## Nation-building and Identity Politics in Contemporary Russia: Policy Analysis

Course convened and taught by: Dr Guzel Yusupova (guzel.yusupova@durham.ac.uk)

# **General reading**

Kolstø, P. & Blakkisrud, H.(eds). 2016. The New Russian Nationalism: Imperialism, Ethnicity and Authoritarianism 2000-2015. Edinburgh University press. 288 p.

Protsyk O. & Harzl B.(eds). 2013. Managing Ethnic Diversity in Russia. Routledge. 282 p.

Young E. & L. Quinn. 2002. Writing Effective Public Policy Papers: A Guide for Policy Advisers in Central and Eastern Europe. Open Society Institute. 113 p.

## Weekly reading

Week 1. Introduction. Nationalities Policy: Soviet Legacy and its Effects

#### // Policy Paper: An Overview

Overshoot, H. 2013. The Homogeneity of Russia, or the Remains of an Empire (Federalism and Regionalism). *Managing Ethnic Diversity in Russia*. 2013. Routledge. Pp. 87-110

Hale, H. 2005. The Makeup and Breakup of Ethnofederal states: Why Russia Survives where USSR Fell. *Perspectives on Politics* 3 (1). Pp. 55-70

Pain E. 2009. Russia between Empire and Nation. Russian Politics and Law 47 (2). Pp. 60-86

Gorenburg, D. 2009. Is Russia a Nation-State? Russian Politics and Law 47 (2). Pp. 3-7

### Week 2. Transformations of the Russian Federalism after 2000

#### // Policy Process

Sharafutdinova, G. 2013. Gestalt Switch in Russian Federalism. *Comparative politics* 45(3). Pp.357-376

Goode, P. 2010. The Fall and Rise of Regionalism? *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 26 (2). Pp. 233-56

#### Week 3. Ethnic Diversity and Cultural Homogenisation in Putin's Era

#### // The Structure of a Policy Paper

Pain. E. 2013. The Ethno-Political Pendulum: The Dynamics of the Relationship between Ethnic Minorities and Majorities in Post-Soviet Russia. *Managing Ethnic Diversity in Russia*, Routledge. Pp. 153-172

Zamyatin, K. 2016. Russian Political Regime Change and Strategies of Diversity Management: From a Multinational Federation towards a Nation-State. *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* 15 (1). Pp. 19–49.

Yusupova G. 2018. 'Cultural nationalism and everyday resistance in an illiberal nationalising state: ethnic minority nationalism in Russia', *Nations and Nationalism*. Volume 24, Issue 3, July 2018 Pp. 624-647

#### Week 4. Religious Policies and the Conservative Turn

#### // Policy Paper: Problem Description

Knox Z. & Mitrofanova A. 2014. The Russian Orthodox Church/ *Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twenty-First Century*, New York: Routledge pp. 38-66.

Laruelle M. 2016. How Islam Will Change Russia. George Town University URL: <a href="https://jamestown.org/program/marlene-laruelle-how-islam-will-change-russia/#.V9rHwfkrJQK">https://jamestown.org/program/marlene-laruelle-how-islam-will-change-russia/#.V9rHwfkrJQK</a>

Gorenburg D. 2006. Russia Confronts Radical Islam. Current History 105 (693). Pp. 334 -340

Laine V & Saarelaine I. 2017. Spirituality as a political instrument: The Church, the Kremlin, and the creation of the 'Russian World'. Finnish Institute of International Affairs. URL: <a href="https://www.fiia.fi/en/publication/spirituality-as-a-political-instrument">https://www.fiia.fi/en/publication/spirituality-as-a-political-instrument</a>

#### Week 5. Citizenship Policies and Ideas of Belonging to the Russian Nation

### // Policy Paper: Policy Options

Shevel O. 2012. The Politics of Citizenship Policy in Post-Soviet Russia," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 28, no. 1, pp. 111-147.

Myhre, M. 2017. The State Program for Voluntary Resettlement of Compatriots: Ideals of Citizenship, Membership, and Statehood in the Russian Federation. *Russian review* 76 (4). Pp. 690–712

## Week 6. Migration Policies in Russia

#### // Policy Paper: Conclusion and Recommendations

Tkach O. & Brednikova O. 2016. Labour Migration and the Contradictory Logic of Integration in Russia. *The EU's Eastern Neighbourhood: Migration, Borders and Regional Stability*, ed. by I. Liikanen, J.W. Scott, T. Sotkasiira. Routledge. Pp. 201-217

Mihaylova, I. 2017. 'Russia's new Concept of the State Migration Policy until 2025: A Reform Towards Effective Policies for International Economic Migrants?', Geopolitics, History, and International Relations, 9(1): 176-214

Streltsova, Y. 2014. The Adaptation of Immigrants in Russia: The Language Aspect', Russian Politics and Law, 52(6): 24-41

#### Week 7. Memory Politics and Cultural Policies

#### // Policy Paper: Final Remarks

Malinova, O. 2012. Usage of the Past in the Official Symbolic Policy of Post-Soviet Russia. *Symbol w polityce*. Duet. Pp. 181-201.

Zhurzhenko. T. 2015. Russia's Never-Ending War against 'Fascism'. Memory Politics in the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict. *Eurozine*. Pp. 1-9

Romashko T. 2018. Biopolitics and Hegemony in Contemporary Russian Cultural Policy. *Russian Politics* 3/1. Pp.88 - 113

#### Week 8. Patriotism and Education

#### // Students' Policy Papers Discussion

Potapova.2014. Normativity in Russian History Education: Political Patterns and National History Textbooks. Journal of Social Science Education 14 (1). Pp. 47-55

Rapoport A. 2009. Patriotic Education in Russia: Stylistic Move or a Sign of Substantive Counter-Reform? *The Educational Forum* 73/2 pp. 141 - 152

Busygina I. 2016. Putin's Russia: The State-Building Strategy. Russian Politics Vol. 1. Pp. 70-94

# Further reading

Bunce, V. 2013. Conclusion: Regime Transition, Political Institutions and Minority Politics in Russia. *Managing Ethnic Diversity in Russia*, Routledge. Pp. 263-279

Hagendoorn, L. E., Minescu, A. 2008. Support for Separatism in Ethnic Republics of the Russian Federation. *Europe-Asia Studies* 60 (3). Pp. 354-373

Hutchings S. and Tolz V. 2015. Nation, Ethnicity and Race on Russian Television. Routledge.

Gorenburg, D. 2003. Minority ethnic mobilization in the Russian Federation. Cambridge University Press.

Goode. P. 2016. Love for the motherland. (or Why Cheese is More Patriotic than Crimea). *Russian Politics*, Volume 1, Issue 4, PP. 418 – 449

Giuliano E. 2005. Islamic Identity and Political Mobilization in Russia: Chechnya and Dagestan Compared. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*. 11/2, Pages 195-220

Giuliano E. 2006. Secessionism From the Bottom Up: Democracy, Nationalism, and Local Accountability in the Russian Transition. *World Politics* 58, pp. 276-310

Kangaspuro M. & Lassila J. 2012. Naming the War and Framing the Nation in Russian Public Discussion. *Canadian Slavonic Papers*. 54 (3-4), pp. 377-400

Kolsto. P. & Blakkisrud H. (ed). 2005. Nation-Building and Common Values in Russia. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 390 p.

Kolsto. P. & Blakkisrud H. (ed). 2018. Russia Before and After Crimea: Nationalism and Identity. Edinburgh University press 2010–17. 352 p.

Laruelle M. 2009. In the Name of the Nation. Nationalism and Politics in Contemporary Russia. Palgrave MacMillan

Laruelle M. 2011. Russian Eurasianism. An Ideology of Empire. Johns Hopkins University Press

Prina, F. 2015. National Minorities in Putin's Russia: Diversity and Assimilation. Routledge.

Tolz. V. 2004. "The Search for a National Identity in the Russia of Yeltsin and Putin," in Yitzhak Brudny, Jonathan Frankel and Stefani Hoffman (eds.), *Restructuring Post-Communist Russia*. Cambridge University Press.

Sharafutdinova, G. 2014. The Pussy Riot affair and Putin's Démarche from Sovereign Democracy to Sovereign Morality, *Nationalities Papers* 42 (4). Pp. 615-621

Sharafutdinova, G. 2016. Regional Governors Navigating through Putin's Third Term On the Wave of Patriotism through the Troubled Waters of the Economy. *Russian Politics*. 1/2016 pp. 372-397

Shevel O. 2011. Russian Nation-building from Yeltsin to Medvedev: Ethnic, Civic or Purposefully Ambiguous?," *Europe-Asia Studies* 63, no. 2 (2011): 179 202

Shcherbak A. & Sych K. 2017. Trends in Russian Nationalities Policy. Problems of Post-Communism, 64:6, pp. 311-328