



NATIONALITIES PAPERS

The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity

Volume 50 • Number 6 • November 2022 • 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

Sener Aktürk - Koç University, Turkey

Zeynep Bulutgil - University College London, UK

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

Paul Goode - Carleton University, Canada

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

Gulnaz Sharafutdinova - King's College London, UK

EDITORIAL BOARD

Fiona B. Adamson - SOAS, University of London, UK; **Hugh Agnew** - George Washington University, USA; **Dominique Arel** - University of Ottawa, Canada; **Monika Baar** - University of Leiden, The Netherlands; **Laia Balcells** - Georgetown University, USA; **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; **Bridget Coggins** - University of California, Santa Barbara, USA; **Karl Cordell** - University of Plymouth, UK; **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; **Emily Greble** - Vanderbilt University, USA; **Alexandra Goujon** - University of Bourgogne, Dijon, France; **Henry Hale** - George Washington University, USA; **Erin Jenne** - Central European University, Hungary; **Natalie Koch** - University of Heidelberg, Germany; **Maria Koinova** - University of Warwick, UK; **Jeffrey Kopstein** - University of California, Irvine, USA; **Dominika Koter** - Colgate University, USA; **Marlene Laruelle** - George Washington University, USA; **Siniša Malešević** - University College, Dublin, Ireland; **Olga Onuch** - University of Manchester, UK; **Srdja Pavlović** - University of Alberta, Canada; **Peter Rutland** - Wesleyan University, USA; **Michael Rywkin** - The City College of CUNY, USA; **Gwendolyn Sasse** - University of Oxford, UK; **Edward Schatz** - University of Toronto, Canada; **Caress Schenk** - Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan; **Oxana Shevel** - Tufts University, USA; **David Siroky** - Arizona State University, 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

NATIONALITIES PAPERS
The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity
Volume 50 Number 6 November 2022

CONTENTS

State of the Field

- Ethnicity and Social Exclusion
Ana Bracic 1045

Articles

- Navigating Ethnicity: Collective Identities and Movement Framing in Deeply Divided Societies
Chiara Milan 1057
- Flying Flags at Weddings in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Nationalism and the Limits of Flag Power
Keith Doubt, Amna Tuzović, and Alem Hamzić 1071
- Ethnicity in Schools: Perceptions of Migrant Children from Central Asia in the Multicultural Environment of Russian Cities
Ekaterina Demintseva 1093
- Commemorating by Marching: Memorialization and Resistance Practices of the Srebrenica Genocide
Marije R. Luitjens and Esther G. M. Schoorel 1107
- Walking the Past, Acting the Past? Peace March to Srebrenica Commemoration
Ana Ljubojević 1125
- “Poles of the World Unite”: The Transnational History of the 1929 World Congress of Poles Abroad in the Context of Interwar Soviet–Polish Rivalries
Olena Palko 1143
- Trustees Instead of Elected Mayors: Authoritarian Neoliberalism and the Removal of Kurdish Mayors in Turkey
Serhat Tutkal 1164
- Kurdistan on the Sèvres Centenary: How a Distinct People Became the World’s Largest Stateless Nation
Loqman Radpey 1187
- The Relationship between Perceived Security Threats and Negative Descriptions of Armenians in Turkish Politics (1946–1960)
Türkay Salim Nefes 1217
- Flexible Nation: The Turkish Nation under the Justice and Development Party’s Rule
Gizem Kaftan 1232

Book Symposium on Marlène Laruelle's *Is Russia Fascist?*

Russia: Fascist or Conservative?

Mitchell A. Orenstein

1245

Who's a Fascist?

Yoshiko M. Herrera

1248

What Happens When Soft Power Fails

Anton Shekhovtsov

1252

Is Russia Fascist?: A Response to Yoshiko Herrera, Mitchell Orenstein,
and Anton Shekhovtsov

Marlène Laruelle

1255