Citizens in the Making in Post-Soviet States

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Post-Soviet Politics

- The Emergence of the Post-Soviet Generation

- The Rise of Hybrid Regimes
  - Russia under Vladimir Putin (2000-2008)
Research Questions

- How proud are adolescents to be citizens of their home country?
- How do adolescents assess the dissolution of the Soviet Union?
- How much trust do contemporary adolescents place in incumbent authorities?
Outline

- Theoretical Framework
- Case Selection
- Survey Results
- Patriotic Upbringing in Russia and Ukraine
- Policymaking Implications
The Concept of Political Support

- Support for the Political Regime
- Trust in Authorities
- Attachment to the Political Community

## Cases of Russia and Ukraine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Russia</th>
<th>Ukraine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area: 17,075,200 sq km</td>
<td>Area: 603,700 sq km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men – 46.6%, women – 53.3%</td>
<td>Men – 46.3%, women – 53.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Expectancy:</td>
<td>Life Expectancy:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.8 (men) and 72 (women)</td>
<td>62.7 (men) and 73.5 (women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Composition:</td>
<td>Ethnic Composition:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians – 79.8%,</td>
<td>Ukrainians – 77.8%,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainians – 2.0%</td>
<td>Russians – 17.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political System: “Not Free”</td>
<td>Political System – “Partly Free”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Freedom in the World, 2005)</td>
<td>(Freedom in the World, 2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI 2005 Score: 2.4</td>
<td>CPI 2005 Score: 2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(126 out of 158 countries)</td>
<td>(107 out of 158 countries)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sub-National Differences in Russia

- Moscow
- Tula
- Rostov-on-Don
Regional Cleavages in Ukraine

- Kyiv
  - Ukrainians – 82.2%
  - Russians – 13.1%

- Lviv oblast
  - Ukrainians – 94.8%
  - Russians – 3.6%

- Donetsk oblast
  - Ukrainians – 56.9%
  - Russians – 38.2%

Survey Data

- Questionnaires
  (N=925 in Russia and N=889 in Ukraine)

- In-depth interviews with adolescents
  (N=76)
National Pride

The diagram shows the levels of national pride in different cities. The categories are:
- Not at all
- Not much
- Quite proud
- A great deal

The cities represented are Moscow, Rostov, Tula, Kyiv, Lviv, and Donetsk.
Attitudes toward the Dissolution of the Soviet Union

![Bar chart showing attitudes towards the dissolution of the Soviet Union for different cities, with negative and positive responses indicated by red and blue sections respectively.](chart.png)
Trust in the Incumbent President and the Political Parties

The graph compares trust levels in various institutions in Russia and Ukraine. It shows that the President and the Army have the highest level of trust in both countries, followed by the Judges. The Political Parties and Parliamentarians have lower levels of trust, with the Police falling in the middle. The chart indicates that trust levels are generally higher in Russia compared to Ukraine.
Patriotic Upbringing in Russia

- Military-Patriotic Upbringing
  - Allegiance to the State
  - Willingness to Serve in the Army

- Patriotic Upbringing Program
  2001-2005/2006-2010
  - $6 million - $18 million

- Standardization of History Textbooks


St. Petersburg, May 30, 2003
Patriotic Upbringing in Ukraine

- National Program on Patriotic Upbringing of Citizens, Promotion of Healthy Lifestyle, Spiritual Development, and the Strengthening of Moral Values in Society
  - Adopted - September 1999
  - Annulled - January 2002

- Debate over the Interpretation of National History

- Disagreement over Language Policies
Soviet History in School Textbooks

- Formation of the Soviet Union
- Famine of 1932-33
- WWII
- Dissolution of the Soviet Union
Framing the Dissolution of the Soviet Union

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<tr>
<td>“Violent clashes” between the Soviet military and supporters of independence in Baku, Vilnius, and Riga</td>
<td>Growing popular demand for national independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Zheltoqsan (1986 protests in Kazakhstan) - “serious clash between Russian youth and youth of the titular nation”</td>
<td>• references to Rukh and the student hunger strike in October 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic mobilization as political action by “marginal elements”</td>
<td>Emphasis on the unity of Ukrainians across the country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implicit criticism of Gorbachev’s delayed response to “extremists” in the provinces</td>
<td>Glorification of long-term struggle for national independence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Policymaking Implications

- Need to promote a cross-country dialogue regarding the construction of history in school textbooks
- Lack of opportunities for a meaningful interaction between youth in different parts of Ukraine