

## Public Consciousness of Russians in the Socio-Cultural and Historical Dimension: Problems of Identity

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### ABSTRACT

Over the past three decades, Russia has undergone profound socio-economic reforms, often initiated not by the population itself, but by the authorities. However, it is the population, its mass consciousness that has become the main object of deep transformations, expressed not only in a change of lifestyle, but also in the value orientations. Despite the strengthening of market relations, the expected economic effect in Russia has been failed to be achieved. One of the main reasons for this is the inertial mass public consciousness. On the basis of the all-Russian sociological study the article carried out an analysis of the mass consciousness of the Russian population structure - historical, patriotic, legal - and showed its inconsistency hindering the consolidation of the population within the established new political and ideological system framework.

### KEYWORDS

historical consciousness, civil identity, social status, education, cultural level

### ARTICLE HISTORY

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## Introduction

The study is based on a social problem, which contains a contradiction between the intensive spread of mass culture, generated by the globalization of the economy, labor, and the image of the young generation life – on the one hand, and by the need to preserve the cultural identity of the nation as the state community, including ethnic groups that are members of the state – on the other hand. In accordance with the nature of the social problem, its sociological study is based on the following indicators:

- property, status and cultural identity of the population;

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- estimated identification of the political systems in the history of Russia by the population, personified by identifying with government leaders;
- level of public interest in historical events of Russia as an indicator of social and consolidating capacity of the state;
- civil identification of the population in the new Russia;
- orientation of the population to permanent education.

The research problem is to identify the structure of historical consciousness and patriotic identification of population of Russia, which took place in the last 30 years through the transformation under the influence of deep socio-economic permutations.

The method of collecting primary sociological information is mass formalized sociological profile for the personal interview. The object of the representative for Russia in general study is population aged 18 years and older.

#### *Scientific development of problem*

The problem of historical consciousness is the subject of scientific analysis, at least for the last 50 years, but it is considered mainly through the prism of national identity, without taking into account the structure of mass consciousness, or in line with the formation of historical consciousness and evolution of historical thought (Kiryanov and Smirnova, 2005; Zverev et. al., 2012). Different forms, methods and levels of perception of the past by a person, the concepts of representatives of historical thought relating to different epochs, mainly in literature images have been also investigated (Aaron, 2014).

Analysis of historical consciousness in the context of the processes of socio-cultural transformation of Russian society has become topical in the 1990s, when, under the pressure of large-scale socio-economic changes in society the permanent denial of the historical past as antisocial phenomenon in ideological terms took place. These studies, mainly in theory, affect the structure and the function of historical consciousness (Merzlyakova and Druzhba, 2012).

Another specific approach to the study of historical consciousness is its specialized consideration in the light of Russian historians' views (V. Klyuchevskiy, P. Milyukov, A. Kornilov, G. Fedotov), as having different types of historical consciousness: liberal, conservative, ethnocentric or having great-power (Kliamkin, 2012).

In contrast to the predominantly verbal form of analysis of historical consciousness, the authors rely on empirical indicators of the state of consciousness of the masses obtained in the course of sociological research, both generalized and structured by using a statistical factor analysis. Structuring has been implemented in two comparable indicators: political personalities symbolizing different stages of the history of Russia, and also significant historical events. Double patterning has been carried out in order to compare and detect inconsistencies in the historical consciousness of the masses (Gorshkov and Sheregi, 2010).



Along with the historical consciousness, the article also has carried out analysis of property, socio-status and cultural identity of citizens of Russia, taking into account revealing deep differentiation in comparison with the relative homogeneity that is characteristic of past socialist collective consciousness. The most common form of property differentiation of the population, adopted in the social sciences is in terms of income and family's consumption (Pasovets, 2011). Social status is seen by sociologists as a predominantly social inequality (Shkaratan, 2012; Tikhonova, 2014), but from the perspective of the social division of labor, this conclusion cannot be considered as indisputable. Interpretation of cultural identity of individual by social scientists is also ambiguous. More often it is seen in the aspect of ethnic identity (Lysak, 2010; Miklyaeva and Rummyantsev, 2008). For comparability of material, status and cultural identity, the authors of the article used a single self-esteem scale during the study.

An important factor in the consolidation of the population of the state is civil identity. In the literature it is often identified with the political identity (Kosyanenko, 2011; Boguslavskaya and Zaitsev, 2008; Silantieva, 2012). According to the authors these are different phenomena, and civil identity is less dependent on political and even ethnic identity, but more on the quality of economic consolidation of citizens.

Due to the fragmentation of the position of researchers in the scientific literature on the criteria for the structure of historical consciousness, forms of personal identity and the reasons for the nature of identity, the authors considered that to apply a single self-esteem scale for determining the structure of the mass consciousness of the Russian population in a changing economic, social relations and the dominant ideologies and ethics is important.

## Results and Discussion

### *Social, property and cultural identity*

Identification with the social status at the same time indicates the character of reference groups, in which the personality communicates; that with the cultural "status" indirectly indicates the level of cultural needs of the individual; with a property status – the consumer potential and quality of life of the person (Gorshkov and Sheregi, 2010). These types of identification have been measured during the study using ten-point scale, which is conventionally divides the population *into deciles*. This method, in spite of the high degree of subjective self-assessment made by the respondents, is valid for the measurement of culture.

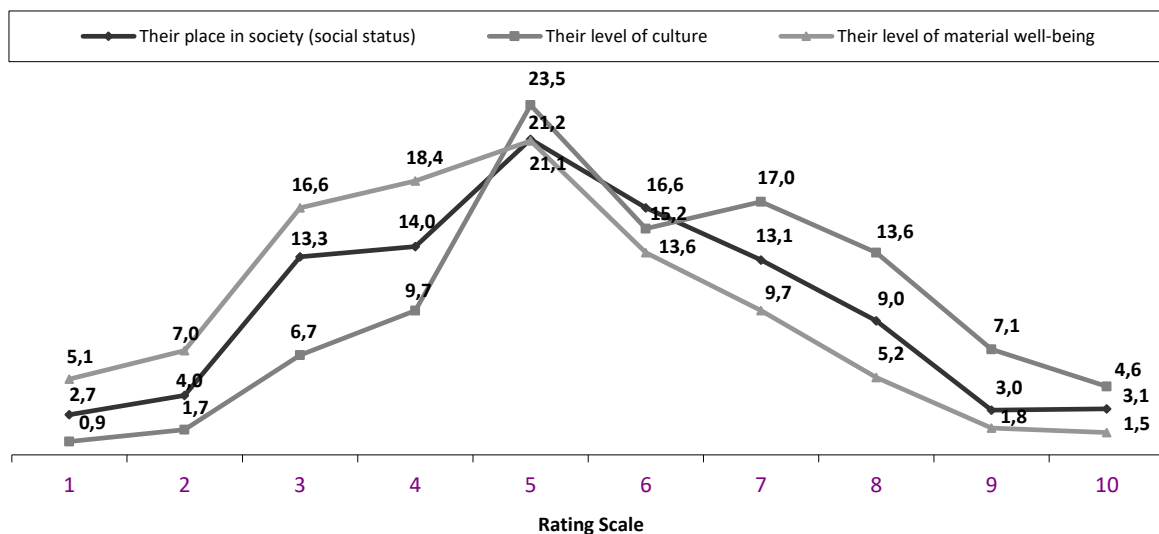
According to measurement results, the Russians aged 16 and older now assess their material well-being by the 10-point scale at 4.7 points, their social status – at 5.4 points, the cultural level – at 6.1 points.

Figure 1 shows the close connection between the assessment of respondents' *financial situation, social status and cultural level* expressed by them. In some cases, there may be self-depreciation by representatives of various socio-professional or property groups, but as a statistical trend this relationship is very real in a market where the value of capital (quantity of

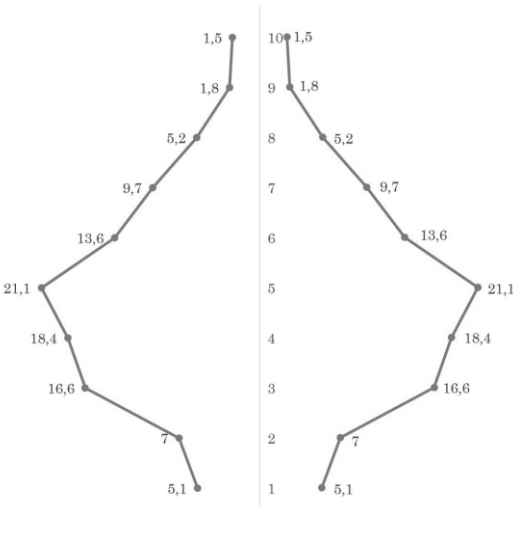
money) defines social status as well as the ability to satisfy their cultural needs. Nevertheless, *the opportunity to meet the cultural needs under the domination of the media has expanded considerably and is independent in the absolute sense of the material possibilities of the individual.*

Solid model of self-esteem of the Russian Federation population aged 16 years and over of their material, social and cultural levels are shown in Figures 2, 3 and 4. The similarity of figures is in that according to self-assessments the bulk of the population is grouped closer to the center. This indicates the relative social homogeneity of society and at the same time an “average character” of the population by its opportunities.

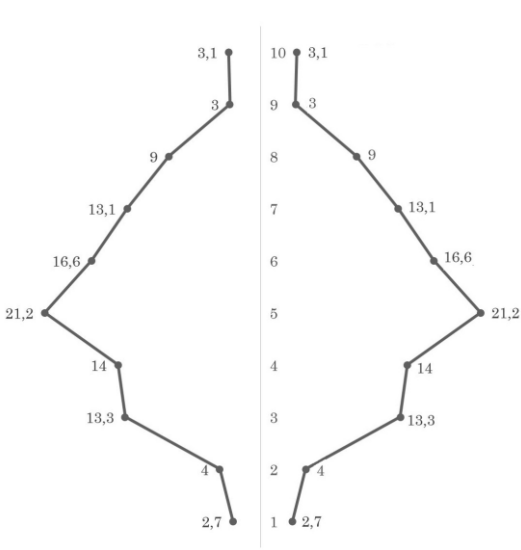
Referring to Figure 5, it is possible to conclude about the elite layer (Tikhonova, 2015; Tyurina, 2014). Summarizing assessment 4 and 5, we find that *elite group of the population is 20% according to the material well-being, 25% – according to their social status, 40% – according to their cultural level.* This suggests about craving for culture of almost half of the population. This conclusion is also confirmed by the analysis of information about passion of the population for education. The results show that *today 47% of the population aged 16 years and over after the end of their base education in one form or another continue to join in knowledge, especially professional one.*



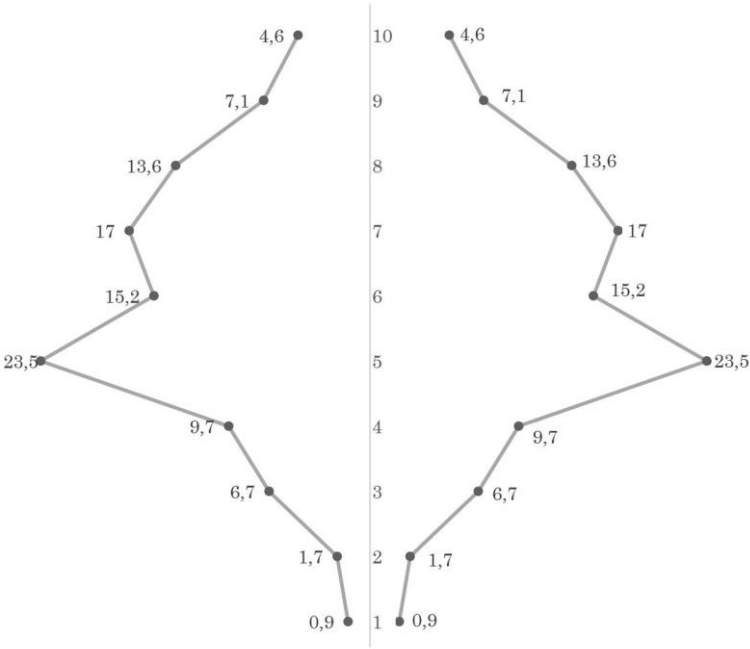
**Figure 1.** Respondents’ assessment of their social status, cultural level and material well-being, %



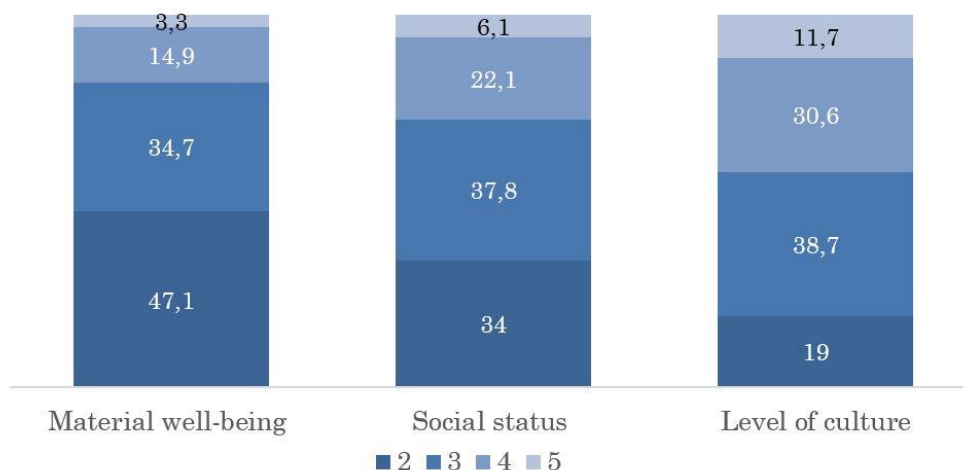
**Figure 2.** Respondents' assessment of their *material well-being*



**Figure 3.** Respondents' assessment of their *social status*



**Figure 4.** Respondents' assessment of their *cultural level*



### *Historical consciousness of the population*

**Figure 5.** Respondents' assessment of their social status, cultural level and material well-being by five-grade scale (5 – very high level, ..., 2 – extremely low level)

Historical consciousness is an important factor in the consolidation of the population of any state. *Without continuity of the history, citizens do not have a holistic view of the country; there is only a fragmentary picture of arbitrarily combining either into an attractive or a repulsive image.* A country without history is like a man without a past. In the absence of holistic historical consciousness of people, it is difficult to expect the manifestation of patriotism. A relatively large set of indicators characterizing the historical events that took place in Russia over the centuries have been used to measure the historical consciousness of Russians (see Table 1). Respondents' preference of various indicators in accordance with the "image" in the mass consciousness of Russian history segments gives an idea of the structure of historical consciousness of the population.

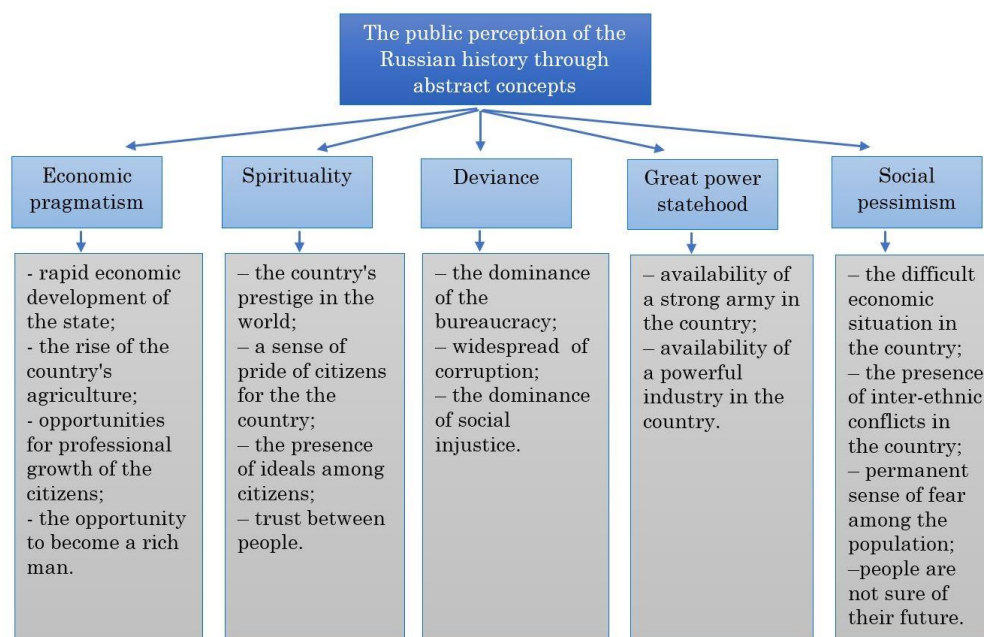


**Table1** – Characteristics of different stages in the history of the country in the personalized form by respondents, %

Characteristics	Historical periods						
	Russia under Tsar (up to 1917 Revolution)	USSR under I.Stalin	USSR under N. Khrushchev	USSR under L. Brezhnev	USSR under M. Gorbachev	Russia under B. Yeltsin	Russia under V. Putin
Difficult economic situation	16.7	15.9	10.4	6.7	36.5	52.6	12.5
Fear	12.0	59.3	4.5	3.4	9.5	17.0	6.3
Social security	3.2	7.6	17.8	37.1	3.7	2.5	16.4
Presence of ideals	17.4	34.6	22.1	25.1	5.4	3.7	8.0
International conflicts	6.6	6.7	3.1	5.7	28.2	49.6	28.7
Discipline, order	10.0	53.4	8.9	13.4	2.9	1.4	8.5
Rapid economic development	11.6	27.8	18.5	12.6	3.3	2.6	20.2
Rise of agriculture	15.5	18.4	42.4	18.2	2.7	1.4	6.5
Buoyancy	5.9	5.4	19.6	30.2	4.5	3.3	9.4
Advances in the art	24.2	13.3	19.6	26.8	7.3	4.5	13.2
Trust between people	10.0	5.9	16.0	36.3	6.9	3.8	7.0
Universal equality before the law	5.4	13.5	9.0	16.0	3.7	2.0	7.5
Opportunities for professional growth	5.0	9.8	15.8	29.0	10.6	10.3	32.1
Possibility to become a rich man	10.7	1.0	1.6	3.6	15.7	34.0	36.8
Crime, gangsterism	6.0	6.5	4.4	6.1	35.8	57.2	20.5
Love to the Fatherland	37.4	42.7	22.3	31.5	12.7	7.4	24.5
Success in education	8.0	17.8	20.2	34.9	7.6	3.3	10.9
Authority in the world	23.0	35.5	20.4	25.5	10.3	5.8	38.4
Bureaucracy	9.0	14.9	16.8	31.2	33.9	39.0	34.7
Crisis	5.2	4.9	6.2	6.4	38.5	51.3	27.3
Civil and political freedoms	4.7	1.7	7.3	4.2	12.4	17.4	30.2
Progress of science and technology	7.5	21.8	24.0	28.4	5.6	3.6	21.3
Feeling of pride	14.8	25.4	14.9	19.7	5.1	3.2	25.0
Uncertainty about the future	7.3	8.0	3.8	4.1	32.5	46.5	27.5
Respect of Orthodox Church	50.0	2.1	1.3	2.3	3.9	10.2	39.8
Powerful industry	10.2	28.3	21.7	28.2	3.0	1.8	9.1
Powerful army	13.3	37.9	17.4	25.0	3.5	2.6	29.6

Social injustice	18.0	8.4	7.3	8.4	23.4	41.0	27.5
Corruption, bribes	7.4	4.4	9.5	19.6	36.8	58.5	48.2
Lack of spirituality	1.9	12.7	10.0	10.3	22.7	30.9	14.2

Before proceeding to a detailed analysis of the figures given in Table 1, we note that the mass consciousness will integrate these indicators in five abstract concepts extracted using statistical factor analysis (see Fig. 6).

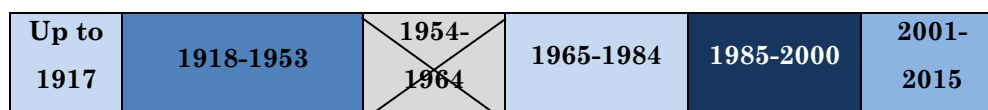


**Figure 6.** The structure of the Russian historical consciousness

If we take into account only those characteristics displayed in Table 1, noted as dominant by more than 30% of respondents, then various historical periods in Russia will find the following ethical response.

*Pre-revolutionary Russia (until 1917)* is presented in the Russian mass consciousness as primarily a spiritual state (a positive image); *the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin* - as a dictatorship (a negative image), *the Soviet Union under Khrushchev*, as the state which temporarily “disappeared” from the field of history (“not any” or “forgotten” population); *the Soviet Union under Leonid Brezhnev* as a socially-oriented developing country (a positive image), *the Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev*, as a decaying state (a negative image); *Russia under Boris Yeltsin*, the state, being on the verge of decline (a negative image); *Russia under V. Putin*, as a state with a negative family history, but being on the path of progress (a generally positive image). As a result, we have three negative and two positive images, one a “generally positive” image and one neutral ( “empty”) image, but with a different length. If we denote the positive image with the lighter tone, and the negative – with the dark tone (Khrushchev period “slipped out” of memory of the masses has been crossed out), then with taking into account the duration of the intervals, the historical consciousness of the population takes the following “shade” (see Figure 7). There are sudden changes in tone color.





**Figure 7.** Colour image of the historical consciousness of the Russian population

With such a structured historical consciousness, containing extremely controversial assessment, it is difficult to consolidate the population.

Such perception of Russia's history is typical for people of all generations, only the age group older than 60 years are more prone than the younger one, to idealize the Soviet period.

The picture presented in Fig. 7 illustrates the perception of Russian history by the mass consciousness of the population; this picture is created with the personification of Russian history. The contradiction typical of the historical consciousness of the population exacerbated if the personification of the historical phases goes to historical events (see list 1). *Events are detached from the concrete historical stages of the country and seem to exist by themselves, outside of history.*

So, the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War over Nazi Germany in 1941-1945 causes the pride of most of Russia's population; the country's recovery from the devastation after World War II are the events of the Stalinist period; the first successful flight of Yuri Gagarin in 1961 is an event of the Khrushchev period. Such events of the Gorbachev period as glasnost and perestroika are ignored by public opinion. The contradictory nature of historical consciousness of the masses indicates the following: *on the one hand, the personification of the history of Russia leads to a break in the historical consciousness of the population and complicates the identification of outstanding historical events with the stages of history; on the other hand, the association of historical stages with events in the mass consciousness is near-zero, so the role of the people in the building of the country, in fact - the history of Russia, is ignored by public opinion.*

#### List 1

#### **Respondents' opinion about what events from the country's past history a citizen of the Russian Federation can be proud of today, %**

74.6 – Victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 over Nazi Germany

62.9 - The great Russian poets, writers, composers

62.8 - Reconstruction of the country after World War II

60.1 - The first successful spaceflight by Yuri Gagarin in 1961

58.5 - Achievement in astronautics and space technology

44.1 - Achievements of Russian athletes

34.5 - Success of the Russian science

- 29.7 - Power and authority of Russia during the Soviet period
- 25.7 – System of education
- 23.0 - Achievements of Russian medicine
- 20.6 - Elimination of the ‘iron curtain’ between Russia and the rest of the world in the 1980s
- 18.2 - Outstanding Russian tsars and empresses
- 16.8 - Emancipation of the serfs in 1861 from serfdom
- 16.2 - Power and wealth of Russia in the period of kings and emperors
- 12.0 - Martyrs and saints of the Russian Orthodox Church
- 11.3 - October 1917 revolution
- 5.3 - Transition to a market economy in the early 1990s
- 4.7 - Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika period
- 3.1 - The USSR disintegration
- 1.0 - Nothing to be proud of

Low rates on a number of historical events can be caused by a lack of awareness of the population, especially the younger generation; however, the data of the study show the solidarity of representatives of different generations in the evaluation of historical events (see Table 2). The same solidarity takes place in the estimates made by the representatives of various ethnic groups (see Table 3).



**Table 2.** Respondents' opinion in different age groups about what events from the country's past history a citizen of the Russian Federation can be proud of today, %

Events of history and personalities of Russia	Age groups					
	Up to 19 years	20-24 years	25-29 years	30-39 years	40-60 years	60 Older than years
Reconstruction of the country after World War II	52.5	53.3	52.6	62.8	62.1	77.2
The great Russian poets, writers, composers	62.0	67.0	53.1	61.5	61.3	69.4
Achievement in astronautics and space technology	48.7	51.4	47.9	58.4	58.6	70.6
Achievements of Russian athletes	41.8	40.1	38.9	42.2	43.0	53.4
Achievements of Russian medicine	22.2	15.1	22.7	22.8	19.0	34.4
System of education	25.3	22.2	20.4	25.2	27.7	27.5
Achievements of Russian science	44.9	31.1	30.3	36.3	33.5	33.9
Outstanding Russian tsars and empresses	18.4	23.6	17.5	17.5	18.5	16.2
Power and wealth of Russia in the period of kings and emperors	18.4	16.0	15.6	17.3	16.7	13.9
Power and authority of Russia during the Soviet period	24.1	25.5	22.7	23.6	29.0	44.9
Emancipation of the serfs in 1861 from serfdom	19.0	19.3	16.1	14.7	16.6	17.9
Martyrs and saints of the Russian Orthodox Church	10.8	9.9	10.9	9.6	12.2	16.0
Elimination of the 'iron curtain' between Russia and the rest of the world in the 1980s	14.6	17.0	19.0	17.7	17.9	33.4
October 1917 revolution	9.5	7.1	8.5	9.0	12.5	15.8
Victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-	67.7	70.3	66.8	69.4	76.5	85.2

1945 over Nazi Germany						
The first successful spaceflight by Yuri Gagarin in 1961	57.6	54.7	60.2	54.5	57.9	73.4
Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika period	8.9	5.7	6.2	4.8	3.7	3.5
The USSR disintegration	4.4	2.8	6.2	3.3	2.2	2.8
Transition to a market economy in the early 1990s	10.1	8.5	10.0	4.4	3.9	2.8
Nothing to be proud of	0.6	1.4	2.8	1.5	0.3	0.5

**Table 3.** Respondents' opinion in different ethnic groups about what events from the country's past history a citizen of the Russian Federation can be proud of today, %

Events of history and personalities of Russia	Nationality					
	the Russians	the Tatars	The Belarusians, the Ukrainians	The peoples of the North Caucasus	Small-numbered peoples	Representatives of other ethnic groups (Jews, Poles, Chechens)
Reconstruction of the country after World War II	62.1	74.4	56.0	63.6	62.3	73.1
The great Russian poets, writers, composers	63.5	48.8	48.0	52.7	66.0	80.8
Achievement in astronautics and space technology	58.6	52.3	48.0	52.7	69.8	69.2
Achievements of Russian athletes	44.4	27.9	36.0	45.5	49.1	69.2
Achievements of the Russian science	23.1	19.8	12.0	21.8	22.6	34.6
Education system	25.8	19.8	28.0	29.1	20.8	38.5
Achievements of the Russian science	34.4	34.9	32.0	34.5	28.3	53.8
Outstanding Russian tsars and empresses	18.3	17.4	12.0	14.5	20.8	26.9
Power and authority of Russia during the Soviet period	16.0	25.6	16.0	12.7	13.2	15.4
Power and authority of Russia during the Soviet period	29.1	38.4	32.0	32.7	35.8	26.9
Emancipation of the serfs in 1861	16.4	20.9	16.0	21.8	18.9	23.1



from serfdom						
Martyrs and saints of the Russian Orthodox Church	12.5	4.7	12.0	7.3	5.7	19.2
Elimination of the 'iron curtain' between Russia and the rest of the world in the 1980s	21.2	14.0	20.0	14.5	11.3	34.6
October 1917 revolution	11.3	16.3	4.0	7.3	11.3	11.5
Victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 over Nazi Germany	74.9	75.6	76.0	63.6	69.8	73.1
The first successful spaceflight by Yuri Gagarin in 1961	60.2	64.0	56.0	60.0	54.7	53.8
Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika period	4.5	5.8	4.0	3.6	5.7	15.4
The USSR disintegration	3.0	4.7	0.0	3.6	7.5	3.8
Transition to a market economy in the early 1990s	5.1	8.1	4.0	5.5	3.8	11.5
Nothing to be proud of	0.9	1.2	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0

*As a positive factor in shaping the culture of the population should be highlighted its willingness to be proud of the great Russian poets, writers, composers, achievements of Russian science.*

In general, the desire of the Russian Federation population for education is large (Sheregi, 2015; Cherednichenko, 2014): after getting the "base for themselves" education (general secondary or vocational), 31.9% of the population aged 16 years and over are engaged in self-education – it is not less than 40 million people (calculated according to the source: the Russian Federation's population aged 16 years and older is 119,400,000 persons). The attraction of such a mass of self-educating people, especially when it comes to young people, is due to the Internet; it plays an important role in it: intelligent (economic, environmental) games, encyclopedias, libraries, educational films, etc. Alongside with self-education (after the end of "basic education"), 0.9% (1.1 million people) are trained further at the extramural departments or in the evening, in secondary vocational educational institutions; 2.7% (3.4 million) are trained remotely or in the evening in higher professional educational institutions; 6.4% (8 million) are trained at various career development courses, 7.3% (9.2 million people) enrich their knowledge in other forms of educational practices. Among men aged 16 years and over after the completion of basic education 44.7%, improve their educational level, as for women - 48.3%.

*These indicators* show the people's thirst for culture. This passion is characteristic of all ages, both in urban and in rural areas (see Tables 4 and 5).

**Table 4.** The proportion of representatives of different age groups who continue training after the completion of basic education, %

Forms of continuing education	Age groups					
	Up to 19 years old	20-24 years	25-29 years	30-39 years	40-60 years	Older than 60 years
Training remotely or in the evening in the secondary vocational institution	3.8	3.3	1.9	0.4	0.0	0.2
Training remotely or in the evening in the higher vocational institution	5.1	8.0	8.1	2.6	0.7	0.0
Training at courses	4.4	7.1	10.0	9.6	6.4	1.2
Engaged in self-education	6.3	21.2	35.1	42.7	39.6	20.2
Enriching one's knowledge in some other way	1.9	1.9	3.8	3.5	<b>5.6</b>	<b>20.9</b>
Total amount of those continuing education (on one's own)	<b>21.5</b>	<b>40.6</b>	<b>54.0</b>	<b>54.7</b>	<b>49.4</b>	<b>41.9</b>

**Table 5.** The proportion of people aged 18 and over in different types of settlements, continuing training on the completion of basic education, %

Forms of continuing education	Type of settlement				
	Megapolis (Moscow, St. Petersburg)	The administrative center of the subject of the Russian Federation	The district center	Urban-type settlement	Village
Training remotely or in the evening in the secondary vocational institution	1.3	1.0	0.3	1.8	1.1
Training remotely or in the evening in the higher vocational institution	1.7	2.1	3.6	3.5	2.5
Training at courses	7.1	5.2	5.9	10.6	6.9
Engaged in self-education	45.0	33.1	31.3	24.8	26.7
Enriching their knowledge in some other way	3.4	<b>12.9</b>	<b>5.8</b>	<b>9.7</b>	3.4
<b>Total amount of those continuing education (self-education) on the completion of basic education</b>	<b>54.6</b>	<b>53.1</b>	<b>44.1</b>	<b>46.0</b>	<b>32.2</b>



### *The Manifestation of Patriotism*

Patriotism is a collective concept underlying a person's identification with the state. As a rule, it symbolizes the unity of the nation's economy, style and way of life of the people and their mentality. Pride in one's country is an important prerequisite for respect for its culture, language, desire to know its history, significant events and join the cultural traditions. If not to mention the concept symbolizing ethnic identity, the symbol for patriotism may be the concept of "American", "Canadian", "Australian", in Soviet times – "Soviet". *With the collapse of the Soviet Union the symbol of patriotic identity was lost.* This is a serious problem, because, in spite of a long period of formation of new state relations, a complete substitution of the concept-symbol of "Soviet" in public mind did not happen among the country's population, and many concept-symbols representing the identity with a nation were replaced by the concept-symbol of identity with ethnic group (Vilkova, 2012). Let us consider this problem in more detail.

Only 47.9% of respondents said that they personally feel today like the Russians citizens; 44.2% feel that they are Russian, 1.7% - citizens of their Republic (the Tatars, the Buryats, the Kalmyks, etc.), 1.7% - representatives of their nationality (the Tatars, the Buryats, the Moldavians, the Armenians, the Ukrainians, etc.).

It is amazing but true: *every second Russian does not identify himself/herself with the status of citizen of the Russian Federation, and prefers to identify himself/herself with ethnicity.*

The situation is aggravated in case of identifying one's citizenship abroad; France was chosen as an example (indicator) in the study. "Virtually being there" 40% of respondents would identify themselves as a citizen of the Russian Federation, 54.1% as Russians, 1.2% as a citizen of the Republic, (including 57.7% among the Tatars), 1.6% - a representative of their nationality, 1.1% - a citizen of the world, 2% - difficult to answer.

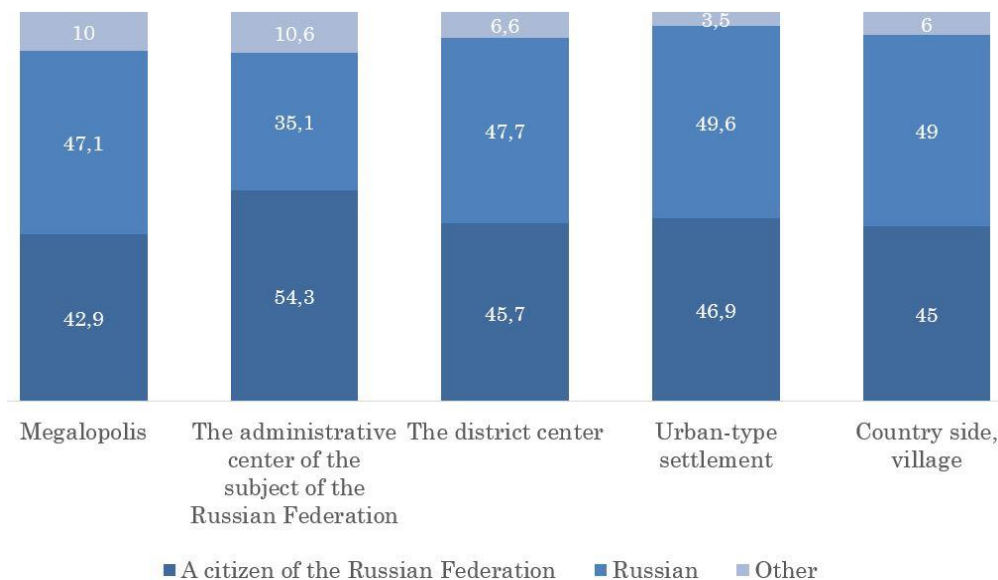
These figures testify to *the absence of the unity of civic identity in the mass consciousness.* In this case, the patriotism can be spoken of figuratively: many people manifest it either in the form of subconscious separatism (identification with the citizenship of the republic by representatives of national republics), or by identification with an ethnic group - in the form of nationalism, which takes place on a massive scale as among the Russians, and representatives of other ethnic groups.

Among men 49.7% identify themselves with the status of a citizen of the Russian Federation, among women - 46.4%. Among men 42.6% identify themselves with the concept of "Russian", among women - 45.6%. This phenomenon cannot be called nationalism, but there exists the following phenomenon: *the integrity of the national identity image is being "collapsed" in the Russian mass consciousness.*

Civic identity is split in the mass consciousness of all ages and residents of settlements of all types (see Fig. 8 and 9).



**Figure 8.** Civic identity (who consider themselves to be) of representatives of various age groups, %



**Figure 9.** Civic identity (who consider themselves to be) of representatives of the population as regards different settlement types, %

"Splitting" of the civil identity in the mass consciousness of Russians is clearly visible in Tables 6 and 7, where the civic identity of different ethnic groups is illustrated. Among the Russian "splitting" is bipolar, and among the Tatars the civil identity distributed by several indicators.





**Table 6.** Civil identity of different ethnic groups in the Russian Federation (self-determination), %

Civil identification	Ethnicity					
	The Russians	The Tatars	The Belarusians, the Ukrainians	The peoples of the North Caucasus	Small-numbered peoples	Representatives of other ethnic groups (Jews, Poles, Germans
A citizen of the Russian Federation	46.3	55.8	48.0	67.3	64.2	65.4
Russian	48.8	8.1	12.0	3.6	0.0	26.9
A citizen of his/her republic	0.6	11.6	4.0	3.6	24.5	0.0
Representative of his/her nationality	0.3	15.1	28.0	16.4	5.7	3.8
World citizen	1.8	4.7	4.0	7.3	3.8	3.8
Difficult to answer	2.2	4.7	4.0	1.8	1.8	0.1

**Table 7.** Civil identity of different ethnic groups in the case of residence abroad (as exemplified by France), %

Civil identification	Ethnicity					
	The Russians	The Tatars	The Belarusians, the Ukrainians	The peoples of the North Caucasus	Small-numbered peoples	Representatives of other ethnic groups (Jews, Poles, Germans
A citizen of the Russian Federation	37.3	54.7	56.0	61.8	77.4	53.8
Russian	59.2	17.4	24.0	7.3	0.0	34.6
A citizen of his/her republic	0.3	12.8	4.0	5.5	9.4	0.0
Representative of his/her nationality	0.4	9.3	12.0	18.2	11.3	7.7
World citizen	1.0	2.3	0.0	3.6	1.9	0.0
Difficult to answer	1.8	3.5	4.0	3.6	0.0	3.9

## Conclusions

The results of the study proved the hypothesis that the deep socio-economic changes having taken place in Russia have failed to fully consolidate the population even for a quarter of a century and mass consciousness has become split. Multi-structuredness of mass consciousness and alternativeness of Russia's population attitudes is manifested not only in the perception of citizens of their property or the status differentiation, but primarily in terms of their civic identity constituting difficulty for a half the population. The analysis of empirical data makes it clear that:

- the integrity of the perception of the state's history in the mass consciousness of the population of Russia was violated for two reasons: 1) the population does not identify the historical events and political personalities, a peculiar stage of the Russian history is associated with; 2) positively evaluating one part of historical political leaders and negatively another part, the population imposes its assessment on the relevant historical stages of the country; 3) the population identifies significant historical events in the country's life with neither historical stages, nor the names of politicians symbolizing these stages; only events, regardless of time and politicians have been saved in the historical consciousness;

- cultural identity of the population is formed as a whole, regardless of social status, but in some dependency on the financial situation; and the population estimates its cultural level as “average”, although the majority of the population has a desire to improve their educational level, moreover, the process is acquiring a permanent character;

- the evaluation of their social status by the population entirely depends on the material well-being; and both the first and the second is estimated as “below average” by the population;

- after the collapse of the USSR and leveling of the consolidating role of the concept of “Soviet”, its replenishment by the concept of “Russian” was only partial; moreover, citizens identity was split in half: half of the citizens began to identify themselves with the concept of a “citizen of Russia”, and the other half replaced their civilian identification by the ethnic one.

Thus, the problem lies primarily in the inability of the current mass consciousness of the Russian population to consolidate citizens within the state at the value and ideological levels because of their disunity. It requires the continuation of the ideological foundations of the unification of the Russian population mass consciousness to find its ideological and civil consolidation.

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## Disclosure statement



No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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