Nationalities Papers

The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity



ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NATIONALITIES



Nationalities Papers

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Florian Bieber,

Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, Austria

BOOK REVIEW EDITOR

Roland Spickermann, University of Texas of the Permian Basin

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Zsuzsa Csergo, Queen's University, Canada Troy McGrath, Russian State University for the Humanities, Russia Marlene Laruelle, French Centre for Russian, Caucasian, and East-European Studies, France Aviel Roshwald, Georgetown University, USA Shannon Woodcock, La Trobe University, Australia

ASSISTANT EDITOR

Carolin Roeder, University of Kent, UK/Harvard University, USA

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dominique Arel, University of Ottawa, Canada; Gordon N. Bardos, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, USA; Stefano Bianchini, University of Bologna, Italy; Fotini Christia, MIT, USA; Karl Cordell, University of Plymouth, UK; David Crowe, Elon University, USA; Ineta Dabašinskienė, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania; Dejan Djokić, Goldsmiths. University of London, UK; Alexandra Goujon, University of Dijon, France; John Hall, McGill University, Canada; Jeremy King, Mount Hollyoke College, USA; Andrew Ludanyi, Ohio Northern University, USA; David Marples, University of Alberta, Canada; Aleksandra Milićević, University of North Florida, USA; Brendan O'Leary, University of Pennsylvania, USA; Margaret Paxson, Kennan Institute, USA; Sébastien Peyrouse, Johns Hopkins University, USA; Michael Rywkin, City College, USA; Gwendolyn Sasse, University of Oxford, UK; Edward Schatz, University of Toronto, Canada; Alfred C. Stepan, Columbia University, USA; Gearóid Ó Tuathail, Virginia Tech, USA; Timothy Waters, Indiana University, USA; Theodore R. Weeks, Southern Illinois University, USA; Stefan Wolff, University of Nottingham, UK; Susan Woodward, The Graduate Center, City University of New York, USA; Demet Yalçın Mousseau, Koç University, Turkey

Editorial correspondence, including submissions to the journal, should be sent to Florian Bieber, *Nationalities Papers*, Kompetenzzentrum Südosteuropa, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, Universitätsplatz 3, 8010 Graz, Austria. Email: bieberf@gmx.net

The editors accept no responsibility for the statements of fact or opinion made by the contributors.

Nationalities Papers receives support from the College of Arts and Sciences of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, and from the Shevchenko Scientific Society in America.

Business correspondence, including orders and remittances relating to subscriptions, back numbers and sample copies, should be addressed to the publisher: Routledge Journals, Taylor & Francis, Customer Services Department, Rankine Road, Basingstoke, Hants RG24 8PR, UK. Tel: +44 (0)1256 813002; Fax: +44 (0)1256 330245.

Back issues

Taylor & Francis retains a three-year back issue stock of journals. Older volumes are held by our official stockists: Periodicals Service Company http://www.periodicals.com/tandf.html, 11 Main Street, Germantown, NY 12526, USA, to whom all orders and enquiries should be addressed. Telephone: +1 518 537 4700; Fax: +1 518 537 5899; Email: psc@periodicals.com

Abstracting and indexing services

Nationalities Papers is currently noted in Geographical Abstracts: Human Geography, Geobase, Historical Abstracts, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS), International Political Science Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts, Zeller Verlag (IBZ/IBR) and America: History and Life.

ISSN 0090-5992

© 2011 Association for the Study of Nationalities

PAST EDITORS

Stephen Horak, *Eastern Illinois University, USA* (1972–1984) **Orest Subtelny,** *York University, Canada* (1985–1986)

Henry Huttenbach, The City College of the City University of New York, USA (1987–1998)

Nancy Wingfield, Northern Illinois University, USA (1999–2002)

Steve Sabol, *University of North Carolina, USA* (2002–2009)

NATIONALITIES PAPERS

The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity Volume 39 Number 5 September 2011

CONTENTS

Analysis of Current Events	
Doing more with less: the Justice and Development Party (AKP), Turkish elections, and the uncertain future of Turkish politics <i>Kristin Fabbe</i>	657
Articles	
Russian Orthodox concordat? Church and state under Medvedev Irina Papkova	667
Dual citizenship and sovereignty Szabolcs Pogonyi	685
Representations of the past in the Estonian Russian-language press: "own" or diaspora memory? Triin Vihalemm and Valeria Jakobson	705
Multiculturalism, memory, and ritualization: Ukrainian nationalist monuments in Edmonton, Alberta Per A. Rudling	733
Silesian in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: a language caught in the net of conflicting nationalisms, politics, and identities Tomasz Kamusella	769
Exit Yugoslavia: longing for mononational states or entrepreneurial manipulation? Rudi Klanjšek and Sergej Flere	791
Transnational minorities challenging the interstate system: Mingrelians, Armenians, and Muslims in and around Abkhazia Kimitaka Matsuzato	811
Book Symposium	011
Milica Uvalic, Serbia's transition: towards a better future Jan Svejnar; Tea Trumbić; Susan L. Woodward; Milica Uvalic	833
Book Reviews	
Thomas Barfield, Afghanistan: a cultural and political history Noah Coburn	845
Larry Wolff, The idea of Galicia: history and fantasy in Habsburg political culture	
Patrice M. Dabrowski	846
Marlène Laruelle (ed.), Russian nationalism and the national reassertion of Russia Vera Nikolski	849

David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, Russian orientalism: Asia in the Russian mind from Peter the great to the emigration David Rainbow	851
Catherine Baker, Sounds of the borderland: popular music, war and nationalism in Croatia since 1991 Sabrina P. Ramet	853
Kristen Ghodsee, Muslim lives in eastern Europe: gender, ethnicity, and the transformation of Islam in postsocialist Bulgaria Boyka Stefanova	854
Lara Nettelfield, Courting democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the hague tribunal's impact in a postwar state Safia Swimelar	856
Wolfgang Petritsch and Vedran Džihić (eds.), Conflict and memory: bridging past and future in [south east] Europe Tamara Pavasovic Trost	858
Sumantra Bose, Contested lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka Eric D. Weitz	860

Nationalities Papers

Subscription Information:

Nationalities Papers is a peer-reviewed journal, published on behalf of the Association for the Study of Nationalities by Routledge Journals, an imprint of Taylor & Francis, an Informa business, 4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxfordshire OX14 4RN, UK.

Annual Subscription, Volume 39, 2011

 Institutional
 £722
 €958
 \$1197

 Online
 £650
 €862
 \$1077

 Personal
 £167
 €219
 \$276

 (Plus tax where applicable)

Subscriptions purchased at the personal rate are strictly for personal, non-commercial use only. The reselling of personal subscriptions is prohibited. Personal subscriptions must be purchased with a personal cheque or credit card. Proof of personal status may be requested.

A subscription to the institution print edition, ISSN 0090-5992, includes free access for any number of concurrent users across a local area network to the online edition, ISSN 1465-3923.

Dollar rates apply to subscribers in all countries except the UK and the Republic of Ireland where the pound sterling price applies. If you are unsure which rate applies to you please contact Customer Services in the UK. All subscriptions are payable in advance and all rates include postage. Journals are sent by air to the USA, Canada, Mexico, India, Japan and Australasia. Subscriptions are entered on an annual basis, i.e. January to December. Payment may be made by sterling cheque, dollar cheque, international money order, National Giro, or credit card (Amex, Visa, Mastercard).

For a complete and up-to-date guide to Taylor & Francis journals and books publishing programmes, and details of advertising in our journals, visit our website: http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals

Nationalities Papers (USPS permit number 013 138) is published 6 times a year in January, March, May, July, September and November. The 2011 institutional subscription price is \$1197. Periodicals postage paid at Jamaica, NY, by US Mail Agent Air Business Ltd, C/O Worldnet Shipping USA Inc., 155-11 146th Street, Jamaica, New York, NY 11434.

US Postmaster: Please send address changes to cNAP, c/o Air Business Ltd, 155-11 146th Street, Jamaica, New York, NY 11434. Subscription records are maintained at Taylor & Francis Group, 4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, OX14 4RN, UK.

Ordering information:

USA/Canada: Routledge Journals, Taylor & Francis Inc., Journals Department, 325 Chestnut Street, 8th Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19106, USA. UK/Europe/Rest of World: Routledge Journals, T&F Customer Services, T&F Informa UK Ltd, Sheepen Place, Colchester, Essex, CO3 3LP, UK.

Advertising enquiries to:

USA/Canada: The Advertising Manager, Taylor & Francis Inc., 325 Chestnut Street, 8th Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19106, USA. Tel: +1 (800) 354 1420. Fax: +1 (215) 625 2940. **UK/Europe/RoW:** The Advertising Manager, Taylor & Francis, 4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxfordshire OX14 4RN, UK. Tel: +44 (0)207 017 6000. Fax: +44 (0)207 017 6336.

The print edition of this journal is typeset by Techset Composition Ltd, Wiltshire, and printed and bound in the United Kingdom by Henry Ling Limited, at the Dorset Press, Dorchester.

Copyright © 2011 Association for the Study of Nationalities. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored, transmitted, or disseminated, in any form, or by any means, without prior written permission from Taylor & Francis, to whom all requests to reproduce copyright material should be directed, in writing.

Disclaimer:

The Association for the Study of Nationalisties and Taylor & Francis make every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in their publications. However, the Association for the Study of Nationalities and Taylor & Francis and its agents and licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness or suitability for any purpose of the Content and disclaim all such representations and warranties whether express or implied to the maximum extent permitted by law. Any views expressed in this publication are the views of the authors and are not necessarily the views of the Editor, the Association for the Study of Nationalities or Taylor & Francis.

Taylor & Francis grants authorization for individuals to photocopy material for private research use, on the sole basis that requests for such use are referred directly to the requestor's local Reproduction Rights Organization (RRO). The copyright fee is £21/€26/\$34 exclusive of any charge or fee levied. In order to contact your local RRO, please contact International Federation of Reproduction Rights Organizations (IFRRO), rue du Prince Royal, 87, B-1050 Brussels, Belgium; e-mail: IFRRO@skynet.be; Copyright Clearance Center Inc., 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers MA 01923, USA; e-mail: info@copyright.com; Copyright Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court Road, London W1P 0LP, UK; e-mail: cla@cla.co.uk. This authorization does not extend to any other kind of copying, by any means, in any form, and for any purpose other than private research use.