

# NATIONALITIES PAPERS

The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity

Volume 52 • Number 4 • July 2024 • ISSN 0090-5992



ASSOCIATION FOR THE  
STUDY OF NATIONALITIES



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

# NATIONALITIES PAPERS

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

**Harris Mylonas**

*George Washington University, USA*

MANAGING EDITOR

**Ned Whalley**

BOOK REVIEW EDITOR

**Jennie L. Schulze** - *Duquesne University, USA*

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

**Zeynep Bulutgil** - *University College London, UK*

**Julie George** - *Queens College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York, USA*

**Eleanor Knott** - *London School of Economics and Political Science, UK*

**Gulnaz Sharafutdinova** - *King's College London, UK*

EDITORIAL BOARD

**Yehonatan Abramson** - *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel*; **Fiona B. Adamson** - *SOAS, University of London, UK*; **Hugh Agnew** - *George Washington University, USA*; **Sener Aktürk** - *Koç University, Turkey*; **Dominique Arel** - *University of Ottawa, Canada*; **Monika Baar** - *University of Leiden, The Netherlands*; **Lowell Barrington** - *Marquette University, USA*; **Ceren Belge** - *Concordia University, Canada*; **Max Bergholz** - *Concordia University, Canada*; **Stefano Bianchini** - *Alma Mater Studiorum, University of Bologna, Italy*; **Florian Bieber** - *University of Graz, Austria*; **Rogers Brubaker** - *University of California, Los Angeles, USA*; **David Crowe** - *Chapman University and Elon University, USA*; **Zsuzsa Csergő** - *Queen's University, Canada*; **Keith Darden** - *American University, USA*; **Bhavna Davé** - *SOAS, University of London, UK*; **Stephen Deets** - *Babson College, USA*; **Mila Dragojević** - *The University of the South, USA*; **Elise Giuliano** - *Columbia University, US*; **Paul Goode** - *Carleton University, Canada*; **Alexandra Goujon** - *University of Bourgogne, Dijon, France*; **Henry Hale** - *George Washington University, USA*; **Erin Jenne** - *Central European University, Hungary*; **Natalie Koch** - *Syracuse University, USA*; **Maria Koinova** - *University of Warwick, UK*; **Jeffrey Kopstein** - *University of California, Irvine, USA*; **Dominika Koter** - *Colgate University, USA*; **Marlene Laruelle** - *George Washington University, USA*; **Sandra León** - *Carlos III-Juan March Institute, Carlos III University of Madrid, Spain*; **Siniša Malešević** - *University College, Dublin, Ireland*; **Srdja Pavlović** - *University of Alberta, Canada*; **Peter Rutland** - *Wesleyan University, USA*; **Edward Schatz** - *University of Toronto, Canada*; **Caress Schenk** - *Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan*; **Oxana Shevel** - *Tufts University, USA*; **David Siroky** - *University of Florida, USA*; **Regine Spector** - *UMass Amherst, USA*; **Djordje Stefanovic** - *University of Adelaide, Australia*; **David Szakonyi** - *George Washington University, USA*; **Gerard Toal (Gearóid Ó Tuathail)** - *Virginia Tech, USA*; **Peter Vermeersch** - *University of Leuven, Belgium*; **Elpida Vogli** - *University of Thrace, Greece*; **Myra Waterbury** - *Ohio University, USA*; **Timothy William Waters** - *Indiana University, USA*; **Theodore R. Weeks** - *Southern Illinois University, USA*; **Susan L. Woodward** - *The Graduate Center, City University of New York, USA*; **Stefan Wolff** - *University of Birmingham, UK*.

PAST EDITORS:

**1972–1984: Stephen Horak** - *Eastern Illinois University, USA*

**1985–1986: Orest Subtelny** - *York University, Canada*

**1987–1998: Henry Huttenbach** - *The City College, CUNY, USA*

**1999–2002: Nancy Wingfield** - *Northern Illinois University, USA*

**2002–2009: Steve Sabol** - *University of North Carolina, Charlotte, USA*

**2009–2013: Florian Bieber** - *University of Graz, Austria*

**2013–2018: Peter Rutland** - *Wesleyan University, USA*

**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