Ethnic and Cultural Aspects of Nationalism Transformation in the Context of Globalization: The Global Trends and Russian Specifics

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Abstract

Formation and development of nations is a historical process accompanied by the constant transformation of nationalist ideologies, which often represent a reaction to the processes of globalization. In the acceleration period of globalization processes, there deepens the ethno-cultural dimension of nationalistic ideologies, which determines the purpose and novelty of this study.

The classical works of constructivists (E. Gellner, E. Hobsbawm, B. Anderson, etc.) and primordialists (A. Smith, etc.) provide the methodological basis for the study of transformation of nationalism and its ethno-cultural components in the context of globalization. Within the framework of the constructivist approach, nationalism can be interpreted in the spirit of the creation and development of modern civilized nations. Primordialism gives grounds to consider the nation through the prism of its ethnic roots and ethno-cultural features. The socio-philosophical approach of the Russian author Zh.T. Toshchenko, aimed at analyzing the ethnocratic aspects that form the essence of most nationalist ideologies, is methodologically significant for the study of Russian nationalism transformation specifics.The analysis of nationalism revealed that this phenomenon arises from the idea of creating and developing a modern nation and is closely related to the approaches of understanding and interpretation of this socio-political phenomenon. It is also impossible to separate it from the ethnic and cultural aspects in one form or another involved in the process of nation-building. The article reveals that there can be quite acceptable and even historically contingent forms of nationalism associated with its patriotic content, which, for example, can serve as a resource for mobilizing the population in acute international conflicts and large-scale wars.

Keywords: Nationalism, Globalization, Ethnicity, Ethnic culture, Ethnic conflicts, Ethnocracy, Global trends of nationalism, Nationalism in Russia, Transformation of nationalism, Anti-globalization.

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Introduction

Treating nationalism primarily as a socio-cultural phenomenon, it is necessary to take into account both the historical context of its formation and the stratification system of the societies where it first began to appear. Therefore, it is correct to agree with the statement of the major British scholar E. Hobsbawm (2012) who states that all the discourses of nation, national identity, and nationalism itself (including all terminology we know) take place in the modern period and bear the stamp of modern and modernization, which was the transition from estates in social stratification (primarily European and colonial North American societies of colonization type) to the class stratification.

"Membership" of a nation is determined primarily by nationality rather than ethnicity, but some countries actively grant their nationality on the basis of membership of a strictly defined ethnic group to all-comers in a simplified manner (for example, Israel provides these conditions for the Jews, regardless of where they live and what languages they speak; Germany does the same for ethnic Germans, etc.). Therefore, we should not be surprised that the ethnos is in the strongest interaction with the nation and can influence the course of its further development in many ways.

In this regard, V. A. Tishkov is correct when he draws attention to the peculiarities of the word used for such concepts as "nation", "people", and "nationality" in a Russian context. In particular, he writes that the concept of "people" can be synonymous with the term "nationality": "But this takes place only in Russia and in some other countries (for example, in China) where nationality refers to an ethnic group or so-called national minorities". In the rest of the world, the word nationality means citizenship of a country. In Russia, they have already learned to answer "Russian" in visa citizenship questionnaires when traveling abroad, but inside the country nationality still means ethnicity" (Tishkov, 2013, p.41). Moreover, many people continue to identify such concepts as ethnicity and nation quite consciously, treating their nationality as a separate nation.

E. Gellner notes that *nations* in the modern sense become full-fledged subjects of the global political process only in the course of mass production (industrial) development and formation of a full-fledged class society. The nation, thus, in Marxist terms, is called upon at the new stage of production forces development to found society at the level of its cultural add-ons, while at the level of social and economic basis in such (industrial society) there will always be a permanent conflict.

Thus, the birth of a nation is intended to unite and solidify the population of countries that are moving from feudalism to the capitalist formation, which, however, creates some new problems, often associated with the manifestation of radical nationalism. E. Gellner states, that "In conditions of a certain social and economic organization, which is best described as "industrialism", there exist and become politically significant the classes (the vague ones, without clear boundaries of the market society strata) and the nation (anonymous categories of people, allocated and aware of themselves on the basis of cultural similarity). When they act in a union, there change political boundaries. The economic tension, expressed and amplified by the cultural differences, acquires political potential and forces to redraw the map. But individually, neither economic tension nor cultural differences can produce any significant change" (Gellner, 2002, pp.197-198).

Thus, the economic tension must also be stimulated by the cultural differences, which can lead to a split of identity and national disintegration (Vodenko et al., 2018). In the latter case, nationalism is able to actively produce separatist regimes, acting as an ideological incentive for separation of a

certain territory, for example, on the basis of politicization of linguistic or religious differences with the rest of the country.

Literature Review

B. Anderson - the leading representative of the cultural approach whose theoretical positions are within the framework of constructivist paradigm, gives the following definition of the nation: "it is an imaginary political community, and it is imagined as something inevitably limited, but at the same time sovereign" (Anderson, 2016, p.47). In general, the British thinker shares the common constructivist view that the idea of a nation, since the modern era, performs the structuring function. The same function had the idea of universal Christianity in the Middle ages.

If in the period of feudalism the masses were united according to the class and confessional principle, then with the development of capitalism the class identity comes to the fore, which, however, prevents super-class associations on the basis of previous criteria. Thus, nationalism (in a broad sense) is a new factor in social life organization, which replaced or largely ousted religious identity factor (subjects of the country) and the way of organization and legitimization of power originating from dynastic principle.

With the emergence of "the nation" concept, the most active community members begin to imagine special national interests. B. Anderson's definition of the nation quite accurately reflects the ability of a person to construct new social and political identities. Good imagination enables people to imagine indefinitely large community populations and identify themselves with its full-fledged representatives. It is obvious that public consciousness and imagination, since the Modern era, have undergone serious transformations, and the leading role in this process belongs to the mass distribution of political maps. Thus, the nation was understood as a project focused on collective development, the more effective the more able to successfully implement the modernization model.

Thus, the nation, in accordance with B. Anderson's definition: "seems to be *sovereign*, because this concept was born in the era when Enlightenment and Revolution destroyed the legitimacy of hierarchical dynastic state established by the God" (Anderson, 2016, p.49). In this case, the nation is thought (imagined) as a community of egalitarian type, regardless of the specific inequality and exploitation, it (at least in imagination) appears to be a horizontal partnership, though separated from other nations, and able to enter into a contradiction or even a conflict with them.

Therefore, in the context of nation-building, there may arise the ethnic conflicts that were previously neutralized by the presence of common citizenship under the sovereign authority. However, now the bearer of sovereignty is not a specific monarch, but the people as a whole, that is the nation.

It is clear that nationalism *contributes to the politicization of the language communities and languages themselves.* Before the modern era this form had not been observed, especially if we remember that the aristocracy of many nations spoke and gave out orders in the languages which were sometimes very different from the dialects of the common people; the priesthood and the intellectual European elite used the Latin language, while Muslim ethnic groups in legal matters used the Arabic language, etc. The largest language communities, as a result, are in a more advantageous situation: in the context of nationalism growth, they can directly identify their political boundaries with the spread of language.

E. Kedourie pointed out that "the French revolution advanced the principle, according to which individuals and communities have the right to secede from one state and join another. No less

revolutionary in its consequences was another principle: the states have natural boundaries, corresponding to the linguistic map of the territory" (Kedourie, 2010, p.70). So there are specific "language worlds", whose inhabitants are no longer associated with class citizenship, and a particular feudal. Under the influence of propaganda, they are guided primarily by such nationalist projects that operate on the basis of language proximity. Moreover, the existing languages are largely unified and become uniformed through the mass education system (Vodenko, 2019; Vodenko et al., 2018a).

In general, the constructivists emphasize that the so-called national traditions (including, for example, such varieties as national clothes, music, dance, sports, etc.) were mainly invented by representatives of the rising bourgeoisie class only in the modern era (Hobsbawm, 2000), in the framework of modernization project, in order to overcome and smooth out the differences between the culture of the ruling classes (aristocrats) and the commoners. There is no doubt that the bourgeoisie as a representative of the Third Estate, which could be listed as "commoners", was interested in a new edition of the folk culture and a significant romanticization of previous traditions and customs. In this regard, it is interesting that the bourgeois-nationalistic culture of the 19th century was in many functional aspects a predecessor of the 20th-century mass culture.

However, as is justly considered by the representatives of the symbolic primordialism (in its soft version), namely of "perennialism", represented in the works of A. Smith, who assumed that constructivists were partially correct but we cannot state that national traditions were created solely by the bourgeoisie representatives, from square one. "There is definitely more to nation-building than nationalist forgery, and the "invention" here must be understood in another sense - as innovative recombination of the existing elements" (Smith, 2002, p.256).

Moreover, in the recombination of the already existing ethnic and cultural elements, which have become spiritual "staples" of the new European nations, there cannot be denied the contribution of the aristocracy and the leading Royal European houses, which were also largely "nationalized", especially in the 19th century. Undoubtedly, the aristocrats of this historical period began to actively recall their roots and ethnic origin, joining the work of nationalist parties. At the same time, these parties were egalitarian, as they to some extent have learned the nationalist agenda along with the bourgeoisie.

Thus, in the logic of "primordialism" we can assume the existence of some archetypal structures of people's memory, as well as customs and traditions that have been trying to actively revive the subsequent nation for long historical periods. In the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, racism was an essential component of nationalism, which reached extreme forms of expression in German national socialism.

Unlike the modern forms of linguistic nationalism, racial nationalism demanded from its recognized representatives to possess the appropriate anthropological type. As E. Smith notes, "the real drawback of the modernist picture of nationalism, accepted by so many historians and other scientists - is its certain historical superficiality. By linking nation and nationalism exclusively to the modern era transition and treating them as the fruits of "modernity," they have complicated the task of explaining why these nations are returning to the past and feel their continuity with the ethnic past" (Smith, 2002, p.258). It is interesting that within the framework of primordialism, the present and the future of any nation is to some extent connected with the historical fate of a separate (state-forming) ethnic group, which significantly complicates the possibility of its interpretation as an exclusively civil phenomenon.

There is no doubt that ethnicity is one of the primary factors of collective identification, moreover, it is often an important component of a future nation creation, but it is certainly not an excessive criterion of nation-building. As C. Calhoun noted, "nationalism, thus is based on the pre-existing identities and traditions, and national identities reflect such traditions as well. But nationalism is seriously transforming the pre-existing ethnic identities and gives new meaning to the cultural heritage. The ethnic roots and cultural identity are only a part of the (not always mandatory) aspects of modern nation creation" (Calhoun, 2006, p.109). For example, almost all of the North American and South American nations tend to have a complex multi-ethnic structure and a rather mobile ethnic configuration, which, for several centuries could be quite significantly transformed and accompanied by conflicts, recorded in the culture of these countries.

Discussion

Nationalism is often treated as a rather negative social phenomenon, akin to chauvinism and xenophobia (or even as the extreme form of narrow-understood patriotism), but sometimes, on the contrary, nationalism is understood as a patriotic norm inherent in the entire civil nation as a whole. In this regard, the concept of ethnocracy introduced into scientific usage by the domestic philosopher Zh.T. Toshchenko is relevant. This concept allows us to fix the forms of ethnic discrimination and exclusion mechanisms operating within national entities, as well as adequately explicate the nature and essence of ethnic nationalism. Moreover, this type of nationalism, which often takes regional forms, can be considered not only as a political ideology but also as a set of (often informal) social practices of exclusion and discrimination of unwanted citizens.

In the Russian Federation with its multi-ethnic society, the problems of ethnic and cultural integration largely arise due to the incompleteness of nation-building and formation of the civil identity, supported by the relevant legal institutions. In addition, these integration problems are related, on the one hand, to the search for models of regulation between cohabiting ethnic groups in multi-ethnic regions, internal ethnic migrants and host local communities (Volkov et al., 2017). The Russian researchers also point out the growing risks of ethnic cultures politicization against the background of increased migration processes, which increases the role of local governments in the regulation of local-level interethnic relations.

In the context of Russian reality, for the regulation of interethnic relations through the procedures of civil and ethnic values discussion it is important to form the model of integration policy at the level of local self-government, that allows starting the processes of symbolic integration (Volkov et al., 2017). The value policy has opportunities to overcome the risks of ethnocentrism, taking into account various aspects of personal identity and promotes the assimilation of a constructive civic behavior model. However, a positive result of inter-ethnic conflicts prevention can be achieved when the local self-government bodies are updated as institutions of direct democracy.

Thus, considering the peculiarities of Russian territorial and political structure and the percentage of the largest ethnic groups in our country (the Russian population being a predominant), it is necessary to point out the two most distinctive types of such nationalism. The first type is primarily associated with the ethnization of political governance in republics of the Russian Federation. According to Zh.T. Toshchenko, "in some republics there is a real threat of autochthonous national exclusivity growth as various methods of other ethnic groups displacement from the governing bodies continue to be applied and practiced" (Toshchenko, 2003, p.278).

The question here is about the nationalism of ethnic minorities, which is legitimized mainly in the framework of the virtual statehood of Russian republics. Moreover, this type of nationalism is largely institutionalized at the level of regional authorities and is essentially dependent on special forms of symbolic capital, which is not fully possessed by all the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, but only by the republics created on autonomy basis of one or more ethnic communities. Moreover, in addition to the negative trends associated with the formation of particular "quasi-state" identities, it simultaneously performs quite positive and structurally necessary functions – the integration of a number of ethnic communities into the political space of Russia.

The second type of ethnic nationalism can be described in contrast to the first one as the ethnic majority nationalism. Considering Russian ethnic nationalism, A.V. Serikov emphasizes that "the actualization of Russian ethnicity, ethnic and affiliative trends is influenced by underestimation of the "Russian factor" by the Federal authorities (the lack of mention of the Russian people in legal acts, ignoring the actual Russian problems until the last election of the President of the Russian Federation, etc.), social and interethnic conflicts with participation of Russians" (Serikov, 2013, p.36).

Therefore, in this case, we can talk about ethnic deprivation of the Russians, which acts as a catalyst for nationalist tendencies. In addition, especially in the recent time, the discourse of Russian nationalists is based on the fact that the state's policy and the recognized legal institutions are in practice asymmetric in relation to different ethnic groups: what can be done for one, cannot be done for the other. In this regard, A. V. Serikov emphasizes that "the failure to resolve this issue at the political level, and moreover, the communicative attack on the "Russian question" problem provides psychological discomfort for the Russians, alienates them from the state, at least the active ethnoforum part" (Serikov, 2013, p.36).

Thus, the absence of institutionalized and legitimate forms aimed at the manifestation of Russian ethnic subjectivity, on the one hand, makes Russian nationalists political marginals, and on the other - contributes to the growth of protest moods that can be aimed at active participation in environmental groups, including the ones of political opposition.

Globalization is a world process of economic, social, political and cultural integration and unification, which is not always favorable for the existence of individual peoples and cultures. In this regard, A. Giddens (2004) stated that globalization should be defined as "intensification of global relations linking the distant places in such a way that the local events are formed by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens, 2004, p.32).

As a result, the interethnic bonds are increasing through closer interaction in the all-pervasive global market framework, cultural exchange between a number of ethnic groups which previously seemed to have no contacts is intensifying, respectively, the tension and intolerance are increasing, and the number of conflicts on the basis of intercultural communication is increasing as well. This, in turn, creates special difficulties for the integration of migrants at the level of local communities and requires the effective work of local governments (Volkov et al., 2017).

Globalization undoubtedly has a strong impact on the growth of cosmopolitanism, which, however, can be quite controversial in practice. For example, cosmopolitanism, on the one hand, serves as the main tool to overcome previous nationalist ideologies, asserting the values of universalism and globalism, especially relevant in the context of growing technological progress and further development of the information society. There are processes of mutual penetration of cultures

and traditions, mutual innovative enrichment of cultural acquisitions, even in a situation of uncertainty and complexity when making the right decisions. But on the other hand, as a reaction to the threats associated with invasion of cosmopolitan values into the national world there comes nationalism in the form of patriotism (Napso, 2016, p.135). Therefore, many nationalists affiliated with the state constantly appeal to the contradiction between the state interests and global development trends.

Thus, there is a growth of ethnic diasporas around the world, which leads to significant changes and correction of nationalism. "The unity of the territory, nation, and the state has defined the political map of the world for more than 200 years. In the 20th century, this unity has failed, the planet began to transform into an archipelago of diasporas. Everything is in the past; the state and the nation exist on their own. The disintegration of the unity of territory, nation, and state is a reality" (Volkov, 2015, p.52). If we talk about the "old" nations with low natural population growth, which have already passed the phase of active state nationalism in the 19-20th centuries, they are less likely to be presented as ethnic and cultural monoliths, especially because of being the main recipients of migration flows in recent years.

However, there is a view that, despite the significant changes in their own ethnic structure, the developed (predominantly Western) countries remain the main beneficiaries of globalization. In this regard, some researchers believe that the modern globalization "mainly continues to be a transformed kind of nationalism of the first world countries, stimulating the emergence and spread of economic, cultural and political ethnic nationalism" (Granin, 2010, p.353). As a result, the ethnic nationalism of various minorities can be interpreted as a counter-colonial reaction to the acceleration of globalization under the auspices of the Western countries.

In general, Zh.T. Toshchenko ranges ethnocracy against democracy – the first, in his opinion, means "the power of a *part of the people with some other – ethnic characteristics*. And this power was opposed to the possible contenders for power on the part of other ethnic groups representatives – other tribes, unions, clans, etc." (Toshchenko, 2003, p.47). In one form or another, ethnocracies can exist throughout the visible history of mankind; moreover, many of them are at the origins of the first state formations that were the result of capturing the territory of other conquered peoples by one ethnic group (tribe).

Conclusions

In General, *nationalism* in the discourse of modern social disciplines and, above all, social philosophy is understood as a quite ambivalent phenomenon, that is, as a set of ideological concepts (or sometimes even prejudices) and social practices interpreted in a wide range from moderate patriotism to xenophobia manifestations and even the excesses such as Nazism and extremism. At the same time, the ethno-oriented nationalism tends to either represent the interests of the ethnic majority or, on the contrary, pose itself as an expression of ethnic minorities' interests.

However, it should be borne in mind that the negative features of ethnic nationalism may not contribute to the consolidation of nations around the elements of historical memory and common cultural heritage, but rather become a trigger for their historical disintegration. The increasing trends towards separatism observed in the world in most cases are directly related to the described phenomenon, which is the emergence and accelerated development of regional nationalism, many cases of which actually express the reaction of local communities to globalization processes.

On the other hand, it turns out that there are quite acceptable and even historically contingent forms of nationalism associated with its patriotic content, which, for example, can serve as a resource for mobilizing the population in times of acute international conflicts and large-scale wars. However, the most active manifestations of patriotism can be interpreted as nationalistic, because it is quite difficult to distinguish between these concepts.

Ethnocracy in the modern era is a serious obstacle to establishing democracy and building a civil society, although some components of ethnocratic regimes can be used for "positive" purposes, such as preservation and development of "small" peoples, contributing to protection of the "ethnic minorities", especially of those who suffered in the previous period of colonialism. For many small peoples, therefore, ethnocracy, combined with autonomy, within much larger Federal entities, seems to be the only possible form of distinctive culture and identity preservation. In addition, to some extent, such nationalism can directly contribute to the federalization of existing sovereign states.

In this regard, A.V. Lubsky notes that "many intellectuals in Russia continue to treat patriotism negatively, mostly because patriotism is often mixed with nationalism in intellectual discourse" (Lubsky, 2017, p.43). It is not a secret that the nationalists pose themselves as true patriots and defenders of national interests, often interpreting democracy as the power of the majority. Therefore, it is possible to assume the existence of a national symbolic space in which nationalistic and patriotic tendencies will coincide and to some extent even identified within the framework of strengthening the civil nation.

Thus, at present, there are several quite influential intellectual traditions of nationalism interpretation. *Primordialism and constructivism* must be applied in a synthetic way because the considered phenomenon is quite complex and has a number of manifestation aspects, associated with the ethnic culture and self-consciousness of an individual nation, and a specific political project for construction and further development of a sovereign state.

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