

*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 51 (2023) including delivery by air where appropriate (but excluding VAT), is \$2174.00 (£1315.00) for institutions print and online; \$1690.00 (£1020.00) 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, 2023. All rights reserved.

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 Véronique Labonté (October 2021) : “Ženi Borac” or “The Woman Fighter,” by sculptor Alija Kučukalić, is part of Vraca Memorial Park, built in 1981 in memory of the victims of fascism. It is located on the heights of Sarajevo, close to the dividing line between the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska. The sculpture, a tribute to the women combatants of the Second World War, was toppled and the arm cut off by vandals in 2013, for reasons that remain unclear. Even if the statue could be repaired, the arm (found without the hand) has yet to be restored. This photo was taken during a walk through the park with Elma Hodžić, curator at the History Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who explained to me how the institution has been campaigning for years for the rehabilitation of the site. Their hard work illustrates the great difficulties of getting recognition and protection for the country’s socialist heritage. Advocating for the restoration of “Ženi Borac” exemplifies a form of counter-memory in a polarized country still divided by ethnonationalist politics and narratives."

# CONTENTS

## State of the Field

- Africa and Ethnic Politics  
*Dominika Koter* 245

## Articles

- The Local Dynamics of Nation Building: Identity Politics and Constructions of the Russian Nation in Kazan and Ekaterinburg  
*Leila Wilmers* 258
- Ethnopolitical Entrepreneurs as Nation Builders? Heritage and Innovation in Gagauzia  
*Christiana Holsapple* 280
- Defining the Borderlands: Sino-Soviet Border Talks and the Nationalities Issue (1987–1991)  
*Alsu Tagirova* 299
- When Political Rights Do Not Translate into Economic Power: The Rise and Fall of the Slovenian Minority's Economy in Italy (1954–2020)  
*Igor Guardiancich* 317
- Negotiating the Kin-State Citizenship: The Case of Croats from Herzegovina  
*Mate Subašić* 335
- How Can “Overall Progress and Development” Fail in Post-Conflict Societies? Securitization of the 2005–07 Stabilization and Association Agreement Negotiations in Republika Srpska  
*Faris Kočan* 353
- Impact of the War in Croatia (1991–1995) on the Differentiation of Age Structure between Serbs and Croats: A Case Study of the Banija Region  
*Aleksandar Kovjanić, Mila Pavlović, Vedran Živanović, and Filip Krstić* 370
- Anti-Immigration Attitudes in Contemporary Polish Society: A Story of Double Standards?  
*Lenka Thérová* 387
- Speaking Out against the Discrimination of Romanians Abroad: An Analysis of Parliamentary Speeches in the Home Country  
*Sergiu Gherghina, Sorina Soare, and Paul Tap* 403
- Producing *Kartinka*: Street-Level Bureaucracy and Implementation of Russia's Tolerance Policy in St. Petersburg  
*Nikolay Sarkisyan* 425
- The Democratic Conference and the Pre-Parliament in Russia, 1917: Class, Nationality, and the Building of a Postimperial Community  
*Ivan Sablin* 446
- A Struggle over Recognition and Nonrecognition: The Internationalization of the Abkhaz State University  
*Bruno Coppieters* 469
- Book Reviews** 491

**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