

**Patriotism, Polarization and War: The
Consequences of Divergent Meanings of
Patriotism in Russia and the United States.**

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Abstract

From the knee taken by Colin Kaepernick in America, to the recent invasion of Ukraine by Russia, the views and attitudes that lie behind these actions revolve around the concepts of patriotism and nationalism. With two of the world's superpowers wrestling with conflict in their ideas of what these terms mean, I examine the meaning of these ideas within both countries.

I do this after reviewing existing literature and analyzing the International Social Survey Programme: National Identity data (ISSP). The ISSP is an international social science consortium that has been conducting surveys since 1984.

I find important differences in patriotism, national identity, national pride, and national chauvinism or nationalism between Americans and Russians. I also find interesting differences among subgroups in both countries. These differences help to explain Russian motives for its war in Ukraine and rising tensions in American politics.

Introduction

In the current time we are in, there is no greater topic to understand than that of Russia. My questions that I will attempt to answer include, what is Russian patriotism, and where do their beliefs and values differ from the U.S?

In order to understand the Russian perspective on patriotism, it is important to connect certain pieces. Russia is a very proud nation with a rich history. Current President Putin realized this early on in his political years as President, and has strategically maneuvered himself and the nation around a very vast, but blurry version of Conservatism. President Putin's first presidential term was in the year 2000. At this point, he was not willing to pin his name to a particular ideology that was aimed in a narrow direction, but would do just that in 2012 during his second term as President.

President Putin and the Kremlin did not widely elaborate on the new rising version of Russian Conservatism, but it was centered around the idea of combating the extreme forms of liberalism and communism. (Laurelle 2017, 2) quotes Putin as saying, "The point of conservatism is not that it obstructs movement forward and upward, but that it prevents the movement backward and downward. That, in my opinion, is a very good formula, and it is the formula that I propose. There's nothing unusual for us here. Russia is a country with a very profound ancient culture, and if we want to feel strong and grow with confidence, we must draw on this culture and these traditions, and not just focus on the future".

President Putin has been able to broadcast his views through control of the nation's media. He gains support by leaving the ideological view vague enough so that the majority of people can relate to the views and their own sense of patriotism. An example of this would be that the citizens can support the isolationist attitudes that Russia promotes in being self-serving,

or the citizens can get behind the idea that Russia is working towards creating a multipower world with its allies. Another one of Laurelle's examples is the citizens supporting the reunited regions of the old Soviet Union. When Russia annexed Crimea, the citizens looked at this as Russia showing its strength on a global scale. The ability for the people to share positive views towards things that the west may not agree with, is seen through the nation's ability to shape its citizens' views. The ability to spin a story towards a patriotic positive action, has given the Kremlin the ability to keep large portions of the citizenry on the desired path of traditional values.

When it comes to Russian conservatism, the Kremlin has had to play an ever consistent role when it comes to the balancing act of nationalism. The Kremlin has so far been able to draw upon a rather nationalistic agenda. The promotion of the nation over others, such as the justification of invading neighboring nations and the constant comparison of issues being evaded in Russia that have become very controversial issues in the west. The latter example can be seen through the Kremlin's stance on LGBTQ laws that it cites to have caused chaos in the west, and contributed to the dismantling of "the family". The traditional image of the family is very important in preserving Russian culture and traditional values, which was stated in the article, according to Hooper (2021).

Russian policy has embodied nationalism. The rise of anti-immigrant protests arose as a massive labor migration was occurring, bringing a behavioral ethnic-nationalism that was called, "The awakening of the Russian people ". Though these protests were broken up by Russian authorities, they were still allowed just enough time and attention to maintain Russian traditional values. The Kremlin utilized the chaos from these major nationalist groups that protest the anti-immigration, anti-LGBTQ, and skinhead groups to bolster its own policies.

Comparing American and Russian Civic Culture

In understanding the difference between patriotism in America and patriotism in Russia, it is important to understand the context that separates the two nations. The first of which would be history. Both nations have patriotic views that center around their nation's history, but one has been around much longer, and has a vastly deeper history. In an article by Beard (1996), "A Chronology of Russian History," the history in this region dates as far back to 860 and the Kievan Rus Empire, to the famous Tzars such as Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great, to the Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin, to the current President Vladimir Putin. The point is, Russia's citizens have this deep connection to their history. In contrast, the United States' history was established in 1776, far later than that of Russia.

Following the similar lines of history, would be the people that make up the nation. The United States is a very diverse nation of immigrants. In addition to Native Americans, the U.S. is home to people with ethnic backgrounds that span every corner of the globe. The U.S. was founded on people coming from other nations, most by choice, who sought freedom in forms that their previous nation would not provide, and continues to be a nation that people from all different walks of life call home.

Russia on the other hand is in a different situation. The people that make up Russia, have for the majority, been from families whose roots in Russia go back centuries, if not millenia.

The country of Russia alone spans eleven different time zones. The U.S. spans four. This distinction is made to portray the vast differences between the two nations. With Russia being as big as it is, it covers numerous ethnic groups. These ethnicities range from Tatars, Bashkirs, Abazins, Russians, and many more. The Kremlin, along with the Russian people have not been

looked at favorably for making the region hospitable to immigrants. The United States, however, does not have the built in ethnic origins, as Russia does. The United States has therefore historically relied on immigration to establish the nation's many ethnic identities.

ETHNIC/CULTURAL UNITY IN RUSSIA

A major area that contributes to the nation's identity, which then plays a key role in defining what it means to be a Russian, is the topic of immigration (Wilson 2022). Immigration trends have varied dramatically since the fall of the Soviet Union. The citizenry, once defined under the wide umbrella of the Soviet Union, was now broken into small nations of their own. The author of this article explains that there were two massive immigration waves that occurred after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The first wave came in the 90s and were mostly ethnic Russians who sought reparations from being displaced when the old Soviet Union boundaries were redrawn. The second major wave of immigrants entering Russia occurred after the 1998 financial default, which left most of the newly formed nations with crippled economies. Both of these situations sound as if they would be good reasons for the newer Russian nation. This was not the case for the native citizens of Russia. With the coming of new minorities with these immigration waves, in the 1990s, seventy five percent of native Russians associated negative feelings towards immigrants. Part of this reason was due to the arrival of new minorities and the arrival of negative attitudes towards the new cultures and traditions that were carried with them into the home of the ethnic Russians. During this pivotal time in the newly developing Russian identity, the sense of nationalism was transformed to be associated with ethnicnationalism.

In more recent work, Erlanger (2022) discusses the reasoning behind the Russian invasion of Ukraine, and makes a direct link to the crisis and ethnicnationalism. Erlanger defines

ethniconationalism as, “an idea of nationhood and identity based on language, culture, and blood; a collectivist ideology with deep roots in Russian history and thought.” We see this eager stride towards unification of old bloodlines with President Putin asserting time and time again that he does not recognise Ukraine as a sovereign nation, nor does he recognise the “Ukrainian” at all. In the eyes of President Putin, the people in Ukraine who share the same blood and ancestry, who come from the slavic heartland, are Russians. The people of Ukraine for the vast majority speak Russian, and for the most part, look just as their invaders look. Erlanger points out the difficulties that the invaders have had to face when fighting their supposed brothers and sisters who according to President Putin, are rightfully Russian by blood. However, we are currently witnessing an almost opposite effect to what President Putin had hoped to achieve. In the quest to unite Ukrainians as Russians, President Putin has created a deeper sense of Ukrainian identity among the Ukrainian people in their shared struggle.

Patriotism and Identity

Merry (2018) asserts in “Handbook of Patriotism” published in 2018, that the Latin root word for patriotism is *amour patria*, patriotism describes the idea that one’s nation, though not necessarily one’s country, is the object of pride and loyalty. Merry places loyalty as one of the forefront explanations to patriotism, and states that loyalty cannot stand on its own as a virtue. If it is left unchecked, it can become a vice. One area of emphasis that Merry discusses is socialization. Socialization in terms of how we are raised. Merry argues that Americans in particular learn patriotism from a very young age. Merry points out that from pre-school level, students are shown the American flag, taught to recite the national anthem, and in other cases, listen to songs with patriotic undertones. Merry also uses the socialization concept to connect the

commonalities we have with one another through language, heritage, cultures, and which ultimately form our identities.

Merry follows accordingly with (Smith, 2021) when talking about virtues. Merry agrees that certain bonds and virtues may serve as the cultivating factor for one's civic engagement, but how the comparison is used is directly against the nurturing examples used in (Galston, 2018). Merry compares one's relationship to family to that of friends. We can pick and choose our friends. If something goes bad, we can leave. If the family has a falling out, or something negative happens within the family, they are still your family. We can leave friends, we can't leave family because of how the relationship was made. Merry asserts that patriotism is guilty of being particular and making choices. Smith makes it a point to counter the direction in which Merry's work leads. Smith argues that though Merry is correct in the socialization aspect, and commonalities we share with one and other, patriotism does not need to consist of external factors that one cannot control. Patriotism is the uniting around anything that is shared, big or small.

Wolak and Dawkins (2021) express how national identity is very closely linked with social identity. They also express the essential differences they see between national identity and patriotism. Patriotism looks more at key values that one associates with their country and what it stands for. National identity has been aimed largely around people or groups that compose a community. Wolak and Dawkins state that patriotism is symbolic in the sense that it is connected to one's pride and love of country or the ideas that make the country. With this symbolic view of patriotism, Wolak and Dawkins support the ideas presented by Merry on early patriotic socialization and where all the symbols of patriotism can be found. The one area that Wolak and Dawkins touch base on that other authors had not would be the perception of the country. The

two go into detail about the levels of patriotism in reaction to 9/11, or during the involvement in the Gulf Wars. This is a phenomenon that was very exclusive to this article.

Fardan and Thorlifson (2020) define nationalism as a political principle that holds that the political and national unit should be congruent. The authors make key distinctions in what makes up “The Nation.” Benedict Anderson states that these communities are what we choose them to be. Anderson says that even nationalism stems from the identities we choose. They are not fitted or consistent. The authors use this as grounds to expand the study of nationalism and where its different branches of civic and ethnic nationalism differ. There is also the study of the main extremes under nationalism which include racial, ethnic, and cultural nationalism. This article really focused on the physical distinctions that are brought about by past authors in finding differences in patriotism and nationalism.

American Patriotism

Hanson (2021) explores what it means to be patriotic in America today. Views of kneeling during the national anthem have been seen as a form of progressive or critical patriotism to the election of President Trump is seen very differently by different sub-groups. What are the leading factors behind these stand out moments where contrasting views of patriotism seems to be of high importance? These forms of patriotism are very different than that of the nationalistic tendencies seen in Russia. These acts that appear to be anti-patriotic by some, are reasons that American patriotism differs so drastically from Russian nationalism in that ideas of patriotism can vary. This has been referred to as progressive patriotism. Progressive patriotism would suggest these acts that appear to be against patriotism, are in fact a deep concern for a cause that deserves to be changed. Nationalism has been associated with the refusal of change.

Hanson goes into how America's form of patriotism is bound by ideas and a form of creed. Other nations' patriotism and nationalism can be identified in part by blood or shared histories. Russia is a good example of a nation that can fit this category of blood and shared history. Hanson, here, also makes the comparison with nationalism to blind patriotism. They are almost one and the same if you place patriotism on a scale. Like nationalism, blind patriotism is the refusal to change, and the following of a single idea regardless of any contrary.

American patriotism stands out as very unique. If we compare the American version of patriotism with other nations, we see that they can be based in entirely different contexts. America, unlike most other countries, is still fairly young. On top of being a young country, America is a country of mixed heritage. There is not a sole ethnic or cultural group that claims America as home. There is not a royal bloodline that our history expands from. In fact, America is unique because it lacks those traits of most other countries. America was founded on ideas rather than blood. America combines these ideas with a shared struggle throughout the many different histories that collide and call America home, (Smith, 2021).

Methods and Analysis

Gustavsson et al (2019) have operationalized these concepts for countries of Europe. I am using their framework to compare these concepts between the US and Russia.

In an attempt to measure one's National Identity, National Pride/Patriotism, and National Chauvinism/Nationalism, Gustavsson utilizes the International Social Survey Program (ISSP), which asks respondents questions that help gather a better understanding of how different views

and beliefs affect one's National Identity, National Pride and one's attitudes in National Chauvinism/Nationalism are seen in different nations.

The data was gathered throughout five different waves. The surveys that are used in these datasets and waves come from the International Social Survey Institute (ISSP), Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM), the Levada Center, and the Institute of Comparative Social Research. These Surveys questioned respondents in Russia as well as other nations on many different areas that ranged from everyday life, one's pride, economy, and political factors. The data that I am using is taken from 5 survey waves. Three of which were conducted through ISSP, and have a strict focus on national pride in years ranging from 1996-2014.

The other two waves were done separately from ISSP and focused on Russia. The years when these surveys took place were in 1996, 2003, 2012, 2014-2015. This time frame is critical. The waves were broken up to show an emphasis on the situation that was dealing with the annexation of Crimea. The first three waves were done in the time frame before the annexation of Crimea, where the last two were conducted post Crimea. Therefore, the first three datasets will not be weighted by the circumstances around Crimea. This is an important distinction made in this study to highlight any changes that follow any major historical event.

Hypothesis One: Identity

Connection to National Identity will come from very different places when comparing the US and Russia. As discussed earlier in the literature review, there are significant differences between the US and Russia that result in different meanings of National Identity. What does it mean to be an American or a Russian?

To test some of these differences, I utilized a variable in my data set that asked the question, “How close do you feel to your (Country)?” I took this variable and conducted a cross tabulation that focused on the US and Russia, while also adding the variable SEX, to see if there are any significant differences between males and females across the two nations.

My hypothesis stems directly from the literature review. I expect to find that Russians have a deeper connection to their national identity than Americans. I also expect that males and females in Russia will have a stronger connection to their national identity, and their sense of belonging to their nation, than their counterparts will in America.

(Figure 1)

Based on the data from the cross tabulation, we can see that the answers between male and female respondents across both nations are very comparable. The bar chart is not representative of the SEX variable, instead, the bar chart measures the respondents regardless of gender across the two nations. This allows us to visualize the comparable nature of the answers we see coming from two very different nations.

In establishing that 60-70% of both Americans and Russians feel close to their nation, how do we figure out how one actually identifies oneself with the nation?

To do this, I operationalize a variable that provides the statement, “Without shared customs, there can be no full membership.” The statement means that in order to be considered “American: or “Russian”, there needs to be shared customs along the lines of traditions, beliefs, values, and culture. I believe this will place one's National Identity under a spotlight in determining what constitutes a Russian or an American according to differing beliefs from people with vastly different circumstances. This statement was provided, and respondents would

answer using a five point scale that ranges from Agree Strongly, Agree, Neither agree nor disagree, disagree, and disagree strongly. I chose this variable due to the historical and ideological differences that were pointed out in the literature review. There appeared to be a strong sense of tradition within Russian culture.

I expect to find Russians agreeing in much higher rates than Americans with this statement. I also expect there to be very split views regarding the SEX variable. Both males and females will agree in Russia, but will strongly disagree in America.

(Figure 2)

We see that this question has established an area where the two nation's respondents provide drastically different answers. Using the SEX variable in the table, we see that 43.4% of Russian women agree strongly with the statement provided, where only 5% of American women responded with the same answer. Now looking at the other end of the scale, we see that only 5% of Russian women disagree, where 41.7% of American women disagree with the statement used. A very similar pattern is portrayed amongst the men in both the US and Russia.

With the SEX variable having a similar pattern with two genders, we can look at the totals that are represented in the bar chart.

Having established that the need for similarities or shared customs is much more relevant in Russia when it comes to being a true "Russian", I aimed at solidifying this answer by looking to immigration. Throughout the literature review, I learned that the majority of the US's customs were brought to America by immigrants. The US was founded on immigration, which contributes to why the US does not emphasize having shared customs to the degree that Russians appear to. The customs we see in America are always changing, and have already been brought

here from all over the world. Russian customs are centered on a sense of tradition and history that we talked about earlier in the literature review.

To demonstrate these differing views relating to immigration, I used a variable that posed the statement, "Immigrants undermine culture." This statement was given to respondents on the same five point scale that ranged from agree strongly to disagree strongly.

(Figure 3)

From the table shown, we see very polarized answers between the US and Russia. Under the agree strongly answer, we see 18.9% of Russian women and only 2.6% of American women. On the flipside, we see a reversal under the disagree answer with only 17.3% of Russian women disagreeing with the statement, but 50.3% of American women disagreeing with the statement. As with the test before, we see very similar trends amongst males in Russia and the US.

The Russian and American people are both connected to their nations, but connected in different ways and through different contexts such as history, customs, and immigration.

Hypothesis two: Nationalism

Throughout my research I had taken a rather in depth approach to finding the difference between patriotism and nationalism. I talked briefly about the two in my literature review. How can we tell if a nation has nationalistic undertones, or if the nation is more patriotic?

In an attempt to demonstrate what the literature review has pointed out, I used a variable that posed the statement, "People should support country even if wrong." The statement is important because it points towards a blind patriotism or nationalism. This statement was made using the five point scale that ranges from "agree strongly" to "disagree strongly."

I am anticipating a result that will point the Russian people on a more nationalistic level than Americans. In fact, I believe that Russians will be split between the “agree strongly” and “agree” option in the survey, but Americans will overwhelmingly choose “strongly disagree.”

(Figure 4)

As displayed in the table, we can see that 61.3% of Russian women agreed with the statement provided, where only 26.8% of American women agreed with the statement.

The same trend is reciprocated in Russian men agreeing, and American men disagreeing with the statement.

The bar chart displays the totals, regardless of gender. Though gender is not accounted for in the bar chart, the overall trends that the bars display help illustrate the opposing views.

The statement is seen as a more Pro Nationalism phrase. Seeing that Russians overwhelmingly agree with this statement in comparison to Americans helps us differentiate nations that may be more nationalistic and nations that are more patriotic.

Using a variable that asked the question “How important: to have (Country Nationality) ancestry,” helps to explain the ethnic part of ethnic-nationalism. This variable uses a four point scale that ranges from very important, fairly important, not very important, to not important at all.

(Figure 5)

Looking at the cross tabulation table, we see that both men and women in Russia view the “Russian” ancestry as very important, where we see Americans on the other end with the majority of men and women answering “not very important” or “not important at all.”

Hypothesis three: Combining Identity, Nationalism, and Patriotism

The last test that I run is a regression analysis. The past tables and charts have consisted of one statement/question, run across the US and Russian respondents, and layered by gender to see the difference in answers between females and males. Before conducting the regression analysis, I created three different additive indexes that combined the most relevant variables into one. This is done by grouping the questions related to Identity, Nationalism, and Pride/Patriotism, into their own respective variables. Then, I used each of the three new variables to conduct my regression analysis.

(Figure 6)

The regression table seen in figure 6, helps us look at Nationalism, Patriotism, and Identity in a different way. First, I took different questions relating to each of the three areas I aimed at studying, and I combined them into three different additive indexes. (The questions combined into these indexes are provided under figure 6 as well in a separate table.) In looking at Nationalism, Patriotism, and Identity, this regression analysis will help us determine what factors play a larger role in these concepts. The independent variables I chose to test include Country, Gender, Age, and Education. Testing these allows us to see which ones affect views towards Nationalism, Patriotism, or Identity.

We can look at the independent variables first. “US or Russia” is coded as Russia (0) and US (1) in the data set. Now looking at the -1.220 under “Nationalism” we can determine that moving from Russia to the US on a line ranging from Pro Nationalistic to Not Nationalistic, every unit we move over on the line, we get less nationalistic. To sum this process up, we can read this as Russians tend to be more nationalistic, and the further over we move in the US direction, the

less nationalism we see. We see the opposite effect when we look at Patriotism. As we move from Russia towards the US, we see patriotism climb 1.025. This shows us that the US tends to be more patriotic. When we look at Identity, we observe -.512. This means that moving from Russia to the US, national identity falls. We can say that this statistic would tell us that Russians have a stronger sense of national identity than Americans. This is how we can interpret these numbers looking at them without adjusting for significance. As the literature review has pointed out, Russians having stronger views in favor of nationalism and national identity are not surprising. Statistically, the numbers provided for nationalism and identity are not statistically significant. Patriotism does show statistical significance. If a number is significant, this means that there is a low chance of random error, and less likelihood of “chance” factoring into the outcome.

After describing how the table works, we can look at the areas of significance. We can read that Patriotism is affected by all the independent variables significantly. Nationalism, though displaying what research has pointed towards, is only significant by age. The older a respondent gets, the more pro nationalist they appear. Looking at Identity, we see that age and education are significant. This means that the older you are, the stronger the respondents views towards national identity are. On the flip side, the more years of schooling you have, the less you associate with national identity, or the weaker the views are.

The biggest determinant seen in this study would be age. Age is the only independent variable that is statistically significant across all three areas of study. This means that the most important indicator of one's views towards Nationalism, Patriotism, and National Identity would be how old the respondent is. The other independent variables play their own roles of importance, but age is the one that affects them all.

Conclusion

In today's world, we are seeing two world powers taking extremely different approaches to the concept of patriotism. We are seeing an ethnic nationalism in Russia with an emphasis on tradition, and a progressive patriotism in America with an emphasis on change. We also were able to take a deeper look at why the two nations are taking these differing routes. We see the reasons in the differing histories, ideologies, people, and cultures. We are witnessing a nation built on change and a nation built on tradition, facing conflict within their own borders and on the world stage as Russia and the US have always been two opposing models of world power. Understanding these differences now will help the two differing viewpoints resolve or avoid future conflict.

Tables and Data

(Figure 1)

Bivariate Crosstabulation of Closeness to Country by US and Russia with SEX variable

| sex Recoded | | | | Us or Russia | | Total |
|-------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|---------|--------------|--------|--------|
| | | | | Russia | US | |
| Female | How close do you feel to: [Country]? | Very close | Count | 202 | 149 | 351 |
| | | | Percent | 21.4% | 22.5% | 21.8% |
| | | Close | Count | 363 | 300 | 663 |
| | | | Percent | 38.4% | 45.3% | 41.2% |
| | | Not very close | Count | 283 | 156 | 439 |
| | | | Percent | 29.9% | 23.6% | 27.3% |
| | | Not close at all | Count | 98 | 57 | 155 |
| | | | Percent | 10.4% | 8.6% | 9.6% |
| | | Total | Count | 946 | 662 | 1608 |
| | | | Percent | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| Male | How close do you feel to: [Country]? | Very close | Count | 107 | 136 | 243 |
| | | | Percent | 20.3% | 23.8% | 22.1% |
| | | Close | Count | 205 | 263 | 468 |
| | | | Percent | 38.9% | 46.0% | 42.6% |
| | | Not very close | Count | 154 | 122 | 276 |
| | | | Percent | 29.2% | 21.3% | 25.1% |
| | | Not close at all | Count | 61 | 51 | 112 |
| | | | Percent | 11.6% | 8.9% | 10.2% |
| | | Total | Count | 527 | 572 | 1099 |
| | | | Percent | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| Total | How close do you feel to: [Country]? | Very close | Count | 309 | 285 | 594 |
| | | | Percent | 21.0% | 23.1% | 21.9% |
| | | Close | Count | 568 | 563 | 1131 |
| | | | Percent | 38.6% | 45.6% | 41.8% |
| | | Not very close | Count | 437 | 278 | 715 |
| | | | Percent | 29.7% | 22.5% | 26.4% |
| | | Not close at all | Count | 159 | 108 | 267 |
| | | | Percent | 10.8% | 8.8% | 9.9% |
| | | Total | Count | 1473 | 1234 | 2707 |
| | | | Percent | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

Chi Square Female=.008

Phi=.086

Cramer's V=.086

Chi Square Male=.004

Phi=.111

Cramer's V=.111

(Figure 2)

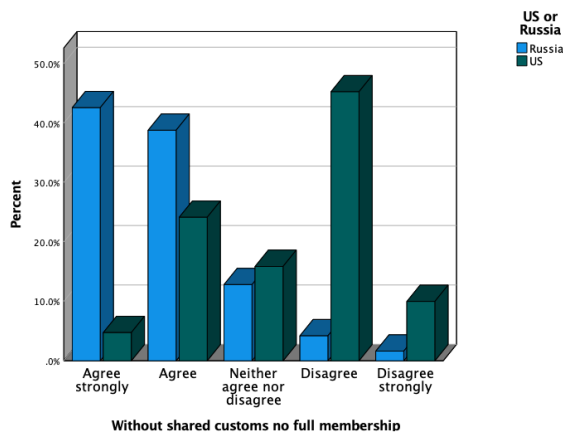
Bivariate Crosstabulation: Without shared customs, there can be no full membership with SEX variable

| sex Recoded | | | Us or Russia | | Total | |
|-------------|---|----------------------------|--------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | | | Russia | US | | |
| Female | Without shared customs no full membership | Agree strongly | Count | 414 | 33 | 447 |
| | | | Percent | 43.4% | 5.0% | 27.7% |
| | | Agree | Count | 375 | 153 | 528 |
| | | | Percent | 39.3% | 23.3% | 32.8% |
| | | Neither agree nor disagree | Count | 113 | 99 | 212 |
| | | | Percent | 11.9% | 15.0% | 13.2% |
| | | Disagree | Count | 36 | 318 | 354 |
| | | | Percent | 3.8% | 48.3% | 22.0% |
| | | Disagree strongly | Count | 15 | 55 | 70 |
| | | | Percent | 1.6% | 8.4% | 4.3% |
| Total | | | Count | 953 | 658 | 1611 |
| | | | Percent | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| Male | Without shared customs no full membership | Agree strongly | Count | 214 | 25 | 239 |
| | | | Percent | 41.0% | 4.4% | 22.0% |
| | | Agree | Count | 197 | 142 | 339 |
| | | | Percent | 37.7% | 25.2% | 31.2% |
| | | Neither agree nor disagree | Count | 76 | 95 | 171 |
| | | | Percent | 14.6% | 16.8% | 15.7% |
| | | Disagree | Count | 26 | 235 | 261 |
| | | | Percent | 5.0% | 41.7% | 24.0% |
| | | Disagree strongly | Count | 9 | 67 | 76 |
| | | | Percent | 1.7% | 11.9% | 7.0% |
| Total | | | Count | 522 | 564 | 1086 |
| | | | Percent | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| Total | Without shared customs no full membership | Agree strongly | Count | 628 | 58 | 686 |
| | | | Percent | 42.6% | 4.7% | 25.4% |
| | | Agree | Count | 572 | 295 | 867 |
| | | | Percent | 38.8% | 24.1% | 32.1% |
| | | Neither agree nor disagree | Count | 189 | 194 | 383 |
| | | | Percent | 12.8% | 15.9% | 14.2% |
| | | Disagree | Count | 62 | 553 | 615 |
| | | | Percent | 4.2% | 45.3% | 22.8% |
| | | Disagree strongly | Count | 24 | 122 | 146 |
| | | | Percent | 1.6% | 10.0% | 5.4% |
| Total | | | Count | 1475 | 1222 | 2697 |
| | | | Percent | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

Chi Square Female=.001
Chi Square Male=.001

Phi=.627
Phi=.585

Cramer's V=.627
Cramer's V=.585



Bar Chart= Total, regardless of SEX variable

(Figure 3)

Bivariate Crosstabulation: "Immigrants undermine culture" while using SEX variable

| sex Recoded | | | | Us or Russia | | |
|-------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|---------|--------------|--------|-------|
| | | | | Russia | US | Total |
| Female | Immigrants undermine culture | Agree strongly | Count | 168 | 17 | 185 |
| | | | Percent | 18.9% | 2.6% | 12.0% |
| | | Agree | Count | 247 | 102 | 349 |
| | | | Percent | 27.7% | 15.8% | 22.7% |
| | | Neither agree nor disagree | Count | 282 | 159 | 441 |
| | | | Percent | 31.6% | 24.6% | 28.7% |
| | | Disagree | Count | 154 | 325 | 479 |
| | | | Percent | 17.3% | 50.3% | 31.2% |
| | | Disagree strongly | Count | 40 | 43 | 83 |
| | | | Percent | 4.5% | 6.7% | 5.4% |
| Total | | Count | 891 | 646 | 1537 | |
| | | Percent | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | |
| Male | Immigrants undermine culture | Agree strongly | Count | 93 | 19 | 112 |
| | | | Percent | 18.4% | 3.4% | 10.5% |
| | | Agree | Count | 149 | 82 | 231 |
| | | | Percent | 29.4% | 14.6% | 21.6% |
| | | Neither agree nor disagree | Count | 146 | 108 | 254 |
| | | | Percent | 28.9% | 19.3% | 23.8% |
| | | Disagree | Count | 97 | 281 | 378 |
| | | | Percent | 19.2% | 50.1% | 35.4% |
| | | Disagree strongly | Count | 21 | 71 | 92 |
| | | | Percent | 4.2% | 12.7% | 8.6% |
| Total | | Count | 506 | 561 | 1067 | |
| | | Percent | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | |
| Total | Immigrants undermine culture | Agree strongly | Count | 261 | 36 | 297 |
| | | | Percent | 18.7% | 3.0% | 11.4% |
| | | Agree | Count | 396 | 184 | 580 |
| | | | Percent | 28.3% | 15.2% | 22.3% |
| | | Neither agree nor disagree | Count | 428 | 267 | 695 |
| | | | Percent | 30.6% | 22.1% | 26.7% |
| | | Disagree | Count | 251 | 606 | 857 |
| | | | Percent | 18.0% | 50.2% | 32.9% |
| | | Disagree strongly | Count | 61 | 114 | 175 |
| | | | Percent | 4.4% | 9.4% | 6.7% |
| Total | | Count | 1397 | 1207 | 2604 | |
| | | Percent | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | |

Chi Square Female=.001

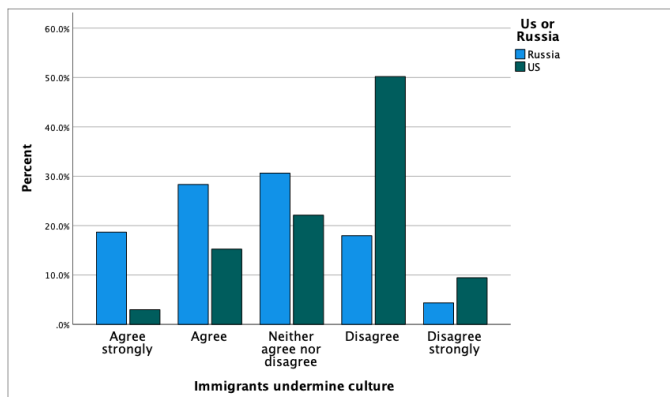
Phi=.400

Cramer's V=.400

Chi Square Male=.001

Phi=.420

Cramer's V=.420



Bar

Chart=Total, regardless of SEX variable

(Figure 4)

Bivariate Crosstabulation assessing Nationalism in the US and Russia, with SEX variable

| sex Recoded | | | | US or Russia | | Total |
|-------------------|---|----------------------------|---------|--------------|--------|--------|
| | | | | Russia | US | |
| Female | People should support country even if wrong | Agree strongly | Count | 222 | 42 | 264 |
| | | | Percent | 24.3% | 6.3% | 16.8% |
| | | Agree | Count | 337 | 136 | 473 |
| | | | Percent | 37.0% | 20.5% | 30.0% |
| | | Neither agree nor disagree | Count | 217 | 170 | 387 |
| | | | Percent | 23.8% | 25.6% | 24.6% |
| | | Disagree | Count | 109 | 262 | 371 |
| Percent | 12.0% | | 39.5% | 23.6% | | |
| Disagree strongly | Count | 27 | 53 | 80 | | |
| | Percent | 3.0% | 8.0% | 5.1% | | |
| Total | | | Count | 912 | 663 | 1575 |
| | | | Percent | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| Male | People should support country even if wrong | Agree strongly | Count | 105 | 51 | 156 |
| | | | Percent | 21.2% | 8.9% | 14.6% |
| | | Agree | Count | 177 | 144 | 321 |
| | | | Percent | 35.7% | 25.1% | 30.0% |
| | | Neither agree nor disagree | Count | 129 | 97 | 226 |
| | | | Percent | 26.0% | 16.9% | 21.1% |
| | | Disagree | Count | 65 | 207 | 272 |
| Percent | 13.1% | | 36.1% | 25.4% | | |
| Disagree strongly | Count | 20 | 75 | 95 | | |
| | Percent | 4.0% | 13.1% | 8.9% | | |
| Total | | | Count | 496 | 574 | 1070 |
| | | | Percent | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| Total | People should support country even if wrong | Agree strongly | Count | 327 | 93 | 420 |
| | | | Percent | 23.2% | 7.5% | 15.9% |
| | | Agree | Count | 514 | 280 | 794 |
| | | | Percent | 36.5% | 22.6% | 30.0% |
| | | Neither agree nor disagree | Count | 346 | 267 | 613 |
| | | | Percent | 24.6% | 21.6% | 23.2% |
| | | Disagree | Count | 174 | 469 | 643 |
| Percent | 12.4% | | 37.9% | 24.3% | | |
| Disagree strongly | Count | 47 | 128 | 175 | | |
| | Percent | 3.3% | 10.3% | 6.6% | | |
| Total | | | Count | 1408 | 1237 | 2645 |
| | | | Percent | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

Chi Square Female=.001

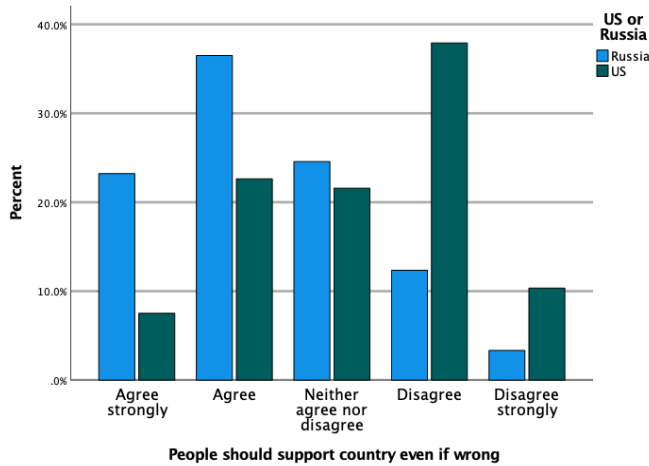
Phi=.400

Cramer's V=.400

Chi Square Male=.001

Phi=.345

Cramer's V=.345



Bar Chart=Total, regardless of SEX variable.

(Figure 5)

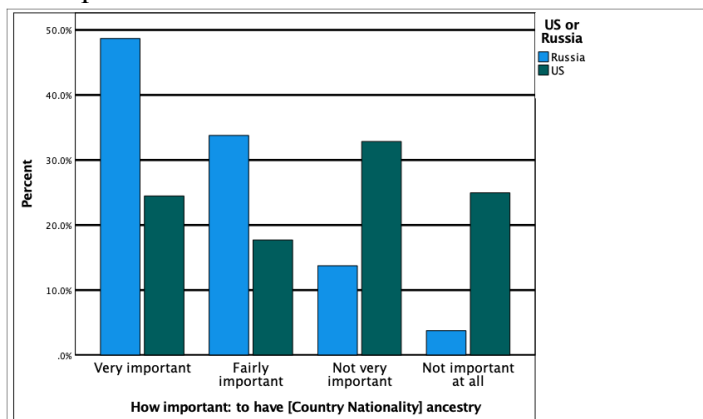
Bivariate Crosstabulation assessing importance in ancestry nationality with SEX variable

| sex Recoded | | | US or Russia | | Total |
|---------------|---|----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | | | Russia | US | |
| Female | How important: to have [Country Nationality] ancestry | Very important | Count 462 Percent 48.5% | Count 181 Percent 27.1% | Count 643 Percent 39.6% |
| | | Fairly important | Count 331 Percent 34.7% | Count 129 Percent 19.3% | Count 460 Percent 28.4% |
| | | Not very important | Count 126 Percent 13.2% | Count 220 Percent 32.9% | Count 346 Percent 21.3% |
| | | Not important at all | Count 34 Percent 3.6% | Count 139 Percent 20.8% | Count 173 Percent 10.7% |
| | | Total | Count 953 Percent 100.0% | Count 669 Percent 100.0% | Count 1622 Percent 100.0% |
| Male | How important: to have [Country Nationality] ancestry | Very important | Count 260 Percent 49.1% | Count 123 Percent 21.5% | Count 383 Percent 34.7% |
| | | Fairly important | Count 170 Percent 32.1% | Count 91 Percent 15.9% | Count 261 Percent 23.7% |
| | | Not very important | Count 78 Percent 14.7% | Count 188 Percent 32.8% | Count 266 Percent 24.1% |
| | | Not important at all | Count 22 Percent 4.2% | Count 171 Percent 29.8% | Count 193 Percent 17.5% |
| | | Total | Count 530 Percent 100.0% | Count 573 Percent 100.0% | Count 1103 Percent 100.0% |
| Total | How important: to have [Country Nationality] ancestry | Very important | Count 722 Percent 48.7% | Count 304 Percent 24.5% | Count 1026 Percent 37.7% |
| | | Fairly important | Count 501 Percent 33.8% | Count 220 Percent 17.7% | Count 721 Percent 26.5% |
| | | Not very important | Count 204 Percent 13.8% | Count 408 Percent 32.9% | Count 612 Percent 22.5% |
| | | Not important at all | Count 56 Percent 3.8% | Count 310 Percent 25.0% | Count 366 Percent 13.4% |
| | | Total | Count 1483 Percent 100.0% | Count 1242 Percent 100.0% | Count 2725 Percent 100.0% |

Chi Square Female=.001
Chi Square Male=.001

Phi=.400
Phi=.459

Cramer's V=.400
Cramer's V=.459



Bar Chart=Total, regardless of SEX variable.

(Figure 6)

Additive Indexes

| Nationalism/ Chauvinism | Pride/ Patriotism | Identity |
|---|---|--|
| I would rather be a citizen of (Country) than any other in the world. | Proud of the way democracy works. | How close do you feel to your country? |
| The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like citizens of (Country) | Proud of (Country's) scientific and technological achievements. | How important: have (Country Nationality) citizenship? |
| Generally speaking (Country) is a better country than most other countries. | Proud of economic achievements. | How important: able to speak (Country Language)? |
| People should support their country even if their country is in the wrong. | Proud of achievements in art and literature. | How important: to feel (Country Nationality)? |
| There are some things about (Country) today that make me ashamed of (Country) (Rescaled to accurately represent accordingly with others.) | Proud of (Country's) achievements in sports. | How important: born in (Country)? |
| Scale: Russia-UA Scale: Female (0) Male (1) Age as is Education: No school, some school, University, | | |

(Figure 6 continued)

Regression Analysis

Regression Analysis: US and Russia Influences on Nationalism, Patriotism and Identity

| Independent Variables | Nationalism | Patriotism | Identity |
|-------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| US or Russia | -1.220 (.105) | 1.025 (.046) * | -.512 (.137) |
| Gender | -.076 (.103) | .030 (.045) * | -.384 (.135) |
| Age of Respondent | .006 (.003)* | .006 (.001) ** | .031 (.004) * |
| Education: Years of schooling | -.108 (.017) | .001 (.008) * | -.120 (.022) * |

Number of Cases

Note: Entries are linear regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

*p<0.05 / **p<0.001

Source: Nationalities Papers (2019): Dynamics of National Pride Attitudes in Post-Soviet Russia, 1996–2015

Dynamics of National Pride Attitudes in Post-Soviet Russia, 1996–2015 Data set.

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