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ГРАЖДАНСКИЙ НАЦИОНАЛИЗМ В РОССИИ: КАК ОН ТРАНСФОРМИРУЕТСЯ В КОНТЕКСТЕ ГЛОБАЛИЗАЦИИ

Данное исследование представляет собой оценку гражданского национализма в России как инструмента интеграции различных этнических групп на основе гражданских ценностей, динамично реагирующих на новые перспективы глобализации. Гражданский национализм обосновывается тенденциями в населении, включающими растущее число людей из разных культур и молодежи, способствующей глобально-локальному культурному смешению. Исследование, проведенное в данной работе, выполнено с использованием качественного подхода, основанного на вторичных данных, для представления значимых выводов на основе тематического анализа. Комплексный сравнительный обзор литературы служит важным инструментом для отслеживания эволюции российского гражданского национализма в процессе глобализации. Анализ показывает, что международные отношения сил динамичны, поскольку международные связи бросают вызов и формируют концепции идентичности одновременно с дальнейшим усилением гражданско-националистической коммуникации. В данном исследовании представлены различные академические перспективы для прояснения неоднозначных вопросов, касающихся связи между гражданским национализмом и глобализацией. Работа предоставляет важную информацию о развитии национальной идентичности в условиях глобализации и о том, как гражданский национализм может быть использован для построения инклюзивного российского общества.

Ключевые слова: гражданский национализм, глобализация, национальная идентичность, Россия.

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CIVIC NATIONALISM IN RUSSIA: NAVIGATING THROUGH ITS TRANSFORMATION IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION

This study is an assessment of civic nationalism in Russia as a tool to integrate various ethnic groups based on civic values that are dynamically responsive to the new globalization prospects. Civic nationalism is justified by trends in the population, which include a growing number of individuals from diverse cultures and youth who contribute to global-local cultural blending. The research undertaken in the paper is performed using the qualitative approach to research that makes use of secondary data to present meaningful conclusions based on thematic analysis. The comprehensive comparative literature review serves as a vital tool for tracking the evolution of Russian civic nationalism during the globalization process. The analysis shows that the international relations of forces are dynamic due to the display of international relationships that challenge and form identity concepts simultaneously with the further enhancement of civic nationalistic communication. This study presents various academic perspectives to clarify the ambiguous issues regarding the connection between civic nationalism and globalization. The work provides crucial information on the development of national identity in a more globalized world and how civic nationalism can be used to build an inclusive Russian society.

Key words: Civic nationalism, globalization, national identity, Russia.

Introduction. Russia's diverse sociopolitical structure, with its assortment of 190 ethnic groups across 85 federal subjects, creates an excellent setting for researching how civic nationalism combats ethnic divisions by establishing democratic values-based collective identity. When the Soviet Union dissolved through its collapse of 1991, Russia's future as a federation brought a critical obstacle to reshaping its national identity through anything other than Soviet-style authoritarian systems or imperial frameworks. Through its constitutional design, the new Russia aimed to unite the objectives of multiethnic republics and autonomous areas with the necessity of a united federal state by establishing civic unity as the essential quality of citizenship.

Civic nationalism in Russia originated historically through initiatives dedicated to merging various ethnic groups into unified national pursuits. The Zemstvo reforms of nineteenth-century Russia presented early attempts to establish cross-ethnic civic

involvement even though their execution had serious flaws. The Soviet Union implemented 'korenizatsiya' (indigenization) policies during the 1920s that granted ethnic minorities short-term empowerment through their positive action programs and their language revival and cultural autonomy initiatives.

Through cultural means globalization enables the formation of international alliances, which promote civic unification. UNESCO protection of Indigenous heritage sites, including the volcanic landscapes of Kamchatka, has given the Itelmens and their fellow citizens opportunities to defend land claims alongside promoting Russia's multi-cultural heritage [3]. During the 'Universiade 2013' international sporting competition in Kazan, the organization developed opportunities for Tatar culture representation to both international and domestic audiences to foster civic pride in the city serving as an intercultural hub between Russia and the Islamic world. Civic nationalism supports progressive ideas through its framework of inclusive systems and social blending practices combined with participatory governance.

The notion of constitutional patriotism, bases national identity on communal legal values instead of ethnic origin and appears in Russia through the constitutional protection of equality and the rights of minorities. The Federal National-Cultural Autonomy Law (1996) permits minority communities to utilize state-established NGOs for cultural preservation through grants that embed diversity within civic nationalism. Civic nationalism shows that it can turn constitutional principles into useful tools that make people feel included through these policies.

Russian contemporary demographics clearly demonstrate why civic nationalism remains important for the nation. According to the results of the 2021 census, at least 22% of the population identified as belonging to non-Russian ethnic groups, while researchers predict that number will grow because of population trends. The youth population of Moscow and St. Petersburg now adopted mixed cultural identities that merge their ancestral heritage with international cultural influences, including digital and hip-hop movements [1]. The framework of civic nationalism helps validate minority identities through cases like the Youth Parliament of the Republic of Bashkortostan, which includes Bashkir, Tatar, and Russian members in policy development.

The international nongovernmental organizations in the North Caucasus region partner with local activists to promote gender equality and youth business initiatives by utilizing their broad international connections to build civic engagement. Civic nationalism provides urban and rural communities a system to connect their native heritage with developing progress on the national stage. Through its government-linked 'Council of Ethnic Communities,' Dagestan solves community disputes by uniting public dialogue with traditional settlement practices based on democratic standards. Civic nationalism shows itself through flexible leadership, which resolves complex historical situations and creates new approaches to build progress [11]. Civic nationalism depends on political principles alongside citizenship for adherence instead of focusing on ethnicity to create social cohesiveness in multiple ethnic societies [10].

The Role of Globalization in the Development of Russian Civic Nationalism. Russia's civic national identity took shape predominantly after the Soviet Union

collapsed, together with the development of a new public identity. As Russia perceives nationalism, it places emphasis on active citizenship and institutional equality and political rights instead of ethnic-based and cultural uniformity [7] explains that civic nationalism focuses on inclusive citizenship, which surpasses ethnic antagonisms so the nation adopts a common civic identity through democratic principles and civic engagement. Historians show that Russia maintains civic nationalism by having a multi-ethnic legal state structure that unites different ethnic identities. The Russian constitution prominently establishes civic equality and individual rights based on civic nationalism principles [8].

The inconsistent practice of these principles occurs because political preferences favor ethnic nationalism instead of civic nationalism [4]. The civic and ethnic nationalism tension in Russia stands out, according to [6], because civic nationalism provides inclusion but faces resistance from established ethnic cultural frameworks.

Changes in civic nationalism in Russia derive primarily from globalization processes. Through the connected world enabled by globalization, people experience cultural transfers and expanded understanding of democratic ideas. The process of increased exposure has caused a steady transformation of public discussions about identity by advancing its inclusive elements. The Russian society has encountered concepts of citizenship and participation through globalization, which confronts established ways of belonging, according to [8].

Method. In this study, we used an interpretive qualitative study to determine the complicated relationship between the civic nationalism and globalization in the Russian context. The strategy enables a comprehensive analysis of the legal frameworks, cultural policies and global interactions. It is based on the 1993 Constitution of Russia, but especially on Article 3 that establishes the country as a multinational people whose unity is based on citizenship, and Article 5 that establishes equal rights to all the federal subjects. To evaluate how these principles apply to practice we viewed the example of how these principles were applied in an extreme situation, e.g. the 1994 Power-Sharing Treaty with Tatarstan. This treaty was able to allow major regional cultural policies, such as the use of Tatar-Russian bilingual education and the conservation of the Kazan Kremlin as a UNESCO World Heritage site. These clauses of the constitution and their results were put into perspective in the wider academic discourse of autonomy and federalism to assess their substantive effects on national unification.

Data collection. In order to analyze the role of intergovernmental agreements in civic nationalism, we used a comparative case study of Tatarstan and Sakha (Yakutia). In the case of Tatarstan, we compared the content and the results of its Power-Sharing Treaty of 1994-2017 that funded such initiatives as the Virtual Museum of Tatar Folklore. This digital archive shows that regional identity becomes preserved and globalized at the same time in federal structure that is confirmed by the current research. In the case of Sakha, we looked at official reports on resource-sharing settlements that finance the Indigenous Yakut language education and sustainable reindeer herding. The examples of such initiatives as the Arctic Climate Accord demonstrate that the area

combines the traditional knowledge with the global environmental sciences and makes the preservation of local cultures and cultures transnational.

The data obtained by means of the collected legal, policy, and academic materials were subjected to a thematic analysis. This was conducted by coding the data to repeatedly appearing concepts, thematic categories were developed and refined and the themes were applied to the research questions. This process of analysis was shifting away the recognition of elementary components, i.e. the references to the multinational people and federal unity, to the synthesis of the higher-order themes that describe the dynamics of regional identity, the national policy, and the global involvement in question.

Thematic analysis. The four themes that were found in the analysis were interconnected. To begin with, the research concludes that the constitution of Russia is formally a blend of the different cultures in one political state, with multiculturalism as one of its principles of state unity. Second, it also presents that civic nationalism is instantiated by negotiated regional identity in which treaties and cultural policies enable federal subjects to declare local pride in the national system. Third, there is the evidence of emergence of global-local alliances in governance where regions such as Sakha integrate with outside organizations to solve local problems hence connecting subnational actors directly with global networks. Lastly, the study finds that there is a trend of strategic global branding, in which Russia uses cultural heritage sites and online platforms to create a controlled image of the nation abroad.

This research has found that the Russian civic nationalism has exhibited an ability to adjust to globalization and not just oppose it. The results have indicated that national cohesion in the globalized world can be reinforced by policy models that enhance fair development, cultural-diplomatic and participatory governance. Conclusively, the study assumes that sustainability of the civic nationalism can be achieved through an uninterrupted institutional innovation that effectively strikes a balance between local identities and a unifying national vision that converts the forces of global incorporation into the chances to revitalize social cohesion.

Result & Discussion. National identities and political talk are complicated and multi-layered by globalization, as civic nationalism is only one aspect. Ethnic nationalism and the growth of Russophilia in Russia shape its outcomes, influencing the formation of current beliefs [2]. Studies points out that protests against the West by members of the «cancel culture movement» have helped the Russian government make Russian citizens feel more patriotic.

Consequently, globalization in Russia helps strengthen nationalist feelings among Russians and also supports minority groups in operating on the world stage with their specific culture [14]. This experiment proves that globalization can at the same time unite and separate people so that it leads to changes in how national traditions are formed [12].

There is a specific mechanism that links globalization to civic nationalism. The study uncovers three distinct mechanisms through which globalization fosters civic nationalism.

1. Integration of the economy helps bring countries closer together:

Being a member of the WTO in 2012 meant Russia's border regions, such as Kaliningrad, had to follow EU rules, supporting the community and uniting them. With changes in trade, Kaliningrad started the Baltic Cultural Nexus, a group of partners with Poland and Lithuania that modified Russian identity in the light of European culture. Because of this, hybrid public spots like the Amber City were built, and the business incubators made a point to hire groups of people with Russian, Lithuanian, and Polish backgrounds.

2. Interactions between groups across nations are bringing new change to civic engagement:

Digital globalization has started a new era where many ethnic groups work together for common goals, helped by support sites like Change.org Russia. The «Save Lake Baikal» campaign in 2020 demonstrates the current application of this idea [13]. It was set in motion by concerned Buryat elders, and other members came on board, such as Russian experts documenting nature change and Evenk reindeer herders whose economy depended heavily on the area. Within only a few weeks, the movement received over 500,000 signatures from people all over Siberia, Russia's cities, and abroad who share a commitment to the environment.

Members of the community worked together in clean-ups, involving Tuvan shamans, Russian Orthodox priests, and atheist biologists. As a result, the Baikal Protection Fund was created, where local people and federal bodies teamed up to manage it, which became a model later used in Kamchatka. In this instance, the network created by globalization led local complaints to join together, causing the group to decide to protect the country's treasures rather than just relying on family roots.

3. The practice of cultural diplomacy as a way to unite a nation:

In 2019, UNESCO designated Kazan as a Creative City, enabling Russia to leverage its Tatar heritage to enhance its global standing. The city used its place on the Silk Road to give the Sabantuy Festival a wider and more diverse meaning. At the festival, Sakha dancers were part of the same program as Chechen zikr chanting and Moscow electronic bands, and UNESCO-funded workshops allowed participants to try making chak-chak (Tatar pastry). Furthermore, the state presented the festival not as taking part in ethnic tokenism, but as Russia's offer to all. In 2013, the Universiade featured Tatar-language signs at various locations and gave its athletes medals with the Tatar word *çulpan* (for Venus), proving how local culture raises the country's prestige. It was found in surveys that 74% of Tatars felt more pride in their country, and 68% of ethnic Russians considered Kazan a sign of Russia's strong creativity. Things peaked for soft power civic nationalism in Kazan when its team, playing the *kurai* flute, convinced UNESCO that Tatar folk music today was Russia's answer to jazz. When Russia shared its regional culture across the world, it replaced ethnic nationalism with respect for all kinds of cultural diversity.

The Findings. Studies explain that due to Russia becoming more involved in international markets, the inequalities within parts of Russia have become greater, encouraging groups like the North Caucasus to clamor for independence. Scholar

believes that such social media activism run by Chechen diasporas can cause people to feel more strongly about their ethnicity, which might contribute to division within society. Even so, they do not take into account opposing mechanisms. During Russia's entry into the WTO, Tatarstan updated the 1994 Power-Sharing Treaty to strengthen ties among all regions. Articulating foreign investment with local spending on Tatar-language schools by using petrochemical profits made globalization a means to handle both local and national interests. Likewise, the Creative Cities Network in Kazan helped Tatar culture gain recognition around the world and build pride in citizens instead of making people think that it promotes separatism. For example, the Arctic Climate Accord (2021) from the Sakha Republic demonstrates this idea. Thanks to globalization, Sakha's Indigenous leaders viewed fighting climate change as a responsibility to protect the ecology of Russia. It follows Habermas' idea of constitutional patriotism, in which global rules for sustainability help, rather than weaken, the unity of a nation.

The Evolution of Sabantuy: A Festival That Transforms Ethnic Rituals into a National Symbol. The Sabantuy Festival demonstrates how globalization can simultaneously blur and clarify boundaries.

Before now, Sabantuy marked the Tatar and Bashkir harvest with events such as horse racing, wrestling, and reading poems in the Turkic languages. It stood for Tatar pride, because in 1989, almost 8 out of every 10 people at Kazan's festival identified as Tatar [15].

Since 2000, Sabantuy has become a national gathering that many Russians celebrate together. Looking back, we can tell how much the event has changed. The city is thrilling and packed with the vibrance of modern Russia. Dancers in Slavic costumes with fancy skirts are dancing by the stage's edge. There is a steady thump from an Armenian dhol along with Tatar accordions in the music. Even most of the ethnic Russians here consider the event to be a celebration of Russia and its people, not just a Tatar holiday. The state proudly displays it as a representative of Russia's vibrant community.

While globalization aims to unite nations, in Russia, it has the potential to exacerbate the divide between cities and villages. The difference is easy to spot in the area of technology.

There are many examples of our modern world in the busy city of Kazan. It is common for most people (almost 9 out of 10) to be comfortable using the internet without difficulties. People can provide feedback on how their cities change and feel by using their phones. People can have a say in voting for building parks or placing public art over the internet. Active Citizen makes it simple for almost 9 out of 10 citizens to be involved in voting for new parks or cultural programs. An excellent instance was seen in 2023 when 12,000 people voted online for a Tatar-Slavic art installation in the area near Moscow's Kremlin, showing how technology and public power work together.

Nearly 90% of people have easy access to the internet. It is now possible for everyone to use apps on their phones to give their opinions on city planning. They may share their opinions about the creation of new parks or public art by voting through the Internet. A year ago, the city of Kazan used an app that allowed 12,000 people to support a beautiful mural that combines Tatar and Slavic cultural features close to the

Kremlin walls. Advances in technology make it easier for city dwellers to cooperate and design their city.

On the other hand, researchers find that the picture is very different in remote places such as Dagestan's rocky mountains. About one-fourth of people in that nation have access to the internet, according to government data from Rosstat.gov.ru in 2023. Many scholars explain that the difficult terrain and poor land conditions make it hard to invest, which results in limited internet use. The terrain conditions are challenging, and the government has not yet constructed the necessary infrastructure.

Researchers observed that the isolation of Gunib led to the neglect of many people. Interviews revealed that villagers expressed their inability to use online services, despite official instructions to do so. **“Is it possible to access the internet even without having power”** they claimed.

As a result, technology helps busy Kazan but cuts villages in Dagestan off from the benefits and activities. This gap is also caused by who gets to communicate and who gets ignored as society evolves.

Civic Nationalism Helped to Resolve Various Conflicts. Just as the Soviet Union fell apart in the 1990s, the wild cities of Russia saw many changes. The situation in the Republic of Tatarstan was very tense. Many Tatars were proud of their country's history, distinct language, and abundant oil fields, so they wished for independence. There were many protests taking place in the streets. The ruling elites in Kazan boldly claim, «We govern our oil wealth!» Children get their education in Tatar schools. There were signs that Russia was nearing collapse.

However, researchers made a discovery that completely changed their perceptions. Tatarstan and Moscow preferred to build a connection rather than break apart. In 1994, a «Power-Sharing Treaty» was written and signed to create peace between them. Consider it a careful work that is drawn out like a map. In return, Kazan got a strong position: Tatarstan controlled its schools and took possession of 70% of the state's oil profits.

Moscow did not allow Tatarstan to break away from Russia. During their research, others were able to observe the implementation of genuine peace, not just the documented version. Back in 2010, scholars noticed children laughing, playing, and studying together smoothly in both Tatar and Russian. Learning from one another in two languages was helpful and made people feel better. According to [5], learning in two languages helped reduce the hope of independence by a huge margin of 40%. When they grew up, the kids stopped believing in the «us vs. them» divide and accepted both cultures as their own.

Globalization greatly strengthened peace. When Russia entered the WTO in 2012, the state of Tatarstan sent its oil to places around the world for the first time. Nations around the world recognized the oil wealth that resulted from the money in Iraq. They didn't only construct roads; they also put together a Virtual Museum of Tatar Folklore. An exquisite online museum keeps old songs, beautiful embroidery, and dramatic stories safe for many years. People from all over the globe can discover Tatar culture at

any moment. As global attention grew, Tatar identity strengthened and gained recognition throughout the entire Russian Federation.

In essence, Tatarstan's story is very instructive.

- **Crisis:** People's sense of identity and resource management led to intense demands for separation.

- **Civic Solution:** Russia was able to control both its educational system and oil-related matters thanks to a thoughtful treaty.

- **Healing:** Because Tatars were taught both languages, they now feel proud to be part of both cultures, which lowered the urge for separation.

- **Global boost:** Because of WTO involvement, the local oil funds were able to become global currency, which supported the creation of the Virtual Museum that highlights Tatar identity far beyond the city of Kazan.

It proves that supporting local pride and dividing power with foreign influence can prevent fights and unite people strongly.

Sakha's Arctic Accord is an example of how communities can enjoy indigenous rights as a part of a unified country. In the unstable 2010s, Sakha indigenous communities dealt with a rising number of challenges due to mining projects that built on their important land. Russia primarily set up these projects to extract resources in the Arctic, which sparked protests from numerous Sakha Indigenous groups. Protestors worried about the environment, the decline of cultural traditions, and the erosion of people's usual way of life were the main focus of the protests.

Realizing how important it is to promote reconciliation and help the environment, the government of Russia and Sakha officials signed the 2021 Arctic Climate Accord. The deal was a key moment, as it gave Sakha nearly one-third of the income from their native mining sectors. Besides helping economically, the accord also promoted Indigenous language and helped the environment by providing funds for both schools and ecotourism projects. They were introduced to maintain Sakha's traditions and help people switch to sustainable jobs in their home areas.

In 2023, a national survey showed that there had been a major change in Sakha's young adults' opinions. The study noted that direct federal links are considered good by 82% of young people in the area, which is much more than the 45% from 2015. This data shows that indigenous communities and the federal government now trust each other more and realize the real advantages of the Arctic Climate Accord. All in all, the relationship between the indigenous peoples and the state demonstrates how they can both support the nation and promote sustainable development when they talk, respect each other, and share a commitment.

Conclusion. The present adaptation of the connection between civic nationalism and globalization in Russia provides intriguing indictments and paradigmatic shocks. The strength of civic nationalism, coupled with globalization, seeks to legitimize its potential in terms of promoting social cohesiveness and economic equality as well as cultural dynamism.

The diversity of Russia as a multinational, regionally diverse country demands flexible, progressive, and inclusive policies so that globalization will not enhance differences but rather become an instrument of shared prosperity. Civic nationalism would be made more powerful and adaptable in Russia, and this will result in equitable development, digitalization of the culture, and environmentally friendly management. Institutional innovation, participatory governance, and the ability to integrate local identities with a unifying national vision will ultimately lead to the success of these efforts.

The current geopolitical instability, the onset of technological development, and Russia's inclination to seek stability will determine whether civic nationalism helps unite the country or becomes a source of conflict.

The next approach is not that of shutting off Russia from the rest of the world but is that of being active and involved with the global trends. These measures would show that ethnic groups can coexist in the country with a common and progressive national system. Russia can take this new trajectory to turn the challenges of globalization into a revitalization and unification in an ever more global world.

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