7.   Literature

Ackermann, Felix. 2020. »Die Republik Belarus ist mehr als Weissrussland. Und ihre Eigenständigkeit beginnt mit dem Namen des Landes«. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung.* Retrieved February 27, 2021. https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/weissrussland-und-sein-recht-auf-eine-souveraene-identitaet-ld.1531271.

Akimenko, Valeriy. 2018. »Ukraine's Toughest Fight: The Challenge of Military Reform«. Retrieved March 25, 2024. https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/02/22/ukraine-s-toughest-fight-challenge-of-military-reform-pub-75609.

Amnesty International. 2022. »Ukraine«. Retrieved November 15, 2023. Amnesty International. 2019. »Ukraine«. Retrieved January 06, 2021. https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/europe-and-central-asia/ukraine/report-ukraine-2022/.

Amnesty International. 2019. »Ukraine«. Retrieved January 06, 2021. https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/europe-and-central-asia/ukraine/report-ukraine/.

Anderson, Benedict. 2005a. *Die Erfindung der Nation. Zur Karriere eines folgenreichen Konzepts*. Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag.

Anderson, Benedict. 2005b. »Imagined Communities«. In: Spencer, Philip and Howard Wollman (eds.), *Nations and Nationalism*, 48–60. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Anisimova, Anna. 2023. »Ukraine and NATO – Evidence from Public Opinion Surveys«. Retrieved April 8, 2024. https://freepolicybriefs.org/2023/10/30/ukraine-nato-public-opinion/.

Anthias, Floya. 2022. »Thinking with Belonging and Unbelonging. Complexities and Translocations«. In: Harders, Levke and Falko Schnicke (eds.),

Belonging across borders. Transnational practices in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, 319–337. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Assmann, Jan. 2008. »Communicative and Cultural Memory«. In: Erll, Astrid and Ansgar Nünning (eds.), *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, 109–118. Berlin/ New York: De Gruyter.

Bartkowski, Marciej. 2014. »Die Maidan-Revolution in der Ukraine. Gewaltloser Widerstand in gewaltgeladener Situation«. Retrieved December 29, 2020. http://www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/ukraine/181536/analyse-die-maidanrevolution-in-der-ukraine.

Basora, Adrian A. and Aleksandr Fisher. 2014. »Putin's »Greater Novorossiya«. The Dismemberment of Ukraine«. Retrieved January 11, 2021. https://www.fpri.org/article/2014/05/putins-greater-novorossiya-the-dismemberment-of-ukraine/.

BBC. 2016. »Ukraine bans Russian films in media war«. Retrieved February 11, 2021. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36099885.

BBC. 2019. »Ukraine Orthodox Church granted independence from Russian Church«. Retrieved April 11, 2021. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-46768270/.

Bekeshkina, Iryna. 2017. »DECISIVE 2014. Did It Divide or Unite Ukraine?« In: Haran, Olexiy and Maksym Yakovlyev (eds.), *Constructing a political nation. Changes in the Attitudes of Ukrainians during the War in the Donbas,* 1–33. Kyiv: Stylos Publishing.

Besters-Dilger, Juliane. 2011. »Nation und Sprache seit 1991: Ukrainisch und Russisch im Sprachkonflikt«. In: Kappeler, Andreas (ed.), *Die Ukraine in Europa. Die Ukraine. Prozesse der Nationsbildung*, 375–388. Köln/ Weimar/ Wien: Böhlau Verlag.

Bidder, Benjamin. 2017. »Wie Russland den rechten Rand in Europa inspiriert und fördert«. Retrieved December 05, 2023. https://www.bpb.de/themen/rechtsextremismus/dossier-rechtsextremismus/253039/vereint-gegen-liberale-werte-wie-russland-den-rechten-rand-in-europa-inspiriert-und-foerdert/.

Bilaniuk, Laada. 2003. »Gender, Language Attitudes, and Language Status in Ukraine«. *Language in Society*. 32 (1): 47–78.

Bilaniuk, Laada. 2015. »Die Sprachenfrage in Kriegszeiten. Politik um Status, Standards und Identitäten in der Ukraine«. *Ukraine-Analysen*. 156: 10–13.

Literature

Bilewicz, Michal. 2022. »Even Russian-speaking Ukrainians don't want to be evacuated to Russia or Belarus«. Retrieved April 7, 2024. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/03/07/ukraine-russian-speakers/.

Bilz-Leonhardt, Marlies. 2008. »Deconstructing the myth of the Tatar Yoke«. *Central Asian Survey.* 27 (1): 33–43.

Boeckh, Katrin. 2011. »Das Konzept des »Sowjetvolks« und die ukrainische Nation«. In: Kappeler, Andreas (ed.), *Die Ukraine in Europa. Die Ukraine. Prozesse der Nationsbildung*, 349–360. Köln/ Weimar/ Wien: Böhlau Verlag.

Bonenberger, Adrian. 2022. »Ukraine's Military Pulled Itself Out of the Ruins of 2014«. *Foreign Policy*. Retrieved March 25, 2024. https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/05/09/ukraine-military-2014-russia-us-training/.

Bredies, Ingmar. 2010. »Volle Fahrt zurück! Richtungswechsel in der Geschichts- und Identitätspolitik«. *Ukraine-Analysen*. 75: 2–6.

Breidenstein, Georg, Stefan Hirschauer, Herbert Kalthoff and Boris Nieswand. 2013. *Ethnografie. Die Praxis der Feldforschung*. Konstanz: UVK Verlag.

Brubaker, Rogers. 1994. »Nationhood and the national question in the Soviet Union and post-Soviet Eurasia: An institutionalist account«. *Theory and Society*. 23(1): 47–78.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2009. »Ethnicity, Race, and Nationalism«. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 35: 21–42.

Brudny, Yitzhak M. and Evgeny Finkel. 2011. »Why Ukraine Is Not Russia. Hegemonic National Identity and Democracy in Russia and Ukraine«. *East European Politics and Societies*. 25(4): 813–833.

Brylov, Denis. 2018. »Islam in Ukraine: the language strategies of Ukrainian Muslim communities«. *Religion, State & Society*. 46(2): 156–173.

Bureiko, Nadiia and Teodor Lucian Moga. 2019. »The Ukrainian–Russian Linguistic Dyad and its Impact on National Identity in Ukraine«. *Europe-Asia Studies*. 71(1): 137–155.

Burkhardt, Fabian. 2020. »Russia's »Passportisation« of the Donbas. The Mass Naturalisation of Ukrainians Is More Than a Foreign Policy Tool«. *SWP Comment*. 41. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.

Corbin, Juliet M. and Anselm L. Strauss. 2008. *Basics of qualitative research. Techniques and procedures for developing Grounded Theory*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Daily Sabah. 2020. »Major Islamic festivities recognized as state holidays in Ukraine«. Retrieved January 09, 2021. https://www.dailysabah.com/world/europe/major-islamic-festivities-recognized-as-state-holidays-in-ukraine.

De Cordier, Bruno. 2016. »Der Vendée-Krieg der Ukraine? Ein Blick auf die Widerstandsidentität des Aufstandes im Donbass«. *Ukraine-Analysen*. 175: 2–6.

Democracy Reporting International. 2019. »Report: Countering Political Repression of Civil Society in Ukraine«. Retrieved January 30, 2021. https://democracy-reporting.org/dri_publications/report-countering-political-repression-of-civil-society-in-ukraine/.

Encyclopedia Britannica. 2024. »History of Crimea«. Retrieved December 12, 2023. https://www.britannica.com/place/Crimea/History.

Encyclopedia Britannica. n.d. a. »German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact«. Retrieved January 3, 2024. https://www.britannica.com/event/German-Soviet-Nonaggression-Pact.

Encyclopedia Britannica. n.d. b. »Economy of Ukraine«. Retrieved April 8, 2024. https://www.britannica.com/place/Ukraine/Economy.

European Training Foundation. 2018. »Ukraine Education, Training And Employment Developments 2017«. Retrieved January 27, 2021. https://www.etf.europa.eu/sites/default/files/m/0F98B951900DC7F3C125824A003D05B0_Ukraine%202017.pdf.

Fischer, Sabine. 2019. »The Donbas Conflict. Opposing Interests and Narratives, Difficult Peace Process«. *SWP Research Paper*. 5. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.

Flick, Uwe. 2002. »Qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung«. Hamburg: Rowohlt.

Ganieva, Alisa. 2018. »Russia's Revisionist History«. Retrieved January 04, 2021. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/03/opinion/russia-poland-history-laws.html.

Gardner, Andrew. 2014. »The EU-Ukraine association agreement: a potted history«. 2014. Retrieved April 8, 2024. https://www.politico.eu/article/the-eu-ukraine-association-agreement-a-potted-history/.

Giuliano, Elise. 2018. »Who supported separatism in Donbas? Ethnicity and popular opinion at the start of the Ukraine crisis«. *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 34(2):158–178.

Goncharenko, Roman. 2020. »Das Kriegsende und der Kampf der Erinnerungskulturen in Osteuropa«. Retrieved January 03, 2021. https://www.dw.com/de/das-kriegsende-und-der-kampf-der-erinnerungskulturen-in-osteuropa/a-53328434.

Goncharuk, Tetiana. 2019. »Binnenflüchtlinge in der Ukraine«. *Ukraine verstehen*. Retrieved February 20, 2020. https://ukraineverstehen.de/binnenfluechtlinge/.

Gunn, Janet. 2015. »Ukraine is not an ethnic war«. *The World Today*. 70(6):10.

Guttke, Matthias and Hartmut Rank. 2012. »Mit der Sprachenfrage auf Stimmenfang. Zur aktuellen Sprachgesetzgebung in der Ukraine«. *Ukraine-Analysen*. 106: 11–15.

Hall, John A. and Siniša Malešević. 2013. »Introduction: wars and nationalisms«. In: Hall, John A. and Siniša Malešević (eds.), *Nationalism and War*, 1–28. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haran, Olexiy and Maria Zolkina. 2014. »Ukraine's Long Road to European Integration«. *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo*. 311. Retrieved January 13, 2021. https://dif.org.ua/uploads/pdf/93085831658764803e40453.63391177.pdf.

Haran, Olexiy. 2018. »Der Kampf um die Freiheit an der äußeren und inneren Front«. *Ukraine-Analysen*. 209: 5–6.

Harders, Levke and Falko Schnicke. 2022. »Practices of Borders and Belonging. Historical Perspectives«. In: Harders, Levke and Falko Schnicke (eds.), *Belonging across borders. Transnational practices in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*, 1–29. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harris, Erika. 2020. »What is the Role of Nationalism and Ethnicity in the Russia–Ukraine Crisis?« *Europe-Asia Studies*. 72(4): 593–613.

Haug, Sonja and Susanne Lochner and Dominik Huber. 2017. »Methodische Herausforderungen der quantitativen und qualitativen Datenerhebung bei Geflüchteten«. In: Lessenich, Stephan (ed.) *Geschlossene Gesellschaften. Verhandlungen des 38. Kongresses der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie in Bamberg 2016*. Retrieved November 12, 2019. http://publikationen.soziologie.de/index.php/kongressband_2016/article/download/402/pdf_107.

Healy, Mary. 2020. »The Other Side of Belonging«. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*. 39(2): 119–33.

Hellbeck, Jochen. 2009. »Galaxy of Black Stars: The Power of Soviet Biography«. *The American Historical Review*. 114(3): 615–624.

Huang, Christina and Cha, Jeremiah. 2020. »Russia and Putin receive low ratings globally«. Retrieved February 16, 2021. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/02/07/russia-and-putin-receive-low-ratings-globally/.

Humphrey, Caroline. 2005. »Dangerous Words: Taboos, Evasions, and Silence in Soviet Russia«. *Forum for Anthropology and Culture*. 2: 374–396.

Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation. 2019. »European integration of Ukraine: dynamics of public opinion«. Retrieved January 10, 2021. https://dif.org.ua/en/article/european-integration-of-ukraine-the-dynamics-of-public-opinion.

İnaç, Hüsamettin and Feyzullah Ünal 2013. »The Construction of National Identity in Modern Times: Theoretical Perspective«. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. 3(11): 223–232.

International Foundation for Electoral Systems. 2019. »Key Findings — Ukraine Post-Parliamentary Election Survey«. Retrieved February 24, 2021. https://ifesukraine.org/news/key-findings-ukraine-post-parliamentary-election-survey-october-2019/?lang=en.

International Republican Institute (IRA). 2023. »National Survey of Ukraine«. Retrieved March 22, 2024. https://www.iri.org/resources/national-survey-of-ukraine-september-2023.

Irvin-Erickson, Douglas. 2017. »Genocide Discourses: American and Russian Strategic Narratives of Conflict in Iraq and Ukraine«. *Politics and Governance*. 5(3): 130–145.

Islam in Ukraine. 2016 »Ukrainian Muslims Charter«. Retrieved February 17, 2021. https://islam.in.ua/en/society/ukrainian-muslims-charter.

Jones, Mared Gwynn. 2023. »EU accession talks with Ukraine and Moldova should start, Brussels says«. Retrieved April 8, 2024. https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2023/11/08/eu-accession-talks-with-ukraine-and-moldova-should-start-brussels-says.

Jones, Polly. 2018. »›Life as big as the ocean‹. Bolshevik Biography and the Problem of Personality from Late Stalinism to Late Socialism«. *The Slavonic and East European Review*. 96 (1): 144–173.

Juzgenbayev, Alisher. 2021. »The Constitution of Pylyp Orlyk«. Harvard Ukrainian Blog. Retrieved January 3, 2024. https://huri.harvard.edu/blog/constitution-pylyp-orlyk.

Kapinos, Mariya. 2018. »Honest History 2: Where, why Ukrainians speak Russian language (and how Kremlin uses it to stoke conflict in Ukraine)«. Retrieved March 30, 2021. https://www.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/honest-history-episode-2-ukrainians-speak-russian-language-kremlin-uses-stoke-conflict-ukraine.html.

Kappeler, Andreas. 2011a. »Ukrainische und russische Nation: Ein asymmetrisches Verhältnis«. In: Kappeler, Andreas (ed.), *Die Ukraine in Europa. Die Ukraine. Prozesse der Nationsbildung*, 191–202. Köln/ Weimar/ Wien: Böhlau Verlag.

Kappeler, Andreas. 2011b. »Einleitung«. In: Kappeler, Andreas (ed.), *Die Ukraine in Europa. Die Ukraine. Prozesse der Nationsbildung*, 1–18. Köln/ Weimar/ Wien: Böhlau Verlag.

Kappeler, Andreas. 2013. *Die Kosaken. Geschichte und Legenden*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck.

Kappeler, Andreas. 2014. *Kleine Geschichte der Ukraine*. München: C.H.Beck.

Kataiev, Stanislav. 2018. »ПРИМУШЕННЯ ДО ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ ЯК ТЕХНОЛОГІЯ ГІБРИДНОЇ ВІЙНИ (ВИПАДОК ДОНБАСУ)«. *Visnyk V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University*. Series »Sociological Studies of Contemporary Society: Methodology, Theory, Methods. 41: 29–34.

Kozachenko, Ivan. 2019. »Fighting for the Soviet Union 2.0: Digital nostalgia and national belonging in the context of the Ukrainian crisis«. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. 52: 1–10.

Kulyk, Volodymyr. 2011. »Language identity, linguistic diversity and political cleavages: evidence from Ukraine«. *Nations and Nationalism*. 17(3): 627–648.

Kulyk, Volodymyr. 2016. »National Identity in Ukraine. Impact of Euromaidan and the War«. *Europe-Asia Studies*. 68(4): 588–608.

Kulyk, Volodymyr. 2018. »Die Identität der russischsprachigen Staatsbürger der Ukraine«. *Ukraine-Analysen*. 196: 5–9.

Kulyk, Volodymyr. 2023. »What Have We Learned about Ethnonational Identities in Ukraine?«. *Nationalities Papers.* 51(5): 975–90.

Kuzio, Taras. 2001. »Identity and nation-building in Ukraine. Defining the ›Other‹«. *Ethnicities* 1(3): 343–365.

Kuzio, Taras. 2017. »Stalinism and Russian and Ukrainian national identities«. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. 50: 289–302.

Kuzio, Taras. 2020. »Russian Nationalism (Imperialism) and Ukrainian Nationalism«. Retrieved April 17, 2021. https://www.e-ir.info/2020/12/08/russian-nationalism-imperialism-and-ukrainian-nationalism/.

Langewiesche, Dieter. 2018. »Nationalstaat«. In: Voigt, Rüdiger (ed.), *Handbuch Staat*, 339–348. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Lankovich, Ina. 2021. »Chronik 7. Dezember 2020 – 24. Januar 2021«. *Ukraine-Analysen*. 145: 37–41.

Martin, Brian. 2007. »Activism, social and political«. In Gary L. Anderson and Kathryn G. Herr (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Activism and Social Justice*, 19–27. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Menkiszak, Marek and Rafał Sadowski, Piotr Żochowski. 2014. »Die russische Militärintervention in der Ostukraine«. Retrieved January 11, 2021. https://www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/ukraine/191797/analyse-die-russische-militaerintervention-in-der-ostukraine.

Minich, Ruslan. 2018. »Nationalism Is on the Rise in Ukraine, and That's a Good Thing«. Retrieved April 17, 2021. https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/nationalism-is-on-the-rise-in-ukraine-and-that-s-a-good-thing/.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2021. »Overview of Ukraine-EU Relations». Retrieved April 08, 2024. https://ukraine-eu.mfa.gov.ua/en/2633-relations/zagalnij-oglyad-vidnosin-ukrayina-yes.

Movčan, Veronika und Olga Radetzkaja. 2015. Aus Dem Zwischenraum Ukraine. Handelsverflechtung und Außenpolitik. *Osteuropa* 65(1/2): 159–69.

Murdock, Heather. 2022. »Soviet Nostalgia Fading Fast in War-Torn Ukraine«. *Voices of America*. Retrieved December 20, 2023. https://www.voanews.com/a/reporter-s-notebook-soviet-nostalgia-fading-fast-in-war-torn-ukraine-/6568969.html.

Müller, Tanja and Skeide, Annekatrin. 2018. »Grounded Theory und Biographieforschung«. In: Lutz, Helma, Martina Schiebel and Elisabeth Tuider (eds.), *Handbuch Biographieforschung,* 49–63. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Myeshkov, Dmytro. 2015. »Die Geschichtspolitik in der Ukraine seit dem Machtwechsel im Frühjahr 2014«. *Ukraine-Analysen*. 149: 17–21.

Onuch, Olga and Henry E. Hale. 2018. »Capturing ethnicity: the case of Ukraine«. *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 34 (2–3): 84–106.

Onuch, Olga, Henry E. Hale and Gwendolyn Sasse. 2018. »Studying Identity in Ukraine«. *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 34(2–3): 79–83.

Osborn, Andrew and Andrey Ostroukh. 2021. »Putin rues Soviet collapse as demise of ›historical Russia‹«. Retrieved January 3, 2024. https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/putin-rues-soviet-collapse-demise-historical-russia-2021-12-12/.

Pavlyshyn, Olesia. 2017. »Ukrainian national anthem with translation: Ще не вмерла України«. Retrieved December 22, 2020. https://www.ukrainian-lessons.com/anthem/.

Penter, Tanja and Dmytro Tytarenko. 2021. »Der Holodomor, die NS-Propaganda in der Ukraine und ihr schwieriges Erbe.« *Vierteljahrshefte* für *Zeitgeschichte*. 69(4): 633–67.

Pfaff-Czarnecka, Joanna. 2011. »From »identity« to »belonging« in social research: plurality, social boundaries, and the politics of the self«. Working Paper. University of Bielefeld.

Plakhotnik, Olga. 2019. »Imaginaries of Sexual Citizenship in Post-Maidan Ukraine: A Queer Feminist Discursive Investigation«. PhD thesis The Open University. Retrieved December 12, 2020. https://oro.open.ac.uk/62741/1/_Olga_Plakhotnik_Thesis_final.pdf.

Portnov, Andrii. 2020. »Der Holodomor als Genozid.« *Osteuropa*: 70(1–2): 31–50.

Putin, Vladimir. 2021. »On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians». Retrieved January 3, 2024. http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/66181.

Putin, Vladimir. 2022. »Address by the President of the Russian Federation«. Retrieved January 3, 2024. http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67843.

Rating Group Ukraine. 2015. »Dynamics of nostalgia for the USSR«. Retrieved April 8, 2024. https://ratinggroup.ua/en/research/ukraine/dinamika_nostalgii_po_sssr.html.

Rating Group Ukraine. 2016. »ДИНАМІКА НОСТАЛЬГІЇ ЗА СРСР«. Retrieved January 13, 2021. http://ratinggroup.ua/research/ukraine/c910ad1d40079f7a2a28377c27494738.html.

Rating Group Ukraine. 2018. »The Dynamics of Attitude towards the Holodomor«. Retrieved December 28, 2020. http://ratinggroup.ua/en/

research/ukraine/dinamika_otnosheniya_k_golodomoru_1932-33_gg_noyabr_2018.html.

Rating Group Ukraine. 2019. »Attitudes of Ukrainians towards the occupied territories issue solution«. Retrieved April 25, 2024. http://ratinggroup.ua/en/research/ukraine/otnoshenie_ukraincev_k_resheniyu_voprosa_okkupirovannyh_territoriy.html.

Rating Group Ukraine. 2023. »How would you vote if the referendum on Ukraine`s NATO accession was held the following Sunday?«. Retrieved April 8, 2024. https://ratinggroup.ua/en/research/ukraine/ukrainians_perception_of_other_countries_friendliness_towards_ukraine_june_1-2_2023.html.

Ray, Julie and Neli Esipova. 2010. »Ukrainians Likely Support Move Away From NATO«. Retrieved April 8, 2024. https://news.gallup.com/poll/127094/ukrainians-likely-support-move-away-nato.aspx.

Razumkov Center. 2009. »Ставлення українців до СРСР«. Retrieved April 8, 2024. https://razumkov.org.ua/napriamky/sotsiologichni-doslidzhennia/stavlennia-ukraintsiv-do-srsr-veresn-zhovten2022r?fbclid=IwAR3Kusi_dcEX9Lo04Dv2D8Wi2n9tHmAouDloZZnsigpDrPbn3maybSHadSI.

Razumkov Center. 2018. »ОСОБЛИВОСТІ РЕЛІГІЙНОГО І ЦЕРКОВНО-РЕЛІГІЙНОГО САМОВИЗНАЧЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ГРОМАДЯН: ТЕНДЕНЦІЇ 2010-2018pp«. Retrieved February 11, 2021. https://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/article/2018_Religiya.pdf.

Razumkov Center. 2022. »Ставлення українців до СРСР«. Retrieved April 8, 2024. https://razumkov.org.ua/napriamky/sotsiologichni-doslidzhennia/stavlennia-ukraintsiv-do-srsr-veresn-zhovten 2022r?fbclid=IwAR3Kusi_dcEX9Lo04Dv2D8Wi2n9tHmAouDloZZnsigpDrPbn3maybSHadSI.

Reznik, Oleksandr. 2023. »The willingness of Ukrainians to fight for their own country on the eve of the 2022 Russian invasion«. *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 39(5): 329–46.

Riabchuk, Mykola. 2012. »Ukraine's ›muddling through‹: National identity and postcommunist transition«. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. 45: 439–446.

Rosenthal, Gabriele. 1994. »Die erzählte Lebensgeschichte als historisch-soziale Realität: methodologische Implikationen für die Analyse biographischer Texte«. In: Berliner Geschichtswerkstatt (eds.), *Alltagskultur, Sub-*

jektivität und Geschichte: zur Theorie und Praxis von Alltagsgeschichte, 125–138. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot.

Rosenthal, Gabriele and Wolfram Fischer-Rosenthal. 1977. »Warum Biographieforschung und wie man sie macht«. *Zeitschrift für Sozialisationsforschung und Erziehungssoziologie*. 17(4): 405–427.

Rosenthal, Gabriele. 2001. »Biographische Methode«. In: Keupp, Heiner and Klaus Weber (eds.), *Psychologie. Ein Grundkurs*, 266–275. Hamburg: Rowohlt.

Rosenthal, Gabriele. 2004. »Biographical Research«. In: Seale, Clive, Jaber F. Gobo and David Silverman (eds.), *Qualitative research practice*, 48–64. London: Sage.

Rosenthal, Gabriele. 2006. »The Narrated Life Story. On the Interrelation Between Experience, Memory and Narration«. In: Milnes, Kate (ed.), *Narrative, Memory & Knowledge. Representations, Aesthetics, Contexts*, 1–16. Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield.

Rosenthal, Gabriele and Arthur Bogner. 2009. *Ethnicity and Belonging. Ethnographical and Biographical Perspectives*. Münster: LIT Verlag.

Roth, Andrew. 2014. »Shellshocked Ukrainians Flee to New Lives in Russia«. Retrieved April 8, 2024. https://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/05/world/europe/shellshocked-ukrainians-flee-to-a-new-life-in-russia.html.

Sasse, Gwendolyn and Alice Lackner. 2018. »War and identity. The case of the Donbas in Ukraine«. *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 34(2–3): 139–157.

Sasse, Gwendolyn and Alice Lackner. 2019. »Attitudes and identities across the Donbas front line: What has changed from 2016 to 2019?« *ZoiS Report*. 3. Berlin: Zentrum for Osteuropa- und internationale Studien.

Schäfer, Kristina. 2023. »Narrative Interviewing in Theory and Practice: Methodological Challenges at the Beginning of the Covid-19 Pandemic»: In: Eder, Anja, Dimitri Prandner, Carina Hauser, Daniela Wetzelhütter (eds.), *Von Einschränkungen zu neuen Perspektiven – Erfahrungen und Reflexionen über sozialwissenschaftliche Datenerhebung während der Covid-19-Pandemie*, 33–49. Linz.

Schminke, Tobias Gerhard. 2023. »Ukraine: 92 % want EU membership by 2030«. Retrieved April 8, 2024. https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/news/ukraine-92-want-eu-membership-by-2030/.

Schreiber, Wolfgang. 2016. »Der neue unsichtbare Krieg? Zum Begriff der »hybriden« Kriegsführung«. *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*. 35/36: 11–15.

Schütze, Fritz. 2014. »Autobiographical Accounts of War Experiences. An Outline for the Analysis of Topically Focused Autobiographical Texts — Using the Example of the »Robert Rasmus« Account in Studs Terkel's Book, ›The Good War.‹«. *Qualitative Sociology Review*. 10 (1): 224–283.

Shapovalova, Natalia. 2019. »Assessing Ukrainian Grassroots Activism Five Years After Euromaidan«. Retrieved January 07, 2021. https://carnegieeurope.eu/2019/02/06/assessing-ukrainian-grassroots-activism-five-years-after-euromaidan-pub-78248.

Shekhovtsov, Anton and Andreas Umland. 2014. Die ukrainische radikale Rechte, die europäische Integration und die neofaschistische Gefahr. *Ukraine-Analysen*. 133: 7–11.

Shevel, Oxana. 2014. »Memories of the Past and Visions of the Future«. In M. Bernhard, J. Kubik, and M. H. Bernhard (eds.), *Twenty years after communism. The politics of memory and commemoration*, 146–167. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press USA.

Shulman, Stephen. 2004. »The Contours of Civic and Ethnic National Identification in Ukraine«. *Europe-Asia Studies*. 56(1): 35–56.

Shulman, Stephen. 2005. »National Identity and Public Support for Political and Economic Reform in Ukraine«. *Slavic Review*. 64(1): 59–87.

Simon, Gerhard. 2007. »Holodomor 1932–33. Politik der Vernichtung«. Retrieved January 8, 2024. https://osteuropa.lpb-bw.de/simon-holodomor-als-voelkerm.

Simon, Gerhard. 2013. »80 Jahre Holodomor – die Große Hungersnot in der Ukraine: Ereignis und Erinnerung«. *Ukraine Analysen*. 124: 17–20.

Simon, Gerhard. 2017. »Sprachenpolitik in der Ukraine«. *Ukraine-Analysen*. 192: 2–3.

Smith, Antony. 2005. »Civic and ethnic nationalism«. In: Spencer, Philip and Howard Wollman (eds.), *Nations and Nationalism*, 177–183. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

State Statistics Committee of Ukraine. 2001. »About number and composition population of UKRAINE by data All-Ukrainian population census' 2001 data«. Retrieved April 15, 2020. http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/results/general/nationality/.

Stauber, Reinhard. 2012. »Nation, Nationalismus«. In: Jaeger, Friedrich (ed.), *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler.

Stewart, Susan and Andreas Umland. 2012. »Das Beziehungsdreieck Ukraine-EU-Russland im Wandel«. Retrieved March 22, 2024. https://www.bpb.de/themen/europa/ukraine-analysen/135946/analyse-das-beziehungsdreieck-ukraine-eu-russland-im-wandel/.

Strauss, Anselm L. and Juliet M. Corbin. 1996. *Grounded Theory: Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung*. Weinheim: Beltz.

Strübing, Jörg. 2011. »Zwei Varianten von Grounded Theory? Zu den methodologischen und methodischen Differenzen zwischen Barney Glaser und Anselm Strauss«. In Mruck, Katja and Günter Mey (eds.), *Grounded Theory Reader*, 261–277. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Strübing, Jörg. 2013. *Qualitative Sozialforschung*. München: Oldenbourg.

Strübing, Jörg. 2014. *Grounded Theory. Zur sozialtheoretischen und epistemologischen Fundierung eines pragmatistischen Forschungsstils*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Subtelny, Orest. 2011. »Vom Sowjetischen zum Nationalen: Tendenzen in der ukrainischen Geschichtsschreibung seit 1991«. In: Kappeler, Andreas (ed.), *Die Ukraine in Europa. Die Ukraine. Prozesse der Nationsbildung*, 19–27. Köln/ Weimar/ Wien: Böhlau Verlag.

Sysyn, Frank. 1991. »The Reemergence of the Ukrainian Nation and Cossack Mythology«. *Social Research*. 58(4): 845–864.

Szostek, Joanna. 2018. »Nothing Is True? The Credibility of News and Conflicting Narratives during ›Information War‹ in Ukraine«. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 23(1): 116–135.

TASS. Russian News Agency. 2021. »Putin calls dissolution of USSR tragedy and ›collapse of historical Russia‹«. Retrieved January 3, 2024. https://tass.com/politics/1374355.

TASS. Russian News Agency. 2022. »Putin voices concerns over discrimination of Russian-speaking population in Ukraine«. Retrieved March 22, 2024. https://tass.com/politics/1399417.

Tartakovsky, Eugene. 2011. »National Identity«. In: Levesque, Roger J. R. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Adolescence*, 1849–1862. New York: Springer.

The Guardian. 2019. »Ultranationalism in Ukraine — a photo essay«. Retrieved April 17, 2021. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/11/ultranationalism-in-ukraine-a-photo-essay.

The Independent Advisory Group on Country Information (IAGCI). 2019. »Country Policy and Information Note Ukraine: Minority groups«. Retrieved January 05, 2021. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/812080/Ukraine_-_Minority_Groups_-_CPIN_-_v2.0__June_2019_.pdf.

The US–Ukraine Foundation. n.d. »Democracy & Human Rights«. Retrieved December 22, 2020. https://usukraine.org/policy-issues/democracy-human-rights.

Ukrainian Parliament. 2003. »Закон України Про Державний Гімн України«. Retrieved December 22, 2020. https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/602-15#Text.

Ukrainian Parliament. 2006. »ЗАКОН УКРАЇНИ. Про Голодомор 1932–1933 років в Україні«. Retrieved December 28, 2020. https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/376-16?zahyst=4%2FUMfPEGznhhAMY.Zi691C5h-HI4ags80msh8Ie6#Text.

UMMA (Умма – Духовне управління мусульман України). n.d. »Соціальна концепція мусульман України«. Retrieved February 23, 2021. https://umma.in.ua/ua/node/1890.

United Nations (UN). 1994. »Budapest Memorandum«. Retrieved December 5, 2023. https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280401fbb.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). 2024. »Ukraine emergency«. Retrieved March 7, 2024. https://www.unrefugees.org/emergencies/ukraine/.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). 2021. »Ukraine«. Retrieved March 27, 2021. https://reporting.unhcr.org/node/12004?y=2021#year.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). 2018. »Human rights violations and abuses and international humanitarian law violations committed in the context of the Ilovaisk events in August 2014«. Retrieved February 18, 2021. https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/UA/ReportOnIlovaisk_En.pdf.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). 2017. »Thousands in eastern Ukraine lose access to pensions«. Retrieved March 22, 2024. https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/thousands-eastern-ukraine-lose-access-pensions.

United States Commission on International Religious Freedom. 2020. »Annual Report«. Retrieved January 06, 2021. https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/USCIRF%202020%20Annual%20Report_Final_42920.pdf.

Vasylenko, Mykola. 1958. »The constitution of Pylyp Orlyk«. *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 6(3/4): 1260–1295.

Venice Committee (European Commission for Democracy Through Law). 2017. »The law on education of 2017. (Adopted by the Verkhovna Rada on 5 September 2017)«. Retrieved March 27, 2021. https://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-REF(2017)047-e.

Veselova, Oleksandra, Marta D. Olynyk, and Andrij Wynnyckyj. 2008. »Famine in Ukraine after the Second World War.” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*. 30(1/4): 183–98.

Verdugo, Richard R. and Andrew Milne. 2016. »Introduction. National Identity. Theory and Practice«. In: Verdugo, Richard R. and Andrew Milne (eds.), *National Identity. Theory and* Research, 1–24. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, Inc.

Von Twickel, Nikolaus. 2019. »Developments in ›DNR‹ and ›LNR‹: 06–25 April 2019«. *Ukraine-Analysen*. 217: 22–23.

von Unger, Hella. 2018. »Ethische Reflexivität in der Fluchtforschung. Erfahrungen aus einem soziologischen Lehrforschungsprojekt«. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung*. 19(3): 1–26.

Wanner, Catherine. 2014. »›Fraternal‹ nations and challenges to sovereignty in Ukraine: The politics of linguistic and religious ties«. *American Ethnologist*. 41(3): 427–439.

Walker, Shaun. 2013a. »Ukraine's EU trade deal will be catastrophic, says Russia«. Retrieved April 08, 2024. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/22/ukraine-european-union-trade-russia.

Walker, Shaun. 2013b. »Vladimir Putin offers Ukraine financial incentives to stick with Russia«. Retrieved April 08, 2024. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/17/ukraine-russia-leaders-talks-kremlin-loan-deal.

Watts, Nicholas. 2014. »Ukraine president: Kiev will not use army to stop Crimea secession«. *The Guardian.* Retrieved November 27, 2023. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/12/kiev-army-crimea-ukraine-acting-president.

Wike, Richard and Jacob Poushter, Laura Silver, Kat Devlin, Janell Fetterolf, Alexandra Castillo and Christine Huang. 2019. »European public opinion three decades after the fall of communism. 4. The European Union«. Retrieved January 10, 2021. https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2019/10/14/the-european-union/.

Wilson, Andrew. 2002. »Elements of a theory of Ukrainian ethno-national identities«. *Nations and Nationalism.* 8(1): 31–54.

Wilson, Andrew. 2015. *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.

Wydra, Doris. 2003. »Die Halbinsel Krim – Regionale Problemlagen im europäischen Kontext«. In: Besters-Dilger, Juliane (ed.), *Die Ukraine in Europa. Aktuelle Lage, Hintergründe und Perspektiven,* 337–364. Wien/Köln/ Weimar: Böhlau Verlag.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2006. »Belonging and the politics of belonging«. *Patterns of Prejudice.* 40(3):197–214.

Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. 2014. »A Divided Nation? Reconsidering the Role of Identity Politics in the Ukraine Crisis«. *Die Friedens-Warte.* 89(1/2): 249–267.

Zolkina, Maria. 2017. »The Donbas. New Trends in Public Opinion«. In: Haran, Olexiy and Maksym Yakovlyev (eds.), *Constructing a political nation. Changes in the Attitudes of Ukrainians during the War in the Donbas,* 159–182. Kyiv: Stylos Publishing.

Дубовская, Екатерина and Ирина Безкоровайная. 2017. »Мусульмане в Украине: соседи или братья?«. Retrieved February 11, 2021. https://nashkiev.ua/vlast/infografika/mousoul-mane-v-oukraine-sosedi-ili-bratya.html?in_parent=zhournal.

Победобесие. n.d. Retrieved January 04, 2021. https://pobedobesie.info.

112 Ukraine. 2020. »Zelensky meets with representatives of Crimean Tatars«. Retrieved January 09, 2021. https://112.international/politics/zelensky-meets-with-representatives-of-crimean-tatars-51433.html.