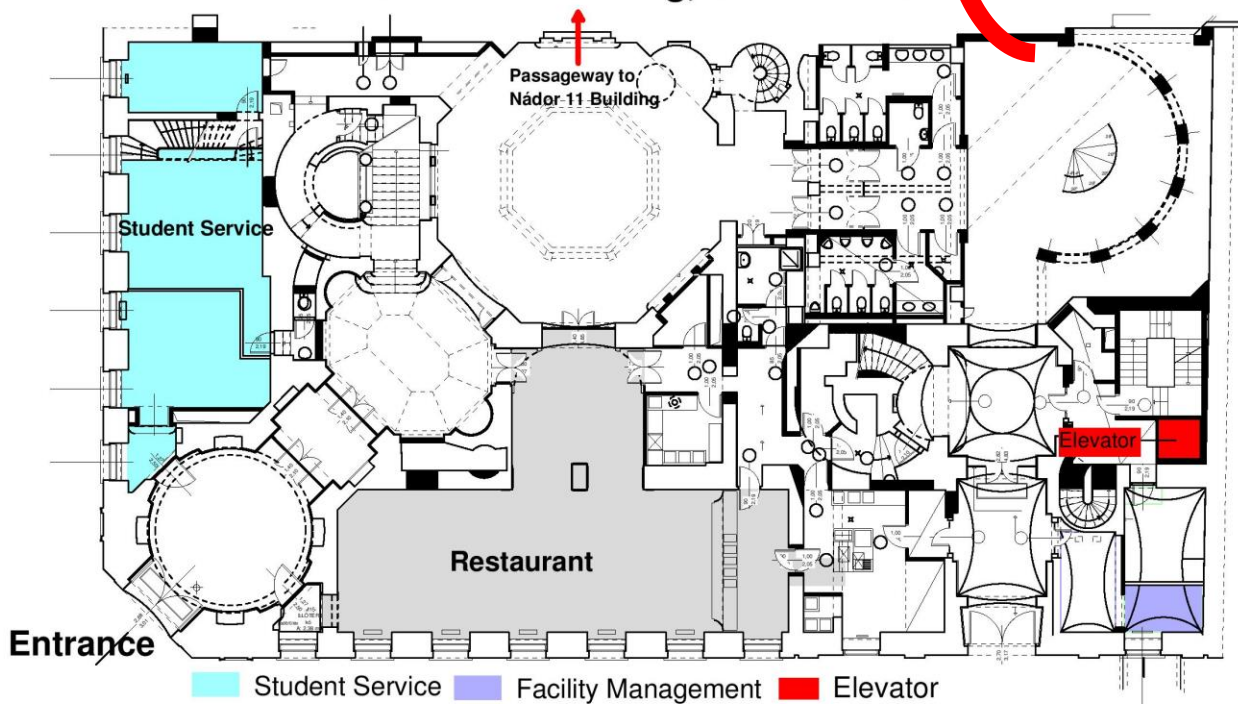
The conference keynote lecture, delivered by Donald Horowitz, is on Friday at 6 PM in the Popper Room (Faculty Tower, right next to Gellner Room). A reception will follow.



Nádor u. 9.
Faculty Tower
Ground floor

- ▭ Auditorium
- ▭ Elevator
- ▭ Cloakroom
- ▭ Locker room

Nádor utca 9. Monument Building, Ground floor



- ▭ Student Service
- ▭ Facility Management
- ▭ Elevator

THURSDAY JUNE 12

Panel 1
Room FT 508

Panel 2
Room FT 608

Panel 3
Room FT 708

Panel 4
Room FT 808

Panel 5
Room FT 908

TIME

**14.00 –
15.40**

Identities on Ukraine's
Frontiers

The Solution to the
Problem or Problem
to the Solution?
Testing and
Contesting National
Affiliations in the
Habsburg and Post-
Habsburg Space

Collective Memory,
Selective
Remembrance:
Narratives of
Traumatic Events in
Post-War Croatia
and Serbia

Book Panel -
"Migrant, Roma and
Post-Colonial Youth
in Education across
Europe"

**16.00 –
17.40**

Media and Popular
Culture in Serbia

Nationalism and the
New 'Other' in
Today's Russia

Challenging the State:
Protest and Rebellion
in Multiethnic
Societies

Minority Rights in
CEE - Ten Years after
EU Accession

Book Panel on Jessica
Greenberg's After the
Revolution

18.00

Opening Reception (sponsored by *Nationalities Papers*) – Gellner Room, Monument Building

FRIDAY JUNE 13

TIME	Panel 1 Room FT 508	Panel 2 Room FT 608	Panel 3 Room FT 708	Panel 4 Room FT 808	Panel 5 Room FT 908
09.00 - 10.40	Strategies of Nation-building in the Post-Soviet Space	Undermining Democratic Transition: Ethnic Mobilization in the 1990 Founding Elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina	Neo-nationalism and the Youths' Radical Responses to Economic and Political Crises in Central and Eastern Europe	Narrating the Past through Urban Space and Monument	
11.00 - 12.40	New Nationalism in Russia	Empires and Reforms: The Balkans and Nationalities Questions at the Dawn of World War I	Minority Integration and Participation in Post-Communist Europe	Intimacy and Migration	Local Aspects of Roma-Majority Relations: Framing the Roma as Dangerous Others
14.00 - 15.40	Book Panel – Institutional Legacies of Communism	The Perpetual Crisis? On the Interrelationship between Crisis, Nationalism and Democracy in Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia	Memory and History in Post-Communist Romania	Populist Far Right Parties: Comparative Perspectives	Extremism: Slovak, Polish, Lithuanian Case-Studies
16.00 - 17.40	History, Memory, National Identity	Nationalism and Right-wing Politics in Greece	Social Perceptions of Changing Citizenship Regimes	Media and Identity Construction in Romania: Reinventing 'Self' and 'Other' in Times of Crisis	The Media Reflection on Racializing Political, Social and Legal Discourses on Roma
18.00	Keynote lecture by Donald Horowitz: Approaches to Ethnic Accommodation: Possibilities versus Probabilities (Popper Room, Monument Building)				

SATURDAY JUNE 14

TIME	Panel 1 Room FT 508	Panel 2 Room FT 608	Panel 3 Room FT 708	Panel 4 Room FT 808	Panel 5 Room FT 908	Panel 6 Gellner Room
09.00 - 10.40	The Discrimination of the Roma	Minorities in Post-Ottoman Borderlands	Joint book panel on Elissa Helms' Innocence and Victimhood and Michaela Schauble's Narrating Victimhood: part I	Discursive and Institutional Aspects of Identity Construction	Varieties of Native Fascism as Responses to the World Economic Crisis of the 1930s: East, West, and Centre	
11.00 - 12.40	Joint book panel on Elissa Helms' Innocence and Victimhood and Michaela Schauble's Narrating Victimhood: part II	Cultural Memory and Historical Aspects of National Discourses	Book Panel – “Secessionist Movements and Ethnic Conflict: Debate-framing and rhetoric in independence campaigns”, London and New York: Routledge, 2013.	Money Matters: Distribution of Financial Support to Organizations Representing National Minorities	Kin-State Relations and Non-Resident Citizenship	Peace-Building on the Local Level in Post-Conflict Balkans

THURSDAY JUNE 12TH
SESSION 1 / 14:00 PM – 15:40 PM
PANEL 1

“Identities on Ukraine’s Frontiers”

Chair

Xymena Kurowska
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Discussant

Eleonora Narvselius
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Papers

Lina Klymenko
Karelian Institute, University of Eastern Finland
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World War II or Great Patriotic War Remembrance? Crafting the Nation in
Commemorative Speeches of Ukrainian Presidents

Leonid Peisakhin

New York University in Abu Dhabi
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In History's Shadow: Persistence of Political Attitudes and Behavior in Ukraine

Paul Robert Magocsi

University of Toronto
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The Heritage of Autonomy in Carpathian Rus’ and Ukraine’s Trans-Carpathian Region

Diana Kudaibergenova

University of Cambridge
creative.corazon@gmail.com

What Breaks The Camel's Back - The Rise And Fall of Nationalizing Regimes in Post-Soviet Space

THURSDAY JUNE 12TH
SESSION 1 / 14:00 PM – 15:40 PM
PANEL 2

“The Solution to the Problem or Problem to the Solution? Testing and Contesting National Affiliations in the Habsburg and Post-Habsburg Space”

Chair

András Gerő
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Discussant

Pieter Judson
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Papers

Börries Kuzmany
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Fighting Nationalism with Nationalism. National Cadastres and Personal Autonomy in the Habsburg Empire

Mate Nikola Tokić
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Sculpting the Nation: Ivan Meštrović and the Yugoslav Cause In Britain during the First World War

Fabio Giomi
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Locating the Community. Gender, Islam and Modernity in post-Ottoman Bosnia-Herzegovina

THURSDAY JUNE 12TH
SESSION 1/ 14:00 PM – 15:40 PM
PANEL 3

“Collective Memory, Selective Remembrance: Narratives of Traumatic Events in Post-War Croatia and Serbia”

Chair

Klaus-Juergen Hermanik
University of Graz
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Discussant

Erin Jenne
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Papers

Ana Ljubojević
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Memory on Trial: Media Discourses on War Crime Trials in Croatia and Serbia

Krisztina Rác
University of Ljubljana / University of Belgrade
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Narratives In Place Of Trauma: Collective Memories of the NATO Bombing in Serbia

Jovana Mihajlović Trbovc
The Peace Institute, Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies
jovana.mihajlovic@gmail.com
"Memory of the Bosnian War in the Shadow of the Holocaust Memory"

THURSDAY JUNE 12TH
SESSION 1/ 14:00 PM – 15:40 PM
PANEL 4

Book Panel - “*Migrant, Roma and Post-Colonial Youth in Education across Europe*”

Chair

Vera Messing
Center for Social Sciences, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Central European
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Participants

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Philipp Schnell
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Violetta Zentai
Central European University
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Enikő Vincze
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THURSDAY JUNE 12TH
SESSION 2/ 16:00 PM – 17:40 PM
PANEL 1

“Media and Popular Culture in Serbia”

Chair

Jovana Mihajlović Trbovc
The Peace Institute, Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies
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Discussant

Vujo Ilic
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Papers

Marija Grujić
Institute for Literature and Art / Freie University Berlin
margru22@hotmail.com
Popular in the Political or Political in the Popular: Investigating Culture of “Serbianhood”
in the Early 1990s

Klaus-Juergen Hermanik
University of Graz
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Empathic Identification with Media Characters to Learn About Victims of Ethnic
Violence in Serbia during World War II

Irena Šentevska
University of Arts, Belgrade
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“Populist Politics, Nationalism and Pop Culture” The Case of Serbian ‘Patriotic’ Hip-
Hop

THURSDAY JUNE 12TH
SESSION 2/ 16:00 PM – 17:40 PM
PANEL 2

“Nationalism and the New ‘Other’ in Today’s Russia”

Chair

Timofey Agarin
Queen's University Belfast
t.agarin@qub.ac.uk

Discussant

Peter Rutland
Wesleyan University
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Papers

Helge Blakkisrud
Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
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Balancing 'Ethnic' and 'Imperial' - Russia's New 'Strategy on the State Nationalities Policy for the Period through 2025'

Christine Lukash
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Integration of Immigrants and Russian National Identity

Pål Kolstø
University of Oslo
pal.kolsto@ilos.uio.no
The understanding of ethnicity and democracy among today's Russian nationalists

THURSDAY JUNE 12TH
SESSION 2/ 16:00 PM – 17:40 PM
PANEL 3

“Challenging the State: Protest and Rebellion in Multiethnic Societies”

Chair / Discussant

Robert Sata
Central European University
Satar@ceu.hu

Papers

Pinar Dönmez
Central European University
donmezP@ceu.hu
Crisis, Authoritarianism and June Uprising in Turkey

Ambrish Dhaka
Jawaharlal Nehru University
adhaka@mail.jnu.ac.in
Ethnic Nationalism versus Religious Nationalism: A Case Study of Power Struggle
between the Loya Jirga and President in Afghanistan

Joldon Kutmanaliev
European University Institute
joldon@gmail.com
Interethnic Violence and Intraethnic Policing: Intercommunal Pacts, In-Group Social
Norms, and Traditional Mediation in Southern Kyrgyzstan, 2010

THURSDAY JUNE 12TH
SESSION 2/ 16:00 PM – 17:40 PM
PANEL 4

“Minority Rights in CEE - Ten Years after EU Accession”

Chair

Balázs Vizi

Centre for Social Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Minority Studies

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Discussant

Vadim Poleshchuk

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Legal Information Centre for Human Rights (Estonia)

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Papers

Antonija Petričušić

University of Zagreb

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What's Wrong with Minority Rights in Croatia or Failures of the Minority Conditionality in the Newest EU Member State?

Balázs Dobos

Centre for Social Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Minority Studies

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The Hungarian Minority Policy - Ten Years After

Jarmila Lajcakova

Centre for the Research of Ethnicity and Culture

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The Situation of Roma In Slovakia - 10 Years After EU Accession

THURSDAY JUNE 12TH
SESSION 2/ 16:00 PM – 17:40 PM
PANEL 5

Book Panel on Jessica Greenberg's After the Revolution

Chair

Elissa Helms
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Author

Jessica Greenberg
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Participants

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Krisztina RÁCZ
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FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 3/ 09:00 AM – 10:40 AM
PANEL 1

“Strategies of Nation-building in the Post-Soviet Space”

Chair

Lina Klymenko
Karelian Institute, University of Eastern Finland
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Discussant

Kálmán Mizsei
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Papers

Eleonora Narvselius
Lunds University

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United By History, Divided By Memory? The Volhynian Massacres In 1943—44 and Attitude to Polishness in Western Ukrainian-Based Intellectual Polemic

Phillip Lottholz

University of Birmingham
pxl167@bham.ac.uk

Constructing the Nation - And Its Crisis? On The Use of Nationalist and Crisis Discourses in Post-Soviet Belarus and Kyrgyzstan

Roxana Adina Huma

University of Plymouth

adina.huma@plymouth.ac.uk

No Room for the Middle Ground? – The Problems Facing Moldovan Civic Identity

Aziz Burkhanov

Independent Researcher

aziburkh@indiana.edu

Media and Nationalism in Kazakhstan: Discourse about Language Policies in Kazakh- and Russian-language Newspapers of Kazakhstan

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 3/ 09:00 AM – 10:40 AM
PANEL 2

“Undermining Democratic Transition: Ethnic Mobilization in the 1990 Founding Elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina“

Chair

Natalia A. Peral
Central European University
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Discussant

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Papers

Nenad Stojanovic
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The Bosnian Prisoner's Dilemma: An Analysis of the 1990 Elections

Damir Kapidžić
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Democratic Transition and Electoral Design: Bosnia and Herzegovina's 1990 Presidential Elections

Boriša Mraović
Independent Researcher
borisa.mraovic@gmail.com
The Impact of PR vs. Majoritarian Electoral Rules on Voting Behavior in Divided Polities: The 1990 Elections for Bosnia and Herzegovina's Two Parliamentary Chambers

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 3/ 09:00 AM – 10:40 AM
PANEL 3

“Neo-nationalism and the Youths’ Radical Responses to Economic and Political Crises in Central and Eastern Europe”

Chair

Domonkos Sík
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Discussant

Irene Götz
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Papers

Margit Feischmidt
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Minority Studies
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The Discursive Construction of Neo-Nationalism and the Far Right Support among
Hungarian Youth

Peter Kreko
Eötvös Loránd University
kreko.peter@ppk.elte.hu
The Role of Conspiracy Theories in the Ideology of the Populist Radical Right

Miroslav Mares
Masaryk University
mmares@fss.muni.cz
Autonomous Nationalists in Europe: A Comparative View

Anton Shekhovtsov
European Fellow of the Radicalism and New Media Research Group, University of
Northampton
anton.shekhovtsov@gmail.com
An Uneasy Coexistence: The Ukrainian Extreme Right and the Euromaidan

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 3/ 09:00 AM – 10:40 AM
PANEL 4

“Narrating the Past through Urban Space and Monument”

Chair

Marija Grujić
Institute for Literature and Art / Freie University Berlin
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Discussant

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Papers

Nino Chikovani
Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University
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“Wars of Monuments” and the Problems of Memory Construction in Post-Soviet Georgia

Gruia Badescu
University of Cambridge
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Cities and Political Crisis: Urban Reconstruction, Nationalism and Coming to Terms with the Past in Belgrade and Sarajevo

Anida Sokol
Sapienza University of Rome
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Remembering the War in Bosnia and Herzegovina—Monuments and Mutually Exclusive Narratives of the Past

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 4/ 11:00 AM – 12:40 PM
PANEL 1

“New Nationalism in Russia”

Chair

Helge Blakkisrud
Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
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Discussant

Peter Rutland
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Papers

Olga Malinova
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omalinova@mail.ru

Constructing the National Past in the Official Rhetoric: The Analysis of Thematic Repertoire of the Commemorative Speeches of Presidents of the Russian Federation (2000-2013)

Azarieva Janetta
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Food Independence - Populist Tool And Policy Guidelines In Russia

Raisa Barash
Institute of Sociology Russian Academy of Sciences
raisabarash@gmail.com

The Nationalistic Discourse in the Russian Political Protest (2011-2013)

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 4/ 11:00 AM – 12:40 PM
PANEL 2

“Empires and Reforms: The Balkans and Nationalities Questions at the Dawn of World War I”

Chair

Robert Sata
Central European University
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Discussant

Gabor Egry
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Papers

Piet Goemans
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Bauer's Non-Nationalist Definition of the Nation

Sara Barbieri
University of Bologna
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Millet System and National-Cultural Autonomy: A Distance Dialogue

Giuseppe Motta
Sapienza University of Rome
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The Vlachs and the Macedonian Question in the First Years of the XX Century

Alberto Becherelli
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Serbia and the Bosnian Crisis of 1908-1909. A Premonitory Sign of the Great War

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 4/ 11:00 AM – 12:40 PM
PANEL 3

"Minority Integration and Participation in Post-Communist Europe"

Chair

Timofei Agarin
Queen's University Belfast
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Discussant

Rasma Karklins
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Papers

Licia Cianetti
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Integrating Minorities in Times of Crisis: The Estonian And Latvian Integration Programmes and Their Socio-Economic Dimension

Zsuzsa Csergő
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The Recursive Logic of Political Inclusion: State-Minority Relations in Central and Eastern Europe

Ada-Charlotte Regelmann
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Minority Empowerment and the Economic Crisis

Laura Wise
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Bargaining Chips: Examining the role of Economic Crisis in Serbian Minority-Majority Relations

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 4/ 11:00 AM – 12:40 PM
PANEL 4

“Intimacy and Migration”

Chair

Attila Melegh

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Discussant

Pál Nyíri

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Papers

Nóra Kovács

Minority Studies Institute, Centre for Social Sciences, Hungarian Academy of Sciences –
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Intimacy across Cultures: Experiences of Chinese-Hungarian Mixed Couples in Hungary during The 2010s

Alessandro Pratesi

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Nonconventional Forms of Intimacy and Migration: Towards A Micro-Situated and Emotion-Based Model of Social Inclusion

Ildikó Zakariás

Institute for Minority Studies, Center for Social Sciences, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

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Intimacy, Othering and National Ideologies in Voluntary Tourism

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 4/ 11:00 AM – 12:40 PM
PANEL 5

"Local Aspects of Roma-Majority Relations: Framing the Roma as Dangerous Others"

Chair

Enikő Vincze
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Discussant

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Papers

Stefánia Toma
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The Roma - Dangerous Outsiders or the Significant Others. The Everyday Politics of Alterity in Multiethnic Communities in Romania"

Julija Sardelic
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Antigypsism in the Post-Yugoslav Space

Anikó Vida and Edina Berta Héderné
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Social and Ethnic Boundaries in A Rural Frontier Region in Hungary

David Scheffel
Thompson Rivers University
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Roma and Conditional Citizenship in Inter-War Slovakia

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 5/ 14:00 PM – 15:40 PM
PANEL 1

Book Panel – “*Institutional Legacies of Communism*”

Chair

Timofey Agarin
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Participants

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FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 5/ 14:00 PM – 15:40 PM
PANEL 2

“The Perpetual Crisis? On the Interrelationship between Crisis, Nationalism and Democracy in Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia”

Chair

Dario Brentin
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Discussant

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Papers

Vedran Dzihic
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Nationalist Responses to the Political Crises in Bosnia And Herzegovina and the Process of Democratization

Hrvoje Paic
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Nationalist Discourses in Context of the Economic Crisis in Croatia

Marko Kmezic
University of Graz/Centre for Southeast European Studies
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Legacies of the Past as an Enduring Obstacle on Serbia's EU Integration Path: Persisting Problem or an Academic Myth?

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 5/ 14:00 PM – 15:40 PM
PANEL 3

“Memory and History in Post-Communist Romania”

Chair

Victor Karady
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Discussant

Gabor Egry
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Papers

Andrei Muraru
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Punishment in Letters. The Matter of Sanctioning the Communist Criminals in the Romanian Historiography after 1989

Constantin Iordachi
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From Functionalism to Intentionalism: Recent Historiographical Perspective on the Question of the Holocaust in Romania and the Transdnister Region

Emanuel Copilaş Ciocianu
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Nationalist Anti-Communism in Post-Communist Romania: Ideological Implications and Social Impact

Michael Shafir
Babes-Bolyai University
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Wars of Memory in Post-Communist Romania

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 5/ 14:00 PM – 15:40 PM
PANEL 4

"Populist Far Right Parties: Comparative Perspectives"

Chair

Zsolt Enyedi
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Discussant

András Kovács
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Papers

Borbala Kriza
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"Like the Irish in Belfast" - Foreign References in Hungarian Far Right Ideology

Yuval Feinstein
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and

Yaara Vered
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National Attachment, Xenophobia and the State of the Economy

Andrea L. P. Pirro

Centre for the Study of Political Change (CIRCaP), University of Siena
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Taking Back What's Ours! The Social National Economics of the Populist Radical Right

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 5/ 14:00 PM – 15:40 PM
PANEL 5

“Extremism: Slovak, Polish, Lithuanian Case-Studies”

Chair

Zsuzsa Csergo
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Discussant

Miroslav Mares
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Papers

Konrad Jajecznik
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Formation of the Nationalist Movement (2012-2014) – A Symptom of Legitimacy Crisis of the Political Establishment in Poland?

Inga Popovaite
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Ethnicity in Lithuanian Integralist-Populist Rhetoric in 2012 Parliamentary Elections

Juraj Buzalka
Comenius University in Bratislava, Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences, Institute of Social Anthropology
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Post-Peasant Populism of Eastern Europe on Its Way to Fascism?

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 6/ 16:00 PM – 17:40 PM
PANEL 1

“History, Memory, National Identity”

Chair

Natalia A. Peral
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Discussant

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Papers

Sergiu Delcea
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Who Demystifies the Demystifiers? Nationalism, History Teaching and Historians'
Debates in Post-Socialist Romania

Anthony Oberschall
University of North Carolina
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Truth, Justice and Memory

Vujo Ilic
Central European University
vujoilic@gmail.com
History Education as an Obstacle to Reconciliation: An Analysis of Ethnic Stereotypes in
History Textbooks in Serbia and Kosovo

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 6/ 16:00 PM – 17:40 PM
PANEL 2

“Nationalism and Right-wing Politics in Greece”

Chair

András Bozóki
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Discussant

Zoltán Pogátsa
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West Hungarian University

Papers

Sotiris Vandoros
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Beyond Populist Rhetoric: The Rise Of Extreme Nationalism In Crisis-Ridden Greece

Eleftherios Ntotsikas
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Lund University
The Power of Memory: Memory of Nazi Occupation in the Political Speeches of
“Independent Greeks”

Evangelos Liaras
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CEPC
Forestalling "Weimar Greece": The Greek Political Establishment's Response to the Rise
of the Far Right

Charalampos Gousios and Nikolaos Koutsimpogiorgos
University Of Piraeus
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Historical Indexing Reinvented? Civil War as a Historical Metaphor and the
Paradigmatic Shift of the Greek Political Communication System Due to the Financial
Crisis

Anikó Félix

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ELTE, MTA-ELTE-Peripato Research Group

Behind the Sunrise- Women and the Golden Dawn the Greek Far Right from a Gender Approach

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH

SESSION 6/ 16:00 PM – 17:40 PM

PANEL 3

"Social Perceptions of Changing Citizenship Regimes"

Chair

Szabolcs Pogonyi

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Central European University

Discussant

Margit Feischmidt

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Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Center for Social Sciences, Institute for Minority Studies

Papers

Corneliu Ciurea

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Institute for Development and Social Initiatives "Viitorul"

Nationalism as a Reason to Pursue European Integration - The Case of Moldova

Irene Götz

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LMU Munich

The Rediscovery of the National. Forms of Imagining and Branding a "'Renewed Nation'" in the Reunified Germany

Tamás Kiss

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Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities

Social Perceptions of the New Hungarian Citizenship Policy among Hungarians in Transylvania

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and

Ágnes Vass

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Citizenship Constructions among Hungarians Living in Hungary's Neighboring Countries

Dejan Stjepanović

University of Edinburgh

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Multiethnic Regionalism and Kin-State Citizenship

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 6/ 16:00 PM – 17:40 PM
PANEL 4

“Media and Identity Construction in Romania: Reinventing 'Self' and 'Other' in Times of Crisis”

Chair

Sergiu Miscoiu
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Babes-Bolyai University

Discussant

Corina-Maria Dobos
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Papers

Camelia Beciu
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and

Mirela Lazar
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University of Bucharest
Debating Nation Image and Migration in the Context of the Economic Crisis: Discursive
Regimes in Romanian Media

Julien Danero Iglesias
Université libre de Bruxelles – CEVIPOL
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Ice Hockey and National Discourse in the Romanian Press

Andrea Zamfira
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University of South-East Europe Lumina and University of Bucharest
Romanian Germans' History, Politics and Memory, as Reflected through the TV Program
"Akzente" (2012-2014)

Jonathan Larcher

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EHESS / Paris

The Ambivalence of the Gypsy characters on Romanian Televisions: Between Primitive Reification and Threats on the Cultural Hierarchy

FRIDAY JUNE 13TH
SESSION 6/ 16:00 PM – 17:40 PM
PANEL 5

“The Media Reflection on Racializing Political, Social and Legal Discourses on Roma“

Chair

Maria Heller
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Eötvös Lorand University

Discussant

Judit Bayer
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Zsigmond Király Főiskola, Nemzetközi es Politikai Tanulmányok Intézete

Papers

András Pap
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and

Lídia Balogh
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Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Centre for Social Sciences
The Representation of Crime and Ethnicity in the Hungarian Media

Annabel Tremlett
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University of Portsmouth
Race, Class and Gender Representations in 'Factual Entertainment' Documentaries

Zsuzsanna Vidra
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Center for Policy Studies at Central European University
European Trends of Mainstreaming Racial Discourses and Intolerance and a Hungarian Case Study

Vera Messing
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Center for Social Sciences, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Central European
University
Disempowered By The Media: Lack Of Media Standing Of Roma Communities. Causes
and Consequences

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Donald L. Horowitz

James B. Duke Professor of Law and Political Science Duke University

Approaches to Ethnic Accommodation: Possibilities versus Probabilities

For decades, there have been debates over the best methods of achieving interethnic accommodation in severely divided societies. Over the last decade or so, a body of evidence has emerged that bears in important ways on the debate. The evidence shows what methods are likely to produce conciliatory outcomes, but it also bears on the probability of their adoption and their likely durability if adopted. Some promising approaches are unlikely to be adopted or, if adopted, unlikely to be durable or, if durable, prone to costly stalemates. Debates need to move far beyond which approach seems to be preferable and into the realm of incentives to adopt accommodative measures, to retain them when adopted, and to modify them when they prove costly. This lecture will examine--or at least raise--all of these questions.

Friday, June 13 at 6.00 P.M.
Popper Room (102) Monument Building



Donald L. Horowitz is the James B. Duke Professor of Law and Political Science Emeritus at Duke University and Senior Fellow at the International Forum for Democratic Studies of the National Endowment for Democracy. He is the author of seven books: *The Courts and Social Policy* (1977), which won the Louis Brownlow Award of the National Academy of Public Administration; *The Jurocracy* (1977), a book about government lawyers; *Coup Theories and Officers' Motives: Sri Lanka in Comparative Perspective* (1980); *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (1985, 2000); *A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society* (1991), which won the Ralph Bunche Prize of the American Political Science Association; *The Deadly Ethnic Riot* (2001); and *Constitutional Change and Democracy in Indonesia*, published

in 2013 by Cambridge University Press.

Donald L. Horowitz is the keynote lecturer for **Nationalist Responses to Economic and Political Crises** Conference organized by **Nationalism Studies Program** at **Central European University (CEU)**, **Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN)**, **Tom Lantos Institute (TLI)**

A reception will follow

SATURDAY JUNE 14TH
SESSION 7/ 09:00 AM – 10:40 AM
PANEL 1

“The Discrimination of the Roma”

Chair:

András Pap
Hungarian Academy of Sciences /ELTE/ CEU
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Discussant

Julia Sardelic
University of Edinburgh
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Papers

Katya Ivanova
London School of Economics and Political Science
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The Roma Antidiscrimination Norm and the Rise of Right-Wing Forces in the Czech Republic and Hungary

Kitti Baracsi
independent researcher / University of Pécs
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Everyday Survival and Attacks against Roma Camps - The Case of Naples

Sara Swerdlyk
Independent Scholars/Researcher
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The 'Securitization' of Romani Migration: Mapping Canadian State Discourse on Hungarian Roma

Ioana-Cristina Hritcu
Babes-Bolyai University and Paris Est Marne-la-Vallée University
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SATURDAY JUNE 14TH
SESSION 7/ 09:00 AM – 10:40 AM
PANEL 2

“Minorities in Post-Ottoman Borderlands”

Chair

Nurcan Ozgur Baklacioglu
Istanbul University
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Discussant

Zoltán Egeresi
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Papers

Cafer Sarıkaya
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Nationalist Responses to Economic and Political Crises in the Black Sea Coast of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic

Yonca Köksal Özyaşar
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and

Dilek Barlas
Koc University
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Turkish-Bulgarian Relations and the Turkish Minority in Bulgaria in the Interwar Period

SATURDAY JUNE 14TH
SESSION 7/ 09:00 AM – 10:40 AM
PANEL 3

Joint book panel on Elissa Helms' Innocence and Victimhood and Michaela Schauble's Narrating Victimhood: part I

Chair

Jessica Greenberg
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SATURDAY JUNE 14TH
SESSION 7/ 09:00 AM – 10:40 AM
PANEL 4

"Discursive and Institutional Aspects of Identity Construction"

Chair

Szilard Pap
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Discussant

László Kürti
University of Miskolc
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Papers

Volha Tsadko
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Polesie Population Identity and the Nation-Building Experience

Calin Cotoi
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Confessional and Ethnographical Politics: The Csango Dilemmas in the XVIII and XIX Centuries

Inis Shkreli
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Identity Politics and Economical Crisis: A Focus on the Mobility of Vlachs in Voskopoja and Nationalist Programs as Powerful Mechanisms for the Assimilation of the Community

SATURDAY JUNE 14TH
SESSION 7/ 09:00 AM – 10:40 AM
PANEL 5

“Varieties of Native Fascism as Responses to the World Economic Crisis of the 1930s: East, West, and Centre”

Chair / Discussant

Béla Rásky
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Papers

Raul Carstocea
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Thriving on crisis: the rhetoric of crisis and renewal of the legionary movement in interwar Romania

Robby Van Eetvelde
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From the trenches to the Hitler salute. The ideological development of the Verdinaso during the interwar period in Belgium

Eva Waibel
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Christian, German, Fair and Free Of Class Hatred and Tyranny. The Manifestations of the Austro-Fascist Ideology in Theatrical Performances in the Interwar Austria

Corina-Maria Dobos
University College London & University of Medicine and Pharmacy "Carol Davila",
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(Nationalist) Reactions to Demographic Decline: Ceausescu between Pater Familias and Pater Patriae

SATURDAY JUNE 14TH
SESSION 8 / 11:00 AM – 12:40 AM
PANEL 1

Joint book panel on Elissa Helms' Innocence and Victimhood and Michaela Schauble's Narrating Victimhood: part II

Chair

Carna Brkovic
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Catherine Baker
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SATURDAY JUNE 14TH
SESSION 8 / 11:00 AM – 12:40 PM
PANEL 2

"Cultural Memory and Historical Aspects of National Discourses"

Chair

Michael Miller
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Discussant

László Kürti
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Papers

Monika Baár
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Polish and Lithuanian Colonial Utopias in the Interwar period

Marta Duch-Dyngosz
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Nationalist Memory Discourse Regarding Difficult Past in Poland

Anita Kurimay
Bryn Mawr College
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Looking For Hungarian Heroines: Gender, Nationalism, and the Politics of Remembering
Cécile Tormay

Ferenc Erős
University of Pécs
erosferenc@gmail.com
Torture or Therapy? Uses of Psychiatry and Psychoanalysis in the First World War

SATURDAY JUNE 14TH
SESSION 8 / 11:00 AM – 12:40 AM
PANEL 3

Book Panel – “Secessionist Movements and Ethnic Conflict: Debate-framing and rhetoric in independence campaigns”, London and New York: Routledge, 2013.

Author

Beáta Huszka
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Participants

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Florian Bieber
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SATURDAY JUNE 14TH
SESSION 8 / 11:00 AM – 12:40 PM
PANEL 4

“Money Matters: Distribution of Financial Support to Organizations Representing National Minorities”

Chair

Raul Carstocea
European Centre for Minority Issues
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Discussant

Mindaugas Kuklys
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Papers

Antonija Petričušić
University of Zagreb
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National Minority Associations in Croatia: Source for Ethnic entrepreneurship or the Modality of Tolerance Promotion

Oana- Georgiana Buta
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The Funding of the Political Participation of National Minorities in Romania and Hungary: A Comparative Perspective

Gabor Adam
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The Funding Of Projects Proposed By Organizations Representing National Minorities - Case Study: Romania

Nurcan Ozgur Baklacioglu
Istanbul University
nurcanozgur@hotmail.com
Turkey's Kin Policy: From Ethnic Nationalism to Transnational Economics

SATURDAY JUNE 14TH
SESSION 8 / 11:00 AM – 12:40 PM
PANEL 5

“Kin-State Relations and Non-Resident Citizenship”

Chair

Ágness Vass

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Discussant

Zoltán Kántor

Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Hungary

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Papers

Judit Tóth

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The Model of Ethnic-Based Naturalization and Its Social Ramifications

Yossi Harpaz

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The Uses of a Second Passport: Outline for a Comparative Research Agenda on Dual Citizenship

Szabolcs Pogonyi

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"Hungary is always a little bit like Narnia" - US Hungarian Diasporic Identities and Non-resident Citizenship

Toma Burean

Babes-Bolyai University

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The Political Participation and Preferences of Diaspora. The Effect of Economic Crisis and Improved Voting Conditions on Electoral Behavior and Turnout.

SATURDAY JUNE 14TH
SESSION 8 / 11:00 AM – 12:40 PM
PANEL 6

"Peace-Building on the Local Level in Post-Conflict Balkans"

Chair

Donald Horowitz
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Duke University

Discussant

Anna-Mária Bíró
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Tom Lantos Institute

Papers

Dane Taleski
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Minority Parties and Post-Conflict Legacies: Building SDSS in Croatia and DUI in Macedonia

Natalia Andrea Peral
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Central European University
Tackling Ethnic Enclavisation in Kosovo? Third party engagement in post-conflict cycles

Tibor Purger
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Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
Ethnic Autonomy -- An Instrument of Minority Survival?

Kristina Dimovska
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Central European University
The (Non)Equitable Representation of Ethnic Minorities in Decentralization in the Republic Of Macedonia

Sanja Bogatinovska


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Central European University

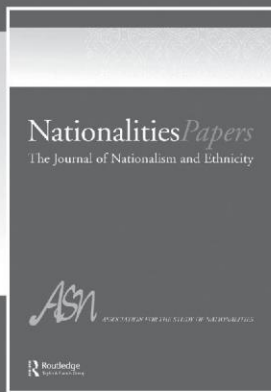
Grass-Root Level Perceptions on the Process of Reconciliation in the Multi-Ethnic
Municipalities in Macedonia



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