

**PATRIOTIC PRACTICES OF YOUTH IN THE SOUTH OF RUSSIA: A
TYPOLOGICAL AND RISK ANALYSIS**

***PRÁTICAS PATRIÓTICAS DA JUVENTUDE NO SUL DA RÚSSIA: UMA ANÁLISE
TIPOLÓGICA E DE RISCO***

***PRÁCTICAS PATRIÓTICAS DE LA JUVENTUD EN EL SUR DE RUSIA: UN
ANÁLISIS TIPOLOGICO Y DE RIESGO***

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ABSTRACT: Patriotic practices in the youth environment of the South of Russia are characterized by considerable diversity, which can be studied using various indicative scales aligned here with the criteria of the form of organization and content. Patriotic practices among the youth of Russian regions have not yet been researched from such perspective. The methodological basis of the study is formed by the activity approach. The dominance of state patriotism in the student environment of the South of Russia gives rise to several risks associated, on the one hand, with the threat of the development of negative forms and types of patriotism (imitative, declarative, “blind”), and, on the other hand, the lack of patriotic subjectivity as a necessary condition for the implementation of the civic type of patriotism demanded by youth.

KEYWORDS: Patriotism. State patriotism. Civic patriotism. Patriotic upbringing. Types of patriotic practices.

RESUMO: *As práticas patrióticas no ambiente jovem do sul da Rússia são caracterizadas por uma diversidade considerável, que pode ser estudada usando várias escalas indicativas alinhadas aqui com os critérios da forma de organização e conteúdo. As práticas patrióticas entre os jovens das regiões russas ainda não foram pesquisadas a partir dessa perspectiva. A base metodológica do estudo é formada pela abordagem da atividade. A dominância do patriotismo de Estado no ambiente estudantil do sul da Rússia dá origem a vários riscos associados, por um lado, à ameaça do desenvolvimento de formas e tipos negativos de patriotismo (imitativo, declarativo, “cego”) e, por outro lado, a falta de subjetividade patriótica como condição necessária para a implementação do tipo cívico de patriotismo exigido pela juventude.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Patriotismo. Patriotismo de Estado. Patriotismo cívico. Educação patriótica. Tipos de práticas patrióticas.*

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RESUMEN: *Las prácticas patrióticas en el ambiente juvenil del sur de Rusia se caracterizan por una gran diversidad, que puede estudiarse utilizando varias escalas indicativas alineadas aquí con los criterios de forma de organización y contenido. Las prácticas patrióticas entre la juventud de las regiones rusas aún no han sido investigadas desde esa perspectiva. La base metodológica del estudio está formada por el enfoque de actividad. El predominio del patriotismo estatal en el ambiente estudiantil del sur de Rusia da lugar a varios riesgos asociados, por un lado, con la amenaza del desarrollo de formas y tipos negativos de patriotismo (imitativo, declarativo, "ciego"), y, por otro lado, la falta de subjetividad patriótica como condición necesaria para la implementación del patriotismo de tipo cívico que demanda la juventud.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Patriotismo. Patriotismo estatal. Patriotismo cívico. Formación patriótica. Tipos de prácticas patrióticas.*

Introduction

The high social and scientific interest in patriotic practices in Russia and its regions is primarily caused by the search for methods of social consolidation and integration of society, as well as harmonization of interethnic relations and the formation of a common Russian identity. The importance of patriotic practices as a basis for the consolidation of Russian society is due to the role patriotism has had in the history of the Russian state, which initially formed at the intersection of different ethnocultural worlds and traditions and has repeatedly solved large-scale nation-building tasks (VERESHCHAGINA, 2020; LUBSKY; LUBSKY, 2013). Being a part of the structure of Russian mentality (LUBSKY; KOLESNYKOVA; LUBSKY, 2016a, 2016b), patriotism is enshrined in the history of both the Russian state as a whole and its peoples, thus presenting a large layer of historical memory.

At the beginning of the 21st century, patriotism in Russia is experiencing a new stage of its development taking a priority place in public policy and becoming the basis of civic consolidation and the national idea (OREKHOVSKAIA; OREKHOVSKII, 2016). Regional diversity of the Russian state is the reason for one of the major vectors of sociological research on patriotism being the study of patriotism in regional communities, particularly in the South of Russia as one of the most multiethnic macroregions of the Russian Federation with intense ethnonational processes of the formation of interethnic relations and population identification strategies (VOLKOV *et al.*, 2017). Therefore, this region needs consolidation resources and mechanisms, which are vital for the optimal interaction of ethnocultural, regional, and national Russian identities comprising the complex identity structure in the South of Russia (KHUNAGOV; IMGRUNT, 2015). Such resource potential is provided by patriotism. The formation and implementation of patriotism are traditionally associated with

youth being the main object of patriotic upbringing. In this regard, scientific interest in patriotic practices of youth in the South of Russia is understandable since their analysis will allow identifying problems and prospects in the implementation of particular strategies of the patriotic upbringing of Russian youth deployed at present.

Literature overview

The main body of scientific literature associated with the study of patriotic issues in the South of Russia is mainly devoted to the practice of patriotic upbringing (MAGOMEDOV, 2009; BARKOV; SERIKOV; CHERNOUS, 2013; VOLKOV, 2013; VOLKOV; BINEEVA; PECHKUROV, 2017; VALIEVA, 2012; SHEVCHENKO; VAGINA, 2017), including in the youth environment (ASLANOV, 2016; VERESHCHAGINA; VOLKOV, 2017a). Researchers indicating high levels of patriotism in regional communities regardless of the ethnicity of their population note that patriotism levels in the youth environment are lower than among the older generation (SHAKHBANOVA, 2017). A considerable contribution to the study of patriotic practices of youth in the South of Russia is made by Rostov scholars, who have incorporated this problem as a separate research subject in a broad research context related to the sociological study of patriotism, citizenship, and solidarity in the South of Russia (BEDRIK; VERESHCHAGINA; UZUNOV, 2018; LUBSKY *et al.*, 2019). The key conclusion of scientists is the deficit of citizenship in the structure of patriotic values and practices of young people, which naturally defines the nature of the risks of such a strategy of the patriotic upbringing of regional youth devoid of reliance on civic values. These risks are primarily associated with the deterioration of patriotism into declarative patriotism and distortion of the very idea of patriotism, which is also highlighted by foreign researchers (DUSTIN, 2005), particularly in describing the risks of patriotism transforming into nationalism (SCHATZ, 1994; COHEN; NUSSBAUM, 1996; VIROLI, 1997; BLATBERG, 2000; PRIMORATZ, 2002). This problem is also at the center of the Russian scientific discourse on patriotism (VOLKOV *et al.*, 2017b). Of importance is the conclusion of Russian researchers on the high resource potential of ethnocultural education in multiethnic spaces of Russian regions for the formation of civic patriotism attitudes and values as a basis for the consolidation of the multinational Russian society (VOLKOV *et al.*, 2017c; VOLKOV *et al.*, 2019; CALHOUN, 2004).

Thus, although patriotic practices in the youth environment in the South of Russia have been subjected to research in several sociological works, this research is insufficient for

a holistic conceptual image of the formation and forms of implementation of youth patriotic practices in the studied region. In this context, the present study aims to identify the types of patriotic practices most common among youth in the southern Russian region, as well as their social consequences, including riskogenic ones, from the point of their appropriateness to the realities of regional societal development and challenges of the modern age.

Materials and methods

The methodological framework of the study is based on the activity paradigm, which views social practices as a special kind of social action allowing an individual to be in a particular social capacity (VOLKOV; KHARKHORDIN, 2008). The conceptual scope of the work focuses on such a social quality as being a patriot. The formation of this quality is determined by the nature of specific actions with patriotic orientation. Their typological variety and prevalence among young people are identified through expert surveys. Referring to experts is required to determine the most prominent and critical problems in the implementation of patriotic practices among youth in the South of Russia, as well as the prospects for their development from the point of analyzing the risks of patriotization of youth in the studied region. The sample of experts (N=164) is composed of competent professionals from three subregions of the South of Russia: the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria (N=57), the Republic of Crimea (N=49), and Rostov region (N=58). The experts recruited for the survey represent state and municipal authorities (N=49), scientific and educational institutions (N=70), public and non-profit organizations (N=19), youth organizations (N=15), and the media (N=11). The expert survey was conducted in the spring of 2021.

Referring to the opinion of specialists (experts) is most in-demand when there is a need for an explanatory scheme of certain phenomena, processes, and behavioral patterns shaping the dynamics of development of certain social groups, communities, and society. The present study uses the materials of previously conducted (with our participation) research that presents empirical assessments of the levels and nature of patriotism in the South of Russia but does not always allow identifying the causes and consequences of the present patriotic situation in the region, especially in its socio-demographic context. The first study conducted as part of implementing a state assignment on the topic “Civic patriotism in the formation and development of solidarist practices in the South of Russia: potential resources and conditions for its implementation” was administered in 2018 via “face-to-face” surveying method in five subjects of the South of the Russian Federation (Rostov region, Stavropol Krai, the Republic

of Adygea, the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, and the Republic of Crimea) (VOLKOV, 2018, p. 142). The representativeness of the research procedures is ensured through multistage stratified proportional sampling (the sample population is 2,468 respondents).

The second study conducted as part of the project “Citizenship in the youth environment of local communities in Russia and countries with a developed culture of civic participation (France and Germany): specific features and opportunities for implementing foreign experience in Russian conditions” organized by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research and the Autonomous non-profit organization “Expert Institute for Social Research” was conducted in 2020 (N=155). The questionnaires of indicated surveys include multiple-choice questions resulting in a total response rate occasionally exceeding 100%.

Results

The sociological survey of the population of the South of Russia conducted in 2018 shows that 77% of the regional population consider themselves patriots (VOLKOV, 2019), however, other responses show that patriotism and patriotic activity considerably diverge in the minds of the residents of this region as most respondents classifying themselves as patriots are not members of any patriotic organizations, clubs, or movements (Table 1).

Table 1 – Involvement in patriotic practices in the population of the South of Russia / patriotic identification, in %

Are you a member of any patriotic organization (patriotic club, movement)?					
Can you say of yourself that you are a patriot of Russia?					
	Yes	More likely yes	More likely not	No	Not sure
Yes	13.3	7.2	0.0	15.4	8.0
No	86.7	92.8	100.0	84.6	92.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Devised by the authors

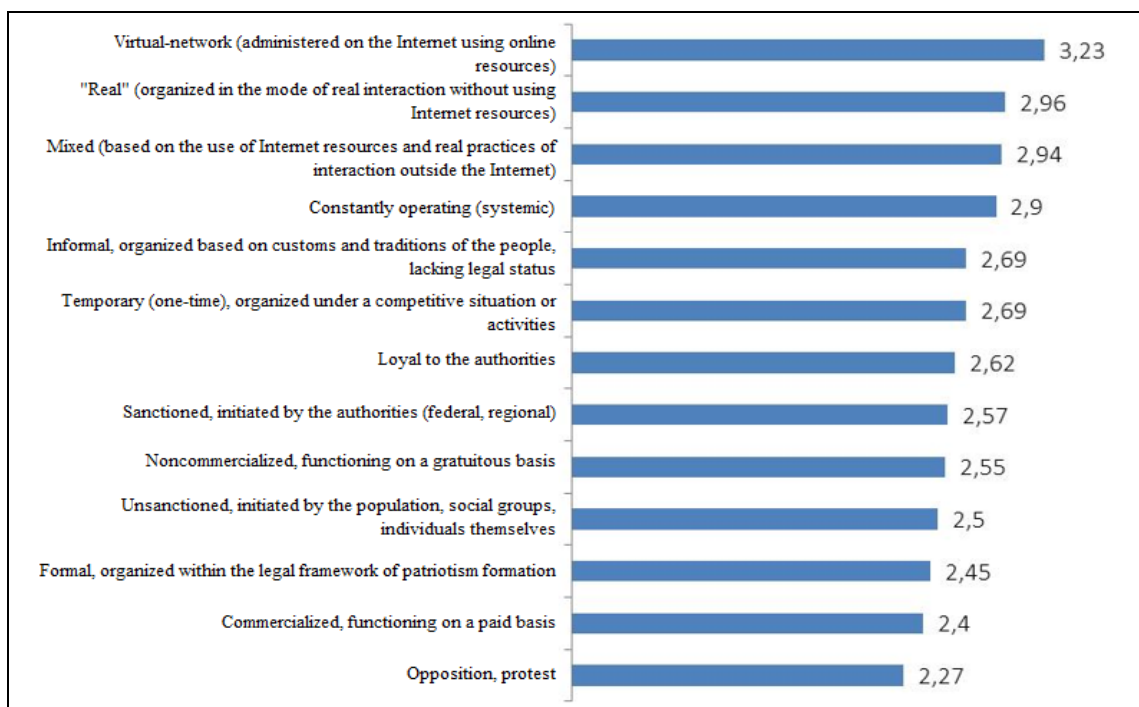
The survey of youth as part of the project “Citizenship in the youth environment of local communities in Russia and countries with a developed culture of civic participation (France and Germany): specific features and opportunities for implementing foreign experience in Russian conditions” indicates that patriotic organizations are unattractive to young people in the South of Russia and only about 10% of those surveyed are members in

them. Greater popularity among youth is enjoyed by other organizations including volunteering and cultural ones.

We decided to delve deeper into the nature of patriotic practices implemented by the youth of the South of Russia referring to the opinions of experts. The experts were rating the level of South-Russian youth's participation in various patriotic practices on a five-point scale. This type of data allows calculating the average values for each type of practice, which were empirically measured in our study based on the specially developed authors' typology, differentiating patriotic practices on two grounds: the form in which these practices are organized and their content.

The average values obtained in the expert survey regarding patriotic practices of young people (by the form of organization) can be divided into four groups: high values (between 2.94 and 3.23), values above average (between 2.55 and 2.69), average values (2.5), and values below average (under 2.5) (Figure 1).

Figure 1 – Average expert assessments of the level of youth participation in patriotic practices typologized according to the form of their organization (results ranked)



Source: Devised by the authors

In the group with the highest average values are such patriotic practices as virtual-network practices (administered on the Internet), practices organized in the form of real

interaction, practices combining the features of both virtual and real ones, as well as constantly operating (or systemic) practices.

The fact that the first place in the rating is occupied by patriotic practices implemented with the help of Internet technologies (thematic websites, social networks, forums, and other platforms that can be adapted for the organization of patriotic practices) has an understandable logic related to the objective reality. In today’s world, which is in a constant process of digitalization, many young people spend a lot of time in virtual reality. Given such great immersion of young people in the virtual world, the rise in their participation in patriotic practices organized in the virtual space is natural. Meanwhile, the experts believe that patriotic practices implemented outside of the Internet (the “real” ones) are more effective from the point of the manifestation of young people’s activity and independence in patriotic activity (Table 2).

Table 2 – Assessment of the effectiveness of patriotic practices of youth in the South of Russia according to the criterion of their organization in virtual/real space, in %

What patriotic practices do you consider the most effective in terms of enabling the independence and activity of young people in patriotic activities?	
	Results, in %
Virtual-network	18.9
“Real” (implemented off the Internet)	76.8
Not sure	4.3
Total	100.0

Source: Devised by the authors

The experts’ view of the “systemic” patriotic practices being of greater priority among the youth of the South of Russia also appears logical. There may be several reasons for this. Firstly, systemic practices are implemented regularly, therefore, the south-Russian youth encounter them often, is probably well-informed about them, and, therefore, takes part in them frequently. Secondly, systemic practices are implemented by the organizations that possess financial resources and resources for recruiting participants, including from among young people. In this regard, we additionally requested the experts’ opinion on whether there is a need to allocate funding for patriotic activities and whether commercial-type patriotic organizations are necessary. Surprisingly, the experts give an affirmative answer: the majority of them (around 55%) speak in favor of commercial patriotic organizations whose patriotic activities are financed by a certain body or structure (Table 3).

Table 3 – Experts’ attitude to commercial-type patriotic organizations, in %

Do you think there is a need for commercial-type patriotic organizations in which patriotic activities are financed by certain structures, bodies (both governmental and non-governmental)?	
	Results, in %
Yes	54.9
No	28.7
Not sure	16.5
Total	100.0

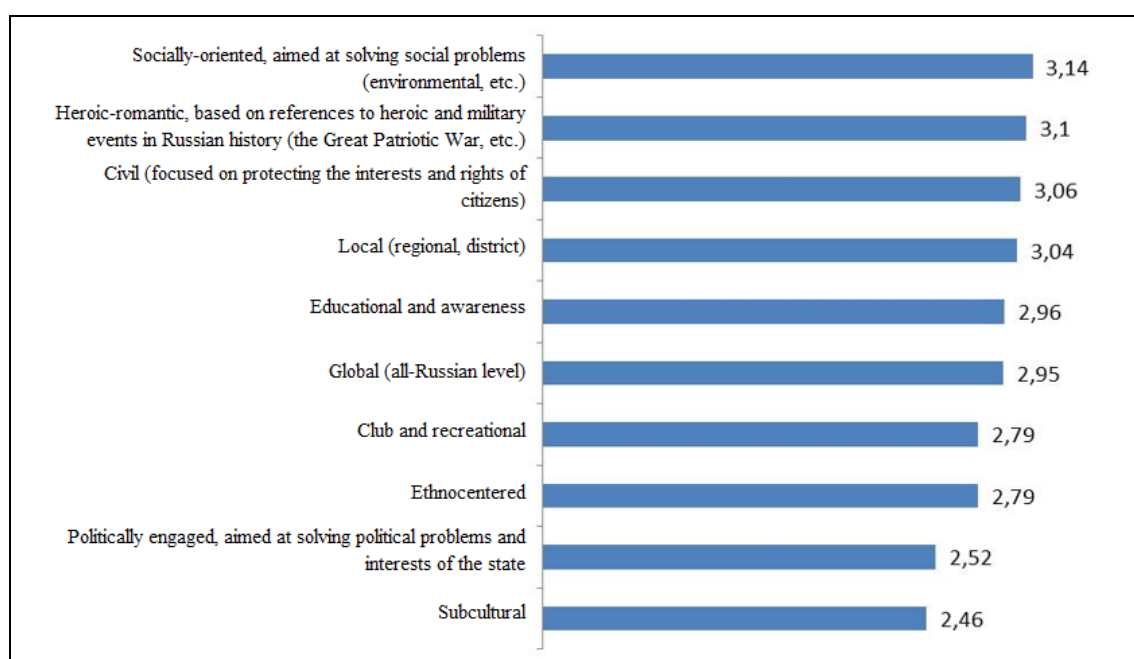
Source: Devised by the authors

This expert position can be explained by a realistic evaluation of the very social reality that has undergone major changes from the point of its value and worldview content and the predominant models of social behavior of young people who are already largely oriented toward the values of a market and consumer society with its perception of life success, including professional success, as largely related to material well-being (MUKHINA, 2019). Youth as a product of modern consumer society is more drawn to the activity that can bring not only benefit to society but also personal benefits in the form of material income. A different question is whether patriotic practices should be transferred to the “market track”. Will the meaning that was historically invested in the concept of patriotism in Russian society be preserved in this case? It appears to us that these questions are still waiting for their researcher while the realities of the South of Russia do not yet give us any reason to conclude that the patriotic activities of young people are growing more pragmatic since the results of our survey and other studies (MAGOMEDOV, 2014; SHCHUPLINKOV, 2014; VALIEVA, 2013) suggest that patriotic practices in the studied macroregion are largely based on the customs of particular peoples, i.e. demonstrate pronounced ethnocultural nature. Within the framework of actualization of the ethnocultural aspects of patriotic upbringing, researchers stress the role of the traditional culture of peoples of the South of Russia, the influence of the Cossacks and the traditions of the patriotic upbringing of the highlanders of the North Caucasus, and the potential of oral folklore in the upbringing of young patriots. Some researchers largely associate the rise of patriotism in the South of Russia with the cultural and historical traditions of the Cossacks and the extensive network of cadet educational institutions (SHCHUPLINKOV, 2014; OZEROV, 2014; EROKHIN, 2013; KOLOTOVA; ZHELIABINA, 2017). In the Rostov region alone, Cossack educational institutions operate in 42 municipal and urban districts. The system of Cossack education is actively introduced in the Cossack regions of the south of the country, including the system of higher education, and

since, as indicated by A.A. Ozerov (2014), the integrative value of Cossack education has always been the ideal of service as derived from the love for the Fatherland and readiness to sacrifice for its benefit, Cossacks are becoming the conductor of the state patriotism ideology in the south of the country. Within the state patriotism framework, youth is viewed as the main object of patriotic upbringing, however, the reality is such that young people are already oriented toward other values and interests, a different status, and a different role in social processes. This can explain the conviction of most of today's youth that the measures of educational influence cannot form a patriot (VERESHCHAGINA; VOLKOV, 2017a).

Young people must acquire patriotic subjectivity through engaging in real patriotic practices, of which contemporary reality offers a great variety, especially considering the acute problems faced by Russia. Considering patriotic practices within the paradigm of civic patriotism, they can also be channeled to solve these problems (KOLESNIKOVA *et al.*, 2018). The results of our expert survey show that specifically this kind of socially-oriented patriotic practice focused on solving acute social problems is of greatest interest to the youth of the South of Russia (Figure 2).

Figure 2 – Average expert assessments of the level of South-Russian youth participation in patriotic practices typologized according to their content (results ranked)



Source: Devised by the authors

Youth participation in patriotic practices typologized by content can be demonstrated in the form of four main groups. The first group comprises practices with the highest

participation level (values from 2.95 to 3.14), the second group includes practices with participation levels above average (values around 2.79), the third group is made up of practices in the “middle” position (2.52), and the fourth group comprises practices with youth participation level “below average” (values at the level of 2.46).

Aside from socially-oriented practices, the group with the highest level of youth participation is also represented by practices focusing on references to past military heroics, civil practices, and regional and local practices. Notably, the level of participation in these practices reflects the real contemporary context relating to pressing issues (socially-oriented), the context of historical memory (historical war heroics, mainly concerning the Great Patriotic War), the spatial dimension (regional and nationwide, with a slight preponderance toward regional), educational and awareness context (reflecting the specifics of young people, much of whom are studying in an educational organization of one level or another). Thus, we can conclude that practices assessed by the experts as the most popular among youth relate to the “immediate” life instead of being something abstract and contrived.

The practices focused on solving social issues and associated with protecting the interests and rights of citizens are rated high in terms of youth participation. These results lead us to conclude that for youth in the South of Russia, an important feature of a patriotic attitude to the country is the connection of patriotic activities with the problems of the local, regional, or larger society “here and now”. This also suggests that South-Russian youth not only sees patriotic practices as a way to preserve the memory of the past of their country, region, and people but also strives to take real action that can transform the social reality and make it more prosperous, which reflects the essence of the very patriotism that has been called civic in the scientific literature.

According to sociological studies conducted in Southern Russia, civic patriotism groups make up a smaller part of the patriotically-minded population of this region (no more than 12-15%), and most of their representatives are young people (VOLKOV *et al.*, 2019), which aligns with the data of our expert survey and also allows us to conclude that the youth of the South of Russia can be considered as potentially ready for the systematic implementation of civic patriotic practices. This, however, requires certain normative and legal, ideological, political, and upbringing conditions. The very concept of patriotic upbringing implemented in the Russian state and the country’s regions must meet the demands of young people for civic patriotism in its ideological, semantic, and organizational content. At the same time, an analysis of the Russian reality from the point of patriotic events,

actions, and the nature of patriotic organizations shows that the civic cluster is very poorly represented in it compared to the military-patriotic cluster (VOLKOV, 2018).

Our survey also demonstrates that the practices rating second in the experts' assessments are related to military and historical heroics. The memory of the Great Patriotic War occupies a significant place in these practices, and the "Immortal Regiment" action is the most prominent patriotic practice of this direction. Despite the fact that experts single out socially-oriented practices first in the rating of patriotic practices that the region's youth are guided by, the expert survey suggests that from the point of solving acute social problems, youth patriotic practices have not such significant of an impact. Most experts believe that youth patriotic activity mainly contributes to the formation and consolidation of historical memory, as well as the preservation and consolidation of traditions of the peoples inhabiting the region (Table 4).

Table 4 – Assessment of the effect of youth patriotic practices on the situation in the region, in %

How do youth patriotic practices affect the situation in the region? (multiple choice)	
	Results, in %
Contribute to the formation and consolidation of historical memory	73.2
Contribute to the preservation and consolidation of the traditions of peoples	43.9
Contribute to the partial resolution of acute social problems	37.2
Contribute to the formation of civil society	37.2
Promote intergenerational dialogue	37.2
Promote dialogue between the population and the government	15.9
Have no effect	4.9
Other	2.4
Total	251.9

Source: Devised by the authors

Thus, we observe a certain array of contradictions in the way the space for the implementation of youth patriotic practices in the South of Russia unfolds. These contradictions are primarily associated with the divergence between the patriotic needs of youth as the subject of patriotic practices and the organization of patriotic practices of young people as the object of patriotic education. Such a situation cannot but generate social risks. Further on, we will examine them in the logic set by the empirical strategy of this study starting from two indicators – the prevalence of patriotic practices and their effectiveness.

Discussion

The risks that can come as a result of the popularity of certain types of patriotic practices can vary. We believe one of such risk aspects to be the balance between the prevalence of a given patriotic practice and its effectiveness in terms of youth engagement in the patriotic activity. In this regard, at least four variants are possible: low level of participation in the patriotic practice – low effectiveness of the patriotic practice; high level of participation in the patriotic practice – high effectiveness of the practice; low level of participation in the patriotic practice – high effectiveness of the practice; high level of participation in the practice – low effectiveness of the practice.

The first case implies that a practice is not popular and not effective, the possible consequences of this scenario can be derived based on the specific type of patriotic practice. The second case indicates a combination of high popularity of a practice paired with its effectiveness, this situation is not decidedly riskogenic, although the high predominance of a single practice or a group of practices can have a negative impact on other types of patriotic practices. The third case indicates that the practice is widespread but ineffective, meaning that youth somehow end up massively involved in a practice that does not produce a youth engagement effect, therefore, the taken action has no result, which can have negative consequences. Finally, the fourth case implies that effective patriotic practice is not utilized to maximum capacity, thus, some of its potential remains unused.

To detect such potential riskogenic scenarios, we compare average expert assessments for two groups of patriotic practices – typologized by the form of organization and by content – from the point of youth involvement in a given practice and the effectiveness of the practice in engaging young people in the patriotic activity. The presence of one of the aforementioned scenarios is determined based on the difference between these two assessments of the same practice.

First, we consider the practices typologized by the form of organization. The expert assessments allow identifying several groups. The group with minimal risks includes the practices initiated by state authorities, the ones organized “from below”, as well as noncommercial, commercial, and temporary practices. The group with the participation level overpowering the effectiveness level includes virtual-network, formal, as well as opposition and authority-aligned practices. The group of practices with the participation level lower than the effectiveness level includes the “real”, mixed, informal, and constantly operating practices (Table 5).

Table 5 – Average expert assessments of the level of youth participation in patriotic practices and the level of effectiveness of patriotic practices typologized by the form of organization

	Participation level	Effectiveness level
Virtual network (administered on the Internet using online resources)	3.23	2.89
"Real" (organized in the mode of real interaction without using Internet resources)	2.96	3.14
Mixed (based on the use of Internet resources and real practices of interaction outside the Internet)	2.94	3.29
Sanctioned, initiated by the authorities (federal, regional)	2.57	2.62
Unsanctioned, initiated by the population, social groups, individuals themselves	2.5	2.52
Formal, organized within the legal framework of patriotism formation	2.45	2.27
Informal, organized based on customs and traditions of the people, lacking legal status	2.69	2.87
Commercialized, functioning on a paid basis	2.4	2.49
Noncommercialized, functioning on a gratuitous basis	2.55	2.6
Constantly operating (systemic)	2.9	3.16
Temporary (one-time), organized under a competitive situation or activities	2.69	2.66
Loyal to the authorities	2.62	2.4
Opposition, protest	2.27	2.1

Source: Devised by the authors

The group with the lowest risks has minimal difference between the level of youth participation in them and the level of their effectiveness in engaging youth in patriotic activity. Thus, from the point of organization form, these practices require minimal correction at the level of patriotism policy in the South of Russia.

According to the experts, the level of youth participation in practices initiated by state authorities is balanced with the level of their engagement effectiveness. Therefore, there is no sign of ineffective practices or poor implementation of effective practices. However, the average values themselves are indicative of average levels. As was mentioned previously, such a level of youth participation in patriotic practices may be due to the presence of youth groups that are skeptical toward state initiatives and the theme of patriotism itself. Thus, we can conclude that from the point of the prevalence/effectiveness ratio, the situation here is balanced. Considering the levels of expert estimates, the effectiveness of the state-organized practices can be considered insufficient. This points to the risk of spending resources that will not have the necessary patriotic effect.

The unsanctioned patriotic practices organized by people themselves “from below” are also characterized by a balanced ratio of participation and effectiveness, although, same as in the case of state-organized practices, the levels of assessments themselves here are average, meaning that this type of patriotic practices is not widespread among youth. This situation suggests the potential development of the risk of decline in “independent” patriotism in the youth environment in the South of Russia.

The commercial and noncommercial patriotic practices also have equivalent assessments of participation and effectiveness, although with a slight tendency toward greater efficiency. The levels of assessment of these practices are average, as well. On the one hand, such practices cannot enjoy universal participation by definition: in the first case, the participants need to have a propensity for commercial activity or possess the necessary resources, which is problematic in the case of young people; in the second case, the participants require the propensity for gratuitous voluntary activity. On the other hand, however, this can be viewed as an indicator of interest in the patriotic theme on the part of commercial and volunteer organizations. Regarding these practices, we can conclude on the risk of engagement in patriotic activity diminishing.

Further on, one-time patriotic practices associated with particular events and not held regularly have leveled assessments of participation and effectiveness, and themselves are at the average level, similar to the previously considered practices. These assessments are reasonable: massive involvement of youth in such practices is impossible since they require a specific situation, which draws in people affected by it and not young people exclusively. Given that a specific situation calls for self-organization, here we can assume the risk of deterioration in the level of patriotic self-organization of young people.

The group of practices with the participation level outrunning the effectiveness level includes virtual-network practices. Experts give high estimates of the level of youth participation in patriotic practices organized via the Internet. However, the level of youth engagement in patriotic activities is lower for this type of practice. Therefore, in this case, we can state the risk that patriotic practices on the Internet, when widely practiced, will not yield the proper result. In other words, there is a risk of patriotic projects organized on the Internet not bringing the desired results.

Formal patriotic practices organized in accordance with the normative and legal base are also part of this group. The level of participation in them exceeds the level of their effectiveness. This combination can also result in “action with the minimal result”.

Next, the practices aimed at demonstrating loyalty to the authorities also have the effectiveness level lower than the participation level, which is largely explained by the declarative nature of patriotism conveyed by state authorities (state patriotism) and its military-mobilization orientation, which is not embedded in everyday life situations and practices. The young people involved in such practices are aware of their historical nature and focus on the past. The implementation of such practices in the present cannot change the past and the excessive politicization of state patriotism acts as a factor in its rejection and aversion by young people, who do not show a high level of trust in the authorities, as well as Russian society as a whole (LEVADA CENTER, 2021). The growth of state-type patriotic practices among youth presents the risk of the growth of imitative patriotic practices.

Finally, opposition patriotic practices have even lower assessment levels, but the overall ratio leans in favor of participation. Here we can suggest the following risk: in some young people, opposition practices are believed to be more effective than state-organized or state-loyal practices. However, in the present conditions, as indicated by the expert assessments, these practices do not produce the proper results. Accordingly, young people who take part in such practices may face their futility. On the other hand, there is a risk that the state authorities in the public sphere will finally appropriate their monopoly on patriotism.

The group of practices with the participation level lower than the effectiveness level includes “real” patriotic practices, which the experts consider to be more effective compared to virtual ones. The riskogenic factor, in this case, can be further immersion of youth in online practices to the detriment of the real practices, which can also contribute to the rise of the imitative component of patriotism in the region.

The mixed virtual-real practices demonstrate the same scenario as in the case of patriotic practices associated with ethnocultural traditions. The discrepancy between the level of participation and the level of effectiveness in favor of the latter may entail the risk of some of the target audience of young people not being reached by patriotic practices. On the other hand, this could imply that these practices are not implemented enough.

Now we proceed to examine the patriotic practices typologized by content. A specific feature of these practices is that the scenario in which the level of youth participation in a practice overpowers its effectiveness is not observed here. Accordingly, no major risks can be identified from the point of this classification criterion (Table 6).

Table 6 – Average expert assessments of the level of youth participation in patriotic practices and the level of effectiveness of patriotic practices typologized by content

	Participation level	Effectiveness level
Civil (focused on protecting the interests and rights of citizens)	3.06	3.52
Politically engaged, aimed at solving political problems and interests of the state	2.52	2.47
Heroic-romantic, based on references to heroic and military events in Russian history (the Great Patriotic War, etc.)	3.1	3.25
Socially-oriented, aimed at solving social problems (environmental, etc.)	3.14	3.46
Club and recreational	2.79	2.86
Educational and awareness	2.96	3.13
Ethnocentered	2.79	2.94
Subcultural	2.46	2.65
Global (all-Russian level)	2.95	3.28
Local (regional, district)	3.04	3.24

Source: Devised by the authors

Notable, one patriotic practice type, namely the politically engaged practices, are indicated by the experts as demonstrating lower effectiveness compared to the level of youth involvement in them, which points to them not serving as an effective instrument for solving political and state objectives. This result is critical given the fact that Russian political forces largely rely on patriotism as their national idea.

Conclusion

Patriotic practices in the youth environment in the South of Russia are not uniform and are instead characterized by certain diversity in the type of organization and content. For the most part, the patriotic practices of youth in the examined region are regulated in terms of both organization and content by the ideology of sovereign (state) patriotism, which has emerged in Russia historically and continues to define the practice of patriotic upbringing of Russian citizens. State patriotism manifests most vividly and prominently through military-mobilization practices, the scale and pace of the spread of which in the youth of southern subregions of Russia generates several risks associated, on the one hand, with the danger of the development of negative forms of patriotism (imitative, declarative, “blind”) and, on the other hand, with the underdevelopment of patriotic subjectivity as a necessary condition for the implementation of the civic type of patriotism demanded by youth.

Thus, the main risk of the development of patriotic practices in the South of Russia is associated with the limitation of prospects for the formation and development of civic patriotism practices in the youth environment, which focus on transforming the surrounding social reality (at the regional and global level) through solving acute social problems and protecting civil rights and freedoms. The situation observed in the region is ambiguous: given the established demand for such patriotic practices among youth, the corresponding conditions and mechanisms for securing their predominance have not yet formed. If the discovered tendency associated with a decline in patriotic subjectivity of young people continues, patriotism itself may end up being rejected as incompatible with citizenship and civic practices.

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