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The paper examines collective memory of British and Russian youth. The authors use the results of surveys conducted among Russian and British students. They focus primarily on the structure of pride in the collective memory of young people. They propose to analyze the category of pride among young people across several dimensions. First, they look at the qualitative content of national pride: pride in the realization of tasks relating to “soft power” (for example, culture, education, sports), and pride in manifestations of “hard power” (for example, pride in military victories or power politics). Second, they analyze the temporal localization of national pride: were are the main events, personalities, and phenomena study participants take pride in, both in the past and in the present. Third, an important element of understanding pride in a country is the relationship of pride to shame. In this paper, two types of national cultures are identified: a culture where pride prevails over shame (we call this “culture of pride”), and cultures where shame prevails (“culture of shame”).

Keywords: collective memory; national pride; national identity; Russian students; British students

JEL Classification: Z

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In studies of culture and national identity, social scientists often turn to the idea of pride among citizens for their country. Questions about national pride are included in most large-scale recent comparative studies like The World Values Survey (WVS), The International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), as well as regional surveys like the European Values Study (EVS). In articles written based on findings from the studies listed here, authors have often found a connection between pride and a series of other important socio-economic and cultural characteristics. For example, studies have shown a relationship between national pride and xenophobia (Hjirm, 1998), national pride and social and demographic characteristics (Smith and Kim, 2006; Evans and Kelley 2002), national pride and economic inequality (Solt, 2011). Studies also demonstrate that national pride is positively associated with happiness (Shang and Seung-Jin, 2015). A subset of studies turn directly to the sources of national pride. For example, the research project Judging the Past looked at how students from different countries perceive events that took place in the past, and what they condone, what they do not condone, what they find to be sources of pride or sources of shame. At the same time, social and cultural contexts were proven to be important for national specificities (Schwartz, Kazuya and Sachiko, 2005; Schwartz and Kim, 2001; Zhang and Schwartz, 1997). This latter category of work can be described as a new direction within Memory Studies that deal particularly with so-called joyful memories. As Tea Sindbæk Andersen and Jessica Ortner argue, at the moment the dominant sub-topics within Memory Studies are trauma and traumatic memories. At the same time, in order to contribute to a more differentiated understanding of the nature of memory, we must include positive, constructive and hopeful memories in our studies of memory (Andersen and Ortner, 2019). This is the direction taken by Tamara P Trošt, who has analyzed the role of joyful memories in the formation of national identity and nation-building (Trošt, 2019). We build on this work in this paper.

This paper draws from the results of surveys conducted among Russian and British students. We focus primarily on the structure of pride in the collective memory of young people. We propose to analyze the category of pride among young people across several dimensions. First, we look at the qualitative content of national pride: pride in the realization of tasks relating to “soft power” (for example, culture, education, sports), and pride in manifestations of “hard power” (for example, pride in military victories or power politics), drawing on the international relations concepts of “hard power” and “soft power” proposed by Nye. Second, we analyze the temporal localization of national pride: where are the main events, personalities, and phenomena study participants take pride in, both in the past and in the present. Third, an important element of understanding pride in a country is the relationship of pride to shame. In this paper, we identify two types of national cultures: a culture where pride prevails over shame (we call this “culture of pride”), and cultures where shame prevails (“culture of shame”).

Despite the difference in political systems, both Russia and Great Britain have imperial legacies, which affects not only collective memory, but also the construction of contemporary identity, the things the nation takes pride in, and how the nation thinks about its past. British historian Geoffrey Alan Hosking said in an interview that both Russia and Great Britain share a “post-imperial syndrome.” He argued that “in the case of Great Britain this feeling existed, but less acutely, because our empire disintegrated slowly, and almost all the parts the empire were far away from us, these were overseas territories”⁵

Research Methods, Data, and Methodological Constraints

The empirical part of this paper is based on data collected in Russia and Great Britain. Between September 2014 and April 2016, the Institute for Applied Political Studies at the National Research University Higher School of Economics conducted a study among 1399 students enrolled in the three top-ranking universities of Moscow, namely Moscow State University (MSU), National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE), and MGIMO University⁶. This sample included BA-level students from all faculties, from first years to fourth years. Of the 1399 study participants who partook in the Russian stage of the study, 630 were male and 769 were female. 727 of the totals were first and second years, while 672 were third and fourth years. All the students we polled were Russian citizens studying in Russia (this is what we mean when we refer to study participants as “Russian students”). The subjects of study among study participants included 365 students enrolled in natural sciences programs, 935 students studying social sciences subjects, 99 in engineering. Some questions included in the questionnaire were open-ended.

The study compares these results to data collected in Great Britain, based on a total of 368 British BA-level students surveyed at the University of Cambridge, of which 152 study participants identified as male, 207 as female, and 9 as other. 220 of the participants in Great Britain were first and second years, while 148 were third or fourth years. All the students we polled were UK citizens (this is what we mean when we refer to study participants as “British students”). The subject areas the students focus on included 115 students in the humanities, 105 in the natural sciences, 68 in the social sciences, 28 in engineering, 7 in law, 5 in business or economics, and 40 answered “other” in this category.

It is important to note that our study has several limitations. Our results do not allow us to reflect on youth in Great Britain and in Russia at large, or even on students of elite universities at large. The present study thus aims not to generalize to the general population, to “youth” in each

⁵ <https://www.svoboda.org/a/465131.html>

⁶ 496 – MSU, 363 – MGIMO, 540 – NRU HSE

country, or to the category of “students at elite universities” broadly. The sample was based on convenience and access, as well as on the willingness of students to participate.

Moreover, we should emphasize a very important methodological limitation of our study that stems from differing strategies of data collection in Great Britain and in Russia in the quantitative part of our study. In the part of the study that was based on questionnaires, both our sampling methods and methods of data collection differed between the Russian case and Great Britain, as in Russia students filled out questionnaires with the presence of a research coordinator, while in Great Britain the questionnaires were distributed via email in the form of an online survey. We employed two differing data collection strategies for a number of reasons. First, an increasingly tense political situation in Russia has led to falling levels of trust in society, which made it difficult to motivate students to answer surveys online, while personal arrangements with a research coordinator and the distribution of paper questionnaires to groups of students increased the possibility that students would be willing to anonymously fill out the survey. Second, many of the divisions of Russian universities do not have centralized lists of student emails for distribution of an online survey, making students inaccessible for surveying using online methods. In the case of the University of Cambridge, we were able to easily distribute the questionnaire online using the services of the <http://5-100.enjoysurvey.com> platform for online surveys.

The survey used in the study was composed of different blocks of questions. We analysed the life goals of students, their life strategies, plans, and ideas about the country and the world. We included questions that allow us to evaluate the psychological background of the study participants, including questions that indicate a general level of anxiety and trust towards people and institutions. Due to constraints of space, in this article we will focus our analysis of students’ responses to the following two open-ended questions based on Barry Schwarz’s methodology of studying historical pride and shame. These included “Please give three episodes/events in the history of our country that you believe we should take pride in” and “Please give three episodes/events in the history of our country that you believe we should be ashamed of.”

Results

Pride in soft and hard power in the context of collective memory

International relations theory often turns to the concepts of “soft power” and “hard power,” introduced by Joseph Nye. He conceptualizes soft power as the ability to attract and persuade. Hard power, on the contrary, is the ability to coerce and grows out of a country's military or economic might. Soft power arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies (Nye, 2004). We use these concepts to analyze the structure of national pride and build on Nye’s approach in several ways. We propose to view pride that appeals to cultural, scientific, and technological advances, as well as art and the development of institutions, as pride

in soft power advances. Pride in military victories or accumulation of territory can be considered as part of pride in advances of hard power. However, in our conceptualization of these two categories, we do not classify the events or phenomena mentioned by study participants ourselves; rather, we rely on the interpretation of these events by the study participants themselves. For example, war can be a way to accumulate new territory and resources, in which case it can be attributed to hard power. If war is the manifestation of heroism on the part of a group of people, it can be classified as soft power. Any historical event can be interpreted in a variety of ways, but in this study we always applied the interpretation offered by most study participants.

“Soft” pride among British students

The survey question concerning events they take pride in often resulted in difficulties for British students. **Over 40% could not answer this question**, or responded that there are no such events. We analyzed the responses by grouping all the events mentioned by British survey participants (582 mentions) into categories. Our analysis of events listed as inspiring pride resulted in **46 categories** that can be classified as reflecting predominantly soft power. Events that relate to soft power are present in **41 of 46 categories**. Hard power was present in only **5 categories**. For the sake of comparison we can also list the number of mentions of events that can be attributed to soft and hard power: **553 for soft power, and 29 for hard power**. This means that events that can be generally classified as part of soft power, or events that can be interpreted as relating to soft rather than hard power, are mentioned by students **19 times more** than events that relate to hard power.

Events relating to soft power in the structure of pride among British students

The top most-mentioned event among those that inspire pride are shared by **World War II and the National Health Service, or NHS** (the latter is an institution rather than an event). Other phenomena were far behind and were mentioned at least two times less often than the two aforementioned events..

World War II

The category “World War II” is mentioned slightly more often than the NHS, but includes several sub-categories: these are the Battle of Britain, mentioned as one of the most important military campaigns of the War for British people (2% of study participants) and cryptanalysis of the Enigma as a contribution of scientists to the war effort and victory (1%). Most of the answers within this category stressed the ethos of British people manifested in the war: “the role ordinary people played in ending Nazi concentration camps,” “the sacrifices of all conscripted men and women,” and the fact that during the war democracy was successfully defended. This allowed this military

event to be classified as an event having to do with soft power. The central themes discussed here are not related to the victory in and of itself, but rather the interpretations of the study participants humanize this category.

The category “World War II” is thematically linked to two more categories. The first is the acceptance of refugees and migrants, which includes welcoming German Jewish children during World War II, which occurred in part during the Kindertransport operation. This category was identified as a separate one, since the study participants often stressed that this relates to “accepting refugees both during and after the Second World War.” The second category is the contribution to the founding of the United Nations as a result of World War II, which should contribute to the establishment and consolidation of a new world order.

Prosperity and development

As for the NHS, pride in this institution is a traditional sentiment among British people. According to the results of a survey conducted in 2016 by Opinium Research among 2,003 UK adults, the NHS tops the Pride of Britain list. The list shows the NHS significantly overtaking British history, which got 25% of responses compared to 36%. The NHS is a symbol and manifestation of a welfare state constructed in the era of post-war socialism, which our study participants often stressed in their answers: “The creation of the Welfare State, including free healthcare (the NHS), we should be proud of it and protect it.” 8% of study participants, when speaking of their pride in the welfare state, did not mention the specific example of the NHS or any other policies. Some of them (1% of those polled) recalled pre-war attempts to move towards the welfare state: the rule of liberals in 1906-1911, when they raised the question of pensions for the elderly and social security for vulnerable parts of the population for the first time in the legal history of the country.

Civil rights and equality

An important part of the perceptions of British students of their national history has to do with events that are manifestations of battles for equality and civil rights. The NHS is also a symbol of commitment to principles of equality. However, as a part of the welfare state, the NHS is best understood in the context of the theme of protection and development of economic and social wellbeing.

If we turn to the topic of civil rights and equality, there is a series of events named by study participants and analyzed in this study that stretch across all of UK history, from the Magna Carta in 1215 as a major document which outlined the importance of the rule of law, the equality of all before the court, and human rights, to the Chartist Movement and Reform Acts in 1832, and the

abolition of slavery and end of the slave trade in 1833, to a large number of 20th-century events: the Representation of the People Act in 1918, granting women the right to vote in 1928, signing of the UN declaration on Human Rights in 1948, the abolition of the death penalty in 1965, legalization of abortion in 1967, legalization of same-sex marriage in 2013, and even the not yet passed decision of Parliament to eliminate the tampon VAT in 2016.

Pure “soft power”

The very concept of soft power and the success of the country in this realm was one of the things British students listed as something they are proud of (1% of those polled used this term in answer to the question about pride). At the same time, study participants listed a large number of scientific and cultural advances both relating to the past and to today. These are events that Joseph Nye would attribute to soft power.

The most common category that made it into the top five reasons for national pride are numerous scientific advances. Study participants did not limit themselves to general words about science in their responses, naming concrete names and examples they are proud of (Isaac Newton, Frank Whittle, Michael Faraday, Edward Jenner, Charles Darwin, Dorothy Hodgkin, Rosalind Franklin, Francis Crick and James D. Watson, etc.⁷), as well as their specific contributions (discovery of gravity in 1687, the small pox vaccine in 1796, discovery of penicillin in 1928, DNA discovery in the 1950s, Invention of Concorde in 1965, the invention of the worldwide web in 1989, the fight against severe acute respiratory syndrome or SARS in 2003).

In large part study participants also perceive the technological advances of the industrial revolution as a part of the category of scientific advances, and students do not tend to list the key role of the United Kingdom as part of their perceptions of this period.

As far as cultural events are concerned, these are listed less often, and when they are mentioned, they mostly relate to popular culture. Study participants mentioned “Harry Potter,” “The Beatles,” David Bowie, James Bond. Shakespeare was mentioned alongside Harry Potter. Other literature was discussed in broader times, for example Elizabethan literature, the development of the novel, or through the general acknowledgment of talented authors at large.

The standing of the country in relation to the world and global inequalities

⁷ It is worth noting that many of these names relate to discoveries made in Cambridge or people who have been affiliated with Cambridge colleges and laboratories

A separate category in British students' pride has to do with decolonization. It is important to note here that this category comes up not by itself as an element of pride, but it is always linked to the context of shame felt due to the period of colonization (this was the historical phenomenon that most often inspired shame according to this study). It is also important to note that this category of decolonization is not just about the very process of decolonization, but also the effects of decolonization. For example, students would mention Kevin Rudd, the Australian Prime Minister, and his apology to the "stolen generation" and its children for the actions of Europeans who settled the continent.

We may also view this as linked with the category of relations with Ireland and Scotland (Irish/Scottish Independence, Northern Ireland Peace process in 1994) as themes that have to do with the country, its borders, and its relations around the world.

The political system and political development

Characteristics of the political system and the nature of political development are also themes mentioned by study participants in the context of pride. Among the things listed were British parliament and the gradual movement towards "a more democratic system over time" since the 1640s to today, the Glorious Revolution of 1688 as a move from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy and contributing to and joining the European Union, which helped to secure "peace in Europe." All of the events mentioned here were linked by study participants to "peace" and their "relatively peaceful" nature.

In this way, during our analysis, categories relating to soft power were united into several thematic groups: World War II, prosperity and development, civil liberties and equality and the battle for them, "soft power" in a general sense, and the political system and political development, the standing of the country in relation to the world and global inequalities.

If we take a look at all mentions of events within each thematic group, we see that the most important events for the students we polled are those that have to do with civil liberties and human rights, equality, and the fight for these things. These phenomena take up 60% of all things mentioned by students as points of pride. The next most-mentioned phenomena are events that have to do with prosperity and development (30%). Third and fourth place stand close together and include World War II and events relating to soft power – 24% and 22% respectively (see Table 1).

Table 1. The most frequently mentioned events that inspire a feeling of pride among British students (N=368). Events named by $\geq 1\%$ of respondents are shown

Thematic group of events	Event	% of respondents who mention the event
World War II	World War II	21
	<i>including</i>	
	<i>Battle of Britain</i>	2
	<i>Cryptanalysis of the Enigma</i>	1
Welfare and development	Establishment of the National Health System	20
Civil rights and equality	Universal suffrage	11
Civil rights and equality	Legalization of same-sex marriage	11
Pure “soft power”	Numerous scientific advances	11
Civil rights and equality	The Abolition of Slavery and the slave trade	9
Welfare and development	Welfare state	8
Civil rights and equality	Human rights and social guarantees	7
Pure “soft power”	Industrial revolution	6
Pure “soft power”	Culture and cultural phenomena	6
Political system and political development	Contributing and joining the European Union	5
Pure “soft power”	2012 Summer Olympics in London	5
Hard power events	Wars	5
	<i>including</i>	
	<i>Napoleonic Wars and battles (Trafalgar, Waterloo)</i>	2
	<i>Falklands War</i>	1
	<i>World War I</i>	1
Civil rights and equality	Magna Carta	4
The country compound	Decolonization	3
Civil rights and equality	Civil Rights for Minorities and Women	3
World War II	Welcoming migrants and refugees	2
Political system and political development	British Parliament and democracy	2
Pure “soft power”	Enlightenment, Renaissance, Reformation	2
Civil rights and equality	The abolition of death penalty	2
Hard power events	Empire	1
Welfare and development	Sustainable rapid development of the country	1
Pure “soft power”	Being successful in “soft” power	1

Civil rights and equality	The Chartist Movement and the Reform Acts (1832)	1
Welfare and development	Liberal reforms (1906-1914)	1
Hard power events	Brexit	1
Political system and political development	The Glorious Revolution	1
World War II	Contribution to founding of the United Nations	1
The standing of the country in relation to the world and global inequalities	The relations with Ireland and Scotland	1
Pure “soft power”	Rich ancient and medieval history of the country	1
Hard power events	The English Commonwealth	1
Pure “soft power”	The foundation of the BBC	1
	Other	3
	No such events/No answer	42

Events that represent hard power in the structure of pride among British students

First, we should note that all five categories that we listed as events having to do with hard power, are categorized in this way very approximately. This has to do with the fact that study participants did not offer a lengthy or detailed interpretation, and according to the logic of the events, they can be categorized rather as hard power than soft power.

For example, this relates to the largest category, which was nonetheless mentioned by only 5% of those polled – the category of “war.” Some of those polled did not specify which wars they are referring to. In instances when they did specify, they mostly listed World War I, the Falklands War, the Napoleon wars, and specific battles (Trafalgar and Waterloo, and the Battle of Agincourt in the Hundred Years’ War, which was mentioned by only one person).

Other mentions of “hard power events,” i.e. the Imperial period, the Commonwealth of England Brexit, and The Protectorate were very rare. At the same time, we should note that Brexit is included in the list of “hard power events” because it is perceived by study participants as a way to impose economic limits on other countries, which is usually categorized as “hard power.”

In this way, the British students we polled are a clear example of a case where national pride is made up of events that have to do with soft power, or that are interpreted by study participants as having to do with hard power. At the same time, “soft power events” are both the most important events that inspire pride (ex. NHS, ethos of ordinary people during WWII, universal suffrage), and

they are also the key thematic groups into which they are united (ex. “Prosperity and development”, “Civil rights and equality”).

“Hard” pride among Russian students

Compared to British students, Russian students found it much easier to answer the question about things they are proud of. Only 23% of those polled could not answer the question or said there were no such things.

There were three more key differences between Russian students and their British counterparts:

- Events that are mentioned as cause for pride are more numerous. Our analysis revealed 126 categories for those polled in Russia.
- Events that were among the top four most-mentioned in the case of Russian students are far more consolidating and unifying for those we polled as compared with the most-mentioned events among British students. The top even mentioned by the Russian study participants was brought up by 63% of respondents, while the top event for British students was mentioned by only 21% of those polled in Great Britain.
- Out of 126 categories for the Russian case only 74 can be classified as soft power, while 52 can be classified as hard power. Despite this, hard power events dominate in terms of absolute numbers of mentions: out of a total of 2710 answers, 594 of them (or 22%) are “soft power events” and 2116 (or 78%) are “hard power events.” This means that events mentioned that relate to soft power exhibit greater variation, but events mentioned that relate to hard power are mentioned about 3.5 times as often as soft power events.

Our analysis of all categories of events that inspire pride among Russian students included the grouping of some of them thematically (see Table 2). Each thematic group contains events from very different periods of Russian history. Six of nine thematic groups included both soft and hard power events in differing proportions.

Table 2. Thematic groups of events that inspire a feeling of pride among Russian students (N=2710 mentions of events; 126 categories)

	Thematic group	Number of mentions	Number of categories	% soft/hard power
1	Wars	1342	18	0/100
2	Advances and discoveries that have to do with military development or are intended for military use	462	9	0/100
3	Soft power: sports, culture, science, education	263	25	100/0
4	Territory/expansion	159	10	7/93
5	Specific political leaders	138	12	36/64
6	Human rights and freedoms, including political freedoms	133	12	98/2
7	Establishment of the state	87	9	51/49
8	International politics and diplomacy	81	16	68/32
9	The ability to deal with crises/stable development	45	15	96/4

Events that represent hard power in the structure of pride among Russian students⁸

Wars

A key historical event in the structure of pride among Russian students is the victory in the Great Patriotic War (also sometimes referred to as the Great Fatherland War), which refers to the conflict fought by the USSR from 22 June 1941 to 9 May 1945 on the Eastern Front of World War II (see Table 3). Our analysis of answers given by study participants allows us to assert that, despite similar ideas about heroism in the answers given by British students about the equivalent of this event (World War II), the main image that comes up in the case of Russian students' answers is that of the USSR repelling aggression, saving the entire world, and turning into a great power as a result. Respondents saw the victory as a moment of glory for the country: “I can be proud of my country, the victor in the Great Patriotic War and in World War II, which gave commendable pushback against enemy aggression, and commendable pushback against the fascist system in general, including the many satellite states of Japan, which was the bulwark of fascism in the Far East, no matter what the American and British textbooks say.”

A similar set of associations was voiced by study participants regarding the Patriotic War of 1812 (the French invasion of Russia), which made it into the top three events listed by Russian students as things they are proud of: “Our country was the winner against the aggressor. Napoleon could not be stopped by anyone in Europe, but we stopped him and destroyed him.” Even World War I,

⁸ In the discussion of results, we do not touch about all events mentioned, but rather analyse the most illustrative events and categories mentioned by study participants.

in which Russia stopped participating in 1918, sometimes made it into the list of three major military events as an example of the Russian people saving the peoples of other countries: “The War of 1812, World War I, and World War II, because throughout all of these three major wars we pulled Europe through, and then also America.”

Sometimes interpretations of military events do not include messianic ideas, or ideas about defending oneself from an invader. In this way, the victory in the Great Northern War of 1700–1721 (mentioned by 0.7% of those polled) did not just reestablish Russia's access to the Baltic Sea and allow it to ascend to the status of an empire, but crucially it gave Russia “superiority over Europe.”

Answering the question about pride, some of the study participants listed only military events, and at the same time were unable to name anything concrete to explain why they chose these events: “All of these events are connected. One can name the Battle on the Ice, the war with Napoleon, and the Great Patriotic War. I start feeling pride in Russia when I read or hear about all of these events.”

This explanation may stem from the fact that at the present time, Russian history textbooks (that are used in Russia) contain descriptions of key historical figures and events that mostly relate to wars and conflicts, dating back to the very start of statehood. Social, cultural, and economic spheres are less prominent (see, for example, Zajda, 2017). At the same time, the level of knowledge about historical events among students is quite low, and for this reason we see results that include pride in Russia's role in wars that Russia actually lost.

Advances and discoveries that have to do with military development or are intended for military use

The second-most mentioned event in lists of Russian students' pride is the launch of the first man into space. As in the case of the Great Patriotic War, there are some interpretations of this event in soft power terms, yet the most common narrative turns the events into a victory in the arms race. Study participants emphasized that the flight of Yuri Gagarin is “space colonization,” and “the launch of a person into space showed everyone the superiority of the country above the rest of the world.” At the same time, we have to stress that other events that had to do with outer space do not have such connotations and are interpreted as scientific rather than military achievements.

In addition to the first space flight, students also named other sources of pride such as the invention of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, which led to “the ascent of the USSR to superpower

status;” the launch of Proton rocket in 1965 and the Bulava missile in 2005; the invention of the Kalashnikov.

This thematic group also includes categories like the “Military-industrial complex of the USSR” in general, and “Industrialization / Five-year-plans in the USSR.” The latter was included in this category because the interpretation of this event by students was connected first and foremost to the development of the defense industry and the growth of military capabilities of the state.

Territory, expansion

The thematic group “territory/expansion” includes a small number of categories that relate to the expansion of state borders from the moment of the birth of the state in 1325-1340, when the lands around Moscow were consolidated by Ivan Kalita, until the present day (including the events in Crimea in 2014). This also includes the development of new lands, for example through the establishment of Saint Petersburg in 1703, the construction of the Trans-Siberian railway in 1891-1916, and territorial expansion during military operations (the takeover of the Caucasus by Russia, the partition of Poland in 1939, and others). Events that were included in this group are not always related to military might and military victories, yet according to the approach proposed by Joseph Nye, pride in territorial expansion is usually conceptualized as pride in hard power.

Specific leaders

The way in which history is taught in Russia results in the fact that aside from military victories, specific leaders of the country come to the fore in Russian students’ visions of various periods of history. British students, unlike their Russian contemporaries, refrain from naming either historical or contemporary individuals in their survey responses (aside from the thematic group we titled “Pure ‘soft power’” and individual cases when Cromwell or Disraeli were mentioned). In the Russian case, however, students often mention specific people. Entire periods of the rule of Tsars and emperors, general secretaries, and presidents are listed by students as points they are proud of.

At the same time, when speaking of other important events that inspire a feeling of pride, they also mention the role of the individual in history, for example: “I believe that my favorite moment in history is Alexander Nevsky, his victory on the Chudskoe Lake.” This thematic group has to do first and foremost with hard power, because most of the leaders that are mentioned by study participants are remembered as people who secured the place of the country on the international arena and contributed to the growth of its power. This is how study participants describe the rule of Peter I, Ivan III, Ivan IV, Alexander III, and Joseph Stalin.

However, elements of soft power also come to the fore. These emerge in descriptions of periods when heads of state were associated by study participants with liberal reforms and with the softening of the political regime. This includes the rule of Alexander I, Catherine II, and Leonid Brezhnev, as well as the period of Vladimir Putin's rule, which is described primarily as a time of "stability" in the positive sense.

Events that represent soft power in the structure of pride among Russian students

Soft power: sports, culture, science, education

There were many events that relate to pure soft power in the structure of pride among Russian students, as in the case of British students. Some of the events from this thematic group were even among the most-mentioned (see Table 3). However, each of the events was named by a small number of students, and the content of the answers was significantly less concrete and specific than in the case of responses given by British students.

The most popular answers have to do with science and education, but when study participants named science, they did not bring up specific examples, and about half of those polled named the periodic table of elements (called the Mendeleev Table in Russian, named after the Russian scientist Mendeleev). A few people named Soviet achievements that have to do with space (for example, the launch of the first Sputnik; Valentina Tereshkova, the first female cosmonaut to go to space; Alexei Leonov, the first human being to conduct a space walk). These events, unlike the first space flight, are not associated by study participants with the arms race or the space race, or a battle for prominence on the international arena. The same goes for achievements in the sphere of education (the achievement of free, high-quality education; the inclusion of Russia in the Bologna Process; the establishment of large universities).

Sports and athletic events occupy second place in the structure of pride in the sphere of soft power. These include the high level of athletic achievement in the USSR; the Olympics in Moscow in 1980 and in Sochi in 2014; the right to host the World Cup in soccer in 2018, etc). All these events were related to Russia's positive image on the international arena, which is part of soft power as understood by Joseph Nye.

The smallest number of answers touched upon the cultural sphere. Study participants did not even list things that are usually mentioned with regard to Russia by people from other countries. Phrases

about culture were general and usually included statements like “Russia’s contribution to world culture.”

Diplomacy

The breakup of the USSR is depicted in political discourse in Russia as a geopolitical catastrophe. President Vladimir Putin has referred to this several times, and according to opinion polls conducted in Russia, about 66% of the population regrets that the Soviet Union broke up.⁹ Despite this, we see that about 3% of study participants named this event as something they are proud of. This can be explained by the fact that study participants mean that they are pleased that this event occurred in a peaceful manner, without bloodshed or loss of life.

Other events

Other events relating to international diplomacy that are mentioned by study participants also had to do with mostly soft power issues, as framed by the study participants themselves. These included the activities of Gorchakov, a Russian 19th century diplomat, as well as the resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis.¹⁰

In addition, just like their British contemporaries, Russian students named the participation of the country in international organizations (like the UN and the G8) as a contribution of the country to international peace and stability.

Human rights and freedoms

The thematic group “Human rights and freedoms” is relatively small compared with other issues raised by Russian students as points of pride. This thematic group is also small when compared with the same group in the answers of British students (who valued these themes more often as points of pride).

The most prominent category in this sphere was the 1861 elimination of serfdom, or the slavery of peasants in the Russian Empire. The number of mentions of this event is similar to the number of British students that mentioned the abolition of slavery and the slave trade (8% compared with 9% respectively). However, mentions of other topics in the realm of rights and freedoms by Russian students is very low, and altogether they make up less than 2%, and all occurred in the past

⁹ <https://www.levada.ru/2018/12/19/chislo-sozhaleyushhih-o-raspade-sssr-dostiglo-maksimuma-za-desyatiletie/>

¹⁰ A large part of these events are depicted in Russian history textbooks as hard power issues. For example, it is emphasized in relation to Gorchakov that he was unable to keep Russia away from acute European conflicts and to return great power status to Russia after defeat in the Crimean War.

(Russkaya Pravda, the collection of legal norms in Kievan Rus from 1016; the 1825 Decembrist revolt, which aimed to put an end to serfdom and autarchy, and so on).

The inception of the state

The myth of state inception is usually key in the construction of collective memory among citizens of a nation-state, and can become the foundation of national identity. In the case of Russia, many events can be considered to be the beginning of Russian history: the unification of Kiev and Novgorod by Prince Oleg in 882, the Christianization of Kievan Rus in 988, the beginning of Romanov dynasty rule in 1613, the establishment of the USSR, the establishment of the 1993 constitution. These are just a few of the events named by study participants. At the same time, we can see that the sum of all the events that can be categorized as “inception of the state” is still negligent. The most mentioned event, the 1917 October Revolution and the creation of the USSR, can be characterized by violence and harshness.

The ability to deal with crises/stable development

Events that can be united under the general theme “the ability to deal with crises/stable development” were named the least. However, it is interesting that almost all the events named in this category took place in the recent past or in the current period, unlike all the other thematic groups, which include events from the entirety of Russian history, including those that took place centuries ago. Study participants said that they are proud of the fact that the country could survive the dissolution of the USSR thanks to the reforms initiated by Yegor Gaidar, overcame the 2008 crisis, and came out of the 2014 crisis. They are also proud of the stable economic growth of Russia today and of the realization of various government programs, such as those in social, economic and security spheres.

Table 3. The most frequently mentioned events that inspire a feeling of pride among Russian students (N=1399). Events named by $\geq 1\%$ of respondents are shown

Thematic group of events	Event	% of respondents who mention the event
Wars	Victory in the Great Patriotic War	63
Advances and discoveries that have to do with military development or are intended for military use	First human journey into outer space	30
Wars	Russian Patriotic War of 1812	20
Territories/expansion	Annexation of Crimea, 2014	10
Human rights and freedoms, including political freedoms	Abolition of serfdom, 1861 (reforms of Alexander II)	8
Soft power: sports, culture, science, education	2014 Sochi Winter Olympics and Paralympics	6
Specific political leaders	Formation of the empire and reforms of Peter the Great	5
Wars	End of the Tatar-Mongol yoke	5
Soft power: sports, culture, science, education	Scientific developments	4
Soft power: sports, culture, science, education	Contributions to culture	4
Wars	World War I	3
International politics and diplomacy	Collapse of the USSR (Belavezha Accords)	3
Establishment of the state	1917 October Revolution and the creation of the USSR	3
Specific political leaders	The election of Putin, Putin's presidency	2
Establishment of the state	"Christianization of Rus"	2
Wars	Moscow's liberation from Polish invaders	2
Soft power: sports, culture, science, education	1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow	1
	Other	26
	No such events/ No answer	23

Thus we can see that the number of categories associated with soft power can compete with those associated with hard power. They are more varied and refer to different spheres of social and cultural life, as well as very different periods of Russian history. However, the numbers of mentions of hard power and soft power events lead us to conclude that hard power dominates in the collective memory of Russian students.

British and Russian students: A comparative analysis

Culture of shame versus culture of pride

The study allows us to draw conclusions about how study participants in two countries are different from one another not only in terms of the nature of their pride, but also in terms of the place their pride occupies within the broader structure of collective memory.

The answers of British study participants show the prevalence of a culture of shame, while answers in Russia demonstrate the dominance of a culture of pride. British study participants found it easier to answer the question of what they are ashamed of than the question of what they take pride in. If 42% of students could not answer the question about historic events that inspire pride for their country (see Table 1), then the question about shame led to only 26% of participants saying they cannot answer (see Table 4). In the case of Russian students, we observe the opposite trend: 23% and 45% respectively (see Tables 3 and 5). At the same time, part of the Russian study participants stressed that a real patriot “cannot be ashamed of their history.”

After coding, categorizing, and analyzing the chronology of the events listed by students, we created graphs that show the distribution of these events along a historical timeline for each country in general, and for the 20th and 21st centuries in particular (see Images 1, 2, 3, and 4). These graphs show the prevalence of a culture of shame in the narratives of British study participants: we see the lines for “shame” as significantly higher than those that indicate “pride” throughout the entire history of the country (Images 1 and 2). In the situation of Russia, the trend is, once again, the opposite (as shown in images 3 and 4).

Table 4. Historical events that inspire a feeling of shame for the country among British students (number of study participants that mention the event as a percentage of the overall number of British study participants. Events listed in the table were mentioned by $\geq 1\%$ of those polled, N=368).

Historical event/category of events	Number
Imperial period and colonialism	57
Wars and interventions	29
Including Iraq	18
Including Syria	1
Including Afghanistan	1
Including the Falkland Islands	1
Slavery in the empire	29
Injustice in the sphere of equality and human rights	21
Brexit	10
Thatcherism/neoliberalism	6
Lack of a social safety net, poverty and inequality, capitalism	6
World War II	6
Behavior on the international arena/nonintervention	5
Relations with Ireland	4
World War I	3
Migration policy	3
The Holocaust	3
The contemporary political situation	2
The environment and international security	2
War on Terror	2
Broadening of rights and freedoms	2
Perpetration of genocides	2
Corruption	1
The banking and finance system	1
Reformation	1
The Crusades	1
Privatisation	1
The disintegration of the empire	1
The long history of the country	1
The Hillsborough disaster	1
The denial of Holodomor	1
The Cold War	1
Culture and sports	1
The Industrial Revolution	1
The Civil War	1
Other	5
Difficult to say/no answer	26

Table 5. Historical events that inspire a feeling of shame for the country among Russian students (number of study participants that mention the event as a percentage of the overall number of Russian study participants. Events listed in the table were mentioned by $\geq 1\%$ of those polled, N=1399).

Historical event/category of events	%
Stalinist repression	18
The disintegration of the USSR	11
The Revolution of 1917	9
Execution of the Romanov royal family	6
The Russo-Japanese War	5
The “joining” or “annexation” of Crimea	4
The Civil War	4
The War in Afghanistan	3
Selling Alaska to the USA	3
World War I	3
Boris Yeltsin's presidency	3
Soviet rule, “communism”	2
“The wild 1990s”	2
Serfdom	2
The Chechen Wars	2
Relations with Ukraine today	2
The rule of Ivan IV (known as Ivan the Terrible)	2
The Crimean War	2
The February Revolution	2
The Tatar-Mongol Yoke	1
Vladimir Putin's presidency (his third term)	1
Perestroika	1
The October Coup d'etat of 1993 (the 1993 Constitutional Crisis)	1
Nikita Khrushchev's rule (Corn, and his speech a the UN)	1
The Time of Troubles (Polish intervention)	1
The Red Terror	1
Mikhail Gorbachev's presidency (prohibition)	1
Other	32
There are no such events ("You cannot be ashamed of your history!")	9
Difficult to say	36

At the same time, what is important here is not only the quantitative relationship between events that inspire pride or shame, but also their particular content. Thus, in the case of British students, events that inspire shame are significantly associated with events that inspire pride. They are proud of all that has been achieved in the real of civic liberties and the social safety net, but at the same time they mention these particular phenomena mostly because they are ashamed of inequalities and injustices that existed in history before this point. Or, for example, they mention the abolition of slavery and the slave trade as a result of the fact that they are ashamed of the history of colonialism and the slave trade in imperial times.

In the case of responses of Russian students, there are few connections between what they mention as points of pride and points of shame. In many cases, they are connected only in the event that the same event inspires pride in some study participants and shame in others (examples of such divisive events include the dissolution of the USSR, the annexation of or unification with Crimea, periods of rule of particular leaders such as Ivan IV or Leonid Brezhnev, etc). Moreover, the same person can name events that do not correlate with each other in terms of values: for example, study participants can be proud of how effective the “iron fist” of Stalin was during the Great Patriotic War, but at the same time they can be ashamed of Stalin’s repressions of the 1930s. This is connected largely to a lack of consensus about many historical events in Russian society and with a lack of clear value narratives among study participants in relation to these events.

Another important difference has to do with personal connection or distance among study participants to the events they list. Russian study participants, when speaking of events that inspire pride, associate themselves with them by using the pronouns “our” and “we”, especially if this was connected to victories and military triumphs. But when it came to the topic of shame with regard to events in national history, the respondents preferred to disassociate themselves from such events, and some stressed that because they had not participated in any shameful events, they could not feel ashamed of acts committed by older generations.

If we turn to British study participants, we see that they usually tend to use the pronouns “we” when talking about shameful events: “taking over other people’s countries is wrong, and that our rule was mostly cruel/destructive,” “the various ways we’ve failed the poor,” “our actions in the Middle East,” etc. At the same time, it is important to note that in answers about shameful events, British students show a significant understanding of global and world politics. They are ashamed even for those events that the UK had nothing to do with directly, or shares a collective responsibility for them with other countries (the Cold War, the Reformation, the Holocaust, problems with the environment and global security, etc).

Specificities of temporal localization

This study emphasized the temporal localization of events that study participants listed as either shameful, or as inspiring a feeling of pride.

If we turn to the graphs that show the distribution of pride and shame across time, we can see that the main part of important events for pride and for shame has to do with 20th century history for both country cases (see Images 1 and 3).

That said, graphs that show the distribution of events cross the 20th and 21st centuries depict the main differences most clearly. While in Great Britain (Image 2) pride is distributed more or less evenly and has to do with recent history, in Russia there is a large gap between a low level of pride in recent history, and a high level of pride in more removed events in the past (in the middle of the 20th century – see Image 4). If we examine shame specifically, we see that British students exhibit a trend for the growth of pride relating to current events, while in Russia the situation looks quite different and is far from straightforward.

Finally, despite the localization of shame and pride in Russia in past historical periods, actual knowledge of history, especially of more removed historical periods, is quite low. This is why, as shown in Image 5, both the line for shame and the line for pride among Russian study participants is almost at point zero until the 17th century. This means that national identity among Russian students at the moment centers on a collective memory of a few relatively recent events, while British students refer to events that make up national identity that span the entire history of the state.

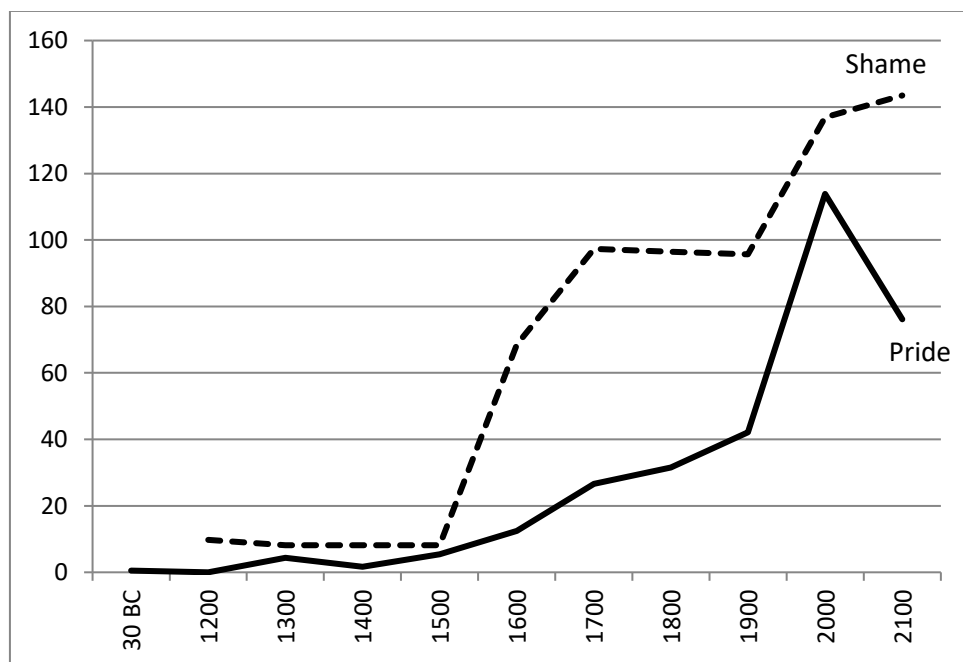


Image 1: Distribution of historical events mentioned by British students across history (the sum of mentions as a percentage of the total number of study participants)

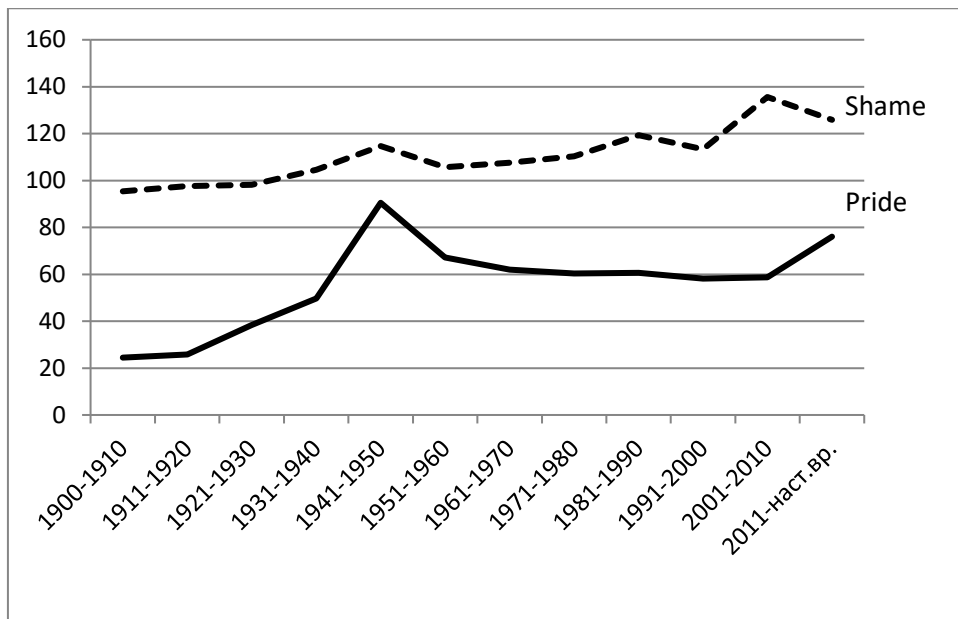


Image 2: Distribution of historical events mentioned by British students across decades of the 20th and 21st centuries (the sum of mentions as a percentage of the total number of study participants)

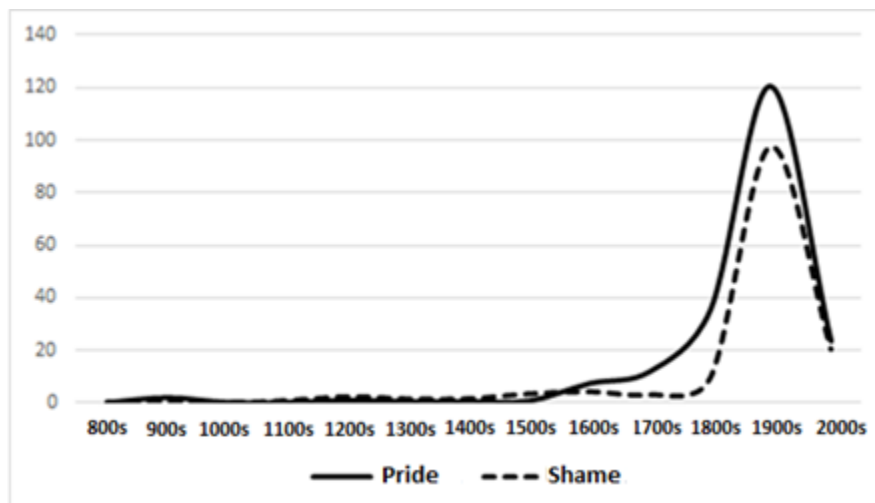


Image 3. Distribution of Russian students' mentions of historical events by century (sum of mentions as percentage of the total number of study participants)

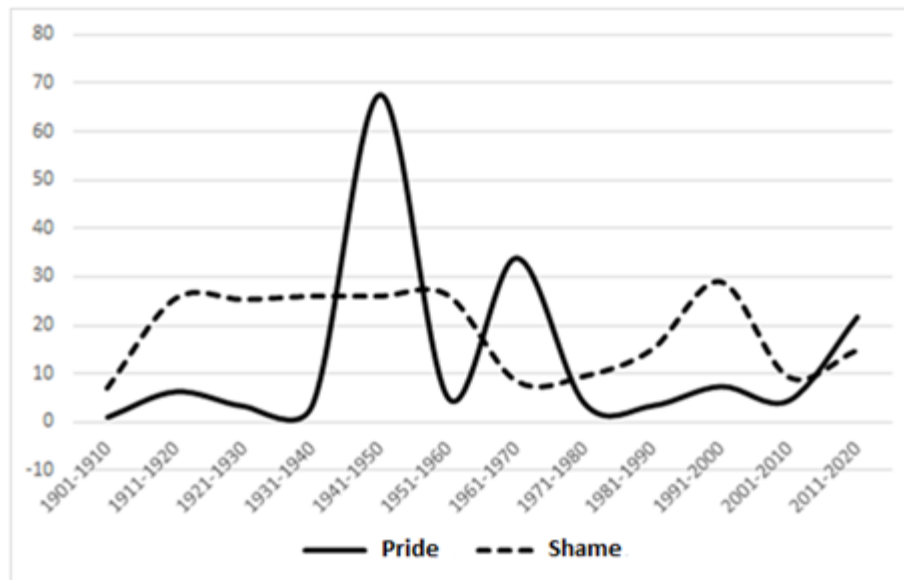


Image 4. Distribution of Russian students' mentions across decades of the 20th and 21st centuries (sum of mentions as percentage of the total number of study participants)

Discussion

The results of our study allow us to identify three major differences in the structure of pride in the collective memory of Russian and British young people. First, for British young people, pride focuses on events that have to do with soft power, while Russian young people tend to be most proud of Russia's hard power. Second, pride among young British people stems from recent events, while pride among young Russian people focuses on events in the past. Third, the structure of collective memory among British students is dominated by shame, while Russian students are more likely to feel less shame and more pride. These findings are the result of several factors. For example, we have to take into account the content of education programs and textbooks in history and other subjects. We hypothesize that the clear dominance of hard power and the prevalence of pride over shame among Russian students can be explained by the ways in which education is structured. For example, the topic of World War II takes up 70 pages in a Russian textbook, while the topic of Stalin's collectivization policies takes up just 1 page (Kasamara and Sorokina, 2017: 64). Or, for example, in the equivalent British history textbooks, World War II is analyzed not in the context of military action and key battles, but rather in terms of the impact of the war on civilian life in Britain. In addition, these textbooks pay special attention to the role of women in the war (Foster 2005: 75-76).

However, we would argue that the content of textbooks is not a cause, but rather a result of the difference in cultural contexts, especially in terms of how society has worked through (or not worked through) cultural trauma. Both Great Britain and Russia lost their status of empire, and

this affects how the citizens of these countries perceive their histories. This also affects national identity. Following the work of Piotr Sztompka, the loss of the status of empire can be viewed as a cultural trauma, i.e. as a cultural phenomenon and state of being that is felt by a group of people or by society as a result of devastating events that are interpreted as culturally traumatizing. Sztompka identifies two scenarios for overcoming this state of trauma: “one is the vicious cycle of cultural destruction, another a virtuous cycle of cultural reconstruction. The former occurs when parametric changes aggravate traumatizing situations, people resort to ineffective (or even counter-effective) coping strategies, and the obsolete culture is supported and kept going by obsessive cultivation of memories. Another is a benign parametric change ameliorating the traumatizing situations, coupled with effective coping with trauma, and the fading away of the obsolete cultural legacy through generational turnover (Sztompka, 2000: 464). We believe that the process of overcoming cultural trauma has taken two different courses in Russia and in Great Britain. The difference in perceptions of the imperial past and in ways of working with this past have been examined in numerous studies (Smith, 2016; Lo 2012). In his book *Collapse of an Empire*, Yegor Gaidar argued that the political elite of Great Britain, unlike the elite of Russia, does not view this process as a geopolitical catastrophe (19).

If in British society the disintegration of the empire is a historical event that has been reflexively discussed, in the Russian case this event has taken the form of post-imperial nostalgia that allows people to idealise the past and to block a constructive understanding of the present. This is also the source of pride in hard power in particular, and the inability of Russian young people to feel share and to understand mistakes made in the past.

Piotr Sztompka showed in his article that it is possible to overcome cultural trauma when values of tolerance and relativistic attitudes prevail over ethnocentrism or dogmatism. Tilley James and Anthony Heat argue that in a multicultural, post-imperial Britain, pride in the military or in imperial history may be perceived as anachronistic or intolerant. For this reason younger British citizens may instead invest their feelings of pride in more neutral civic ideals such as Britain's traditions of democracy or the national welfare state (Tilley and Heat, 2007: 671). At the same time, for Russian society, ideas of multiculturalism and acceptance (often described in the Russian language as *tolerantnost'* or tolerance) are not the basic principles adhered to in society. This is exhibited in the results of a large-scale project conducted by the analytical center Levada on values among different Russian generations. This study includes five waves of polls: in 1989, 1994, 1999, 2003, and 2009. The study reconstructed characteristics of a “common Soviet person,” and then these traits were diagnosed in different generational groups. A “common Soviet person” is understood

by the authors of the study as an ideal-typical construction of a person that has a complicated set of interrelated characteristics. In 2010, the authors of the study concluded that representatives of Russian youth are not very different from previous generations (which the authors call “Homo Sovieticus”) in terms of their values. One of their key traits is the myth of exceptionalism of the Soviet person, and now the Russian person, and their superiority over other people, or at least the impossibility to compare them with others.

However, this is just one of the possible explanations for these differences in structures of pride and collective memory between the two cases explored in this study.

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