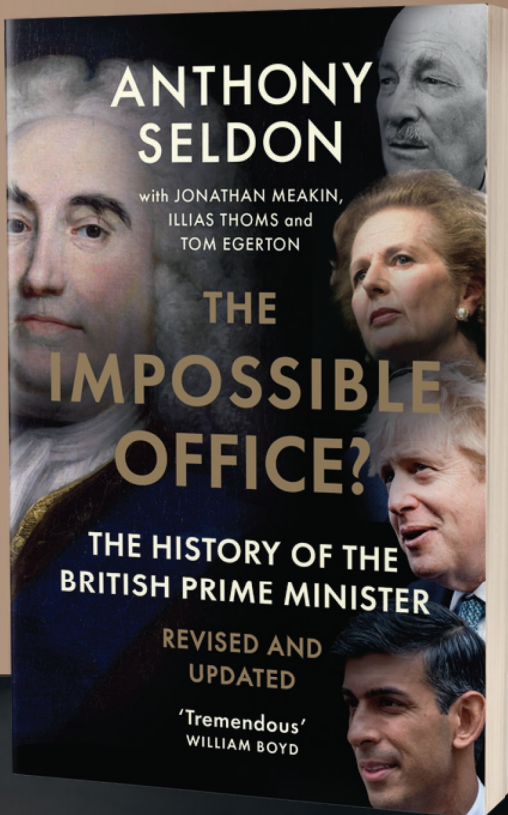


REVISED AND  
UPDATED



Why has the office of Prime Minister endured longer than any other democratic political office?

Sir Anthony Seldon, historian of Number 10 Downing Street, explores the intimate details and experiences of our PMs – including the recent churn of Johnson, Truss and Sunak – discussing who has been most effective and why.

9781009429771 | Paperback | £14.99/\$19.95 | March 2024

“a stimulating and enjoyable study”

WILLIAM HAGUE

“A good guide to the constitutional position of the Sovereign’s Minister.”

SIMON HEFFER, *DAILY TELEGRAPH*

“... an intelligent and insightful account of the evolution of the role.”

ANDREW RAWNSLEY, *THE OBSERVER BOOK OF THE WEEK*

Enter discount code TIO20 to save 20% on the cost of your copy at [cambridge.org/ImpossiblePB](https://www.cambridge.org/ImpossiblePB)



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

*Nationalities Papers* is the place to turn for cutting edge multidisciplinary work on nationalism, migration, diasporas, and ethnic conflict. We publish high-quality peer-reviewed articles from historians, political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists, and scholars from other fields. Our traditional geographical emphasis has been on Central and Eastern Europe and Eurasia, but we now publish research from around the globe. As the journal of the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN), our mission is to bring together scholars worldwide working on nationalism and ethnicity and to feature the best theoretical, empirical, and analytical work in the field. We strongly encourage submissions from women, members of minority and underrepresented groups, and people with disabilities.

Instructions for Contributors can be found at [cambridge.org/nps-ifc](http://cambridge.org/nps-ifc)

**Subscription information.** *Nationalities Papers* is published six times a year (January, March, May, July, September, November) by Cambridge University Press, 1 Liberty Plaza, New York, NY 10006, USA.

The subscription price of Volume 52 (2024) including delivery by air where appropriate (but excluding VAT), is \$2348.00 (£1420.00) for institutions print and online; \$1612.00 (973.00) for institutions online only.

Orders, which must be accompanied by payment, may be sent to a bookseller, subscription agent or direct to the publisher: Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, 1 Liberty Plaza, New York, NY, 10006, USA; or Cambridge University Press, UPH, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8RU, England. For single issues, please contact [subscriptions\\_newyork@cambridge.org](mailto:subscriptions_newyork@cambridge.org)

**Advertising.** For information on display ad sizes, rates, and deadlines for copy, please visit the journal homepage at [cambridge.org/nps](http://cambridge.org/nps) or contact [USAdSales@cambridge.org](mailto:USAdSales@cambridge.org).

**ISSN:** 0090-5992

**EISSN:** 1465-3923

© Association for the Study of Nationalities, 2024. All rights reserved.

Printed by Sheridan, a CJK Group Company.

No part of this publication may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, electronic, photocopying, or otherwise, without permission in writing from Cambridge University Press. Policies, request forms and contacts are available at: <http://www.cambridge.org/about-us/rights-permissions/permissions/permissions-requests/>

Permission to copy (for users in the U.S.A.) is available from Copyright Clearance Center <http://www.copyright.com>, email: [info@copyright.com](mailto:info@copyright.com).

**Postmaster.** Send address changes to *Nationalities Papers*, Cambridge University Press, 1 Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA.

**On the Cover.** Photo taken by Kristina Jonutyte: "This photograph was taken in a sacred site on the outskirts of Ulan-Ude, the capital of Buryatia. Practitioners of Buryat shamanism and Buddhism tie *khadag* ceremonial scarves, ribbons, and pieces of cloth as a sign of respect and as an offering to local spirits who dwell there. During my fieldwork on the revival of Buddhism in Ulan-Ude, I noticed that some of these sacred sites contained ribbons in the color of the Russian flag, as well as ribbons of Saint George, a potent symbol of Russian nationalism, alongside other *khadag* scarves and ribbons. This new ritual use of Russian nationalist symbols in Buryatia embodies complex cultural and social change. Buryats, an ethnic and religious minority inhabiting Russia's borderlands, are in a difficult position in contemporary Russia. They are part of the Slavic-dominated Russian nation, while at the same time they are being undermined through both Russian policies, which prioritize the center to the periphery, and Russian society, where racialized minorities are often treated as second-class citizens. While these tensions have existed ever since Buryatia's colonization in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, today they are especially pertinent as Russia has waged a war in Ukraine, and Buryats have come to represent Russian minority participation in the war to many Russian as well as foreign observers. Republic of Buryatia, Russian Federation, 2015."

# CONTENTS

## Research Note

- Forms of National and European Identity: A Research Note Reviewing Literature of Cross-National Studies  
*Philipp König* 707

## Articles

- Providing Meaning to Violence: Multiple Mobilizations and Dynamics of Conflict Escalation from November 2013 until February 2014 in Ukraine  
*Oksana Myshlovska* 735
- The Multidimensional Soft Power of Illiberal States: Russia in the Western Balkans  
*Adriana Cuppuleri and Liridona Veliu Ashiku* 761
- Negotiating Transnational Belonging: Post-WWII Migration as Life Experience and Collective Memory  
*Daniela Koleva* 782
- The Life after Life of the 2006 Transnistrian Sovereignty Referendum  
*Marcin Kosienkowski* 805
- Griffith or de Valera? The Split of Catalan Nationalism in the Face of the Irish Civil War  
*Joan Esculies* 827
- Genuine Domestic Change or Fake Compliance? Political Pervasiveness in the Serbian Media  
*Aleksandra Dragojlov* 845
- Institutional Dynamics of State-Minority Relations: The Case of Roma Communities in Slovakia  
*Jakub Csabay* 862
- Liberal Democratic Mayors in Illiberal Populist Regimes: Istanbul's Challenges  
*Stephen Deets* 889
- Animalization of Kurds in Turkish-Speaking Social Media  
*Serhat Tutkal* 907
- Croatian Homeland War Memorial Museums – Exhibiting Urbicides and Concentration Camps  
*Ljiljana Radonić* 935
- Book Reviews**
- Collapse: The Fall of the Soviet Union, by Vladislav M. Zubok  
Review by *Lewis H. Siegelbaum* 961
- Pure and True: The Everyday Politics of Ethnicity for China's Hui Muslims, by David R. Stroup  
Review by *Susan McCarthy* 962
- Under the Banner of Islam: Turks, Kurds, and the Limits of Religious Unity, by Gülay Türkmen  
Review by *Şener Aktürk* 964

**Cambridge Core**

For further information about this journal please go to the journal website at: [cambridge.org/nps](https://doi.org/10.1017/nps)



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS