

May 28-31, 2024

**Faculty of International Relations, Political and Administrative Sciences
Moldova State University
Chişinău, Moldova**

CHALLENGES OF PLURAL SOCIETIES

IPSA Research Committees' Colloquium

**RC14 Politics & Ethnicity;
RC23 Elections, Citizens, and Parties; RC28 Comparative Federalism and Multilevel Governance;
RC50 The Politics of Language; RC53 Indigenous Politics; ECPR Standing Group "Identity"**

IPSA  **AISP**



**Faculty of International Relations, Political and Administrative Sciences,
Moldova State University**

**May 28-31, 2024
Chişinău, Moldova**

**Challenges of Plural Societies
IPSA Research Committees' Colloquium**

Organised by the RC14 Politics and Ethnicity

in Collaboration with
RC23 Elections, Citizens, and Parties,
RC28 Comparative Federalism and Multilevel Governance,
RC50 The Politics of Language,
RC53 Indigenous Politics, and the
ECPR Standing Group on Identity

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Welcome Notes

IPSA RC14 Politics and Ethnicity, together with RC23 Elections, Citizens and Parties, RC28 Comparative Federalism and Multilevel Governance, RC50 The Politics of Language, RC53 Indigenous Politics, and the ECPR Standing Group on Identity, is organising the latest edition of its now annual colloquium on the theme of 'Challenges of Plural Societies', in partnership with the Faculty of International Relations, Political and Administrative Sciences, Moldova State University, Chişinău, Moldova on 28-31 May 2024.

Recognised as an IPSA Research Committee in 1976, [Research Committee 14](#) focuses on the politics of ethnicity, construed broadly, both in terms of methodology and orientation, ranging from historical and deeply descriptive to more theoretical and empirically rigorous approaches. The work of our members touches upon such related themes as nationalism and nation-building; the formation and mobilisation of collective identities; cultural pluralism; irredentism; separatism; and the search for autonomy. It also covers questions of race, religion, language, immigration and citizenship – concerns that are reflected in the titles of RC colloquia which deal with specific topics, but may include both country-specific case studies as well as comparative analyses.

Building on the experience of past events in Nicosia (2017), Sarajevo (2019) and Belfast (2023), the colloquium brings together a number of IPSA research committees to examine in conversation with one another the challenges faced by ethnically plural societies in the context of challenging regional environments and increasing polarisation associated with 'culture wars' at the domestic and international levels.

We are delighted to have Prof. Zsuzsa Csergo (Queen's University, Canada) as our keynote speaker.

We are hopeful that the location of colloquium in Moldova will encourage participants to reflect on the experience and causes of setbacks in post-communist democratisation in the context of domestic dissent and separatism, regional challenges, and global trends redrawing perceptions about the limits of self-determination, as well as accommodation of autochthonous and indigenous communities.

The colloquium will be convened in Chişinău shortly after Moldova began negotiations about its EU accession, but also while hybrid threats affect the local and regional political dynamics, and there are heightened tensions in society as the presidential (October 2024) and parliamentary (2025) elections approach. Additionally, the political prospects of the presently isolated, autonomous region of Gagauzia remain unresolved, while the conflict in Ukraine and the EU accession process have potential to impact on the future settlement process of the protracted conflict in the Transnistrian region of Moldova.

The colloquium will include roundtables on challenges to stability and the quality of democracy in contemporary Moldova and on Moldova's European integration, and a wide range of panels on topics including pluralist societies in a populist world; challenges to statehood in the Western Balkans; populism and polarisation in Europe; culture wars in Latin America; indigeneity and political participation; and Eastern Europe's fragility during the war in Ukraine.

Our Hosts

Dear participants of this Colloquium,

We are pleased to host you in this forum on research of topics relevant for the development of contemporary societies. Under the general theme "Challenges of Plural Societies", your colloquium aims to address issues related to ethnic and other aspects of politically relevant identity. This is a real challenge for both researchers and practitioners. States that have chosen the democratic path are in essence pluralist societies facing mutually reinforcing challenges. It is a wonderful opportunity for participants to share their views and experiences, to identify, discuss and suggest solutions to existing problems in the format you have chosen in Chişinău.

Today the Republic of Moldova is going through a very important historical moment: the launching of negotiations for accession to the European Union. This represents a unique opportunity to deepen democratic processes, ensure the welfare and security of citizens. At the same time, in the closest neighbourhood of Moldova, the Russian Federation conducts a war to conquer new territories; this generates many, often contradictory, discussions in our society.

I wish all participants of this event inspiring debates and encounters of opinions which are duly considering a whole range of assessments, reflections on the past and proposals for the future. We hope that the materials of the colloquium will serve as theoretical and methodological support for all those interested. Good luck, dear colleagues!

Alexandru Solcan PhD,
Associate Professor,
Dean of the Faculty of International Relations, Political and Administrative Sciences
Moldova State University

Programme Overview

Note: Panels against coloured background are Online/against white – onsite

MAY 28 TUESDAY DAY 1	TRIP TO TRANSNISTRIA			
MAY 29 WEDNESDAY DAY 2	Stream A ONLINE Location: Sala Regina Maria	Stream B Location: Room 514	Stream C Location: Room 516	Stream D Location: Room 511
0830	Registration & Info Desk – Moldova State University, Faculty of Political and Administrative Sciences, Strada Alexei Mateevici 60, 2009 Chişinău Coffee breaks for onsite participants at this location			
0900 Moldova Time (CET+1hr)	Welcome Prof Igor Şarov, Moldova State University, Rector Prof Alexandru Solcan, Faculty of Political and Administrative Sciences, Dean Mr Timofey Agarin, Queen’s University Belfast, Colloquium convenor			
0915-1045	ROUNDTABLE ONSITE & ONLINE STABILITY AND QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY IN CONTEMPORARY MOLDOVA Mr Vasile Şova, Former Deputy Prime Minister of Moldova for Reintegration Ms Arina Kraijdan, Centre for Continuous Electoral Training Ms Natalia Djandjgava, Moldova State University Onsite in Sala Regina Maria			
1045-1100	Coffee will be available for onsite participants at this time (second floor)			
1100-1230 Session 1	PLURAL SOCIETIES IN A POPULIST WORLD	MOLDOVA’S CHALLENGES	CHALLENGES TO STATEHOOD IN THE WESTERN BALKANS	MANAGING ETHNIC DIVERSITY ACROSS POST-SOVIET SPACE [panel in Russian]
1230-1315	Lunch will be available for onsite participants at this time (second floor)			
1315-1445 Session 2	CONSOLIDATION OF CONSENSUS DEMOCRACIES	SYSTEMIC CONSTRAINTS IN POSTCONFLICT SETTINGS	MINORITIES AS ROMANIA’S GEOPOLITICAL CHALLENGE	
1445-1500	Coffee will be available for onsite participants at this time (second floor)			
1500-1630 Session 3	POPULISM, POLARIZATION, AND CULTURAL WAR IN BRAZIL-WORLD RELATIONS	DECISION-FINDING IN CONSENSUS DEMOCRACIES	CHALLENGES FOR DEMOCRATISATION IN THE POST-SOVIET SPACE	THE POLITICS OF THE PAST
1630-1645	Coffee will be available for onsite participants at this time (second floor)			
1645-1830 Session 4	PLENARY ONSITE AND ONLINE Prof Zsuzsa Csörgő, Queen’s University, Canada RESILIENT MINORITIES: DEMOCRATIC AGENCY UNDER STRUCTURAL DISADVANTAGE If you are onsite, you are welcome to join in Sala Regina Maria; will be also broadcast online			

MAY 30 THURS DAY 3	Stream A ONLINE Location: Sala Regina Maria	Stream B Location: Room 514	Stream C Location: Room 516
0830-0900	Check-in & Info Desk – Moldova State University, Faculty of Political and Administrative Sciences, Strada Alexei Mateevici 60, 2009 Chişinău Coffee breaks for onsite participants at this location		
0900-1030 Moldova Time (CET+1hr) Session 5	GROUP IDENTITY AND STATE CONSOLIDATION	THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AS GEOPOLITICAL FLASHPOINT?	CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL CHALLENGES IN MOLDOVA
1030-1045	Coffee will be available for onsite participants at this time (second floor)		
1045-1215 Session 6	ETHNOPOLITICAL POLARISATION IN POSTSOVIET SPACE	POSTCONFLICT DIVERSITY AND ACCOMMODATION	BOOK PANEL NEUTRALITY & SOVEREIGNTY: (Chisinau, 2024)
1215-1300	Lunch will be available for onsite participants at this time (second floor)		
1300-1430 Session 7	INDIGENEITY AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN LATIN AMERICA	REGION'S FRAGILITY DURING THE WAR IN UKRAINE	THE ACCOMMODATION OF DIVERSITY IN CENTRIFUGAL SOCIETIES
1430-1445	Coffee will be available for onsite participants at this time (second floor)		
1445-1615 Session 8	ELITES AND NARRATIVES	FROM ANTAGONISM TO AGONISM: DIALOGUE AND PEACEBUILDING WITHIN UKRAINE, MOLDOVA AND SOUTH CAUCASUS	CHALLENGES OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT
1615-1630	Coffee will be available for onsite participants at this time (second floor)		
1630-1800 Session 9	ROUNDTABLE ONSITE ONLY CHALLENGES OF MOLDOVA'S EUROPEAN INTEGRATION Mr Jānis Mažeiks, <i>Head of the EU Delegation</i> TBC, <i>UN Human Rights office in Moldova</i> Prof Stefan Wolff, <i>University of Birmingham, UK</i> Onsite in Sala Regina Maria		
From 1930	Conference dinner RESTORANT TAIFAS Strada Bucureşti 67, Chişinău, Republik Moldau		
MAY 31 FRIDAY DAY 4	TRIP TO GAGAUZIA		

Zoom Links for Online Sessions

Roundtable: STABILITY AND QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY IN CONTEMPORARY MOLDOVA

29 May 2024 09:30 Bucharest

<https://us04web.zoom.us/j/71112064837?pwd=jpid365MENWjiv6sXeVbWgZZzaPxMP.1>

Meeting-ID: 711 1206 4837

Passcode: 740678

Panel: PLURAL SOCIETIES IN A POPULIST WORLD

29 May 2024 11:00 Bucharest

<https://us04web.zoom.us/j/73389178952?pwd=4WpC5UQD8CNYJaDLONaoTri7SUsd4B.1>

Meeting-ID: 733 8917 8952

Passcode: 255043

Panel: CONSOLIDATION OF CONSENSUS DEMOCRACIES

29 May 2024 13:00 Bucharest

<https://us04web.zoom.us/j/75555770427?pwd=UWpm9ILKH4szyvzmrdVRiQQBf1DpGx.1>

Meeting-ID: 755 5577 0427

Passcode: 367952

Panel: POPULISM, POLARIZATION, AND CULTURAL WAR IN BRAZIL-WORLD RELATIONS

29 May 2024 15:00 Bucharest

<https://us04web.zoom.us/j/71907717870?pwd=Luxo29vSPRo5ZTrpoDXtPzyfv3ctP8.1>

Meeting-ID: 719 0771 7870

Passcode: 029138

Plenary: RESILIENT MINORITIES: DEMOCRATIC AGENCY UNDER STRUCTURAL DISADVANTAGE

Prof Zsuzsa Csergő, Queen's University, Canada

29 Mai 2024 16:30 Bucharest

To join the Plenary online, you will need to register at the link below in advance; access details will be made available after this registration.

<https://us06web.zoom.us/meeting/register/tZ0qduuqqjopHtaW7MVvBTszgGT0FOZhcM3P>

Panel: GROUP IDENTITY AND STATE CONSOLIDATION

30 May 2024 09:00 Bucharest

<https://us06web.zoom.us/j/84091533430?pwd=G2YYevmuNa1r61DmabYrbPsvyY4HaM.1>

Meeting-ID: 840 9153 3430

Passcode: 771605

Panel: ETHNOPOLITICAL POLARISATION IN POSTSOVIET SPACE

30 May 2024 10:30 Bucharest

<https://us06web.zoom.us/j/88125846681?pwd=EjPmCoJMXOI5nviVBeOQzKUCiaspTG.1>

Meeting-ID: 881 2584 6681

Passcode: 257514

Panel: INDIGENEITY AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN LATIN AMERICA

30 May 2024 13:00 Bucharest

<https://us06web.zoom.us/j/86713545215?pwd=YZVX1EsQcdZvl3tfb46guD562DHoDm.1>

Meeting-ID: 867 1354 5215

Passcode: 043806

Panel: ELITES AND NARRATIVES

30 May 2024 14:30 Bucharest

<https://us06web.zoom.us/j/89293398510?pwd=qBiBQNYXysCytaCtUuNvz33oce7mDR.1>

Meeting-ID: 892 9339 8510

Passcode: 155380

Roundtable - CHALLENGES OF MOLDOVA'S EUROPEAN INTEGRATION,

30 May 2024 16:30 Bucharest

To join the Roundtable online, you will need to register at the link below in advance; access details will be made available after this registration.

<https://us06web.zoom.us/meeting/register/tZlude2spz0sHdyqdNJuYaYsGXEyfvHkqg9KS>

Detailed Programme

DAY 1 – MAY 28 TUESDAY

TRIP TO TRANSNISTRIA - PRE-RESERVATION ONLY

Please take your passport/travel document along as we will be crossing the border

09:15 DEPART FROM THE UNIVERSITY MAIN BUILDING

19:15 RETURN

19:30 PRE-CONFERENCE DRINKS AT GASTROBAR, STRADA ALEXANDRU BERNARDAZZI 66, CHIȘINĂU

DAY 2 – MAY 29 WEDNESDAY

0830- Registration & Info Desk

Coffee breaks for onsite participants on the second floor of the building

Moldova State University, Faculty of Political and Administrative Sciences, **Strada Alexei Mateevici 60, 2009 Chișinău**

0900 Welcome by the hosts

Prof Igor Șarov, *Moldova State University*, Rector

Prof Alexandru Solcan, Faculty of Political and Administrative Sciences, *Moldova State University*, Dean

Mr Timofey Agarin, *Queen's University Belfast*, Colloquium Convenor

0915-1045 Roundtable onsite & online

STABILITY AND QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY IN CONTEMPORARY MOLDOVA

Chair: Mr Timofey Agarin, *Queen's University Belfast*

Participants:

Mr Vasile Șova, *Former Deputy Prime Minister of Moldova for Reintegration* (Transnistrian settlement process)

Ms Arina Kraijdan, *Centre for Continuous Electoral Training*

Ms Natalia Djangjgava, *Moldova State University*

1100-1230 Session 1

Stream A Online & Onsite in: Sala Regina Maria

PLURAL SOCIETIES IN A POPULIST WORLD

Chair: Ms Sydney Holt, *Queen's University Belfast*

Discussant: Ms Sheetal Sheena Sookrajowa, *University of Mauritius*

Can multiculturalism help protect Canada from rising populism?

Ms Kaylee Brink, *Victoria University of Wellington* [CET+12]

Science-based policy, as long as it's not equity science

Mr Andrew Sporle, *iNZight Analytics Ltd; The University of Auckland*

Māori data sovereignty and voter enrolment data in Aotearoa New Zealand: A pathway to increase Māori voter turnout?

Ms Lara Greaves, *Victoria University of Wellington* [CET+12]

From religion to ethnonationalism - Civil society-based prevention programming in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Ms Laura Welty, *The Australian National University* [CET +9]

Stream B Location: Room 514

MOLDOVA'S CHALLENGES

Chair: Mr Tamás Kiss, *Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities*

Discussant: Mr Marko Lehti, *Tampere University*

Languages of regional autonomy

Ms Elise Pizzi & Alex Bezahler, *University of Iowa*

Subnational autocratization and ethnic polarization – Evidence from Gagauzia

Mr Felix Schulte & Ms Elena Cuijuclu, *ECMI Flensburg*

Memory of the Soviet period in Moldova: How the social trauma and contemporary politics influence the past

Ms Anna Vichkitova, *Harvard University*

Nationalizing policy in practice: Transnistrian street-level bureaucrats performing nationhood

Mr Stefan Morar, *University of Montreal*

Stream C Location: Room 516

CHALLENGES TO STATEHOOD IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

Chair: Mr Laurence Cooley, *University of Birmingham*

Discussant: Mr Roberto Belloni, *University of Bologna*

Populism and the quest for secession: Exploring individual preferences in Republika Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Mr Semir Dzebo, *Central European University*

The role of the Serbian Party for the Future of Montenegro (NOVA) in shaping Serbian-Montenegrin relations after the 2023 parliamentary elections in Montenegro

Ms Mirella Korzeniewska-Wiszniewska, *Jagiellonian University*

Creation of civil society organisations in divided society during the various stages of conflict. Case study of Kosovo

Ms Paulina Szlag, *University of the National Education Commission, Krakow, Poland*

Stream D Location: Room 511 [panel in Russian]

Managing Ethnic Diversity across post-Soviet space

Chair: Ms Natalia Djandjgava

Discussant: Ms Elena Cuijuclu

Features of the representation of the titular ethnic group and ethnic minorities at the local elected level in the southern region of Kazakhstan

Mr Mukhtarbek Shaikemelev, *Institute for Philosophy, Political Science and Religious Studies*

Changes in the language behaviour and language attitude of Ukrainians after February 24 2022

Ms Tetiana Kuznietsova, *Borys Grinchenko University Kyiv*

Исследование мечты и восприятия времени у молодёжи: кросс-культурный аспект

Ms Irina Caunenکو, *Free International University of Moldova*

1230-1315 Lunch will be available for onsite participants at this time (second floor of the building)

1315-1445 Session 2

Stream A Online & Onsite in: Sala Regina Maria

CONSOLIDATION OF CONSENSUS DEMOCRACIES

Chair: Mr Laurence Cooley, *University of Birmingham*

Discussant: Ms Aleksandra Zdeb, *University of the National Education Commission, Krakow*

Consociational challengers: A typology

Mr Matthijs Bogaards, *Central European University* [CET]

Associational power-sharing: Concepts, cases, and performance

Mr Alexandre Raffoul, *Uppsala University* [CET]

Why and how do Lebanese elites look for external conflict to reinforce intersect stability

Mr Tarek Abou Jaoude, *Queen's University Belfast* [CET-1]

Minority representation via multi-ethnic parties: From the “Malaise Creole” to the Truth and Justice Commission in Mauritius

Mr Alexandre Raffoul, *Uppsala University* and Ms Sheetal Sheena Sookrajowa, *University of Mauritius* [CET +3]

Stream B Location: Room 514

SYSTEMIC CONSTRAINTS IN POSTCONFLICT SETTINGS

Chair: Ms Elisabeth Alber

Discussant: TBC

Center-periphery-deep periphery cleavage in Turkey’s 2023 elections

Ms Oxana Kharitonova, *MGIMO University*

Iraq: Navigating into multifaceted struggles and postcolonial calamities

Mr Samer Alnasir, *UNED/ Spain*

Escalation periods in ethnic conflicts: Trigger events and collective emotions

Mr Felix Schulte, *ECMI*

The religious influence in the institutional development of the welfare state in the Nordic countries, the case of Finland

Mr David Bruna, *Universtiy of Hamburg*

Stream C Location: Room 516

MINORITIES AS ROMANIA’S GEOPOLITICAL CHALLENGE

Chair: Ms Anna Vichkitova, *Harvard University*

Discussant: Mr Daniel Bochsler, *Central European University & University of Belgrade*

Essentialist developmentalism and fear of the Great Replacement as reverse (non-white) settler colonization in Transylvania

Mr Tamás Kiss, *Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities* AND Mr Luis Escobedo, *University of the Free State*

In Orbán we trust? Transylvanian Hungarians between two modernization pathways

Mr Tibor Toro, *Sapientia University*

Epistemic injustice in Romania’s immigration debate: The weaponization of collective memory through film representation

Mr Luis Escobedo, *University of the Free State*, AND Mr Tamás Kiss, *Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities*

1500-1630 Session 3

Stream A Online & Onsite in: Sala Regina Maria

POPULISM, POLARIZATION, AND CULTURAL WAR IN BRAZIL-WORLD RELATIONS [CET -6]

Chair: Robson Cunha Rael, *University of Brasilia (UnB)*

Discussant: Mr Cassius Chai, *Federal University of Maranhao and Vitoria School of Law*

Bolsonaro and Lula’s foreign affairs and cultural discourse surrounding the globalism versus globalization dichotomy

Ms Isabela Rocha, *Universidade de Brasília (IPOL-UnB)* and

Joscimar Souza Silva, *Universidade de Brasília (IPOL-UnB)*

Culture wars beyond borders: Understanding international influences on Brazilian conspiracy theory communities

Ergon Cugler, *Fundação Getulio Vargas (FGV)*

Germany and Brazil mediator role through the Russian-Ukrainian conflict

Robson Cunha Rael, *Universidade de Brasília (IREL-UnB)*

Exploring aversion: Far-right leaders and indigenous peoples in Brazil - A discourse analysis of Jair Bolsonaro's impact on human security and foreign policy

Luis Eduardo Mota Varela, *Universidade de Brasília (IPOL-UnB)* and Lauro Henrique Gomes Accioly Filho, *Universidade da Paraíba (UEPB)*

Stream B Location: Room 514

DECISION-FINDING IN CONSENSUS DEMOCRACIES

Chair: Mr Roberto Belloni, University of Bologna

Discussant: Mr Matthijs Bogaards, CEU

Executive decision making in sub-national consociations

Mr Henry Jarrett, *University of Exeter*

Delusions of liberal consociationalism? Searching for answers in the Western Balkans

Ms Aleksandra Zdeb, *University of the National Education Commission, Krakow*

Different shades of green: Agenda setting in Northern Ireland's Lough Neagh crisis

Mr Laurence Cooley *University of Birmingham* and Mr Timofey Agarin, *Queen's University Belfast*

Stream C Location: Room 516

CHALLENGES FOR DEMOCRATISATION IN THE POST-SOVIET SPACE

Chair: Mr Samer Alhasir, *UNED/ Spain*

Discussant: Ms Anastasiia Dehterenko, *Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine*

Democratic transition in Central and Eastern Europe as a threat to Russia's security: An analysis of the evolution of Russian strategic documents and public discourse after 2007

Mr Marcin Skladanowski, *The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin*

Cultural wars in Eastern Europe or the art of never winning

Mr Marius Vacarelu, *National School of Political and Administrative Studies, Bucharest, Romania*

The political situation in the South Caucasus after the takeover of Nagorno-Karabakh by Azerbaijan

Ms Elena Onu, *National School of Political and Administrative Studies/ SNSPA – Romania*

Concept of "de facto state" and the impact of Russia-Ukraine War on the future status of Abkhazia

Mr George Goradze, *Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani University, Tbilisi, Georgia*

Stream D Location: Room 511

THE POLITICS OF THE PAST

Chair: Mr Attila Nagy

Discussant: TBC

When war memories fail to unite the nation: The evolution of postwar Taiwan society

Ms Atsuko Ichijo, *Kingston University, London*

The comradeship narratives disappeared: The identity politics between China and Hungary

Mr Jiawei Tang and Mr Fei Vincent Mo, *Central European University*

Textbook analysis of Confucius Institutes in Austria and Hungary from the perspective of strategic narratives

Mr Fei Vincent Mo, *Central European University*

Multiculturalism and geographical aggregations: New structurations

Mr Orazio Maria Gnerre, *University of Perugia*

1645-1830 Session 4 PLENARY ONSITE AND ONLINE

Stream A ONLINE & Onsite in: Sala Regina Maria

Prof Zsuzsa Csergő, Queen's University Kingston

Resilient Minorities: Democratic Agency under Structural Disadvantage

Chair: Timofey Agarin, Queen's University Belfast

If you are onsite, you are welcome to join in the **Sala Regina Maria**, will be also broadcast online (requires pre-registration).

DAY 3 – MAY 30 THURSDAY

0900-1030 Session 5

Stream A Online & Onsite in: Sala Regina Maria Stream B

GROUP IDENTITY AND STATE CONSOLIDATION

Chair: Ms Sheetal Sheena Sookrajowa, *University of Mauritius*

Discussant:

We against them: Ethnic identity and conflicts in the Sahel

Mr Tope Akinyetun, *Lagos State University of Education*

When foreign cultural populism impinges on domestic linguistic affairs: The case of West-Flemish in France

Mr Christian-Pierre Ghillebaert, *Université de Lille*

Institutionalized post-conflict: Political legitimacy and integration challenges in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Northern Macedonia, and Kosovo

Mr Stefan Surlic, *University of Belgrade*

Challenges of plural society: A case study of India—World's largest democracy

Mr Bipin Kumar Thakur, *University of Delhi [CET +4.5]*

Stream B Location: Room 514

THE SOUTH CAUCASUS AS GEOPOLITICAL FLASHPOINT?

Chair: Ms Elizabeth Craig

Discussant: Mr Stefan Wolff, *University of Birmingham, UK*

Unfrozen conflicts. The shadow of Russia's wars of aggression on South-East Europe and the South Caucasus

Mr Daniel Bochsler, *Central European University & University of Belgrade*

The geopolitics of Europe's protracted conflicts: Contested territories, contested orders

Mr Nicholas Barker, *University of Birmingham*

"Muscular mediation" in Nagorno-Karabakh

Mr Alan Kuperman, *University of Texas at Austin*

Stream C Location: Room 516

CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL CHALLENGES IN MOLDOVA

Chair: Mr George Goradze, *Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani University, Tbilisi, Georgia*

Discussant: Mr Tamás Kiss, *Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities*

What is identity? Reflections on the Moldovan/Bessarabian identity(ies) between 1812 and the present day

Ms Valeria Chelaru, *Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca*

The security policy of the Republic of Moldova in the context of European integration

Ms Diana Hirbu, *State University of Moldova* AND Mr Marcel Benchechi, *State University of Moldova*

Human security priorities in new candidate states through the lens of the EU enlargement perspective

Mr Serghei Sprincean, *State University of Moldova*

1045-1215 Session 6

Stream A Online & Onsite in: Sala Regina Maria Stream B

ETHNOPOLITICAL POLARISATION IN POSTSOVIET SPACE

Chair: Mr Christian-Pierre Ghillebaert, *Université de Lille*

Discussant: Ms Anastasiia Dehterenko

Ukraine: Preventing affective polarization in a country at war

Ms Natalia Kononenko, *Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine [CET +1]*

The human security dimension in the context of the war in Ukraine: Between vulnerabilities and resilience

Ms Ruslana GROSU, *Armed Forces Military Academy "Alexandru cel Bun" [CET+1]*

The impact of the Russian-Ukrainian war in the Eastern Balkans: The cases of Romania, Bulgaria, and Moldova

Mr Paolo Pizzolo, *Jagiellonian University of Krakow [Online]*

Stream B Location: Room 514

POSTCONFLICT DIVERSITY AND ACCOMMODATION

Chair: Ms Elise Pizzi

Discussant: Mr Nicholas Barker

Post-coup federal design in Myanmar

Mr Michael Breen, *University of Melbourne*

Post-conflict peace agreements in ethnically plural societies

Mr Attila Nagy, *University in Jena*

Post-conflict state-building in the Middle East: A case of Turkoman minorities in Iraq and Syria

Ms Irina Kudryashova, *Moscow State Institute of International Relations (university)*

Stream C Location: Room 516

BOOK PANEL - NEUTRALITY & SOVEREIGNTY: (Chisinau, 2024)

Mr Nicolai Țveatcov (Research Professor), and Mr Anatoli Tcaci *Moldova State University*

Discussants:

Ms Inna Șupac, *Expert, Institute for Strategic Initiatives (IPIS)*

Mr Ion Tabîrța, *Director of Information and Documentation Centre on NATO from Moldova*

Mr Stefan Wolff, *University of Birmingham, UK*

1215-1300 Lunch will be available for onsite participants at this time (second floor of the building)

1300-1430 Session 7

Stream A Online & Onsite in: Sala Regina Maria Stream B

INDIGENEITY AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN LATIN AMERICA

Chair: Ms Isabela Rocha, *Universidade de Brasília (IPOL-UnB)*

Discussant:

Lip service or recommitment? An analysis of three forms of Tribal consultation

Mr Dani Delaney, *Queen's University*

Territorializing bodies, health and development narratives: Meetings with communities in Baixo

Tapajós affected by infrastructure projects

Mr Matheus Silveira, *Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro*

An analysis of the influence of social inequality and cultural diversity on democratic participation and representation in Brazil

Mr Cassius Chai, *Federal University of Maranhao and Vitoria School of Law [CET-4]*

Stream B Location: Room 514

REGION'S FRAGILITY DURING THE WAR IN UKRAINE

Chair: Mr Stefan Wolff, *University of Birmingham, UK*

Discussant:

How are discourses of Russian nationalism(s) being mobilized in the wake of the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022?

Mr Jack Cathcart, *University of Bristol*

Geopolitics and the end of Russian-language education in Estonia and Latvia

Mr Vello Pettai, *European Centre for Minority Issues*

Language policies and insecurities in Ukraine

Mr Andrea Carlà, *Eurac Research - Institute for Minority Rights* AND Mr Sergiu Constantin, *Eurac Research - Institute for Minority Rights*

Ethnopolitical aspect of the activities carried out by the territorial communities of Ukrainian Northern Pryazov'ye: Migration and ethnopolitical management

Ms Anastasiia Dehterenko, *Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine*

Stream C Location: Room 516

THE ACCOMMODATION OF DIVERSITY IN CENTRIFUGAL SOCIETIES

Chair: Mr Timofey Agarin, *Queen's University Belfast*

Discussant: Mr Laurence Cooley, *University of Birmingham*

Marching backwards? The Orange Order, culture wars and the peace process in Northern Ireland

Mr Roberto Belloni, *University of Bologna*

What role for minority rights in a polarised world? Lessons from Northern Ireland, North Macedonia and Ukraine

Ms Elizabeth Craig, *University of Sussex*

Social construct? An exploration of identity as a tool of policy

Ms Sydney Holt, *Queen's University Belfast*

1445-1615 Session 8

Stream A Online & Onsite in: Sala Regina Maria Stream B

ELITES AND NARRATIVES

Chair: Mr Henry Jarrett, *University of Exeter*

Discussant: Mr Alexandre Raffoul, Uppsala University

The existence of a civic tribune within systems of power-sharing: The implications of intra-bloc contestation between Northern Irish political parties who identify as neither Nationalist nor Unionist

Mr Rowan Fitton, *Independent scholar* [CET-1]

The spirit of accommodation under threat? A longitudinal analysis of Belgian MPs' interactions in parliamentary speeches (1962-2023)

Mr Ward Peeters, *University of Ghent* [CET]

Reporting from a citizens' assembly in an unlikely place: Few answers, more questions

Ms Ann-Mireille Sautter, *UC Louvain & KU Leuven* [CET]

Responding to Russian strategic narratives and disinformation in North-East Europe: The Republic of Moldova and Latvia, 2021-2024

Mr Juris Pupcenoks & Ms Izabella Bolczak, *Marist College* [CET -6]

Stream B Location: Room 514

FROM ANTAGONISM TO AGONISM: ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO DIALOGUE AND PEACEBUILDING WITHIN UKRAINE, MOLDOVA AND SOUTH CAUCASUS

Chair: Mr Marko Lehti, *Tampere University*

Discussant: Ms Tetiana Kalenychenko, *Sankt Ignatios College (Sweden)*

Sustaining agonistic peace in time of the inter-state war: Ukrainian community of dialogue practitioners as inside mediators

Mr Denys Brylov, *National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine*

Ms Tetiana Kalenychenko, *Sankt Ignatios College (Sweden)* and Mr Marko Lehti, *Tampere University*

Cross-regional dialogue in the framework of hybrid peace

Ms Tanja Tamminen, *University of Turku*

Empowering local agency in practices of dialogue and mediation: A case study of Gagauzia autonomy in Moldova

Ms Natalia Djandjgava *Moldova State University*

Stream C Location: Room 516

CHALLENGES OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Chair: Ms Irina Caunenکو

Discussant: Mr Mukhtarbek Shaikemelev

Interaction between political PR and political agenda-setting from the perspective of the presidential elections in the Republic of Moldova

Ms Aurelia Preu-Balan, *State University of Moldova*

Main political conflicts and trends of development in the post-Soviet area: Current state and perspectives

Ms Mariana Iatco, *Moldova State University*

Gender and national minorities issues in governmental politics and political parties programmes in Moldova

Ms Arina Kraijdan, *Centre for Continuous Electoral Training, Republic of Moldova*

The role of UN human rights protection mechanisms in building gender-inclusive societies: Experience of Moldova and Armenia

Ms Iuliana Abramova, *University of European Studies of Moldova*

1630-1800 Session 9

**ROUNDTABLE ONSITE ONLY – Sala Regina Maria, 137 Main building
CHALLENGES OF MOLDOVA’S EUROPEAN INTEGRATION**

Chair: Timofey Agarin

Participants:

Ms Cristina Gherasimov, *Deputy Minister for European Integration, Republic of Moldova*

Mr Jānis Mažeiks, *Head of the EU Delegation*

Prof Stefan Wolff, *University of Birmingham, UK*

From 1930 CONFERENCE DINNER

RESTORANT TAIFAS, STRADA BUCUREȘTI 67, CHIȘINĂU

DAY 4 – MAY 31 FRIDAY

DAY 4 TRIP TO GAGAUZIA

0830 DEPARTURE FROM THE UNIVERSITY MAIN BUILDING

1515 DEPARTURE FOR THE AIRPORT (ARRIVAL AIRPORT 1645)

1830 DEPARTURE FROM COMRAT FOR CHISINAU (ARRIVAL 2030)

Paper Abstracts

SESSION 1

Can multiculturalism help protect Canada from rising populism?

Ms Kaylee Brink, *Victoria University of Wellington*, kaylee.brink@vuw.ac.nz

Canada is often a country praised for its multiculturalism and outward appearance of progressivism. One may think that these attributes would make Canada immune to populism, or at least less susceptible compared to other 'western' democracies and particularly its southern neighbor. This is not the case, especially since Canada's official multiculturalism policies better reflect the values of liberal multiculturalism over critical multiculturalism. However, a question that has not been explored in great depth in the Canadian context is the potential relationship between belief in classically populist positions and what I call 'quintessential Canadian values.' Using the 2021 Canadian Election Study's post-election survey, this study seeks to examine and interrogate possible interactions between populist ideals, views towards minorities, 'what makes someone Canadian,' and support for bilingualism.

Science-based policy, as long as it's not equity science

Mr Andrew Sporle, *iNZight Analytics Ltd; The University of Auckland*, andrew@inzight.co.nz

New Zealand's policy response to the Covid pandemic was lauded as one of the most successful in the world in minimising illness and death. The government declared that they would be led by the science and followed 'the best available science and health advice'. To a large extent that was true, with both politicians and scientists even sharing public media platforms informing the public. The pandemic has had a marked disproportionate impact on the indigenous Māori population and ethnic minorities, with rates of infection, hospitalisation and death. This was predicted - every epidemiological study provided to the Ministry of Health prior to the outbreak highlighted potential impact on Māori and ethnic minorities, emphasising the need for an equity focused response prioritising those most at risk of the disease. But it didn't happen. The government did not commission equity-focused outcome modelling, and still failed to respond when the inequitable outcomes eventuated. The government's own Covid vaccination modelling highlighted that prioritising the Māori and Pacific ethnic populations would achieve the best vaccination coverage for the country. But it didn't happen. Despite the science, the policy process selected the acceptable science and distanced indigenous voice from the policy decision process.

Māori data sovereignty and voter enrolment data in Aotearoa New Zealand: A pathway to increase Maori voter turnout?

Ms Lara Greaves, *Victoria University of Wellington*, lara.greaves@vuw.ac.nz

Data are collected about Indigenous people by the state in many different routine processes. Elections and enrolling to vote are examples of routine processes in Aotearoa New Zealand that involve Māori data. Voting is one of the few political activities that Māori engage in at lower rates than the rest of the population of Aotearoa. There is interest in increasing Māori turnout rates: community-led initiatives have been cited as a solution. It is compulsory for those who are eligible to enrol to vote, and their enrolment and voter turnout data is collected and stored by the national Electoral Commission. Political parties have access to this data in order to contact constituents and potential voters, and sometimes to motivate voter turnout, but what would it take to put this data in the hands of Māori communities, hapū, and iwi (kinship groups)? Data access could provide opportunities for Māori-led interventions to boost enrolment, turnout, or roll choice drives (Māori are able to choose between a Māori or General electoral roll), either for specific hapū and iwi, or for a specific region, but how could this be achieved? This paper presents the results of a scoping exercise around the access barriers to state-held electoral data by Māori communities, covering data access issues, capacity and capability, privacy and consent, security, and Māori data sovereignty issues.

From religion to ethnonationalism - Civil society-based prevention programming in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Ms Laura Welty, *The Australian National University*, laura.welty@anu.edu.au

Civil society is integral in maintaining long-term prevention, disengagement and deradicalisation. Literature on disengagement and deradicalisation emphasises the necessity of personal relationships and community involvement in long-term success (Dalgaard-Nielson, 2013; Ebaugh, 1988; Rabasa et al., 2010; Windisch et al., 2016). Social Identity Theory explains how an individual's sense of self is defined based on group membership(s) (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Group members will seek to find negative characteristics about 'other' groups to bolster their own group's self-image, which inevitably leads to the discrimination of 'other' groups. This theory applies to radicalisation in the galvanisation of self-identity and the fear of an outside 'other' as a platform for mobilising individuals, communities, countries, and even global regions. The importance of group membership has been proven in the prevention and deradicalisation programming for Salafist extremism in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Can the culturally contextual and effective methods against religious radicalisation transfer to right-wing ethnonationalism prevention and deradicalisation programming in Bosnia? This paper employs an interpretive framework and draws on key aspects of political anthropology and political ethnography. This approach justifies using interview data to provide a 'from within' analysis of radicalisation in counter-radicalisation in Bosnia, inclusive of local perspectives. Firstly, it outlines the essential elements of Bosnian counter-radicalisation programmes, emphasising community-based civil society solutions that incorporate critical thinking skills and interfaith dialogue. The overview includes a comprehensive account of the lived experience of one radicalised Salafi turned civil society actor, a review of civil society's role in countering radicalisation in Bosnia, and an evaluation of civil society-based programmes. Second, content on religious extremism will be compared to the literature on ethnonationalist radicalisation and an assessment of current Bosnian programming. Finally, conclusions will be drawn on what effective methods from prevention and deradicalisation programming for religious radicalisation can combat right-wing ethnonationalism in Bosnia.

Languages of regional autonomy

Ms Elise Pizzi & Alex Bezahler, *University of Iowa*, elise-pizzi@uiowa.edu, alex-bezahler@uiowa.edu

What language policies do ethnic autonomous regions adopt? Language rights for official and educational purposes often shape demands for greater ethnic group control and influence in regional governments. Regional autonomy in the form of self-rule, shared-rule, or expanded regional authority provides opportunities to protect ethnic or cultural differences and promote the use of languages distinct from the national rules. At the same time, autonomous regions are not fully independent or isolated from the central governments, and regional populations are not necessarily all members of the titular ethnic group or speak a shared language. The need to balance the preservation of identity practices sometimes conflicts with the need to learn and use the official national language or a lingua franca. To examine variation in policy choices, we examine official language recognition and the policies related to education, including both language of instruction and language classes, among 55 ethnic autonomous units in Europe and former Soviet countries. We find that languages are officially recognized when a large proportion of the regional population uses the ethnic language or when non-ethnic languages are dominant in the autonomous region but the language of the titular ethnic group is an important marker of identity.

Subnational autocratization and ethnic polarization – Evidence from Gagauzia

Mr Felix Schulte & Ms Elena Cuijuclu, *ECMI Flensburg*, schulte@ecmi.de, elenacuijuclu@gmail.com

Autocratization has been an unfortunate trend in several democratic and authoritarian systems in recent years. Still largely unexplored is, however, if this observation holds on the sub-national level as well, in regions that enjoy a substantial amount of territorial self-governance. Moreover, fairly unsettled is the question of what drives autocratization dynamics and which role ethnic polarization between identity groups plays in this context. To address these gaps, we employ a mixed-methods research approach. Our regression analyses, drawing from a novel dataset covering 70 self-governing regions across 25 electoral autocracies and democracies, indicate that legally hedged executive power in the liberal sense, in combination with a public arena where political positions can and are expressed, prevail in subnational regions where mistrust between relevant outgroups is low. A case study of recent developments in Gagauzia provides further evidence for our argument.

Memory of the Soviet period in Moldova: How the social trauma and contemporary politics influence the past

Ms Anna Vichkitova, *Harvard University*, annavichkitova@g.harvard.edu

This paper explores the influence of social trauma and contemporary politics on the memory of the Soviet period in Moldova. It is based on over 60 interviews conducted in 2023. The research frames its analysis within Jeffrey Alexander and Piotr Sztompka's theories of cultural/social trauma, showing how the collapse of the Soviet Union led to societal challenges and a sense of social trauma in Moldova. Contemporary political contexts further complicate the memory of the Soviet era. The rhetoric of the USSR remains relevant in political discourse, shaping how individuals perceive and remember this period. Thus, the memory of the Soviet era in Moldova is deeply intertwined with social trauma and contemporary politics, leading to complex and multifaceted memories.

Nationalizing policy in practice: Transnistrian street-level bureaucrats performing nationhood

Mr Stefan Morar, *University of Montreal*

This study introduces the role of public servants as a major aspect in studying nation-building. It analyzes the nationalizing dynamics within the Transnistrian public sector. Given its ethnic heterogeneity, the political elite opted for a civic project to serve as basis for legitimizing the de facto state, and the new Transnistrian supra-ethnic identity category. Officially, Transnistria is a multinational state where Moldovans, Ukrainians, and Russians are treated equally. However, state policies become exclusive with regards to Moldovans, making Russians appear to be the first among equals. How can we explain this gap between nation-building policies and practices in Transnistria? Nationalism studies have been traditionally approached from a top-down perspective which followed the macro-structural and elite-driven projects of nation-building. A newer school of thought proposes a micro-level bottom-up understanding of nationalism. Because of the levels of analysis they employ, these two approaches are not yet able to account for the meso level role of bureaucracies in nation-building. Building on extensive data collected from Transnistrian bureaucracy between 2019 and 2022, this study shows that public servants' nationalizing practices create discrepancies between nation-building policy and its implementation.

Populism and the quest for secession: Exploring individual preferences in Republika Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Mr Semir Dzebo, *Central European University*, dzebo_semir@phd.ceu.edu

This paper explores the relationship between populist attitudes and preferences for secession focusing on the case study of Republika Srpska in Bosnia and Herzegovina and using an original survey (n=1000) to unravel the individual-level determinants behind secessionist preferences. Amidst global trends of rising nationalism and populism, this paper critically examines the extent to which populism, as attributed to politicians like Milorad Dodik, the leader of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, aligns with or diverges from other influential factors, such as ethnic identity or economic concerns, in shaping secessionist sentiments. This study combines insights from the literature on theories of secession in political philosophy, conflict studies, international relations, and political psychology to develop a comprehensive nine-factor model of determinants behind support for secession, and then examines their explanatory power by comparing them against two validated measures of populist attitudes. This study's findings contribute to a nuanced understanding of the complexities inherent in managing plural societies and fostering democratic stability, highlighting the interplay between populist rhetoric and secessionist movements within the broader context of ethnic and political cleavages.

The role of the Serbian Party for the Future of Montenegro (NOVA) in shaping Serbian-Montenegrin relations after the 2023 parliamentary elections in Montenegro

Ms Mirella Korzeniewska-Wiszniewska, *Jagiellonian University*, m.korzeniewska-wiszniewska@uj.edu

In 2023, early parliamentary elections took place in Montenegro, which brought the end of the over 3-decade era of Milo Djukanovic's rule. The government was taken over by the existing opposition parties, none of which had a majority. The nine groups in parliament include, among others: Serbian Party for the Future of Montenegro, operating since 2009 under the name of New Serbian Democracy (NOVA), headed by Andrija Mandić. The party obtained third place in the elections, and Mandić himself became the speaker of parliament. NOVA declares itself to be a liberal center-right party. In its programs, it proposed changing the constitution of Montenegro towards minorities, but its goal was to strive to equalize the national status of Montenegrins and Serbs by granting the latter the status of a constitutional nation. It also advocated the proportional participation of minorities in public life as well as cultural and educational autonomy. However, the group emphasized primarily the need for political and economic cooperation with Serbia,

with which Montenegro had natural ties, common historical experiences and personal, family and professional ties.

The article will attempt to look at the impact of the results of the parliamentary elections in Montenegro on Serbian-Montenegrin relations.

Creation of civil society organisations in divided society during the various stages of conflict. Case study of Kosovo

Ms Paulina Szelaq, *University of the National Education Commission, Krakow, Poland*, paulina.szelaq@up.krakow.pl

The aim of the following paper is to analyse which subjects of international relations have been engaged in building civil society organisations in Kosovo in various stages of conflict such as: latent conflict, perceived conflict, felt conflict, manifest conflict and conflict aftermath. It shows that during the various stages of conflict in Kosovo different local and foreign institutions and organisations were engaged in the process of creating of civil society organisations. A special attention is paid to the role of those subjects of international relations, which have had the greatest influence in building civil society organisations in Kosovo since the late 80's. In addition the causes and outcomes of these particular involvement are presented. The paper consists of definition of civil society organisations and their role in state building and nation building in deeply divided society. As a result the paper presents the actions, which have been taken by them in Kosovo for more than 30 years. The author sheds also some light on qualitative and quantitative changes in civil society organisations, which have been erected in Kosovo in the last several years.

Features of the representation of the titular ethnic group and ethnic minorities at the local elected level in the southern region of Kazakhstan

Mr Mukhtarbek Shaikemelev, *Institute for Philosophy, Political Science and Religious Studies*, mukash2424@gmail.com

In modern conditions when Kazakhs have become the majority, a significant part of the new generation consisting mostly of rural Kazakhs and Kazakh ethnic repatriates - Kandas, began to believe that Kazakhstan is a country of Kazakhs and the government should serve primarily the interests of the Kazakhs.

On the one hand, special attention to ethnic minorities, implemented through their representation in the country's parliament through the quota allocated to the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan began to be used as a reason for the isolation of individual ethnic communities, preventing their integration into the political civil nation.

On the other hand, in the process of nationalization (Kazakhization) of the ethnosocial space, the principle of equal access of all groups of the population to political participation access to appointed positions and representation in local elected bodies began to be violated.

Local authorities, especially in the multi-ethnic South of Kazakhstan, where all the noticeable interethnic conflicts of recent decades have taken place, must pursue fair personnel and language policies taking into account the ethnic composition of the settlements. It is necessary to ensure representation in the personnel of government, law enforcement and judicial bodies in places where ethnic communities live densely.

Changes in the language behaviour and language attitude of Ukrainians after February 24 2022

Ms Tetiana Kuznietsova, *Borys Grinchenko University Kyiv*

The report will present the results of a sociolinguistic study conducted in 2020-2021 and 2023-2024 among residents of Odesa and Mykolaiv regions of Ukraine. The main focus will be on the trends of changes that took place in language behavior and attitudes towards languages in everyday communication of the inhabitants of the southern region after the large-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine. The results of the study testify to the formation of forms of collective Ukrainian identity in the South of Ukraine. This is reflected in the attitude of all citizens to the issue of the status of the state language: in 2023, 100% of respondents expressed the opinion that Ukrainian should be the only state language. At the same time, Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism began to be perceived by the vast majority in a very negative way. There is an intensification of Ukrainian-language behavior patterns and a decrease in the frequency of using the Russian language. The dynamics of a loyal attitude towards surzhyk, which acquired new functions during

the war: it became a "friend" marker, as well as a conditional code for the transition from Russian-speaking behavior to Ukrainian-speaking behavior.

Исследование мечты и восприятия времени у молодёжи: кросс-культурный аспект

Ms Irina Caunenکو, *Free International University of Moldova*

We have carried out a study on perception of time of the present, future and dreams among young Moldovans and Gagauz. Gagauz. The aim is to examine the perception of dreams as a projection into the future and time (present and future) among Moldovan and Gagauz students. (present and future) in Moldovan and Gagauz student youth. Sample: The sample was 80 students. Age composition: 19-25 years old. Social status: students of Chisinau, Chisinau, Comrat. Social status: students from Chisinau, Comrat; research period - 2021. Temporal Attitudes Scale" (Nytten), projective sentence "I dream...". Results: As a result of the frequency analysis of the empirical data on the perception of time, it has been revealed that young Moldovans and Gagauzians have a dominant positive attitude in the perception of the present and the future in the perception of the present and the future. They perceive it as important, full of hopeful, bright. However, in both samples of young people, the greatest variation of opinions was observed on the characteristics of "definable" was observed on the characteristics "determined from the outside - my personal". The study of dreams revealed that Moldovan and Gagauz youth dream about personal happiness, career, the welfare of the country, travelling, family. It seems it is expedient to conduct a comparative study of dreams and time perspective in different ethnic groups of young people perspectives in different ethnic groups of young people as a basis for the formation of a collective image of the future collective image of the future.

SESSION 2

Consociational challengers: A typology

Mr Matthijs Bogaards, *Central European University*

Opposition to consociationalism, the main mode of democracy in divided societies, can take many forms.

This paper provides a framework that helps to map the variety of challenges and challengers. In doing so, it combines the literatures on opposition parties in consociational regimes, consociational "others", and cross-sectional social movements and parties. Consociational challengers are defined as actors that challenge not only the government but the consociational political system. They play a two-level game: Opposition to the incumbents and opposition to the rules of the game. The arenas and contexts in which consociational challengers operate are diverse (society, elections, parliament, other settings). Consociational challengers come in three basic types. First, those who want to be part of the game, but have so far been excluded. These are the so-called consociational "others". Second, actors that are explicitly non-consociational, for example cross-segmental parties. Their aim is to transform the consociational system. Third, anti-consociational actors, whether secessionists, populists, or ethnic outbidders. My paper provides tentative answers to fundamental and important questions: Who are these consociational challengers, what do they want, where do they challenge consociationalism, how, and how successful are they?

Associational power-sharing: Concepts, cases, and performance

Mr Alexandre Raffoul, *Uppsala University*, alexandre.raffoul@pcr.uu.se

Associational power-sharing is a type of ethnic, executive, and electoral power-sharing where the party system is composed of multi-ethnic political parties. Associational power-sharing was overlooked in the power-sharing literature due to the assumption that political parties are mono-ethnic in context deeply divided societies. Yet, a growing literature on multi-ethnic politics has shown that party systems are often structured along non-ethnic lines, even in contexts where ethnicity is socially and politically salient. This is for example the case in Burundi, Ghana, Mauritius, Senegal, Singapore, South Africa, Switzerland, or the US. We should distinguish associational power-sharing from consociational and centripetal power-sharing because it uses a distinct logic of ethnic conflict management and thus faces alternative challenges. This article provides a foundation for the study of associational power-sharing by (1) conceptualizing it, (2) mapping it based on original data about power-sharing and political parties in Africa, and (3) evaluating its performance in comparison to consociational and centripetal power-sharing using survival analysis. The findings suggest that associational power-sharing is remarkably more common (in

Africa) than previously expected, and that it seems to be associated with greater political stability than its counterparts – although this may come at the cost of democratic quality.

Why and how do Lebanese elites look for external conflict to reinforce intersect stability

Mr Tarek Abou Jaoude, *Queen's University Belfast*, t.aboujaoude@qub.ac.uk

This paper looks at the impact of neighbouring ethnic conflict on vertically-divided societies. Specifically, it conducts a historical analysis of specific conflicts in Israel-Palestine and Syria, looking at their effects on intersect stability in Lebanon. By contrasting responses from various sectarian leaders in Lebanon on the Syrian civil war with the ongoing conflict in Gaza, the aim of the paper is to determine potential factors in shaping motivations for stabilising or de-stabilising responses from the various Lebanese political elites and, crucially, how much of a differentiating role does the nature of the conflict itself (e.g. feelings of kinship, long-term affiliations, international response, etc.) play in the outcome of Lebanese intersect stability, or lack thereof.

Minority representation via multi-ethnic parties: From the “Malaise Creole” to the Truth and Justice Commission in Mauritius

Mr Alexandre Raffoul, *Uppsala University* and Ms Sheetal Sheena Sookrajowa, *University of Mauritius*, alexandre.raffoul@pcr.uu.se,

Paper co-authored with Sheetal Sheena Sookrajowa. Multi-ethnic parties can easily hide exclusion under the pretences of inclusivity by practicing tokenism; that is, by including politicians from minority background (descriptive representation) without granting them genuine influence on political decision-making (substantive representation). This version of the exclusion amid inclusion problem can be destabilizing in cases of “associational” power-sharing, where power is shared across ethnic lines inside multi-ethnic political parties: absent the possibility to voice their concerns inside their parties, ethnic minorities might be tempted to exit power-sharing and resort to violence. However, this risk is not a fatality. In Mauritius, a case of associational power-sharing, the Creole minority achieved substantive representation after ethnic riots erupted in 1999. In particular, a Truth and Justice Commission (TJC) examining the legacies of slavery was adopted. This article asks: how do ethnic minorities achieve substantive political representation via multi-ethnic parties? We investigate this question empirically by mapping the controversies leading to the establishment of the TJC in Mauritius. We argue that substantive representation was achieved through the work done by civil society organisations to put the issue on the agenda, and via a series of translations through which the TJC was made acceptable to a broad constituency.

Center-periphery-deep periphery cleavage in Turkey’s 2023 elections

Ms Oxana Kharitonova, *MGIMO University*, o.haritonova@inno.mgimo.ru

Drawing on the theoretical framework of center-periphery cleavages of E. Shills, S. Mardin, S.M. Lipset and S. Rokkan the author analyses the Turkish party system and the electoral behavior in 2023 elections and the factors sustaining the center-periphery cleavage including high levels of religiosity, socio-economic disproportions between regions, territorialization (as opposed to nationalization) of the party system, and ethnic identities of the Kurdish population. The analysis of the 2023 elections identified three geographic clusters (center, periphery and deep periphery based on social, geographic and cultural distance from the center) and confirms the persistence of the triple center-periphery-deep periphery cleavage in Turkey. Despite the centripetal orientations of the AKP and the president, the instrumentalization of religion, populism and charisma sustains the center-periphery configuration of the Turkish party system, and the validity of center-periphery framework for explaining the electoral behavior

I Iraq: Navigating into multifaceted struggles and postcolonial calamities

Mr Samer Alnasir, *UNED/ Spain*, samer@alnasir.org

At the epicentre of discourse during the first decade of the 21st century, Iraq witnessed a Western-style democratization model imposed post its 2003 invasion and the top-down implemented Constitution of 2005 (Istrabadi, 2009; Alnasir, 2022). Since then, the country has experienced persistent calamities, drawing substantive parallels such as Palestine and Afghanistan. Reports shown staggering figures, with

five million refugees between 2006-2006, over a million civilian victims (Crawford, 2018; 'Iraq Body Count', n.d.; Rawaf, 2013), an additional two million refugees during the 2016-2017 war, and thousands killed in the 2019 revolts (Alnasir, 2021b), among other ongoing crises. The contentious confluences within Iraq are seemingly endless.

A preliminary proposal for multilevel governance was introduced as early as 2002, preceding the Anglo-American invasion (Alnasir, 2003). However, the form of the 2005 'constitution' skipped all these multilevel conjugative elements. It extends beyond mere linguistic, ethnic, or religious conjunctions. Each element plays a substantive role in conjunction with others, yet remains distinctly interdependent. In this context, languages are not just varying linguistic forms but are also intertwined with identity, belonging, distinctive ways of dialogue, and perceptions (Alnasir, 2021a). They do not solely define specific social strata but manifest as distinct social groups, intertwined within various racial, geographical, or belief frameworks.

The aim of this proposal is not to pragmatically explore these specific questions but through a theoretical approach analyse the reasons of their failures. It seeks to understand why the top-down Western-imposed model of 2005 faltered and in what dogmatic (constitutional, legislative, jurisprudential), or pragmatic sense it encountered setbacks. As an attempt to draw an accusatory emphasis towards the substantive failure of transnationalisation of the ready-to-use (van der Kroef, 1956, p. 117) multilevel structuralism to address these complexities.

Escalation periods in ethnic conflicts: Trigger events and collective emotions

Mr Felix Schulte, *ECMI*, schulte@ecmi.de

Ethnic and religious conflicts often escalate into highly volatile situations, resembling a powder keg where even minor triggers can ignite spontaneous mass behavior like large-scale protests or riots. Prior research predominantly analyzed such mass behavior from a top-down perspective, typically during or after protest movements. In contrast, we focus on the pre-protest periods, seeking to uncover the mechanisms driving escalation dynamics. We aim to understand what motivates ordinary ethnic group members to engage in street protests despite the significant personal risks involved. While previous research has identified factors influencing protest behavior, the intricate interplay between underlying motivations, situational opportunities, and immediate triggers remains underexplored. We contend that these „moral shocks“, disruptive events threatening group identities, mobilize ethnic group members. However, their mobilizing impact depends on the presence of a collectively shared emotional climate that signifies the group's readiness for action. Our study proposes that individuals' willingness to participate in protests, our dependent variable, is influenced by four individual-level factors: their degree of identification with the cultural identity group, their level of social integration within the group, their moral convictions, and their risk preferences. We empirically test these hypotheses through an experimental survey involving 800 members of the Kurdish community in Turkey.

The religious influence in the institutional development of the welfare state in the Nordic countries, the case of Finland

Mr David Bruna, *University of Hamburg*, david.bruna@studium.uni-hamburg.de

This presentation addresses the influence of religion in the institutional development of the Nordic welfare state, with a focus in the Finnish welfare state, showing that religion operated as a cultural force and was a key factor for the same conformation of the welfare state in the Nordic countries. Indeed, religion influenced the welfare state, with certain emphasis and in specific ways depending on the context, and not only in a negative way, which is commonly given for granted. That process implied the presence or the absence of religious cleavages, depending on the context, where in some European countries the Christian democrat parties represented those interests in the political sphere, but in other ones the religious revival movements persuaded to the Lutheran state church in social issues, which was mainly the case in Finland for example. This process shows how religion behaved as a cultural force, not only inspiring but also giving shape to the same social policy institution of the welfare state which was developing. Through this presentation, it will be possible to demonstrate that religion shaped the conformation of the Nordic welfare state, pointing out that religious organizations and groups still have a relevant role until today in the implementation of social policy.

Essentialist developmentalism and fear of the Great Replacement as reverse (non-white) settler colonization in Transylvania

Mr Tamás Kiss, *Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities* AND Mr Luis Escobedo, *University of the Free State*, t_kiss77@yahoo.com, luis.escobedo.dangles@gmail.com

The Great Replacement is a phenomenon consisting of the demographic and cultural replacement of white Europeans by non-Europeans, through immigration guided by global and liberal elites. This theory is useful in analysing the polarized migration debate. Our paper presents how this polarized debate affects interethnic relations in Romania within the context of new immigration processes. Our focus is particularly on how Transylvanian Hungarians in Székely Land perceive immigration. We mainly argue that the Great Replacement narrative is present in Székely Land, partly due to Viktor Orbán's articulation of it in line with his discourse of superiority of his regime vis-à-vis the "declining West." However, essentialist perspectives of development and inward processes of minority building play as important a role in this respect. The perceptions of the newly arrived immigrants are modelled on pre-existing relations with historical racial Others, principally the Roma, who are often perceived as being unproductive and incapable of bringing development, and as attempting to "replace" the non-Roma. To support our arguments, we revisit the '2020 Ditr?u xenophobic incident,' which took place in the rural Transylvanian Hungarian-majority municipality of Ditr?u or Gyergyóditró, where a group of residents mobilized themselves against two newly arrived Sri Lankan workers, leading to their expulsion from the town.

In Orbán we trust? Transylvanian Hungarians between two modernization pathways

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A representative survey conducted in March 2022 showed a striking difference between Romanians and Transylvanian Hungarians in perceiving the war in Ukraine. While the Romanian majority embraced mainstream interpretations and narratives, Transylvanian Hungarians not only rejected these but became more and more critical toward the West and Western institutions. Using the differing perceptions on the war in Ukraine as a case study the paper presents how Hungarian propaganda of the Orbán regime penetrates the Transylvanian Hungarian public sphere and how it changes the attitudinal constructions of Transylvanian Hungarians. Furthermore, it analyzes how these attitudinal developments influence Hungarian minority political agency and the possibilities of minority claim-making in Romania. Also, from a theoretical point of view the paper introduces new layers in micro level kin-state policy research, shifting the area of focus from identity-centered analysis to a more general, attitudinal investigation.

Epistemic injustice in Romania's immigration debate: The weaponization of collective memory through film representation

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In 2020, a group of residents of Ditró, a rural Hungarian-majority municipality in Romania, mobilized themselves to expel two Sri Lankan bakers. The Romanian mainstream media rapidly disseminated news of this demonstration, calling it racist and xenophobic, claiming it was a collective refusal to buy and eat the 'white bread' now kneaded by 'black hands,' and popularizing the image of the Transylvanian Hungarian minority as a people against migration and development. Later, the distinguished filmmaker Mungiu based his R.M.N. (2022) on this interpretation, which was perceived as accurate and impervious to contestation, precisely because of the reproduction of class, ethnic, racial, and meta-geographical hierarchies, ultimately crystalizing a prejudicial collective memory. This paper assesses the way in which film representation weaponizes collective memory to reproduce social hierarchies with the purpose of perpetuating a utilitarian developmentalist approach to migration. It compares R.M.N. to the results of our media content analysis to examine how it has reproduced the media story, thus perpetuating epistemic injustice and elite and core group developmental perspectives on immigration; explore its motif of the internal enemy against migration; identify the tropes that relate ethnic, linguistic, and racial domination to epistemic injustice; and question its truth claiming and authentication strategies.

When war memories fail to unite the nation: The evolution of postwar Taiwan society

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The paper investigates the complexity in the relationship between war memories and national identity in the case of Taiwan as it provides a deeply complex contest in which war memories, nationalism and national identity interact. War memories are typically thought to work to unite or increase cohesion of a group that is deemed to constitute a nation. However, in Taiwan, whose majority population, the Han Chinese, is

primarily divided not by race or ethnicity but different history of socialisation, war memories is a site of continued contestation about the past and identity, in which geopolitics plays a significant part. The paper sketches different versions of war memories that are in circulation in contemporary Taiwanese society and sheds light on how each version contributes to the maintenance of Taiwan society.

The comradeship narratives disappeared: The identity politics between China and Hungary

Mr Jiawei Tang and Mr Fei Vincent Mo *Central European University*

With the increasing significance of relations between Central Eastern European countries (CEEC) and China, propelled by the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), many studies delve into their geopolitical, economic and social implications. Notably, within the realm of inter-state narratives, scholars emphasise the pivotal role of identity politics in shaping CEEC-China relations. However, this article contends that existing studies overlook a critical aspect: the impact of collective memories of Communism on the current political dynamics, specifically the CEEC-China identity narration. Despite decades of identity construction and disputes revolving around proletarian internationalism in the latter half of the twentieth century, official narratives from both CEEC and China surprisingly veer away from the entrenched narrative of proletarian comradeship. This article asks why and how communist memories are sidestepped by both parties, and how the legacies of the comradeship narrative undergo transformation and relocation within the current context. Utilising the framework of strategic narratives and sources from (semi-)official media, this article examines the bilateral governmental narratives between Hungary and China as a case study to elucidate the evolution and repercussions of the latent comradeship identity on the strategic narrative.

Textbook analysis of Confucius Institutes in Austria and Hungary from the perspective of strategic narratives

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Cultural institutions are essential platforms of public diplomacy. This paper analyses the Chinese culture institute - the Confucius Institute - and its textbooks to unpack the relationship between public diplomacy and the grand strategic narratives of China. Teaching and learning Chinese are no longer a pure education activity but a practice of knowledge production through language exchanges and more importantly, the political meaning making. Starting from the research framework of strategic narratives, this research focuses on the textbooks of CI in Austria and Hungary. Rather than seeing the CI as a soft power tool - a conventional approach, it highlights that the textbooks are crucial in narrative communication and cultural exchanges that are embedded in language exchanges and political meaning (re-)interpretation. In practice, this paper adopts the thematic analysis to unpack the narrative components of the textbooks and identifies how these narrative components in the language textbooks carry out, consolidate, or even constrain the strategic narratives from Beijing. Theoretically, this paper challenges the conventional perspective of soft power and, more importantly, enriches the strategic narratives research framework with daily practice and themes and components which condition the formation, projection, and reception of strategic narratives. Furthermore, it provides more empirical data on how textbooks and teaching materials deliver the strategic narratives; and the comparison between Austria and Hungary cases locates such politics of language into a geopolitical conversation.

Multiculturalism and geographical aggregations: New structurations

Mr Orazio Maria Gnerre, *University of Perugia*

This speech intends to present a contemporary trend that is still little analyzed in a reality that predominantly takes into account the political functions of the national state as we have known it in modernity. The national state, notoriously, intends to aggregate various local populations by structuring their existence according to a quite homogeneous life model, at least from some points of view, such as educational and linguistic. The current era, characterized by advanced globalization, instead presents the birth of new actors, quite different from the previous ones, and characterized by a greater extension of their political and administrative influence. These new geographical aggregations, obviously, present themselves in differentiated forms, but they bring together, by principle or by necessity, various peoples endowed with different cultures and traditions. In this speech we therefore want to take into account these transformations of the geopolitical scenario, presenting some models of large geographical aggregations, and the related models of multicultural coexistence that are proposed by them. We will therefore try to recognize a metamodel underlying these international political forms, trying to predict the future outcomes and the next global articulations of multiculturalism.

SESSION 3

Bolsonaro and Lula's foreign affairs and cultural discourse surrounding the globalism versus globalization dichotomy

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This research explores the foreign affairs narratives articulated by Bolsonaro and Lula, focusing on their distinct approaches to the debate surrounding globalism and globalization. This dichotomy is contextualized within Olavo de Carvalho's theoretical framework, which posits a 'cultural war' and propagates the notion of 'cultural Marxism' as a conspiratorial force. By analyzing social media content from their official profiles and communications from the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs during their respective administrations, this study illuminates how these leaders' foreign affairs discourses contribute to the broader phenomena of populism and polarization in Brazil. Bolsonaro's rhetoric is marked by its alignment with Carvalho's portrayal of "globalism" as an existential threat to national sovereignty and traditional cultural values, while Lula's embrace aspects of globalization, emphasizing its potential for fostering economic growth and advocating for global social equity. This comparative analysis reveals the underlying themes and rhetorical strategies employed by each leader, demonstrating how their perspectives on globalism and globalization are intricately woven into larger populist narratives and actively shape Brazil's public discourse and perceptions of foreign affairs, aiming to deepen the understanding of the relationship between political leadership, international relations discourse, and the dynamics of cultural wars, populism, and polarization in Brazilian politics.

Culture wars beyond borders: Understanding international influences on Brazilian conspiracy theory communities

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Several studies have shed light on the phenomenon of disinformation, particularly in the context of cultural wars and an international populist agenda (Forster et al., 2021; Bryanov & Vziatyshva, 2021; Nan et al., 2022). Also, there is a relevant research agenda trying to understand conspiracy theory communities in the digital environment (Domenico et al., 2021; Rastogi & Bansal, 2022), ranging from their functioning and dynamics to profiles of their members. However, scant knowledge exists regarding the dynamics of conspiracy theory communities in Brazil on a large scale and potential international influences from other communities. In this sense, this study employs Python techniques for extracting, processing, and analyzing content from Telegram communities about conspiracy theories in Brazil. We propose comparing these findings with international conspiracy theory communities, aiming to comprehend the dynamics of cultural wars fueled by international agendas and assess potential influences of international conspiracy theory communities on Brazilian debates within the context of a globalized world. With a dataset exceeding 310,000 extracted contents from Brazilian Telegram communities, the objective is to scrape more data and to advance our understanding of the interplay between topics and the varying levels of adherence or non-adherence to the 'anti-globalist' agenda within these communities.

Germany and Brazil mediator role through the Russian-Ukrainian conflict

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The present paper aims to analyze the different results achieved by Berlin and Brasília's mediation efforts in the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, aspiring to contribute to the general literature of Conflicts in World Affairs. A few months after the outbreak of the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2014, which were rooted in the Karaganov ethnic doctrine, both parties accepted Germany mediation through the Normandy Group, formed by Russia, Ukraine, and France. Such group reached then two agreements: Minsk I and Minsk II, which included a ceasefire. Although the success had been then achieved, in February 2022, Russia operated a full-scale invasion in Ukrainian territory, once again driven by ethnical controversies surrounding both countries. Then, a little over a year after, in April 2023, another attempt at mediation was employed, this time by the Brazilian president Lula with both Moscow and Kyiv, which was unsuccessful since its launch. In hopes of shedding light as to the shortcomings of these mediating efforts, the Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) method shall be employed through the theoretical framework of

Role Theory, given the centrality of the concepts of Mediator Role and Role Expectation for the understanding of outcomes in International Politics.

Exploring aversion: Far-right leaders and indigenous peoples in Brazil - A discourse analysis of Jair Bolsonaro's impact on human security and foreign policy

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There is a gap in the research exploring the aversion stance of far-right leaders towards indigenous peoples, especially following the homeland violation incident involving the Yanomamis in Brazil. This article aims to investigate the potential correlation between rightwing populist leaders and aversion towards indigenous peoples, with particular attention to the Yanomami homeland violation case in Brazil. Therefore, through a discourse analysis of the Brazilian leader, Jair Bolsonaro, this study will seek to understand the impacts of his ideological actions on the human security of indigenous peoples. With that said, the guiding question of the research is how this aversion affects the human security of these social groups and influences Brazil's international image. In light of this, this study challenges itself to comprehend the impacts that may arise in Brazilian foreign policy when far-right leaders take positions regarding indigenous peoples, ranging from the perception of their image in international society to humanitarian aspects.

Executive decision making in sub-national consociations

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Consociational power sharing is designed to recognise and accommodate different segments in political institutions in deeply divided societies with the aim (at least in theory) of providing effective governance for all citizens. Whilst academic work has placed significant emphasis on the role of the mutual veto common in legislatures in most consociations, there has been much less focus on the decision making process in power sharing executives comprised of representatives of different segments. This paper aims to fill this gap by examining executive decision making in sub-national consociations including Northern Ireland, South Tyrol and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina/Republika Srpska. Most consociations have ethnic party systems with executives dominated by political parties representing a particular respective segment and many of these parties are 'ethnic tribunes' as voters often want the party they perceive as the stoutest defender of their segment to represent them in government. However, deeply divided societies face crises affecting all regardless of background, such as pandemics and climate change, just as non-divided societies do. This paper therefore examines processes of executive decision making to determine whether consociational governments are able to represent all citizens of their society when faced with such crises.

Delusions of liberal consociationalism? Searching for answers in the Western Balkans

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Over the last few decades consociationalism has become a normative – institutional theory of conflict management designed for post-conflict, divided places. John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary developed the model into its two subtypes based on slightly different institutions: the liberal, in which the constituent groups are self-determined, and the corporate, in which the constituent groups are pre-determined. Yet, despite many calls to liberalise power-sharing institutions (e.g. Larin and Roggla 2016; Stojanovi? 2018; Juon 2020: 92), this preference is not so obvious in political practice. The paper aims at analysing this discrepancy between the theory and political reality of liberal consociationalism in three Western Balkans cases: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and North Macedonia. The incongruity can be observed, firstly, in the tension between formal and informal institutions – e.g. in the Br?ko District in Bosnia where liberal consociational system was replaced with informal corporate institutions; secondly, on the judicial level – e.g. the Kosovo Constitutional Court lately pushed the country towards more corporate understanding of the system; thirdly, on the level of discourse – e.g. both Croats in Bosnia (the so-called Komši? case) and Albanians in Macedonia request corporate guarantees of inclusion which de facto preserve their dominant position on their respective territories. Thus, the question is, if liberal consociationalism remains a delusion, should it be promoted in the first place?

Different shades of green: Agenda setting in Northern Ireland's Lough Neagh crisis (tbc)

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Climate change and often-related issues of environmental degradation have risen up the political agenda worldwide in recent decades. However, while politicians and voters have increasingly prioritised environmental concerns, they have done so in ways that reflect existing political faultlines, with environmental issues being taken up in different ways by a liberal, cosmopolitan left keen to stress the need for environmental justice and international cooperation to combat climate change, and a populist right that has at times drawn on themes of “green populism”, agrarian populism and “homeland” protection. In deeply divided societies, often governed according to consociational power-sharing principles, civic or cross-segmental parties that seek to mobilise on the basis of valence issues such as the environment face structural barriers to participation in government, but nonetheless play an important role in bringing those issues to public attention, from where they are often taken up by the more dominant, segmental parties. Based on an initial, provisional analysis of discussion of the Lough Neagh ecological crisis in the Northern Ireland Assembly, this paper demonstrates how parties from Northern Ireland’s unionist and nationalist segments have indeed taken up the cause of Lough Neagh after cross-segmental parties raised its salience, but in so doing, they have claimed and reframed the issue in attempts to appeal to their ethno-national constituencies. The initial analysis highlights in particular how the largest unionist party, the DUP, has sought to deflect blame from farmers, who constitute a significant portion of their rural voter base, while nationalist parties have highlighted the role of the ownership of the lough and the colonial origins of that ownership, and have stressed the need for greater co-operation across the island of Ireland on environmental issues.

Democratic transition in Central and Eastern Europe as a threat to Russia’s security: An analysis of the evolution of Russian strategic documents and public discourse after 2007

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Since 2007, marked by Putin's anti-Western address at the Munich Security Conference, the Russian Federation's security and foreign policy orientations have increasingly favoured confrontation with the West across all conceivable arenas. The political ascendancy of the West, particularly within nations Russia deems its ‘near abroad’—the former republics of the USSR, excluding the Baltic States—is consistently identified in successive Russian strategic documents as a significant threat to national security. This apprehension is pronounced regarding the democratic transitions within these countries.

The presentation delves into how the Western liberal democratic model is depicted in successive Russian strategic documents and public discourse as a peril, against which Russia must mobilise all available resources to sustain its regional dominion and safeguard the stability of its own authoritarian regime. A detailed examination of strategic documents reveals Russia’s self-perception as a regional hegemon, allowing various forms of political, economic, or military interventions in neighbouring states to thwart pro-Western political shifts. Consequently, the anti-Western and anti-democratic rhetoric in Russia also becomes a justification for a neo-imperial and aggressive foreign policy.

Cultural wars in Eastern Europe or the art of never winning

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Among the Eastern Europe peculiarities are the extensive rivalries between the nations that make it up, and this prospect seems anachronistic and almost childish to the Western part of the continent. However, the reality underlines not only the existence of fierce geopolitical competition in this space, in which linguistic and cultural – even civilisational – aspects play an important role in the politics of almost every country. The results of these policies are diverse, and usually much weaker than those desired by political leaders, because a wide range of causes are acting against the orders drawn from different capitals. An analysis of how these cultural-civilisational policies are formed, but especially of the ways in which they fail, is necessary, in the context that the wider Black Sea area still offers today a rich case history of decisions that can be qualified as plans that wish to change the inhabitants' whole thinking (from a specific territory). History is being made today, before our eyes, and it is mandatory to understand all its lessons, in order not to repeat the many mistakes that political leaders have made for decades or hundreds of years.

The political situation in the South Caucasus after the takeover of Nagorno-Karabakh by Azerbaijan

Ms Elena Onu, *National School of Political and Administrative Studies/ SNSPA – Romania*

Starting from the Theory of regional security complexes (Buzan and Waever 2003), the paper tries to present the effects that the dissolution of Nagorno Karabakh and the takeover of its territory by Azerbaijan have on the regional geopolitical situation but, above all, on the self-determination tendencies promoted by Ossetia South and Abkhazia. It also aims to highlight the position of the Russian Federation, Turkey's role in the region, as an important regional actor, and how Georgia will manage the current regional situation.

Concept of “de facto state” and the impact of Russia-Ukraine War on the future status of Abkhazia

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Since World War II, the Russia-Ukraine war is the largest war on the earth, the end of which will undoubtedly lead to the establishment of a new world order. Accordingly, this will affect the so-called future of de facto states such as Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Transnistria, etc. All so-called “de facto states”, exist in the post-Soviet area, are in fact territories occupied or militarily supported by Russia. The logical conclusion of the Russia-Ukraine war will be the defeat of the last evil empire, which should be followed by its trial and de-occupation of the occupied territories. In the event of such a scenario, the future status of Abkhazia will be determined only by broad autonomous rights within Georgia. In my report, there will be a small review of the so-called conflict territories existing in the Post-Soviet area but it will mainly focus on Abkhazia, the legal mechanisms of de-occupation and the future legal status of Abkhazia.

SESSION 4 PLENARY ONSITE AND ONLINE

Resilient Minorities: Democratic Agency under Structural Disadvantage

Prof Zsuzsa Csörgő, *Queen’s University Kingston*

This lecture will emphasize the critical importance of researching the factors and resources that enable and motivate ethnic minority members to pursue democratic forms of individual and collective agency in majoritarian states, despite their persistent minority status. After identifying common structural aspects of the persistent “minority condition,” the lecture outlines the main components of minority democratic agency (MDA) and highlights sources of democratic resilience based on comparative research on ethno-linguistic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe. Furthermore, the lecture will stress the necessity of collaboration between researchers and practitioners – to broaden and deepen our collective knowledge and ensure that research findings are translated into tangible strategies that strengthen democratic resilience among ethnic minorities.

SESSION 5

We against them: Ethnic identity and conflicts in the Sahel

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The Sahel, consisting of Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Niger and Nigeria has become an epicenter of intractable conflict. This exacerbated the incidence of displacement and wanton destruction in this area. While poor governance, climate change, demography, and socioeconomic conditions have been identified as the dominant causes, they do not account for unprovoked attacks among various warring groups. This paper contends that as a multiethnic area where access to resources is based on an ethnic matrix, deep-seated ethnic animosity between different groups acts as a propellant for conflict escalation. The fragile relationship between farmers and pastoralists has an ethnic colouration whereby the longstanding hatred and mutual suspicion between farmers who are indigenous settlers and nomadic Fulani herders often spirals into conflict. Based on a qualitative approach that draws inferences from secondary data, including refereed journal articles, government reports, and briefs, this study finds that the dynamics of ethnic volatility are at the heart of conflict in the Sahel. The struggle for access to resources has often pitted ethnic groups against one another, while the ethnic consciousness of these separate groups and the fear of domination by others have engendered confrontation in the use of scarce resources, thus resulting in conflicts.

When foreign cultural populism impinges on domestic linguistic affairs: The case of West-Flemish in France

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The use of a "dialect" beyond national borders may more often than not give ground for nationalist claims over a neighbouring territory or at least buttress cross-border policies for strengthening cultural cohesiveness. Any effort to maintain the dialect should thus be regarded as a deserving attempt to bridge a geopolitical gap between the members of a same ethnic group.

Yet the case of West Flemish in France disproves that intuitive assumption. Repeated endeavours from Belgium to further standard Dutch in northern France have mostly been coupled with a design to obstruct French grassroots or governmental initiatives to preserve and promote one of France's "regional languages". The survival of West Flemish, let alone its revitalisation, is commonly believed to deny the rightfulness of the linguistic arguments for Flemish nationalism and defy the unity of the Dutch language, especially in a once Dutch-reluctant and still currently dialectophone part of Belgian Flanders.

This paper will examine the history of Belgian Flemings' *aandacht aan Frans-Vlaanderen* (i.e. special attention to French Flanders) and the French responses to the resulting actions and requests. A focus on the latest developments in the French regulatory framework and in the Flemish paradiplomacy will help identify an unflagging purposeful populism.

Institutionalized post-conflict: Political legitimacy and integration challenges in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Northern Macedonia, and Kosovo

Mr Stefan Surlic, *University of Belgrade*

Within the new institutionalism, the paper starts with the question: Why, despite the complex integrative constitutional design, the societies of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Northern Macedonia and the autonomous province of Kosovo are still post-conflict and denied political legitimacy by members of different ethnic communities? The aim of this paper is to show that post-conflict is not a time-bounded period, but rather, that it is an institutionalized practice, a permanent political situation that has direct consequences for the maintenance of unified political systems.

It is assumed that the clear intention of international representatives to launch a constitutional framework through peace agreements and plans that would stop and in turn, prevent the outbreak of a new conflict, has produced unintended consequences - instead of bringing about integration and constitutional patriotism, mechanisms of protection and representation of different communities have strengthened divided societies in permanent post-conflict discourse. Through the analysis of citizens' attitudes a scale of the post-conflict transformation index was created, which indicates the path of post-conflict dependence.

Challenges of plural society: A case study of India—World's largest democracy

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India—a home to pluralism having a population of approximately 1.4 billion comprises a multi-religious, multi-lingual and multi-cultural society. Keeping it united in its pious march of national progress and development through the mechanism of constitutional and parliamentary democracy remains a gigantic task. It has successfully been accomplished by the Constitution of India since 1950. It recognizes the Indian State as a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic, republic unit and cherishes the twin principles of pluralism and inclusiveness through its multiple mechanisms and provisions. The proposed paper presentation seeks to investigate the emerging challenges related with the sacred objectives enshrined in its Preamble; various provisions related with individual and group rights enshrined in the chapter of Fundamental Rights; safety mechanisms for rights of the minorities; federal schemes and mechanisms related with accommodation of linguistic, regional and cultural diversities; concept of citizenship; notion of universal adult suffrage; concept of fundamental duties; directive principles; inclusion of languages in the eighth schedule of the Indian Constitution etc.

Unfrozen conflicts. The shadow of Russia's wars of aggression on South-East Europe and the South Caucasus

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From the Western Balkans over Moldova to the South Caucasus, the periphery of Europe is scattered with locations of recent conflicts or frozen conflicts, where either Russia or NATO and the EU play a major role in securing the fragile stability. Russia's wars of aggression against Ukraine also affects these cases of post-conflict or frozen conflict, as the previous fragile balance of forces shifts.

International interventions in societies after war often have a multidimensional goal, namely providing both for stability (no renewal of conflict) and to establish and consolidate democracy. The literature has identified this multidimensionality as a challenge, yet at all rule, it is built on the idea that there is a single

external actor (usually a UN-mandated peacekeeping mission) who guarantees for peace and promotes democracy.

This paper discusses domestic actors in post-conflict countries in the shadow of external actors. It deals with domestic politics after conflicts (post-conflict countries or frozen conflicts) in situations with multiple, antagonistic external sponsors of stability. They are assumed to have a multidimensional agendas, thus providing both for security guarantees as well as a norm-based agenda addressing the regime (democracy or autocracy promotion). My model emphasises the opportunities and challenges for domestic political actors (parliaments, governments, parties) in post-conflict cases with multiple external actors.

More specifically, this paper seeks to understand when and why domestic actors rely on the weaker external actor.

The geopolitics of Europe's protracted conflicts: Contested territories, contested orders

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This paper assesses the geopolitics of Europe's protracted secessionist conflicts and how they shape and are being shaped by international and regional security orders, arguing there is a need to understand the 'unfinished business' and 'new realities' of these conflicts and that international (non-)responses are crucial for the formation of an emerging European security order. I first identify analytical problems that must be addressed to inform policy and political responses to protracted conflicts which I put in the context of the unfinished business of the wars of the 1990s and new realities since Kosovo's UDI and the Russia-Georgia War (2008) and the Russia-Ukraine war (since 2014). Second, I discuss policy/political problems arising from the limited number of contested options available to decisionmakers (e.g. recognition, forced reincorporation). Third, to ameliorate these analytical and policy/political problems, I elaborate on the 'new realities' as a way to identify which factors should be included in analyses to inform political choices about protracted conflicts and the European security order (specifically: connections between local conflicts in regional conflict complexes; second order effects of protracted conflicts e.g. innovations in warfare and the presence of foreign fighters; precedents set by attempts at, or neglect of, conflict management).

"Muscular mediation" in Nagorno-Karabakh

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Recent research on the management of violent conflict in ethnically plural societies has theorized that "Muscular Mediation" by powerful intervening countries can attain peace and thereby protect noncombatants, but also may backfire by exacerbating civilian victimization. Muscular Mediation is defined as a mediator pursuing a mutual compromise, which it proposes, by first coercing one side and then the other, so that both sides perceive they cannot escalate to victory and therefore accept the proposed compromise. This paper tests the theory in the case of Nagorno-Karabakh. It finds the muscular mediation initially achieved partial and fragile progress in 2020 – by imposing a ceasefire, ending a long-term foreign occupation, and enabling return of displaced persons – without provoking escalation of violence against civilians. However, Russia's growing reluctance to coerce the Azerbaijani side, especially after Russia invaded Ukraine, caused a divergence from ideal muscular mediation that led to total failure, as Azerbaijan instead achieved military victory that spurred an exodus of the enclave's majority Armenian population. The case thereby confirms the theory but also highlights the challenges and prerequisites for successful muscular mediation.

What is identity? Reflections on the Moldovan/Bessarabian identity(ies) between 1812 and the present day

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This article re-evaluates the Republic of Moldova's identity from its inclusion in the Russian Empire (the territory of Bessarabia) in 1812 and up to the present. Bearing in mind the volatile nature of identity, both as a concept and a category of practice, identity is approached in its relationship with ethnicity and nationalism. Much in line with Stephen Whitefield's paradigm, the country's socio-political realities are scrutinized based on the political culture theory, which points out the interdependence between state identification and individuals' normative orientations when making their choices – such as historical foci of loyalty and identification shared by members of communities. At the same time, Moldova's tumultuous evolution represents an opportunity to analyze nationalism "from below" and to take into consideration the "assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people." Such perspective underlines on the one hand the ordinary people's own dynamics and manifestations regarding nationalism; on the other

hand, it shows how these manifestations can be influenced by political culture's various practices. With the ongoing war in Ukraine, Moldova's identity and its multiethnic society risk new challenges.

The security policy of the Republic of Moldova in the context of European integration

Ms Diana Hirbu, *MSU* AND Mr Marcel Benchechi, *ICJPS, MSU*

Starting from the premise that security is a public good resulting from government public policies, the author approaches security policy as a component of these policies that involves both advantages and responsibilities for the government. National security policy is an essential component of the state's general policy and aims to promote and defend national identity, as well as protect national interests. Security policy is a set of rules established by an institution to be applied in all security-relevant activities. There are several levels of security policies, including management policy, operational policy, and procedural policy. Security services are the main mechanisms and procedures that ensure security and are responsible for ensuring it. The security policy is directly linked to the state's identity policy, security being inextricably linked to identity, and security policy - to the reconstruction of the collective identity.

Human security priorities in new candidate states through the lens of the EU enlargement perspective

Serghei Sprincean, *State University of Moldova*

The socio-political, economic, cultural, religious, ethical, mental or technological-communicative differences, with a major impact on the living standards, on the quality of life standards in human communities inhabiting the planet Earth, contribute to the strengthening of mankind's potential to cope with the most violent and destructive effects and results of the multidimensional global crisis, through the diversity of chances and identities it generates. The central concern in the process of building national security as a state policy is the strengthening of human security with new aspects in the context of the EU enlargement approach to build a knowledge-based society, a morally renovated society, rebuilt on the basis of noospheric and bioethical principles in the states of Eastern Europe, targeted by the prospects of expansion, such as Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova, as well as a number of states from the Western Balkans.

SESSION 6

Ukraine: Preventing affective polarization in a country at war

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This article examines the dynamics of affective polarization in Ukraine, focusing on its evolution until February 2022 and the subsequent impact of the Russian Federation's full-scale war against Ukraine in February 2022. The toxic polarization peaked during the years 2019 to 2021. The report highlights a significant shift in Ukraine's political environment following the external threat posed by Russian aggression. The war acted as a unifying force, fostering cohesion among Ukrainians with a shared goal of victory and aspirations for NATO and EU membership. However, the potential risks of the resurgence of negative social identities, emerging fault lines, and the impact of poverty on democratic stability are examined.

The human security dimension in the context of the war in Ukraine: Between vulnerabilities and resilience

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The concept of resilience in human security involves adapting to changing circumstances in a sustainable way, ensuring long-term well-being and stability. The paper elucidates resilience by focusing on certain psychosocial aspects in the context of the adaptation of Ukrainian refugees during the war launched by the Russian Federation in Ukraine on February 24, 2022. The research began in September 2022 following some analytical and clinical objectives, being carried out by a single researcher in collaboration with volunteers from a Refugee Assistance Center. The research aim was to identify by psychometric instruments the elements of adversity, the PTSD, the coping strategies, the level of life quality and resilience.

The research was realized by applying qualitative and quantitative methodology. The data obtained from 99 respondents were statistically processed by SPSS. Most respondents reported a medium resilience level

due to the prevalence of sensitive profiles, those with a resistant profile being a non-representative sample, choosing neutral answers. The results indicate the need to increase the level of resilience within the community on several levels: social and support networks (foundations and volunteers), early preparation for such experiences, people-place relations, committed governance, etc., because most respondents considered "spirituality" as an edifying factor of resilience.

The impact of the Russian-Ukrainian war in the Eastern Balkans: The cases of Romania, Bulgaria, and Moldova

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The Russian-Ukrainian conflict has raised serious regional security concerns in most Balkan countries, including Romania, Bulgaria, and Moldova. Since the outbreak of the war, the governments of the three Eastern Balkan countries have shown a common line of condemnation towards Russia and support for Ukraine, also manifested in a particularly generous policy towards refugees. However, beyond the official government position, somewhat divergent positions have manifested within the countries. While most of the public opinion and the political-party spectrum in Romania demonstrated clear pro-Ukrainian support and a substantially anti-Russian sentiment also fuelled by historical Russophobia, in Bulgaria attitudes appeared more contrasting, with important segments of the population and of pressure groups that openly or secretly supported Moscow, either out of political-ideological convictions and historical-cultural affinities or out of pragmatic calculations of convenience. At the same time, in Moldova widespread Russophile sentiments and the geopolitical quandary of the Transnistrian breakaway region one hand and the equally spread pro-Euro-Atlantic inclinations on the other have created a fracture among sections of the public opinion and the official governmental position.

SESSION 7

Lip service or recommitment? An analysis of three forms of Tribal consultation

Mx Dani Delaney, *Queen's University*

On January 22nd, 2021, the Biden Administration initiated a multi-step plan to revitalize the nation-to-nation consultation between the various Federal Agencies and Tribal governments. This plan began with the promulgation of the Presidential Memorandum on Tribal Consultation and Strengthening Nation to Nation Relationships which triggered a two-year long review and reconstitution of consultation policies across the myriad federal agencies subject to Executive Order 13175. Over 50 federal agencies drafted consultation policies for the first and those agencies which already had consultation policies reviewed and revised them to be inline with guidance from the Whitehouse. The Biden Administration followed this directive with further consultations directly between the White House and the Tribes on further steps that were needed to strengthen the nation-to-nation relationship between the Federal government and the Tribes. This two weeklong consultation process between the White House and the Tribes resulted in a wave of Federal consultations hosted by most of the Executive branch Federal Agencies, held on both the regional and national level. These agency level consultations are still in process for some agencies—the Department of the Interior and the Department of Treasury being the two most notable of the Executive agencies—but most Executive agencies have completed their consultation processes on how to either revise or, in the case of agencies that did not have consultation policies prior to 2021, implement agency level nation-to-nation consultation processes.

Before the widespread implementation of these new and/or revised consultation policies go into effect, it is useful to take a step back and analyze the existing status of nation-to-nation Executive agency level consultation processes. This paper divides the analysis into three sections: 1) consultation processes which are consistent, regular, and multi-level—such as the Office of Management and Budget 4-to-6 month long consultation process on the annual budget; 2) consultation processes which are internally triggered—such as the Center for Medicaid and Medicare Services consultations on any and all CMS regulations which may impact Tribes or Tribal members; and finally, 3) consultations processes which are externally triggered—such as the late-stage consultations the Tribes triggered around the Dakota Access Pipeline. While each of these three consultation processes have been deployed to varying degrees, it is the third form—the externally triggered, late-stage consultations—which generate the most litigation during and following the process. The Biden Administration appears to be motivated to minimize the number of consultation based court cases as the continuing guidance from the White House to the various Executive

agencies has directed the federal agencies to adopt consultation policies which lend themselves more towards the first type of consultation process and away from the third type of consultation process. This paper will provide an analysis of each consultation process type—their strengths and weaknesses in terms of achieving the UNDRIP directed free, prior, and informed consent of Indigenous communities—and then proceed to a consideration as to whether moving towards consultation processes which are consistent, regular, and multi-level best strengthen Tribal sovereignty, or merely reduce agency liability.

Territorializing bodies, health and development narratives: Meetings with communities in Baixo Tapajós affected by infrastructure projects

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The Tapajós region has been the scene of intense development activities, with the implementation of industrial projects, such as hydroelectric plants, waterways and mining companies, which promise to transform the economy and promise local progress. However, development discourses and practices often do not consider the broader impacts on local communities and the relationship of this process with the neoliberal paradigm, which shapes the contemporary model of life.

The concept of health transcends the merely biological and encompasses social, emotional and cultural aspects. The understanding of health is intrinsically linked to the concept of life, and what contemporary society understands as "life" is shaped by social, economic and political forces, often aligned with the principles of neoliberalism. In this context, it is essential to investigate how the development discourse in the Tapajós region relates to this broader vision of life, and how this impacts the health of local communities.

In addition to the impacts on health, the transformation of the Tapajós region due to development projects has emotional and physical consequences for the people who live there. These impacts can include feelings of anger, denial, loss of cultural identity and forced displacement. However, it is important to recognize that, despite these challenges, members of local communities are active political subjects, capable of organizing themselves and seeking alternatives to mitigate these impacts.

This research project aims to analyze the relationship between development discourses in the Tapajós region and the model of life propagated by neoliberalism. It also aims to understand how these projects mobilize the emotions and bodies of local people, while examining the collective movements that emerge from these communities, seeking to transform emotions into behavior, action and resistance.

An analysis of the influence of social inequality and cultural diversity on democratic participation and representation in Brazil

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The present study focuses on the interplay between social inequality, cultural diversity, and democratic representation in the context of Brazil. It explores the extent to which continued social inequality and cultural inquisitiveness hinder democratic processes and undermine citizens' willingness to participate in political units. The study lines out the three main obstacles to democracy in Brazil: the problem of social inequality, which prevents marginalized groups from politically participating and being represented; the insufficient targettiness and protection of cultural diversity and minorities' rights; and the decline in trust and satisfaction among citizens with democracy following the major political past episodes. Research Objective: Objective 1: To what extent does socioeconomic inequality influence the participation of disadvantaged groups in politics in Brazil? Sub-objective: 1 analyze the restraints faced by economically disadvantaged populations, indigenous people, Afro-Brazilians, and women with regards to seamless access to political resources and platforms; The analysis of social exclusion and political inequality theoretical backgrounds is indicated. Objective 2: assess the recognition and safeguarding of cultural diversity within Brazilian democracy. This objective will review the Brazilian legislative disposition and policy measures implemented to safeguard the rights of the Brazilian people in relation to their ethnicity, language, religion, among others. Multiculturalism and minority rights themes will inform the few: Methodology. Data Collection: conduct qualitative interviews with political analysts, activists, and politicians from the rationalized groups to enquire on their issues. The illustration-based case studies shall be used to examine specific incidences where cultural diversity and social inequality have directly affected democratic participation. Review current literature relating to Brazilian democracy, social inequality, and cultural diversity within the broader academic context. The methodology aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the complex interplay between social inequality, cultural diversity, and democratic

processes in Brazil. The qualitative approach will enable an in-depth exploration of the lived experiences and perspectives of various stakeholders, while the literature review and theoretical grounding will situate the findings within the broader academic discourse. Recommendations on how to address social disparities to ensure more inclusive political participation and offer equal opportunities to all citizens will be made. Cultural diversity and legislation related to the rights of minorities, with suggestions on how to improve national legislation to better recognize and protect cultural diversity in each territory.

Ruski Mir (Russian World) – How are discourses of Russian nationalism(s) being mobilized in the wake of the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022?

Mr Jack Cathcart, *University of Bristol*

This research will seek to understand, how the use of instrumentalist nationalism by competing elite and sub-elite actors in the Russian Federation, has impacted the conduct of the War in Ukraine and domestic politics at home in Russia. In order to carry this out, the study will focus on the impact of instrumentalist nationalism, employed by both the Russian state and other political and paramilitary actors such as Igor Girkin's "Angry Patriots Club" and Yevgeny Prigozhin's Wagner Group. This work will then seek to understand, how this usage of instrumentalist nationalism as a tool to co-opt the messaging of competing political groups, might hold the possibility of unforeseen and negative consequences for those that employ it. The potential for 'runaway nationalism', being a primary focus. Given the unreliability of state-based media and official political communications from within Russia, this research will primarily focus on alternative sources using digital methods. This would take the form of an examination of popular nationalist or "Z radical" Telegram (social media) channels, associated with various figures and movements. This would be carried out as a longitudinal study, with messaging snapshots of various events, selected and compared horizontally, to examine both the impact and reactions to events. This would then be backed up with more traditional methods including discourse analysis and examination of existing interviews and media. From a theoretical perspective, this study will take into account how instrumentalist nationalism views agency and rationality, as well as the intersection between nationalism, foreign policy and regime security.

G Geopolitics and the end of Russian-language education in Estonia and Latvia

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For more than a decade, Estonia and Latvia have been moving through a series of reforms aiming to increase the level of titular-language instruction in previously Russian-language schools. Largely seen as a measure to boost minority integration and expand professional opportunity for Russian-speaking young people, the reforms were meant to be a gradual process whilst maintaining respect for minority-language educational rights and international standards.

With Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, however, both Estonia and Latvia suddenly gave much greater impetus to these changes. A full-scale transition to only titular-language instruction throughout the primary and secondary school system began in Latvia in 2023 and was set to start in Estonia in 2024.

These moves have raised questions about respect for minority rights to education, and can be seen as a direct consequence of the heightened geopolitical situation in the region. This paper will therefore outline this policy changes, but also profile other examples of securitization of minority issues in Estonia and Latvia since 2022.

Language policies and insecurities in Ukraine

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Situated at the intersection of language rights, nation-building processes, and security issues, this article analyzes language policies in Ukraine in the three decades since its independence (1991–2021). It traces the legal evolution and decisions of the Ukrainian Constitutional Court, identifying the specific ideological approaches towards language issues that emerge in such development. We distinguish four periods in the evolution of Ukrainian laws, highlighting how these stages reflect specific ontological and societal (in)securities and related securitization processes, and their intersection with the process of nation building and the role assigned to the Ukrainian language in such process. In this way, the article discusses how, in light of the Soviet legacy and Russian kin-state activism and geo-political agenda, Ukraine has moved to adopt a more assertive nationalizing approach to language issues that aim at promoting Ukrainian as the state language. Russia's aggressive actions accelerated the ongoing nation-building process, interplaying

with the relevance assigned to the Ukrainian language for the Ukrainian nation-state as well as the country's ontological and societal (in)securities. In this way, our contribution complements our understanding of language policies, bringing to light the connections of their evolution and variations with how security concerns affect nation-building processes.

Ethnopolitical aspect of the activities carried out by the territorial communities of Ukrainian Northern Pryazov'ye: Migration and ethnopolitical management

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183 regional and local conflicts are ongoing in the world today, the highest number in the last three decades. At the same time, migration flows are growing and completely new waves are emerging. The study "Ethnopolitical aspect of the activities carried out by the territorial communities of Ukrainian Northern Pryazov'ye: migration and ethnopolitical management" will discuss the existing threats and opportunities for the modern world. The research focuses on the history of refugees from the Ukrainian city of Mariupol (the centre of Ukrainian Northern Pryazovia), which was effectively destroyed in 2022, causing the migration of its residents to almost 30 countries. At the same time, Ukrainian Northern Pryazovia is a multiethnic region with many ethnic groups, where ethnopolitical management has been effective. The result of the study is an analysis of the policies of migrant-receiving countries, consideration of ethnopolitical peculiarities and integration through ethnopolitical management.

Social construct? An exploration of identity as a tool of policy

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Contemporary conversations on identity and the interlocking relationship between it and representation/recognition are complex and multi-faceted, especially in a year like 2024 when there is the potential for further expansion of the EU. By arguing that identity exists more as a social construct than an inherent truth or an absolute definition, identity can be interpreted as representative of society's desire to classify and eventually control. This is especially true in the case of minorities, where their identities are often shaped and defined by powers outside of their control and frequently result in experiences of discrimination and marginalization. With "identity" referencing multiple existences in the modern world – ethnicity, community, politics, nationalism – understanding the dynamic between identity, society, and politics, especially for minorities, is both more complicated and more important than previous decades. In this paper I will explore both the use of minority identities as policy tools and their roles in political agendas, exemplified through the historical development of modern identity and contemporary experiences of European Roma in several member states. As the numerous elections of 2024 draw nearer, the topic of identity as a policy tool is increasingly more important to current and future European experiences, calling for further discussions.

SESSION 8

The existence of a civic tribune within systems of power-sharing: The implications of intra-bloc contestation between Northern Irish political parties who identify as neither Nationalist nor Unionist

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Within the study of power-sharing, civic political parties, have been regarded as largely irrelevant to the politics of post-conflict societies and have been historically excluded from the literature. This ongoing research seeks to integrate civic political parties into the study of post-conflict politics. Asking whether the characteristics of civic politics in Northern Ireland can be understood through the existing literature on ethnic political parties. This project focuses on re-examining the concept of the 'tribune party', first outlined by Mitchell et al., and exploring its applicability to the Alliance Party of Northern Ireland (APNI) as the largest civic political party in Northern Ireland. In doing so, it seeks to problematise the potential existence of a civic rivalry with the Green Party of Northern Ireland (GPNI), exploring whether this is a variation of intra-bloc contestation. At its foundation, this ongoing research is exploring the extent to which the behaviour of inter-ethnic and non-ethnic political parties can be understood through existing concepts within the literature. Whilst simultaneously challenging the conventional interpretation of political society

under Northern Ireland's system of power-sharing. Arguing that the emergence of the 'Others' as a significant political force has changed the nature of the ethno-political divide in Northern Ireland.

The spirit of accommodation under threat? A longitudinal analysis of Belgian MPs' interactions in parliamentary speeches (1962-2023)

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A very important, but understudied, part of the consociational theory of Lijphart (1968) is that in divided societies stability can only be attained when at the elite level politicians replace their competitive attitude with a cooperative one. Some argue that in Belgium, once described as 'one of the most thorough examples of consociational democracy', this spirit of accommodation is under threat. Voters of the two main regions are increasingly growing further apart, there are almost no federal parties, and the political elites seem to live in their regional bubble. This makes it plausible that there is no more need to talk with the other region for the political elites. Adding to this debate, this paper measures whether this regionalization of politics has been trickled down to the parliamentary speeches of MPs in the federal parliament. It studies the interactions between MPs in their parliamentary speeches from 1962 till now. Do politicians predominantly address and interrupt politicians from their own language group? And how is this evolved over time? If MPs do not even interact with each other in the federal parliament, where politicians try to convince each other, leading to more consensual decisions, the spirit of accommodation could indeed be under threat.

Reporting from a citizens' assembly in an unlikely place: Few answers, more questions

Ms Ann-Mireille Sautter, *UC Louvain & KU Leuven*

Divided societies, characterised by strongly politicised segmentation, are often portrayed as unsuitable for deliberative citizen participation. Due to an assumed inability to engage in consensus-oriented debate, deliberative ideals are considered unrealisable. At the same time, the opening and de-regulation of the political space may seem paradoxical from a scientific perspective as it opens the risk for an increase in social tensions. Instead, political power in deeply divided contexts is often highly monopolised by the representatives of salient social segments.

Nevertheless, we have observed a mushrooming of Citizens' Assemblies across the globe and, more importantly, in the unlikeliest of places. The paper presents findings from the 1st National Citizens' Assembly in Kosovo as well as additional, contextual observations from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Discussing both the potential and the risks of a Citizens' Assembly in deeply divided contexts, it proposes a four-dimensional research agenda: (i) an elite-based approach to understanding whether and why power is de-concentrated; (ii) a participant-based approach to attitudinal changes; (iii) an international perspective that analyses the changing agenda of actors towards democracy support as a resolution of political deadlock in deeply divided societies; (iv) a Bottom-Up approach to make sense of reconciliatory practices as a crucial, contextual element.

By doing so, the paper opens up an additional pathway for scholars of deliberative democracy to analyse citizen participation not as a product of elite decision-making, but as a model within a broader political context of societal contestation.

Responding to Russian strategic narratives and disinformation in North-East Europe: The Republic of Moldova and Latvia, 2021-2024

Mr Juris Pupcenoks & Ms Izabella Bolczak, *Marist College*

This project will seek to understand to what extent diplomatic rhetoric influences states' behavior as well as how certain Eastern European states respond to narratives of a regional hegemon. More specifically, it will first look at how Russian strategic narratives (SNs) towards the Republic of Moldova and Latvia have evolved from 2001 to 2024. This analysis will speak to Russia's abilities and limitations to shape socio-political developments abroad through its rhetoric. Next, it will investigate how these smaller countries engage with Russian SNs and disinformation in them. Smaller countries have limited kinetic capabilities to resist or threaten regional powers, but they can coordinate their own regional and international strategic narrative, counter-messaging, and propaganda operations. There is potential for such information warfare operations to be an equalizing force. In terms of data, this research will utilize both an existing comprehensive database of all documents webscraped from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) homepage dating back to 2001 as well as data webscraped from MOFAs of Moldova and Latvia.

The analysis of the narratives by the Republic of Moldova and Latvia will also utilize information from speeches of the key leaders.

Sustaining agonistic peace in time of the inter-state war: Ukrainian community of dialogue practitioners as inside mediators

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The practice of peace mediation has professionalized, but over the past decades it has increasingly specialised on intra-state conflicts and processes, predominantly in the global South. As a result, the mediation community has struggled to offer meaningful advice on how peace practice can contribute to bringing an end to Russia's war in Ukraine. We offer a different perspective. We point out that whilst negotiations aimed at ending inter-state war is the domain of peace diplomacy, the role of peace mediation and peacebuilding in Ukraine is to help the people of Ukraine live together peacefully, build faith in a peaceful future, and maintain an inclusive society, during and after the end of the interstate war. For this reason, our focus is on local and national dialogue processes in Ukraine, that aim to sustain social cohesion, strengthen social capital and maintain societal trust. We focus on facilitated dialogue processes between different religious organizations from the beginning of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict in 2014 to full-scale hostilities in February 2022, and up to the end of 2023.

Cross-regional dialogue in the framework of hybrid peace

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According to Oliver Richmond "hybrid forms of peace represent juxtaposition between international norms and interests and local forms of agency and identity" (2015). Local ownership is often portrayed as the key objective of internationally supported peace processes. However, very often the topics on negotiation tables and even in Track II dialogue workshops are proposed by the international facilitators. The unresolved conflicts in the South Caucasus and Moldova are critical sources of regional instability and a central obstacle for the peaceful and prosperous development of the societies concerned. The polarized divisions between neighbors and within societies are strong. The EU, as a global actor committed to the promotion of peace, is strengthening its focus on Eastern Neighbourhood. The specific objective of the EU4Dialogue program is to establish an environment conducive to diffusing tension and fostering better understanding amongst the conflicting parties and stakeholders. Using the project as a case study one can focus on the added value and benefits of cross-regional dialogue processes in support of peacebuilding. Cross-regional dialogue creates new spaces for dialogue and exchange in support existing measures and initiatives. Can such internationally supported cross-regional dialogue genuinely support local forms of peace processes and local agenda-setting?

Empowering local agency in practices of dialogue and mediation: A case study of Gagauzia autonomy in Moldova

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In the contemporary landscape, nurturing local agency and enhancing civil society's capacity to facilitate dialogue and mediation, fostering social cohesion and resilience against antagonistic tendencies, poses a substantial challenge. This paper focuses on Gagauzia's autonomy within the Republic of Moldova, exploring alternative approaches to internal dialogue and conflict prevention. It delves into the crucial concept of local ownership in peace processes, with a specific emphasis on the non-governmental private diplomacy organization, CMI, acting as an impartial third-party facilitator. The case study scrutinizes Gagauzia's transformation from an unrecognized self-proclaimed republic in 1990 to its peaceful settlement and eventual legal special status within Moldova's constitutional framework in 1994. The paper provides an in-depth analysis of Gagauzia's evolving status, navigating challenges such as the 2014 self-determination referendum and dynamic shifts in regional politics, including Moldova's path towards European integration and EU accession. Additionally, it investigates CMI's pivotal role in establishing and maintaining dialogue platform amidst escalating tensions between autonomy and the central government. The paper underscores the significance of locally-driven mediation and dialogue processes as essential.

Interaction between political PR and political agenda-setting from the perspective of the presidential elections in the Republic of Moldova

Aurelia Preu-Balan, *State University of Moldova*

In this article I set out to identify, in the Moldovan political space, the interaction between political PR and the "agenda-setting" process, a theory launched in the 70s by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw. In the political sphere, "agenda setting" illustrates the complex interaction between mass media, public opinion and the decision-making process.

The initiation of an „agenda setting” process can be considered an effective political PR technique, which aims to manage the image of the political actor, increasing his degree of credibility, recognition and notoriety. To demonstrate this hypothesis, we looked for two actions of President M. Sandu - the initiative to hold a constitutional referendum on the accession of the Republic of Moldova to the EU and, subsequently, the launch of a series of consultations with different social groups; the publication of an editorial in the daily "Wall Street Journal", which contains strategic narratives, which will also be used in the presidential campaign in the fall of 2024.

Main political conflicts and trends of development in the post-Soviet area: Current state and perspectives

Ms Mariana Iatco, *Moldova State University*

The perspectives of the post-Soviet space as a political and geographical region of the world and the countries located on its territory cause numerous controversies and opposed assessments, each of which is based on valid arguments, without pretending to offer yet another scheme for understanding these processes, an alternative to the concepts already available, the author of this article attempted a typology of the conflicts in the states of the region and a systematic analysis of the main factors that influence the internal political dynamics and tendencies of their development.

Gender and national minorities issues in governmental politics and political parties programmes in Moldova

Ms Arina Kraijdan, *Centre for Continuous Electoral Training, Republic of Moldova*

A quality of democracy is based on respect for fundamental human rights and for citizens' political rights. Ensuring gender equality in elections and the rights of national minorities to be represented in state governance are the subject of our study. Based on the analysis of the legislative framework, the government strategic programming documents and the program documents of the political parties in the Republic of Moldova, we will present the current situation regarding their visions and attention to the aspects of gender equality and national minorities in government. Based on the analysis of statistical data and reports of national and international organizations regarding the gender and national minorities' representation in the governance of the Republic of Moldova, we can make proposals for future programming in the context of European integration. At the same time, we will present the risks faced by gender and national minorities' representation in the context of Russia's aggression in Ukraine and coming presidential and parliamentary elections in the Republic of Moldova.

The role of UN human rights protection mechanisms in building gender-inclusive societies: Experience of Moldova and Armenia

Ms Iuliana Abramova, *University of European Studies of Moldova*

Both Moldova and Armenia go through a transitional period from a soviet legacy to democratic societies, the rule of law and gender equality. Both countries ratified core UN Human Rights Treaties where equality and non-discrimination based on different criteria, including sex and gender, are recognized as international human rights standards. Despite this, high levels of domestic violence still pose a challenge according to independent human rights reports and gender barometers. The situation changes throughout the country given the protracted conflict in Moldova and the impact of refugees from Nagorno Karabakh in Armenia. In the current paper the analysis and the role of UN human rights protection mechanisms, specifically CEDAW, will be assessed in contributing to the development of gender equality regulatory framework, domestic violence protection mechanisms and the role of human rights defenders and civil society organizations. The practical implementation of recommendations issued by UN Treaty Bodies and other UN human rights reports will be reviewed and assessed followed by recommendations and conclusions to improve the situation.