

УДК 304.444

Modern Russian Mass Consciousness: the New Wave of Patriotism

Larisa S. Nabokova*

*Siberian Federal University
79 Svobodny, Krasnoyarsk, 660041, Russia*

Received 20.09.2015, received in revised form 09.10.2015, accepted 14.11.2015

The present condition of modern Russian patriotism is studied as a system of representations for the archetypal structures of Russian collective unconscious. Currently this system is being interpreted and actualized in the modern Russian mass consciousness, covering new formats and suggesting new formulas. In the article this tendency of the modern Russian public consciousness is presented as an organic synthesis of generic, traditional fixed archetypes of Russian mentality, belonging to various historical epochs. The article offers a brief historical and comparative analysis of the mythological images fixed in Russian consciousness that allows us to suggest that the modern Russian mass consciousness in its patriotic meaning is a completely unique phenomenon representing an enormous spectrum of traditional Russian peculiarities and refracting a great number of historical images and archetypal structures.

Keywords: mass consciousness, patriotism, Russian national idea, mythological image, archetype, mental image.

DOI: 10.17516/1997-1370-2016-9-1-91-106.

Research area: culture studies.

Introduction

The substantial essence of patriotism directly depends on the historical conditions, political ideology, objectives and tasks set by the state. In the Antiquity the word patria (“the Motherland”) stood for the home town, while the term patriota meant a native citizen of the town. However, the Greek idea of patriotism in its modern understanding began its development back in the times of the Greco-Persian wars.

In the Roman Empire patriotism was formed as “polis patriotism” and “imperial patriotism”. The polis patriotism existed within the local

religious structures, whereas the imperial patriotism strove to bring people together under the power of Rome. It led to the formation of the known all-imperial cults, and the Emperor was idolized. The polis patriotism was undercut by Christianity that preached the equality of the Roman people before God. Later the role of Christianity in politics was reviewed; thus, after the Roman Empire’s adoption of Christianity it served as an opposition to local paganism and strengthened the unity of the Empire.

The patriotism of Russian people is a purely mental feeling originating from paganism,

expressed in personal loyalty to the Motherland as a many-faced deity, in the love for it, in the desire to protect it, to be proud of it and its people. As a rule, the expression of patriotism was boosted by some life-changing events experienced by the country.

Conceptual base and methodology

Despite the economic and political system of the state, the Russian patriotism issues have always been in the centre of attention of the Russian thinkers. The origins and condition of Russian national idea and Russian patriotism have been deeply and thoroughly analysed in works by N.A. Berdyaev, S.N. Bulgakov, A.I. Herzen, N.Ia. Danilevsky, I.A. Ilyin, L.P. Karsavin, V.S. Solovyov, L.N. Tolstoy, N.S. Trubetzkoy, N.G. Chernyshevsky etc.

Both Russian philosophy and special research branches paid systematic attention to these topical issues. In the modern concepts of Russian patriotism the main role is still assigned to spirituality, humanism, religious and other traditional factors of culture; for instance, these are some basic researches made by E. Andreev, A. Kuznetsova, L.N. Gumilyov, V. Kuznetsov, V.T. Lisovsky, V.V. Makarov. Many theories follow the traditional paradigm of “patriotism-nationalism” which undoubtedly remains topical for the multinational country of Russia, which has already lost a lot of milestones of the successful Soviet “peoples’ friendship” ideology. This conceptual aspect is typical of the researches by R. Abdulatipov, V. Koroteeva, M.N. Musaelyan, V. Avksentyev, A. Gritsanov, V. Kol'tsova, U. Ozkirimli, E. Smith, D. Gorowitz etc.

In the information epoch, the philosophical and social aspects of the phenomenon of patriotism as a whole and Russian patriotism in particular are studied in the context of global processes of both integrating and disintegrating character. The present research field suggests several

versions of theoretic interpretation and forecast for both general national destiny development and the modern social consciousness condition as such. Globalization processes determine the polar approaches to the social understanding of patriotism phenomenon, to the understanding and interpretation of such terms as “the Motherland”, “nation” and “homeland”. For instance, these issues are thoroughly studied in works by V.V. Goneeva, S.Iu. Ivanova, V.V. Makarov, O.V. Riabov etc.

Under the conditions of international corporations, transnational associations development, formation of the unified communication culture the identification issues of groups, self-determination and preservation of small groups’ values, national solidarity etc. become topical again. In this sense, there arise new various conceptual and functional interpretations for the “patriotism” term.

The diversified modern concepts of representing patriotic images in the modern Russian mass consciousness determine the methods of research in the corresponding field: first of all, there are some dialectic and systematic approaches that see patriotism as a system, inevitably bound and dependent on the other external and internal systems. There are some constructivist method tools (P. Berger, T. Luckmann) to study patriotism as an active subject of social processes. As in the present article the attention is paid to the analysis of patriotism as a system of representations, it is considered appropriate to apply the discursive approach to the analysis.

Opinions and discussion

It is well-known that extreme situations, crises, military conflicts strengthen and raise patriotic feelings. Russian patriotism was especially honoured in the times of war, when people gave their lives for the tsar and their

Motherland and died for the call of duty and responsibility for their state. When Russia struggled to preserve the sovereignty of its lands, the idea of patriotism gradually turned into a national idea and gained all-national significance. In Russian national self-consciousness patriotism has always been associated with self-sacrifice, referred to as “passionarity” by Gumilyov [Guzenkova, 2014]. The patriotic idea became the ultimate value of the society at the moment when the union of lands strengthened the power of the Russian state. “The history of Russia demonstrates, that the stronger the state, the more stable the social system is; all the miseries happen when the state weakens” [Bokhanov, 2014]. The stronger was Kievan Rus’ and Russian state, or, later, the Empire, the stronger were the social, economic and political prerequisites of Russian patriotism development.

The hallmark of Russian patriotism is its Orthodox Christian character. Even some tribal limitations, such as the isolated location of Siberia, did not contradict the unity of the Christian people.

Nowadays a lot is being said of the national diversity of Russia and of regional and ethnical patriotisms specific for each nationality or ethnos. However, some people believe that it means nothing less than destruction of the integral organism. “The subjective patriotism, as we call it, is a threat to the integrity of our state” [Degtiarev, 2014]. This thesis is confirmed by Bokhanov A.N. who claims that several centuries ago, when Christianity was being adopted, the multinational and diverse Russian nation acted as a whole, solidified under the integrity of customs and developed under the strong influence of the Orthodox culture. In the spiritual Russian context the tsar is not just a sovereign; he is a man selected by Lord to support and protect the faith in Christ, to stand before Lord of the lords for his own deeds and deeds of his people [Bokhanov, 2014]. For his

vassals, the father tsar meant more than just the power of state, but the supreme moral authority of Russia. Patriotism was a natural state of people, it was a spontaneous behaviour element that was not bred at schools, but was inborn as an integral part of the generic myth. It is no coincidence that the behaviour of Russian sovereigns played a great role in the breeding and moral orienteering of Russian population.

When the monarchy was overthrown, the revolutionary period of the early 20th century was the time when the main Russian patriotism stereotypes were destructed: love and faith for the tsar, and absolute veneration of the Christian religion.

At first glance it looks like the Bolsheviks offered some new values and new mythology to replace the old ones: the thoroughly developed postulates of collective patriotism adopted later on the emotional level. However, according to the historian, after rising to power Stalin intended to restore the historical paradigm by providing the people with a tsar as himself and god embodied in Lenin. Thus, within the general ideology the absolute veneration of the faith got its new shape which was later referred to as “communism”. Here is one of the typical formulas made by Stalin as described by Professor Mochalov, Stalin’s biographer: “Marxism is a religion of a class. It is something that is compulsory for the people to follow. For the people, it is the symbol of faith”.

The replacement of the myth and name of faith and the form of ideology brought no new generic images: in the Bolshevik Russia and later in the Soviet Union there developed a system of work on the same mental images of patriotism. The stereotypes changed their names: Christianity was replaced with communism, the tsar was replaced with the leader of the communist party of the Soviet state, and the founders of socialism try on halos on their heads. Historians and political scientists still dispute over

the contents of the “Moral Code of the Builder of Communism”. Many representatives of the scientific community believe that its mottoes are adopted from the Bible, as they contain the same commandments reformulated in the “sickle and hammer” language. The principles of the “Moral Code of the Builder of Communism” are the same as the postulates of Christ given by Him in the Sermon on the Mount. Revealingly, one of the modern Communist party deputies once claimed that everyone who recognizes the postulates (i.e. the believers) can be admitted to the communist party.

Therefore, it is evident that all the “new values” were inherited by the Soviet time from the Russian society, the tsarist Russia, and were just as efficiently used by the communists. The PR-technologists of the time reviewed the “former statutes” to adjust them to the actual historical condition of the society and the new stereotypes of the mass consciousness. Due to the new class, political, ideological features, there was a new Russia standing in the world arena, determining the Motherland as a socialistic state manifesting the appearance of the Soviet governmental and social system. “Though containing multiple generally Russian mental features, the mentality of the Soviet society was still considerably different from that of the previous centuries” [Eshev, 2014].

In the mid-20th century, for some clear reasons Soviet ideologists and researchers agreed on the postulate that with the appearance of the workers’ movement in Russia proletariat became the main patriotic force of the country led by the communist party, struggling for the elimination of exploitation of workers and national oppression. According to them, with the rise of the Soviets to power a revolution happened in the people’s attitude to labour. Joseph Stalin said that under capitalism “a worker sees a factory as borrowed, alien property, or even a prison”. At the same

time, under communism the working class experiences a feeling of pride for its contribution into the history of the humankind; that is what Leninism says. The workers act historically right when they protect their motherland during wars and when they attempt to fight against the national oppression [Gubanov, 1955].

Today such statements sound disputable; however, one should admit that the Soviet people turned capable of great deeds and constructions no inferior to the Golden Age of the Roman Empire in scale and social results. It only became possible due to the systematic massive propaganda of the integrity of the state, party and people. With the victory of the October and the rise of the Soviets to power, a new type of patriotism with certain peculiarities was planted in the society. The economic base for such patriotism was the socialistic method of production, the politics was based on the state and people’s regime, and the ideology was based on Marxism-Leninism.

The Soviet Union contemporaries confirm what a big part of their conscience and life patriotism was. The term itself bore a great meaning for each Soviet person: the representatives of all nations sincerely and devotedly worried for the destiny of their motherland. “The period of socialist construction in the Soviet Union led to the development of the specific and unique mentality of the Soviet man that contained the following traits: patriotism and the USSR peoples’ friendship” [Malysheva, 2014].

The patriotism of Russian proletariat was manifested, first of all, in the withdrawal of the Bolshevik Russia from the devastating war and the victory over intervention. The proletariat patriotism tempered and strengthened during the Civil war and reached its peak at the battlefield and the rears of the Great Patriotic War. Patriotism became the moral base for spirituality, which served as a base for the victory over the joined forces of the Third Reich and its allies during the

Great Patriotic War [Malysheva, 2014]. At that time the people of the country and the Soviet army showed unprecedented patriotism that became their main spiritual and moral advantage over the fascist Germany.

Problem setting

The patriotism breeding methods and the mental images of the past are widely used now, as they are shaped according to the current historical situation and the socio-economic structure. The image of the Great Victory of the 1945 still remains more than just topical, but also demanded for the PR-technologists of the modern Russia. It is impossible to deny that the patriotism wave of the 2015 is also connected to the victory in the Great Patriotic War. It is one of the bright examples of how, despite the change of the regime and the leaders, the basics of propaganda change their shape but conceptually remain the same.

Unlike the imperial one, Soviet patriotism was based on the principles of devotion and primitive love of the Soviet people for their homeland, the territory and the population. For the efficient implementation of the principles in the mass consciousness the authority emphasized that the Motherland for a Soviet person can be the land, family, children, party, government, and Soviet socialism built with the active participation of each and every person. To provoke flamboyant patriotism, the following pompous slogans composed: “Glory to the Soviet industry!”, “Long live world October!”, “Glory to the Soviet people!”, “Soviet means perfect”, “The people and party are one” etc.

Many researchers refer to the Soviet patriotism as false and hypocritical. For example, Russian political scientist V.V. Ivanov in his work “Sincere patriotism of the Russian Empire and hypocritical ‘patriotism’ of the USSR” writes that in the international politics the communist party was based on the class feature, perceiving all the

states outside the Soviet block as enemies. The author emphasizes that usually the culture of such states was subject to denunciation and mockery. In general the Soviet propaganda efficiently cultivated the dislike to the rest of the world in the mass consciousness, shaping a certain attitude of the people to everything happening beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. Trips abroad were almost impossible, all foreign hobbies were reproached and laughed at [Ivanov, 2013]. Conceptually, we may agree with this opinion, but it is necessary to clarify that such propaganda was taken seriously by the mass consciousness: it was undisputable truth for the majority of the Soviet people.

During Soviet era the patriotism breeding system was aligned with the regime ideology and offered some new forms of political manipulation. We may outline such underlying elements as upbringing of young people in social movements (Little Octobrists, Pioneers, Komsomol); Suvorov military schools, Voluntary Society for Assisting Army, Air Force, and Navy of the USSR, earning GTO badges (“Ready for Labour and Defense of the USSR), participating in military and patriotic youth games and associations etc. Today it is still being widely discussed. Many researchers emphasize the conceptual profanation of the associations and their events. “There were various social and entertaining events for pioneers: “Zarnitsa” patriotic game, concerts, hikes, many of which were more formal and demonstrative than actually useful”, claims I.P. Ivanov, Russian Doctor of Pedagogical Science [Ivanov, 1958]. However, we find it necessary to remark that the Soviet political movements brought up several generations of true patriots of the country, who were not just well-educated, but were also highly productive and healthy, which was believed to be an essential contribution into the common deed of communism building. The loss of this children’s leisure and upbringing system by the post-Soviet

epoch led to the well-known negative social consequences as soon as within the first decade of new Russian life. And it is no coincidence that the modern political PR-technologies turn to the GTO badges, military and patriotic games and movements again.

The new Russian patriotism of the nineties could not help but develop spontaneously, under the demolition of the sociocultural and economic structure of the country, relying on the false, to our mind, stereotypes of the American “white collars”. The mass consciousness of Russian people in this hard historical period became a subject of multiple researches in sociology, political science and culturology. “The post-Soviet Russia experienced the shift of the value priorities into the sphere of the individual and the pragmatic, while the general national and humanistic values were pushed out to the periphery of the mass consciousness [Eshev, 2014]. It was the privatization period which opened the way to fast and easy enrichment of certain people; the unfamiliar new market economy and Western consumerist culture overwhelmed the country. It strengthened the personal interests of people, pushing the social interests aside and away. The invasion of the Western culture with its freedoms and new standards did not just conquer the minds; it got over the market, driving the Russian goods out.

And again, just as it happened in the USSR formation period, the values we replaced under the construction of a new, contrast democratic Russia separately from the Soviet wheels of state. The old Russia was exposed to strong criticism for its totalitarian past. That was the contrast with the totalitarian regime that served as an excuse to the crisis of the early 90-s. Simultaneously, the pre-revolutionary Russia was criticized for being the pre-requisite for the revolution. “In the 90-s the concept of Russian history was built in such a way, that all pre-revolutionary

Russian history served as a pre-requisite for the October revolution. In the 90-s it was common to believe that the pre-revolutionary Russia also failed to settle some certain problems and build a democratic society, and that this important task was only beginning to get solved at the moment” [Malinova, 2014].

In the post-Soviet time all forces and attention of the state were aimed at the solution of some global political issues; the problems of separate Russian individuals were ignored by the state. Social and political organizations for children and youth that existed in the Soviet times were closed, and nothing was offered to replace them. As a result, a whole generation of the Russian youth and teenagers was lost, as they rushed into the Western culture seeking for resort. The patriotism ideology as a form of social consciousness was practically absent in Russia for around a decade. The reasons for it are clear and listed in multiple researches: the patriotism idea was oppressed by the Western culture propaganda; the political leaders of Russia could not serve as an example of unblinking devotion to their country; the youth upbringing was neglected, bringing patriotism to the extremely low level [Guliaikhin, 2013]. For this reason, the Ministry of Defence counted more and more “draft dodgers” which turned into a threat to the national security, while a great part of the Russian youth preferred to escape to some more developed countries. The objection of the communist ideology and its specific upbringing paradigm where the political ideology trend occupied one of the first place, led to a real vacuum of patriotic upbringing. In the early nineties the term “upbringing” was replaced by “education”, which helped to slur many universal human values including such key concepts to the mass consciousness as the Motherland, the Homeland etc.

Many analysts speak of the need to revive the basics of patriotism in the society. “In the

90-s, our and the former Soviet Union people's patriotic sense experienced a great shock. For this reason it is especially topical to revive patriotism, the patriotism that existed in Russia for a thousand years and that transformed, adjusting itself to the political regime, but still presented the core of our society" [Reshetnikov, 2014]. And really, it was the patriotism, aimed at bringing the nation and the state together and developing them, that served as a base to any ideology in Russia.

For too long in the new Russia the national idea formation and its implementation into the mass consciousness were nothing but discussions at some public debates, just a lip service. Only recently the government began to demonstrate some real interest for the issue. The promotion and implementation of the national unity and solidarity before the difficulties and external enemies in the mass consciousness has been going on actively and quite successfully in the past several years.

The vector of Russian ideology was significantly shifted with the rise of V.V. Putin to power. The changes included partial rehabilitation of the Soviet past along with the renunciation of contrasting different periods of Russian history. The political scientist Olga Malinova writes that "In the rhetoric of the President Putin there still lingers the idea of the thousand years' Russian sovereignty as a base for building the new modern country. The political need to rely upon history is explained by the fact that the modern state is understood through the prism of national idea" [Malinova, 2015]. In this context the term nation is understood as a synthesis of generations having a common history and living in the same territory. Consequently, everything said above only means that the connection between the modern Russian politics and the many centuries' history is fundamental.

Russian mass consciousness in the patriotic sense is a completely unique phenomenon

representing an enormous spectrum of traditional Russian peculiarities and refracting a great number of historical images and archetypical structures. Many authors say that the current historical stage means a return to the pre-revolutionary times, to the traditional, Orthodox spiritual origins. Other researchers claim that the address for the Soviet values and traditions is evident.

Most likely, the present tendency of the modern Russian social consciousness should be regarded as an organic synthesis of the generic, traditional fixed archetypes of the Russian mentality of different historical epochs. The modern state ideologists and PR-technologists chose to appeal to the eternal values of the Russian state, carefully actualizing the images of the Motherland, the Father Tsar, the Absolute Spirit in the collective unconscious of the Russian citizens. "The past is the essential resource for legitimizing the authority or some certain political acts. Appealing to the past, the politicians may cause some adjustments to this symbolical resource" [Malinova, 2015].

Today the Russian idea claims its right to play the role of the social and spiritual-moral value. The diverse opinions of the society and a big part of the scientific community agree that the all-national Russian ideal today is to revive the country by turning to its underlying historical roots. Therefore, the components of the Russian idea are to revive the historical memory and the national self-consciousness, the spiritual and religious basics, the urge of the citizens for the better tomorrow and patriotism as such [Vyrshchikov, 2006].

Therefore, we may confidently claim that today Russian mass consciousness and behaviour are massively influenced by the traditional, mental symbols, embodied by the state ideologists into some new examples dressed in new costumes, preaching the eternal truths expressed in new formulas. In such a situation

the question of the core of such examples, the level and the scale of their influence becomes especially topical: does it still mean the return to totalitarianism in its “Soviet” way or the revival of the Russian monarchy institute, or is a third synthesized format of the civil life and national self-consciousness possible at all?

One of the examples of reviving traditional values is the following fact: the year 2005 was the year when the record on the number of the registered youth organizations in Russia was set. The competition in the youth organizations’ market became dramatically severe. Generally, to analyse the youth organizations existing in Russia today we may apply the following two factors: the attitude to the authority and the political “tone”. Following this vector, the analysts conventionally divide the youth organizations into the following categories: the ones acting in the interests of the power, such as “The Young Guard of United Russia”, “Nashi”, “The Young Russia” conservative movements; the “patriots” acting in the interests of the state (with the national patriotism ideology). The second category is the oppositional youth organizations: left (SKM, “The Union of the Communistic Youth” and AKM, “The Vanguard of Red Youth”) and right (“The Defense”, “Yes!”) and many others. As we can see, in comparison with the Soviet Union striving to achieve the uniformity of thinking and behaviour, in the modern Russia there is quite a big number of “patriotic” youth organizations [Stanovaia, 2005].

Considering the irregular character of the historical development of Russia, we cannot but admit that the “revival” of traditions is a multiple-stage and multifaceted process of social development. It is hardly possible to rely on traditions in the social transformations of the present. Nevertheless, the today’s call for the values and symbols of the Russian state and Soviet mythology is quite evident.

The target of the all-national Russian idea is to bring the stable faith for the revival of traditions and national values into the mass consciousness, to strengthen the institutions of the family and the state as the “stable tomorrow” guarantors, to form the patriotic ideal that would stimulate the society to act in the name of the common objectives and for the benefit of the Motherland.

In the context of the topical sociocultural reformations it is necessary to perform a deep social and philosophical analysis of the value characteristics and transformations typical of the modern Russian culture. Today patriotism becomes a strategically significant value again as it represents the base for the unification of the Russian society to oppose the “external enemies”, for building the “Revived Russia” in its concept, in its geography and its great power statehood, and for preserving the uniqueness of its multinational culture.

The study of the issue is also topical because upbringing patriotism today is not a spontaneous or secondary, but a strategic, systematic and manageable process characterized with its peculiarities and unique features.

Within the framework of the new historical conditions and the current political situation, Russia develops as a country with a high level of patriotism and civil consciousness. The essential condition for forming the patriotic spirit in the mass consciousness is the recognition of the country-specific national interests and the actualization of such interests in the social activity. According to “Russian National Security Doctrine Until the Year 2020”, the set of national priorities includes the following factors: territorial wholeness; political sovereignty; preservation of the ruling political and economic regime; protection of national uniqueness and ethnosocial archetypes; preservation of culture (Ivanov, 2013). “We speak of a healthy family and a healthy nation, of traditional values, aspiration

for the future, respect for the other states and defence of the legal interests of Russia: these are our priorities”, remarked Vladimir Putin in his speech to the Federal Assembly.

The ideological identification of any value mostly means the emotional commitment to some certain system of values or ideas, formed under the influence of the immediate environment. The ideological identification process assumes some historical succession and rootedness of the ideological system. Relying upon the general discursive field around the national idea and patriotic upbringing in Russia and analysing Russian reality in the aspect of ideological moods and expectations, we may claim that in the modern Russian mass consciousness there is an active process of representing some professionally selected traditional values, ideas and images; in other words, of actualizing the archetypical images through the traditional and latest technologies and methods of the political PR system.

Among the key archetypical images of the Russian society associated with the patriotism phenomenon functioning mechanism, we may name the archetype of the leader, the hero, the enemy, the archetype of spiritual community or “sobornost” (Absolute), the archetype of the Motherland. Representation of this archetypical structure with the political PR technologies in the modern Russian mass consciousness is a complicated process that requires both professional approach and some really careful manipulation with the symbols. The peculiarities of the Russian national consciousness’ perception of the basic social life structures that actually serve as underlying archetypical images, form the fixed structure of the national self-consciousness.

Today we are not only the contemporaries of a new patriotic wave unique for the democratic period in Russian history with its conceptual paradigm and massiveness; we also witness a high

level of the professional state PR-technologies actualizing the strongest traditional images and archetypes of the Russian mentality in the mass consciousness, for synthesizing the symbolic system of the collective Russian unconscious and for implementing it in the masses as new mythological concepts and images. Using the latest technologies of the information society blip culture, PR specialists turn the forgotten images convincing in some new formats, in the rapidly changing event pictures to bring them in conformity with the requirements of the new millennium society.

Empirical evidence

Sociological researches carried out by the state and social institutes within the past two years confirm the fact of an unabated patriotism wave in Russia despite the actual situation in the country and the world in general: global economic crisis, social shocks and pessimistic forecasts driven by the financial analysts. Specialists and bachelors of advertising and public relations of the Humanitarian Sciences Institute of Siberian Federal University also carry out their field researches and online surveys to study the current condition of the mass consciousness. Let us provide some results of the sociological research presented as a qualification paper. The objective of the research was to determine the condition of patriotic moods of the population under the current political conditions. The survey sampling was done with the “first comer” method; the number of respondents was 359 (193 men and 166 women aged between 17 and 60) from various regions of Russia.

According to the opinion expressed by the Russian society, the main positive factors influencing the level of patriotism were: the Great Patriotic War Victory celebration in the year 2015; the victory in the Olympic Games in the year 2014; the historical past of Russia; the

independent international policy of the country; the annexation of Crimea; achievements in science and other fields. For the majority of the respondents, the Victory in the Great Patriotic War still remains the underlying factor influencing the patriotic mood in the country. The Victory is identified with the political position of the strong state. According to the Russians, this event is a significant reason for pride for the Motherland, the symbol of power and might of Russia. Moreover, the Victory in the Great Patriotic War is an essential part of the historical part of the country which is also often mentioned in the respondents' answers. The patriotic feelings of many Russians are based on the heroic history of Russia, and according to their opinion, the current situation in the country cannot change it.

The second place in the survey results was occupied by the victory in the Olympic Games in the year 2014. According to the Russians, the Olympic Games demonstrated that Russia is still a strong and sport-loving country. Besides the sports achievements, the respondents assign a great role to the festive opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympics.

According to the survey results, one of the popular factors causing the new patriotism wave is the personality of the President of Russia, V.V. Putin, who, as mentioned in the answers, is successful in defending national interests both within the country and beyond its borders. The independent behaviour of Russia in the international arena may be also added to this category. Many respondents remark the rise in the national pride of the country, its aspiration for an independent development course, the peace-making mission of Russia, the advocacy of the country's own interests, the creation of a strong and independent image on the world stage.

Among the negative factors the respondents named the low living standards of the population; the strong financial stratification of the society;

the weak education system; corruption; false patriotism; relationships with the Ukraine. The dominating majority of the respondents feel proud of living in Russia (60.7 %). The citizens of Russia realize the disadvantages and problems of their country and understand civilian patriotism as readiness to act for the benefit of the country and in the name of a better tomorrow (67.1 %).

The presence of a "common external enemy" is one of the key factors for the patriotism boom; it was mentioned by 69.6 % of the respondents. The dominating majority believes that in the past 1.5-2 years the patriotic spirit of Russians has risen (68.7 %) and in the equal conditions they would still prefer living in Russia to immigration (60.7 %).

In general, the survey confirmed the well-known sociological principle stating that it is typical of a Russian to experience a patriotic rise in the periods of big world events, shocks or state victories.

Conclusion

Thus, we are experiencing an important historical moment, when, based on the mental values, the structure of the civil self-consciousness and the political mood in the country is changing its development vector. At the modern stage the patriotism revival becomes a strategic condition for restoring the status of Russia as a Great Power. The past two years have convincingly demonstrated the opportunities of the state ideology, which under the conditions of the acute political conflicts and economic crisis turned out to be capable of causing a phenomenal patriotism wave and keep it up for a long while.

The mass consciousness itself is formed, first of all, under the influence of a certain political ideology, that may be conservative, liberal, or, for example, socialistic. Such values as spirituality, justice, aspiration to the absolute, sympathy and love are perceived in the Russian

mass consciousness as the main indicators of the traditional spiritual uniqueness of Russia and the national endowment. The modern condition of the Russian mass consciousness is a synthesis of the strongest traditions adopted from the many centuries' long history of Russia. We have all the reasons to suppose that the archetypical structures of Russian mentality do not come to the fore coincidentally, but there is a specific mission they serve. First of all, they make an enormous influence on the value milestones of the Russian society, as in the modern political

and sociocultural situation the civilizations may clash, causing the opposition of different cultures and states. It is also not random that the stronger the globalization, the more effort it takes for a state to preserve its cultural civilization identity. For this reason the functioning of patriotic ideas becomes more and more topical, which is also boosted by the appeal of the state politics to the history, traditional values and symbols Russian civilization is based on. The question of the strategic vector of the outlined processes remains open and acute.

References

Amirov, V.M. (2008) *Obraz vraga v rossiiskom zhurnalistskom diskurse raznykh voin* [The image of the enemy in the Russian journalistic discourse of different wars] V.M. Amirov. *Zhurnalistska i massovye kommunikatsii* [Journalism and mass communication]. Saint Petersburg, Gum. Univ., 29 p.

Bairamov, T.R., Koptseva, N.P. (2015) *K voprosu o spetsifike sibirskogo islama* [To the question about the specifics of Siberian Islam]. *Modern problems of science and education* (1). 1739.

Bokhanov, A.N. (2014) *Pobeda opredelias' liubov'iu russkikh liudei k svoei zemle i svoei vere* [Victory was determined by the love of the Russian people for their land and their faith]. A.N. Bokhanov. *Patriotizm kak ideologiya vozrozhdeniia Rossii: sbornik statei i dokladov* [Patriotism as the ideology of Russia's revival: collection of papers and reports]. Moscow, Ros. In-t strateg. Issled., 29–34.

Canetti, E. (1962). *Crowds and Power*. Study, tr. 1962, published in Hamburg.

Degtiarev, M.V. (2014) *Patriotizm, on edin, eto liubov' k Rossii i russkomu narodu* [Patriotism is one: it is the love for Russia and the Russian people]. M.V. Degtiarev. *Patriotizm kak ideologiya vozrozhdeniia Rossii: sbornik statei i dokladov* [Patriotism as the ideology of Russia's revival: collection of papers and reports]. Moscow. Ros. in-t strateg. issled., 9–15.

Eshev, M.A. (2014) *Patriotizm v sovetskoj i postsovetskoj Rossii* [Patriotism in the Soviet and post-Soviet Russia]. Moscow: Vlast'.

Federal'noe agentstvo po delam molodezhi. (2015). Perechen' prioriteto Rosmolodezhi [Federal Agency on Youth Affairs. The list of priorities of Rosmolodezh]. Available at: <http://www.fadm.gov.ru> (accessed 26 October 2015).

Fond "Obshchestvennoe mnenie" (2015). V. Putin: reiting, otnoshenie. Otsenki raboty [Fund "Public Opinion". Vladimir Putin: rating, ratio of performance]. Available at: <http://corp.fom.ru> (accessed 26 October 2015).

Fond "Obshchestvennoe mnenie" (2014). Olimpiada v Sochi: interes i ozhidaniia [Fund "Public Opinion" (2014). Olympics in Sochi: the interest and expectations] Available at: <http://corp.fom.ru> (accessed 26 October 2015).

Fond "Obshchestvennoe mnenie" (2014). Rossiane o prisoedinenii Kryma [Fund "Public Opinion" (2014). Russians about the annexation of Crimea]. Available at: <http://corp.fom.ru> (accessed 26 October 2015).

Gadamer, H-G. (1989) *Truth and Method*, 2nd edn, Sheed and Ward, London, XXVIII.

Gubanov, N.I. (1955) *Sovetskii patriotizm – velikaia sila v bor'be za kommunizm* [Soviet patriotism is a great force in the struggle for communism]. Moscow, Znanie.

Gudkova, E.E., Sertakova, E.A. (2015) *Znachenie arkhetaipa "Angel v smiritel'noi rubashke" dlia ponimaniia spetsifiki sovremennogo russkogo sotsial'no-kul'turnogo prostranstva* [The meaning of the "Angel in a straightjacket" archetype for understanding the specificity of the modern Russian social and cultural space]. *Sociodynamics* (4). 64-74. DOI: 10.7256/2409-7144.2015.4.15060. Available at: http://e-notabene.ru/pr/article_15060.html (accessed 26 October 2015).

Guliaikhin, V.N. (2013). *Politika i patriotizm v sovremennoi Rossii* [Politics and patriotism in the modern Russia]. Available at: http://e-notabene.ru/pr/article_9121.html (accessed 26 October 2015).

Gurevich, P.S. (2001) *Kul'turologiia* [Cultural studies]. Moscow. Gardariki., 280 p.

Guzenkova, T.S. (2014) *Patriotizm kak ideologiia vozrozhdeniia Rossii* [Patriotism as the ideology of Russia's revival]. Moscow, Ros. in-t strateg. issled., 260 p.

Guzenkova, T.S. (2014) *Patriotizm, globalizatsiia i natsional'noe gosudarstvo: vzaimodeistvie i protivorechiia* [Patriotism, globalization and the national state: cooperation and controversies]. T.S. Guzenkova. *Patriotizm kak ideologiia vozrozhdeniia Rossii: sbornik statei i dokladov* [Patriotism as the ideology of Russia's revival: collection of papers and reports]. Moscow. Ros. in-t strateg. issled., 15–29.

Iadov, V.A. (1975) *Metodologicheskie problemy sotsial'noi psikhologii* [Methodological problems of social psychology]. Moscow: Znanie., 106 p.

Il'beikina, M.I. (2014) *Nekotorye aspekty teorii sotsial'nykh tsennostei* [Some aspects of the social values theory]. *Sociodynamics* (12). 78-89. DOI: 10.7256/2409-7144.2014.12.13901. Available at: http://e-notabene.ru/pr/article_13901.html (accessed 26 October 2015).

Il'beikina, M.I. (2013) *Rol' vizual'noi antropologii v sotsial'nom konstruirovanii tsennostei* [The role of visual anthropology in the social values construction]. Autoabstract of dissertation of the candidate of philosophical sciences. Krasnoyarsk.

Ivanov, V. (2013). *Iskrennii patriotizm v Rossiiskoi imperii i litsemernyi «patriotizm» v SSSR* [Sincere patriotism of the Russian Empire and hypocritical "patriotism" of the USSR]. Available at: <http://rpczmoskva.org.ru> (accessed 26 October 2015).

Ivanov, I.P. (1958). *Vospitatel'naia rabota pionerskoi organizatsii* [Educational Activities of the Pioneer Organization]. Available at: <http://www.kommunarstvo.ru/index.html> (accessed 26 October 2015).

Kistova, A.V. (2014) *Formirovanie kommunikativnogo (interpretativnogo) etnograficheskogo metoda v sovremennom sotsial'nom poznanii* [Formation of the communicative (interpretive) ethnographic method in modern social cognition]. NB: Problems of politics and society (11). 62-72. DOI: 10.7256/2306-0158.2014.11.1352. Available at: http://e-notabene.ru/pr/article_13527.html (accessed 26 October 2015).

Kistova, A.V., A.B., Koptseva, N.P. (2015) *Konstruirovanie etnokul'turnoi i obshchenatsional'noi identichnosti kak filosofskaia problema* [Construction of ethno-cultural and national identity as a philosophical problem]. *Philosophy and Culture* (1). 12-19.

Kistova, A.V., Tamarovskaia, A.N. (2014) *Proizvedeniia arkhitektury i kul'turnaia identichnost'* [Artworks of architecture and cultural identity]. *Modern problems of science and education* (4). 597.

Kolesnik, M.A. (2014) *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia voobrazheniia v 30-e – 80-e gg. XX veka* [Sociological studies of the imagination in the 30-80-es of the 20th century]. NB: Problems of politics and society (11). 45-61. DOI: 10.7256/2306-0158.2014.11.1351. Available at: http://e-notabene.ru/pr/article_13517.html (accessed 26 October 2015).

Koptseva, N.P. (2014) *Ekspertnyi analiz osnovnykh tendentsii ekonomicheskogo razvitiia korennykh narodov Severnoi Sibiri* [Expert analysis of the main trends in the economic development of the indigenous peoples of the northern Siberia]. *Ekonomichnyi chasopis-XXI* (11-12). 93-96.

Koptseva, N.P. (2014) *Kul'turologicheskaia baza formirovaniia obshchenatsional'noi rossiiskoi identichnosti v sibirskikh regionakh* [The cultural base for forming the national Russian identity in Siberian regions]. *Questions of Cultural Studies* (2). 22-26.

Koptseva, N.P. (2014) *Nekotorye kontsepty sotsial'nykh idealov russkoi filosofii serebriannogo veka* [Some concepts of the social ideals of the Silver Age Russian philosophy]. *Philosophical thought* (3). 47-59.

Kovalevskii, V.A., Kirko, V.I. (2015) *Strategicheskoe upravlenie regional'nym pedagogicheskim universitetom v usloviakh global'nykh i lokal'nykh riskov* [Strategic management of a regional pedagogical university in the context of global and local risks]. *Modern education* (2). 45-69. DOI: 10.7256/2409-8736.2015.2.14393. Available at: http://e-notabene.ru/pp/article_14393.html (accessed 26 October 2015).

Libakova, N.M. (2014) *Sotsial'no-psikhologicheskie osobennosti formirovaniia gendernykh obrazov v srede rossiiskogo studenchestva (rezul'taty assotsiativnogo eksperimenta)* [Social and psychological features of the formation of gender images in the media of Russian students (association experiment results)]. NB: Problems of politics and society (10). 101-134. DOI: 10.7256/2306-0158.2014.10.1343. Available at: http://e-notabene.ru/pr/article_13435.html (accessed 26 October 2015).

Libakova, N.M., H.M., Koptseva, N.P. (2012) *Formirovanie rossiiskoi kul'turnoi identichnosti v obrazovatel'noi deiatel'nosti sovremennogo universiteta posredstvom izucheniia istorii russkogo izobrazitel'nogo iskusstva* [Formation of the Russian cultural identity in the educational activities of the modern university through the Russian art history studies]. *Pedagogy of art* (4). 7 – 29.

Luckmann, N. (1997). *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft*. Frankfurt am Main. Suhrkamp.

Luzan, V.S. (2014) *K probleme kontseptual'nykh osnovanii kul'turnoi politiki* [To the problem of the conceptual bases of cultural policy]. NB: Problems of politics and society (10). 135-158. DOI: 10.7256/2306-0158.2014.10.1342. Available at: http://e-notabene.ru/pr/article_13420.html (accessed 26 October 2015).

Luzan, V.S., Koptseva, N.P. (2012) *Modelirovanie kul'tury i kul'turnoi politiki v russkoi filisofii kontsa XIX – pervoi tretii XX vv.* [Modelling of culture and cultural policy in the Russian philosophy of the late 19th – early 20th centuries]. *Philosophy and Culture* (4). 105-116.

Malinova, O. (2014). *Kontsepsiia simvolicheskoi politiki* [The symbolic politics concept]. Available at: <http://postnauka.ru/video/29961> (accessed 26 October 2015).

Malinova, O. (2015). *Politika i sotsial'nye proektsii proshlogo* [Politics and the social projections of the past]. Available at: <http://postnauka.ru/video/34948> (accessed 26 October 2015).

Malysheva, E.M. (2014) *Patriotizm v pamiat' o voine kak aksiologicheskaia osnova integriruiushchikh tsennostei vozrozhdeniia Rossii* [Patriotism in the memory of the war as the

axiological foundation of integrating the values of Russia's revival] E.M. Malysheva. *Patriotizm kak ideologiya vrozhdeniia Rossii: sbornik statei i dokladov* [Patriotism as the ideology of Russia's revival: collection of papers and reports]. Moscow. Ros. in-t strateg. issled., 89–105.

Novoe budushchee Sibiri: ozhidaniia, vyzovy, resheniia (2013) [New future of Siberia: expectations, challenges, solutions]. *Collective monograph*. Krasnoyarsk.

Pimenova, N.N. (2014) *Etnicheskaia situatsiia Krasnoiarskogo kraia: rol' kul'turnogo naslediia korennykh malochislennykh narodov* [Ethnic situation of the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai): the role of the cultural heritage of the indigenous peoples]. *Modern problems of science and education* (4). 596.

Pimenova, N.N. (2015) *Korennye malochislennye narody v sovremennoi situatsii: ob "em i sodержanie poniatii* [Indigenous peoples in the current situation: the scope and concept]. *Sociodynamics* (1). 112-134. DOI: 10.7256/2409-7144.2015.1.14249. Available at: http://e-notabene.ru/pr/article_14249.html (accessed 26 October 2015).

Reshetnikov, L.P. (2014) *Seichas nasha glavnaia zadacha — vrozhdat' chuvstvo liubvi k Rodine, chtoby molodezh' ee pochuvstvovala v sebe* [Our main task now is to revive a sense of love for the country for the youth to feel it by themselves]. L.P. Reshetnikov. *Patriotizm kak ideologiya vrozhdeniia Rossii: sbornik statei i dokladov* [Patriotism as the ideology of Russia's revival: collection of papers and reports]. Moscow. Ros. in-t strateg. issled., 7–9.

Reznikova, K.V. (2014) *K voprosu ob utochnenii poniatii "etnos" i "etnichnost'"* [To the question of clarifying the concepts "ethnos" and "ethnicity"]. *Sociodynamics* (12). 90-102. DOI: 10.7256/2409-7144.2014.12.13913. Available at: http://e-notabene.ru/pr/article_13913.html (accessed 26 October 2015).

Reznikova, K.V., Koptseva, N.P. (2014) *K voprosu o kul'turno-psikhologicheskikh faktorakh natsional'noi bezopasnosti. Rezul'taty assotsiativnogo eksperimenta s assotsiatom "sovremennaia voina" (na materiale issledovaniia v studencheskikh gruppakh Sibirskogo federal'nogo universiteta* [To the question of cultural and psychological factors of the national security. The results of the association experiment with the "modern war" associate (based on the research of student groups at Siberian Federal University)]. *National security / nota bene* (5). 791-815.

Semenova, A.A. (2009) *Modifikatsii drevnerusskogo kontsepta "gosudarstvo" v rossiiskoi kul'ture XXI veka* [Modifications of the ancient Russian "state" concept in the Russian culture of the 21st century]. Autoabstract of dissertation of the candidate of philosophical sciences: Velikii Novgorod.

Seredkina, N.N. (2013) *Konstruirovaniie pozitivnoi etnicheskoi identichnosti v polikul'turnoi sisteme* [Construction of a positive ethnic identity in the polycultural system]. Autoabstract of dissertation of the candidate of philosophical sciences: Krasnoyarsk.

Seredkina, N.N. (2014) *Etnicheskaia kartina mira v kontekste sovremennykh sotsial'nykh issledovaniia* [Ethnic picture of the world in the context of social research]. *NB: Problems of politics and society* (10). 26-59. DOI: 10.7256/2306-0158.2014.10.1344. Available at: http://e-notabene.ru/pr/article_13441.html (accessed 26 October 2015).

Sitnikova, A.A. (2015) *K voprosu o metodologii issledovaniia kul'tury kak sotsial'no-antropologicheskoi sistemy* [To the question of the research methodology of culture as a socio-anthropological system]. *Sociodynamics* (1). 75-100. DOI: 10.7256/2409-7144.2015.1.14237. Available at: http://e-notabene.ru/pr/article_14237.html (accessed 26 October 2015).

Sitnikova, A.A. (2014) *Sovremennye praktiki foresait-issledovaniia budushchego sotsial'no-antropologicheskikh system, v tom chisle etnokul'turnykh grupp severnykh regionov Rossiiskoi Federatsii* [The modern practice of foresight research of the future of social and anthropological systems, including ethnocultural groups of the northern regions of the Russian Federation]. NB: Problems of politics and society (9). 44-62. DOI: 10.7256/2306-0158.2014.9.13405. Available at: http://e-notabene.ru/pr/article_13405.html (accessed 26 October 2015).

Sertakova, E.A., Gerasimova, A.A. (2015) *Obraz goroda Krasnoiarska v ksilografi i problema regional'noi identichnosti* [The image of the city of Krasnoyarsk in woodcuts and the problem of regional identity]. Urban studies (2). 89-99. DOI: 10.7256/2310-8673.2015.2.16355. Available at: http://e-notabene.ru/urb/article_16355.html (accessed 26 October 2015)

Sertakova, E.A., Koptseva, N.P. (2015) *K voprosu o metodologicheskoi strategii sovremennoi urbanisticheskoi antropologii* [To the question of the methodological strategy of modern urban anthropology]. Humanities and social sciences (1). 103-120.

Smolin, M.B. (2014) *Liubov' k Rodine v istorii russkoi gosudarstvennosti* [Love for the Motherland in the history of Russian statehood]. M.B. Smolina. *Patriotizm kak ideologiya vrozhdeniia Rossii: sbornik statei i dokladov* [Patriotism as the ideology of Russia's revival: collection of papers and reports]. Moscow. Ros. in-t strateg. issled., 34–61.

Sovet bezopasnosti Rossiiskoi Federatsii. Strategiiia natsional'noi bezopasnosti Rossiiskoi Federatsii do 2020 goda ot 12.05.2009 № 573 [The Security Council of the Russian Federation. The National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation until 2020 from 12.05.2009 № 537]. Available at: <http://www.scrf.gov.ru/index.html> (accessed 26 October 2015).

Stanovaia, T. (2005). *Molodezhnye organizatsii v sovremennoi Rossii* [Youth organizations in modern Russia]. Available at: <http://www.politnauka.org/library/molpolit/stanovaya.php> (accessed 26 October 2015).

Vyrshchikov, A.N. (2006) *Patrioticheskoe vospitanie molodezhi v sovremennom Rossiiskom obshchestve* [Patriotic education of youth in the modern Russian society]. Volgograd, Avtorskoe pravo.

Zamaraeva, Iu.S. (2014) *Osobennosti etnicheskoi migratsii v sotsial'no-psikhologicheskoi vospriiatii (na materiale analiza rezul'tatov eksperimenta po metodike "Seriinye tematicheskie assotsiatsii")* [Features of ethnic migration in the sociopsychological perception (based on analysis of the experimental results by the method of serial thematic associations)] NB: Problems of politics and society (9). 63-82. DOI: 10.7256/2306-0158.2014.9.13407. Available at: http://e-notabene.ru/pr/article_13407.html (accessed 26 October 2015).

Zamaraeva, Iu.S. (2014) *Osobennosti sotsiokul'turnykh transformatsii migratsionnykh protsessov v XX – nachale XXI vv. (na primere Krasnoiarskogo kraia)* [Features of the social and cultural transformations in the migration processes in the 20th – early 21st century (based on the Krasnoyarsk Territory (Krai))]. Modern problems of science and education (2). 649.

Современное российское массовое сознание: новая волна патриотизма

Л.С. Набокова

*Сибирский федеральный университет
Россия, 660041, Красноярск, пр. Свободный, 79*

Состояние современного российского патриотизма рассматривается в статье как система репрезентаций архетипических структур российского коллективного бессознательного. Данная система в настоящее время успешно интерпретируется и актуализируется в современном российском массовом сознании, обретая новые форматы, предлагая новые формулы. Эта тенденция современного российского общественного сознания представлена в статье как органичный синтез родовых, традиционных устойчивых архетипов русской ментальности разных исторических эпох. В статье приводится краткий историко-сопоставительный анализ устойчивых мифообразов российского сознания, который позволяет предположить, что современное российское массовое сознание в ракурсе патриотизма – это совершенно уникальный феномен, который репрезентирует огромный спектр российских традиционных особенностей, преломляет множество исторических образов и архетипических структур.

Ключевые слова: массовое сознание, патриотизм, русская национальная идея, мифообраз, архетип, ментальный образ.

Научная специальность: 24.00.00 – культурология.
