

Citizens in the Making in Post-Soviet States

Olena Nikolayenko
Fordham University

onikolayenko@fordham.edu

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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)
 - Ukraine under Leonid Kuchma (1994-2004)

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

Source: Easton, David. 1965. *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*.
New York: John Wiley.

Cases of Russia and Ukraine

Russia

- Area: 17,075,200 sq km
- Population: 144 mln (2002 census)
Men – 46.6%, women – 53.3%
- Life Expectancy:
58.8 (men) and 72 (women)
- Ethnic Composition:
Russians – 79.8%,
Ukrainians – 2.0%

- GNI per capita: US\$3,410 (2004)
- Political System: “Not Free”
(*Freedom in the World*, 2005)
- CPI 2005 Score: 2.4
(126 out of 158 countries)

Ukraine

- Area: 603,700 sq km
- Population: 48 mln (2001 census)
Men – 46.3%, women – 53.7%
- Life Expectancy:
62.7 (men) and 73.5 (women)
- Ethnic Composition:
Ukrainians – 77.8%,
Russians – 17.3%

- GNI per capita – US\$1,260 (2004)
- Political System – “Partly Free”
(*Freedom in the World*, 2005)
- CPI 2005 Score: 2.6
(107 out of 158 countries)

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%

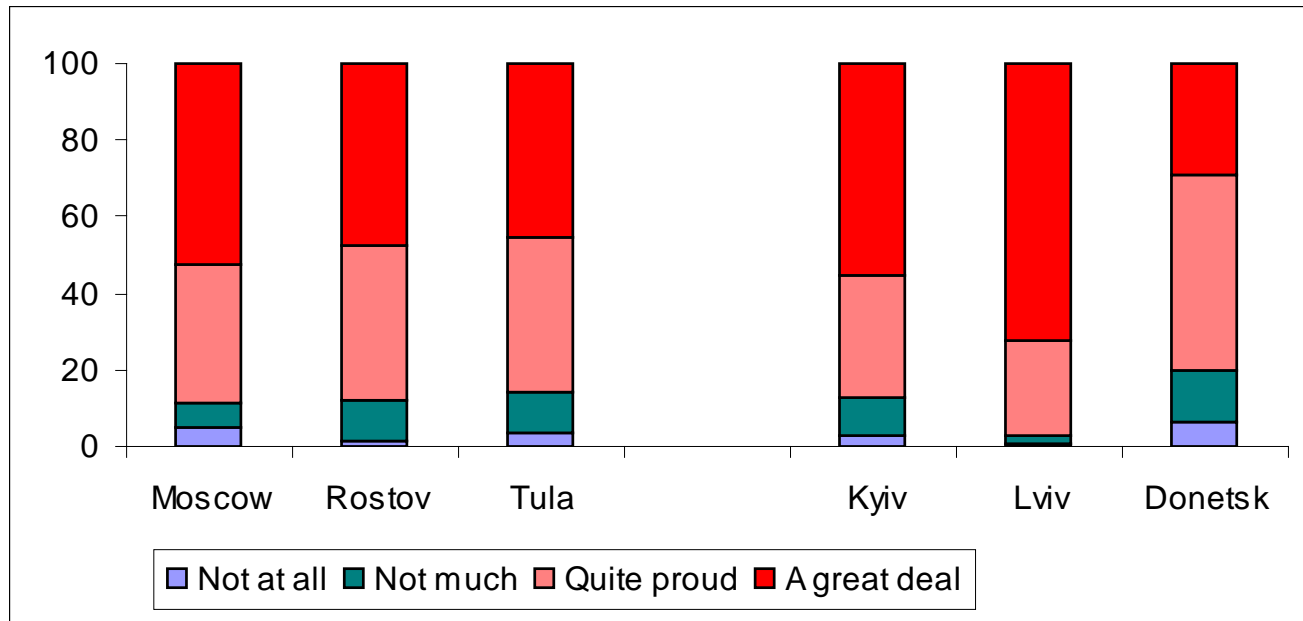


Source: 2001 census, www.ukrsensus.gov.ua.

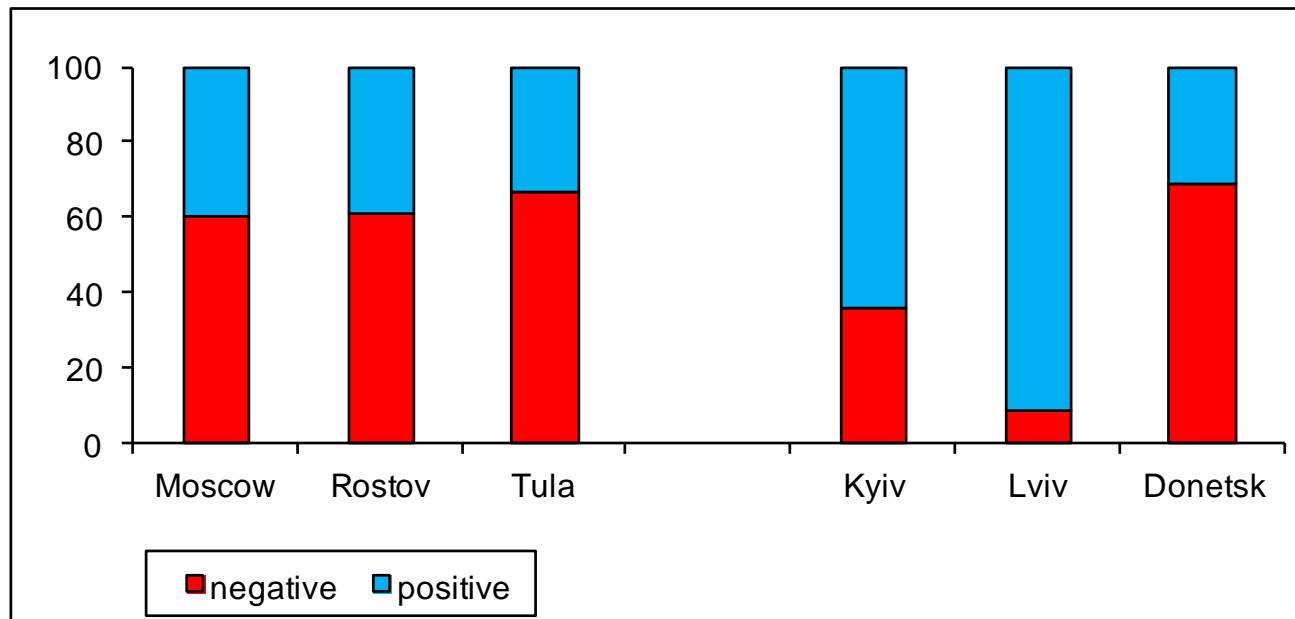
Survey Data

- Questionnaires
(N=925 in Russia and N=889 in Ukraine)
- In-depth interviews with adolescents
(N=76)

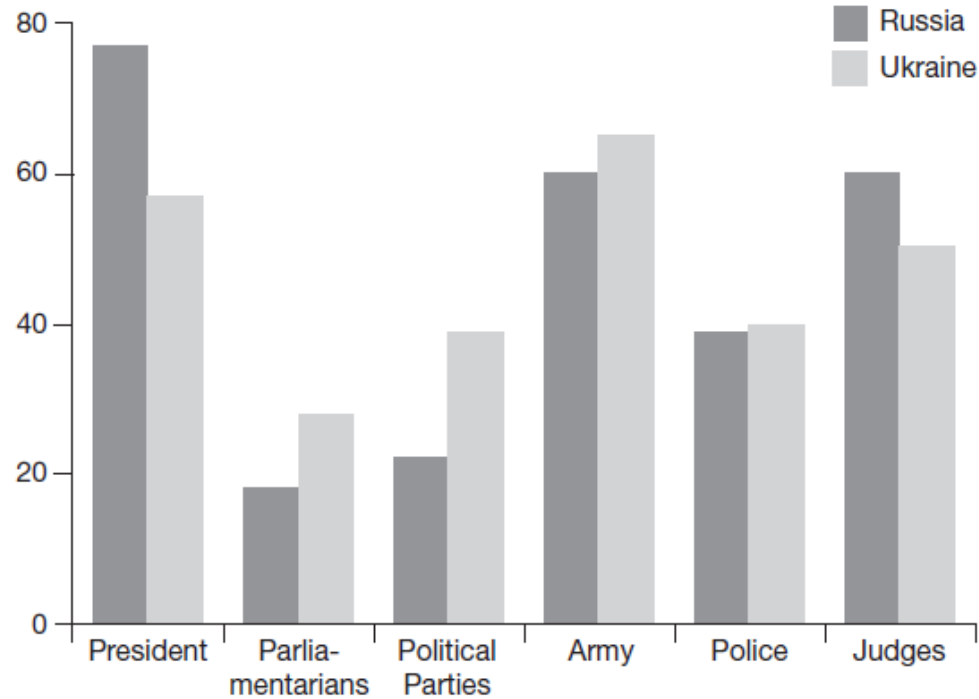
National Pride



Attitudes toward the Dissolution of the Soviet Union



Trust in the Incumbent President and the Political Parties



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



Source: The official Kremlin's web site for children www.uznay-prezidenta.ru.

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

Russia

- “Violent clashes” between the Soviet military and supporters of independence in Baku, Vilnius, and Riga
 - Zheltoqsan (1986 protests in Kazakhstan) - “serious clash between Russian youth and youth of the titular nation”
- Ethnic mobilization as political action by “marginal elements”
- Implicit criticism of Gorbachev’s delayed response to “extremists” in the provinces

Ukraine

- Growing popular demand for national independence
 - references to Rukh and the student hunger strike in October 1990
- Emphasis on the unity of Ukrainians across the country
- Glorification of long-term struggle for national independence

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