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Stakeholder analysis of patriotic education in contemporary Russia

Abstract

The historical development of citizenship education in Russia demonstrates a certain tendency of widely used adaptation of the Soviet time patriotic education. In this context, we can observe a certain conservatism that manifests itself not so much in macro-political attitudes as in everyday values, behavioural attitudes, and social actions. The research question underlying this paper is: What are the values, attitudes, and behavioural patterns that became mainstreamed in the development of patriotic education in contemporary Russia? Based on the theoretical backgrounds and empirical evidence, I try to justify that these values and behavioural attitudes are conservative in their social rather than political nature. Adopting the sociological approach, I suggest that the conservatism and conservation are the social function of the historical memory that is one of the key mechanisms for the functioning of society as a social system. Having a certain the civic-oriented turn happened gradually in the late 1990es in the framework of civic education, the patriotic part of raising the citizens then got more and more emphasis by its stakeholders and in terms of routinization caused by the Soviet past and its returning role in the Russian society.

Methodologically, this paper adopts the stakeholder approach to discuss values, attitudes, behavioural patterns, and concerns expressed by the key subjects of patriotic education in Russia. Some of those subjects explicated themselves in history, and some are latent. Studying their involvement in patriotic education helps to understand the key features and possible directions of its development. The key empirical source is a collection of open interviews conducted in 2015-2016 for the project Patriotic Education in Contemporary Russia: Sociological Studies in the Making of the Post-Soviet Citizen. The analysis of the interconnections between the actors traced the meaningful and most repeatable connections, their intermediaries and links. The MAXQDA mapping technique helps to show that there are no direct channels between the federal government and teachers.

The development of patriotic education as it is now in Russia is determined not only (and perhaps not so much) by the government or ideology but by the routine practice of conservatism performed by the key stakeholders of patriotic education such as local guidance counsellors, school directors and vice-directors, and school teachers. This routinization of conservative practice is one of the reasons

why the Soviet-originated core fabric of the citizenship education model was surprisingly persistent and self-reproducing. It was so stable and complete that, after its dismantling in the 1990s, it was able to revive itself in contemporary Russia. In the 1990s, it seemed as though the historical model of Soviet patriotism would never return; however, in this century, its revival is becoming more and more apparent. The Soviet model of patriotic education was preserved by local guidance counsellors, school teachers, and administrators, among others, who considered it an indispensable part of their work and continue to reproduce values relevant to conservatism in the routine circles of communication.

Introduction

In a contemporary state, no public institutions can be developed without the support of the civic society. The promotion of ideas initiated by the government requires legitimisation by different social groups. Citizenship education is a link between governments and societies. In the Russian version, citizenship education has always suggested a significant patriotic component. To understand this way of spreading patriotism in society, setting attitudes and aligning them with people's interests, it is important to define and investigate the cultural background and actual patterns of key stakeholders in patriotic education.

The specifics of the historical situation define the development of patriotic education in Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. During the 1990s and early 2000s, Russian society experienced important transformations in ideological foundations and political and economic systems. The political discourse had a residual dominance of the civil and democratic rhetoric of authorities. The problems of building a civil society, overcoming cultural trauma,¹ and the formation of national identity were central to statements made by government officials and political leaders. The request for seeking new ways of citizenship-making was carried out in terms of civic education/upbringing (*grazhdanskoe vospitanie*). This term was partly applied to the civic studies that by that time already existed in schools. Russian schools were generally ready to promote the ideas of civic education aimed at the formation of legal consciousness and democratic attitudes and values.

¹ J.C. Alexander et al., *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2004.

However, the ‘political mind’ demand and the economic situation were controversial. On the one hand, the ideological roots of communism and socialism implied an objectionable vertical structure in the citizen-making process; this included an ideological background and specific and approved educational tools such as textbooks, as well as systematic training of educational actors who would implement the ideas formed at the top level. On the other hand, the strongest economic and political crisis of the 1990s relegated the design of citizenship education to the bottom of the list of concerns of the new Russian authorities. Intensive contacts with Western countries contributed to the formation of a democratic paradigm of civic education and brought out some attempts to rebuild the system of citizenship education in Russia using the patterns of civic education and nation-building.

During the 1990s and early 2000s, some civil society activists and researchers developed rather fragmented but intensive discussions on several problems of civic education in Russia. They stated that textbooks were outdated, did not provide current ideas about the legal system, and did not form specific behaviour skills; the educational environment lacked the available formats for presentation of legal issues (simplified training modules, TV shows, cartoons); and the practice of civic education did not lead to the formation of a legal culture of personality. Any public discussions were often initiated with the support of national science foundations and non-profit organisations. The first papers distilling the problems of Russian civic education were published in the reputable journals of the Russian Academy of Sciences and in other publications discussing citizenship, civic engagement, civic identity, civil religion and civil education.² They demonstrated the necessity of the formation of civic education in Russian schools and considered the rationality of studying problems of civil, national and ethnic identity in a multinational country; they assessed the risks of patriotically oriented civic education; and they stressed the responsibility of academics, journalists and public figures for the distribution of civic knowledge and practices of legal education. However, the number of participants in this debate was limited, and the debate rarely had an impact on government administrative decisions and almost never affected the attitudes of the real-life agents of patriotic education: school directors and teachers.

²A. Ioffe, ‘Sovremennye vyzovy i riski razvitiia grazhdanskogo obrazovaniia v sovremennoi Rossii,’ *Prepodavanie istorii i obschestvoznaniia v shkole*, vol. 9, 2006, pp. 19-24; V. Magun and L. Drobizheva (eds.), *Grazhdanskie, etnicheskie i religioznye identichnosti v sovremennoi Rossii*, Moscow, Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences (ISRAS), 2006; A. Sungurov, ‘Grazhdanskoe obrazovanie: v poiskakh optimal’noi modeli regional’nogo razvitiia,’ in *Sotsial’noe partnerstvo i razvitie institutov grazhdanskogo obschestva v regionakh i munitsipalitetakh: Praktika mezhshektornogo vzaimodeistviia*, Moscow, Agentstvo Social’noi Informatsii, 2008, pp. 275-284.

Nataliia Eliazberg³ wrote one of the most important pedagogical texts dedicated to citizenship education in Russia. In *Citizenship Education: Pedagogical, Social and Cultural Phenomenon*, she characterised citizenship education as upbringing and training oriented to the formation of a set of civic qualities in a person. The civic qualities include tolerance of school students and improvement of the humanistic aspect of school education. Isak Froumin⁴ worked in a similar paradigm, defining citizenship education as an extensive upbringing and educational program aimed at shaping future citizens' perceptions of contemporary social problems and ways to solve them.

However, the formation of a *system* of citizenship education took place in a rather chaotic manner and was based on seemingly outdated Soviet foundations rather than on new democratic postulates.⁵ As a result of this kind of development, there are clear tendencies of a revival of patriotic education in contemporary Russia. These tendencies almost completely replaced citizenship education in its common democratic meaning.⁶

The historical development of citizenship education in the new Russia demonstrates a certain tendency towards the adaptation of Soviet patriotic education. In this context, we can talk about a certain conservatism that manifests itself not so much in macro-political attitudes as in everyday values, behavioural attitudes and social actions. The research question underlying this chapter is: *What are the values, attitudes and behavioural patterns that became mainstreamed in the development of patriotic education in contemporary Russia?* Based on the theoretical backgrounds and empirical evidence described below, I try to justify that these values and behavioural attitudes are conservative in their social rather than political nature.

Conservatism, historical memory and patriotic education

³ N. Eliazberg (ed.), *Grazhdanskoe obrazovaniie - pedagogicheskii, sotsial'nyi i kul'turnyi fenomen*, St. Petersburg, Soiuz, 2006.

⁴ I. Froumin, 'Grazhdanskoe obrazovanie: spornye momenty i vozmozhnye tendentsii,' *Direktor shkoly*, vol. 5, 1997, pp. 57-66.

⁵ A. Sanina, *Patriotic Education in Contemporary Russia: Sociological Studies in the Making of the Post-Soviet Citizen*, Stuttgart, Ibidem Press/Columbia University Press, 2017.

⁶ T. McCowan, *Rethinking Citizenship Education: A Curriculum for Participatory Democracy*, London, Continuum, 2011.

Conservatism is an umbrella term unifying several meanings. Its most common use is related to the characteristics of the development of the political philosophy or ideological justification of political parties. At the same time, the use of the concept of conservatism to characterize social processes on the group and even individual level demonstrates the points of intersection of state ideology, historical memory of society, and specific individuals who act as citizens of the given state.

As Schwartz states,

The conservative dimension of values describes cultures in which the person is viewed as an entity who is embedded in the collectivity and finds meaning in life largely through social relationships, through identifying with the group and participating in its shared way of life. This outlook is expressed, maintained, and justified by a set of values that we label the Conservatism value type. Its capsule definition follows, with exemplary specific values in parentheses. Conservatism: A cultural emphasis on maintenance of the status quo, propriety, and restraint of actions or inclinations that might disrupt the solidary group or the traditional order (social order, respect for tradition, family security, wisdom).⁷

This study is focused on this meaning of conservatism and conservative values. Adopting the sociological approach, I suggest that conservatism and conservation are the social function of the historical memory that is one of the key mechanisms for the functioning of society as a social system. Not all forms of patriotism are conservative, but those that most completely rely on historical memory reproduce entrenched patterns for educating the new generation of citizens. As the civic-oriented turn happened gradually in the late 1990s in the framework of civic education, the patriotic part of raising citizens received more emphasis by its stakeholders in terms of routinisation caused by the Soviet past and its returning role in Russian society.

Historical memory plays one of the main roles in the formation of public value priorities, which is especially important in a period of social moral crisis. The comprehension of historical experience and its preservation is the historical consciousness, or collective memory of society, which is a powerful regulator of public life. Thanks to knowledge about the past, spiritual values are transmitted and mankind is able to navigate in social space and historical time. At the same time, this powerful social force makes some individuals and social groups act conservatively, attempting to preserve the

⁷ S.H. Schwartz, 'A Theory of Cultural Values and Some Implications for Work,' *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, vol. 48, 1999, pp. 23-47.

past in the present not because they consider that past to be good but in order to extend the legitimacy of their actions and maintain their social status.

Historical memory is a subject of interest. Often, individuals forget the events of their own lives if they have no special meaning, significance or value. However, when talking about the conservation of historical memory at the individual or group level, interest in the historical past often depends on social phenomena. People in different social groups will certainly describe the past in different ways, but any of those ways would content the individual and community future as much as the individual and community past. That is why, when speaking about patriotic education, it is important to understand its stakeholders, the values they share, and their actions. Historical memory is never limited to one interpretation of the past, and it often causes conflicts between multiple representations of historical events and the selection of events that need to be saved for future generations.

This leads to the question regarding the subjects of historical memory and its manifestation in the conservative values of these subjects. In other words, identifying the key stakeholders influencing the development of educational practices and the ideological component of this development may help to understand the reasons for this conservative revival.

Why stakeholder analysis?

Stakeholder theory was introduced in the field of social science and practice of governance in the 1980s to describe social groups and individuals that are critically important to the functioning and development of organisations, societies, regions and states. Since the landmark publication of R. Edward Freeman,⁸ stakeholders have been frequently defined as individuals or social groups who can affect or are affected by any kind of political, administrative or management decision. Hundreds of books and thousands of articles have been written with a focus on stakeholder concepts. At some point, the stakeholder idea was affected by the actor-network theory,⁹ allowing researchers to include non-human stakeholders (such as texts) in the analysis and introduce the concept of the

⁸ R.E. Freeman. *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*, Boston, MA, Pitman, 1984.

⁹ A. Pouloudi et al., 'How Stakeholder Analysis Can Be Mobilized with Actor-Network Theory to Identify Actors,' in B. Kaplan et al. (eds.), *Information Systems Research*, vol. 143, Boston, MA, Springer, 2004, pp. 705-711; J. Pollack et al., 'Applying Actor-Network Theory as a Sensemaking Framework for Complex Organisational Change Programs,' *International Journal of Project Management*, vol. 31, no. 8, 2013, pp. 1118-1128.

interdependence of the stakeholders through the network of communications and interactions. Non-human stakeholders include reference to other human or non-human stakeholders, therefore providing cues for further stakeholder identification.¹⁰

Spreading across a wide range of scientific disciplines, the idea of stakeholders has become commonplace in social science literature, both academic and professional. Today, the stakeholder theory addresses the questions of trust and responsibility, shared values and polarised interests in social relations and social organisations of any type.¹¹ In political and sociological research, the stakeholder approach suggests understanding how different groups, individuals and non-human objects may actually influence the development of any given situation, problem or process.

The present study uses the stakeholder approach to discuss values, attitudes, behavioural patterns and concerns expressed by the key subjects of patriotic education in Russia. Some of those subjects explicated themselves in history and some are latent. Studying their involvement in patriotic education helps to understand the key features and possible directions of its development.

Mapping the system of patriotic education

The key empirical source for this chapter is a collection of open interviews conducted in 2015-2016 for the project *Patriotic Education in Contemporary Russia: Sociological Studies in the Making of the Post-Soviet Citizen*.¹² Based on the interview data, to identify and ‘map’ the key stakeholders of patriotic education, the coding approach was used. The analysis of the interconnections between the actors traced the meaningful and most repeatable connections, their intermediaries and links.¹³

¹⁰ Pouloudi et al., ‘How Stakeholder Analysis Can Be Mobilized with Actor-Network Theory to Identify Actors.’

¹¹ See M.B.E. Clarkson, ‘A Stakeholder Framework for Analyzing and Evaluating Corporate Social Performance,’ *Academy of Management Review*, vol. 20, no. 1, January 1995, pp. 92-117; A. Crane et al., ‘Stakeholders as Citizens? Rethinking Rights, Participation, and Democracy,’ *Journal of Business Ethics*, vol. 53, 2004, pp. 107-122.

¹² Sanina, *Patriotic Education in Contemporary Russia: Sociological Studies in the Making of the Post-Soviet Citizen*. The interviewees represented Saint Petersburg, Moscow, and the rural areas of the Russian regions (Moscow Oblast, Leningrad Oblast, Pskov Oblast, Saratov Oblast, Novgorod Oblast, Chelyabinsk Oblast, Tver Oblast, Voronezh Oblast). Most of the more than 50 interviews were conducted **face-to-face** and some via Skype. The empirical data includes federal and regional officials, local officials and guidance counsellors, school directors, schoolteachers, and other social groups involved in patriotic education.

¹³ To ensure the stability and reliability of the coded elements, the data analysis software MAXQDA was used.

Following recommendations by Venturini¹⁴ to identify controversies, the identification of the key stakeholders of patriotic education was realised from two starting poles. One pole includes the grassroots processes of patriotic education unfolding in schools. Teachers are the direct executors and the closest communicators to students, capable of conveying the ideas of patriotism. Real-life patriotic education depends greatly on information channels that reflect the characteristics of historical events and their interpretations. For a long time, one of those channels was the oral information channel, which was based on its own experience and a certain technique of transmitting historical knowledge. The oral information channel created the natural process of historical memory development. Images of the past were fixed in people's minds and transferred themselves to the reality of happening. Thus, the teachers represent an important pole of the key stakeholders of patriotic education.

The second pole includes the state, which is interested in developing citizens' loyalty. These intentions and interests express themselves in many types of laws and programs developed by different state ministers. Thus, the representatives of the federal government who develop legislation focused on patriotic education are among the most important stakeholders. Their main function and feature is controlling and conditioning historical memory. There are many sources of the formation and reformation of historical memory as a source of patriotic education. One of them is personal experience, a subjective factor that implies a specific perception and interpretation of past events, especially if a historical event takes place in front of an individual. It is not the basis of historical memory as it cannot cover a large time period and, as a rule, contains fragments of a historical event. The information and communication environment, including laws and their interpretation in mass media, undoubtedly shapes historical memory in an essential way for patriotism formation.

Without being called so directly, they represent the ideological structure of patriotic education, setting and transforming its guidelines. It would be logical to assume that there are some direct communication channels between the two key stakeholders: teachers and federal ideologists. However, there are no such channels used for patriotic education. On the contrary, communication between the two key stakeholders is mediated by other stakeholders, including local officials and guidance counsellors, school directors and vice-directors responsible for extracurricular activities, priests, memorial museums and patriotic youth clubs, and all-Russian youth organisations and

¹⁴ T. Venturini, 'Diving in Magma: How to Explore Controversies with Actor-Network Theory,' *Public Understanding of Science*, vol. 19, no. 3, 2010, pp. 258-273.

patriotic movements. Some of the stakeholders are non-human in nature, including laws and programs, patriotic books and movies, training manuals (*metodichki*) of patriotic education, and patriotic celebrations.

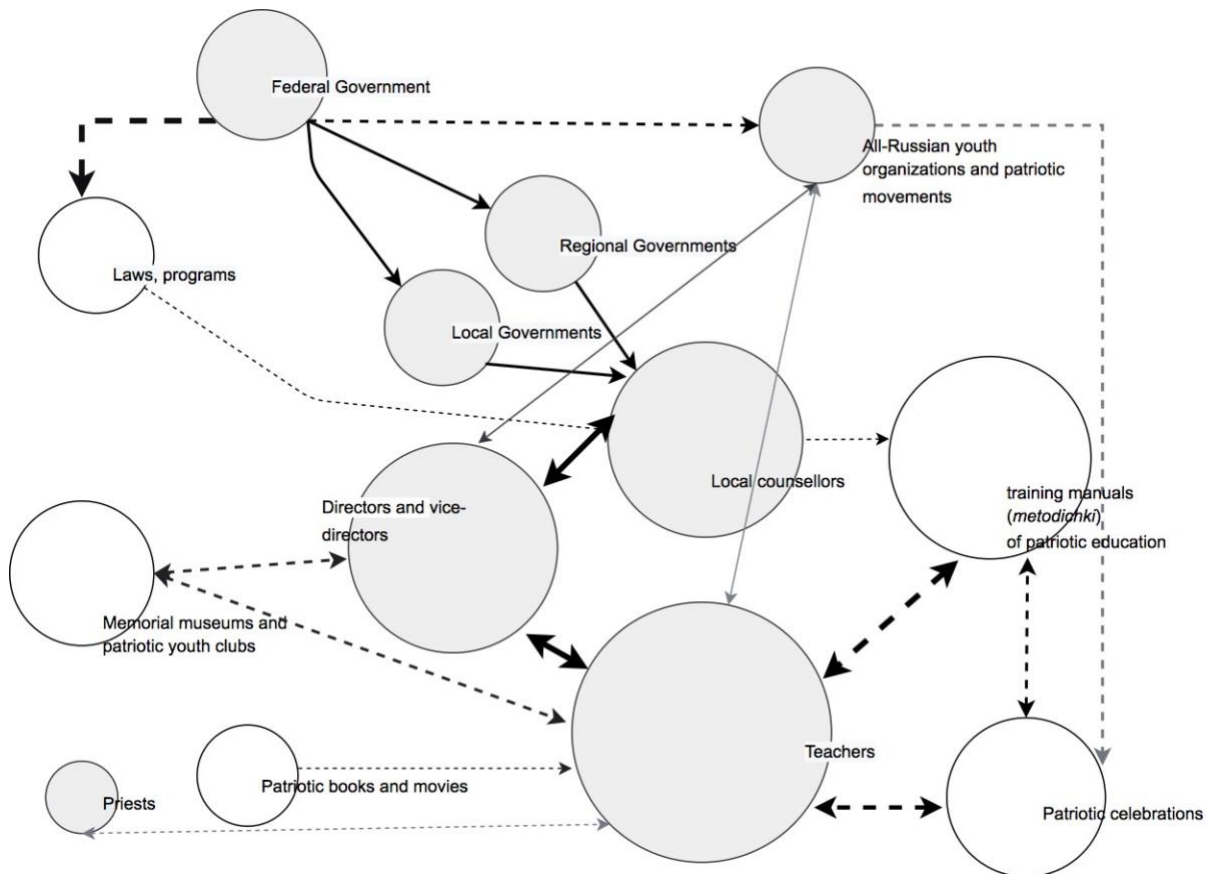
One of the interview questions asked the representatives of the federal authorities to draw schematically the impact of patriotic attitudes at the federal level on the process of patriotic education in a particular school. Sometimes assistants were featured, like guidance counsellors or a regional Committee on Education, who brought new ideas from the federal centre to the local level. However, in general, those mental maps suggested a certain direct channel for delivering new information, new pathways or new ideas. It is interesting that the representatives of the federal authorities admitted that most teachers do not read the laws or state programs on patriotic education. Still, they did not mention any alternative ‘direct’ channels of communication that could be used.

The MAXQDA mapping technique helps to show that there are no direct channels between the federal government and teachers. Putting all the stakeholders and connections together and marking the strong and weak connections (Figure 1) shows one strong ‘communicative hub’: the one uniting three human stakeholders (teachers, local guidance counsellors, school directors and vice-directors) and two non-human stakeholders (training manuals (*metodichki*) and patriotic celebrations).

Figure 1. Stakeholders of patriotic education and their connections.

White circles stand for the non-human stakeholders; grey circles stand for the human stakeholders.

Straight lines define more power than dotted lines.



As in Soviet times, patriotic education in Russia is developed mostly within the school system. However, the essential difference between the model of patriotic education in contemporary Russia and its Soviet prototype is that there is no structured and pressing governmental concept serving as its basis. In Soviet times, such a basis was firmly formed by communist ideology, providing clear frontiers for the proper education of citizens. Today, the official ideology, including the rules of patriotic education in Russia, is still under development, and the key area for the development is probably the communication channels.

Having no time or will to read the laws and programs, school teachers still need something to rely on in the educational process. Most often, they follow a long-established habit and use special professional manuals (*metodichki*) written by guidance counsellors or other teachers. For school teachers, *metodichki* substitute for the governmental conceptual basis of the educational and pedagogical processes. Part of the educational work prescribed in contemporary manuals involves patriotic education. *Metodichki* across the country are similarly written and include structured lesson plans, scripts of celebrations, recommendations for school libraries, and so on. Rarely do manuals act as a mediator of governmental programming in the field of patriotic education, merely retelling the main points of the program. In most contemporary manuals and textbooks devoted to patriotic

education, references to questionable sources are common, as are Soviet-era understandings of patriotism.¹⁵ *Metodichki* define the ideal priorities of patriotic education: how children *ought* to be taught. This close connection of conceptual generalisations and practical activities resulted in a lack of reflection on the development of new processes for the formation of citizens. As a result, citizenship education is reduced to civic upbringing, and civic upbringing in its turn is reduced to the more familiar patriotic education.

Another important non-human stakeholder supporting the development of patriotic education is patriotic celebrations and the practice of memorialisation, perhaps the most mature and visible element of the patriotic education model. The tradition of patriotic celebrations started in Soviet times and was even observed during the 1990s when patriotism was not inculcated in the citizenry. This is especially relevant to the Victory Day celebrations on 9 May; both teachers and local authorities consider Victory Day to be the cornerstone of the formation of patriotism in modern Russia. The other major celebrations are Russia Day (12 June) and Unity Day (4 November). It is interesting to note that despite the significant legal background of Russia Day, this holiday is usually celebrated with expressions of love and affection for the country. The celebrations are widely associated with traditional Russian images such as birch trees, woven bast shoes (*lapti*), handicrafts like *Gzhel* porcelain and *Khokhloma* painted wooden bowls, and folk singing and dances. However, the particular moment of 12 June 1990 has little symbolic meaning for the way this day is celebrated. The scripts for Unity Day vary, but they all include the idea of unity of the ‘brotherly peoples’ of the former Soviet Union. Soviet symbols remind participants of their shared Soviet heritage; for instance, child performers might wear Soviet school uniforms.

Some stakeholders of patriotic education affect its content in an indirect way. These are some novel agents that were supposed to play an active role in patriotic education but did not contribute anything radically new, resorting instead to long-established military games, moral lessons and lessons of courage. These are the patriotic clubs and Orthodox church representatives. At some point, the Russian Orthodox Church, with its keynotes of tradition, true values and ideas of service,¹⁶ acquired an even more elaborated relationship of moral values, spirituality, love of the state and patriotism than the Soviet legacy. Still, the patriotic rhetoric of the Russian Orthodox Church has a pronounced

¹⁵ Sanina, *Patriotic Education in Contemporary Russia: Sociological Studies in the Making of the Post-Soviet Citizen*.

¹⁶ R. Sakwa, 'Christian Democracy in Russia,' *Religion, State and Society*, vol. 20, no. 2, 1992; J.G. Garrard and C. Garrard, *Russian Orthodoxy Resurgent: Faith and Power in the New Russia*, Princeton University Press, 2008.

political background as well as a pronounced military component, often supported by the youth patriotic clubs and other organisations. This cooperation does not bring anything truly new to the basic model, instead highlighting traditional elements from Soviet times.¹⁷

Thus, the most interesting object to study is the triangle of human stakeholders in patriotic education: local guidance counsellors, school directors and vice-directors, and teachers. Their values, attitudes and behavioural patterns are key to understanding the specific features and possible development of patriotic education in contemporary Russia.

Value and behavioural background of patriotic education in Russia

The interview data shows that local guidance counsellors, school directors and vice-directors, and teachers demonstrate relatively close values, attitudes and behavioural patterns. All three categories of stakeholders share the patriotic interpretation of citizenship education. Although they use the concept of ‘citizenship education’ widely, they characterise it by a strong and even excessive eclecticism of interpretations and definitions. Poorly understood by teachers, directors and methodologists, the term ‘citizenship education’ acquired many interpretations. As a rule, within the text of the interview, none of these new interpretations have gained the weight of the leading one, so the return to the terminology of patriotic rather than citizenship education has become a fairly obvious way of conceptualising the goals of working with the youth. Citizenship education is understood by the respondents as a certain mix of legal education, civic-patriotic upbringing, social science education, project activities, personality-oriented education, moral development, and so on.

Unlike civic education or nation-building, patriotic education is almost completely based on fostering emotional affection between the individual and the state;¹⁸ moreover, most of the emotions should be of a heroic nature. Thus, patriotic education is not aimed at developing critical thinking or practical knowledge and skills resulting in certain civic behavioural patterns like the civic education paradigm supposes. It is also not oriented towards strengthening the community and the assimilation of national values and shared knowledge, as in the nation-building paradigm.

¹⁷ M. Laruelle, ‘Patriotic Youth Clubs in Russia: Professional Niches, Cultural Capital and Narratives of Social Engagement,’ *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 67, no. 1, 2015, pp. 8-27.

¹⁸ B.T. White, ‘Ritual, Emotion, and Political Belief: The Search for the Constitutional Limit to Patriotic Education in Public Schools,’ *Georgia Law Review*, vol. 42, 2009, pp. 449-451.

Patriotism itself is a philosophical concept. It reflects emotions of love and loyalty for a particular state and a readiness to support the community of people associated with that place.¹⁹ Years of debate led to the formation of many concepts of patriotism, justifying the distinction between constructive and blind patriotism,²⁰ or active and passive patriotism.²¹ In each of these pairs, the second element is almost entirely characterised by subjective emotionality, which blocks the development of any rational element.

In the interviews, the respondents considered the upbringing of patriotic feelings as the main goal of citizenship education, enabling the development of a balanced value system. They see the formation of civic consciousness and patriotism among students as the most important result, along with other spiritual and moral qualities. To highlight the educational goals of citizenship education, they use a rather similar set of tasks, including the formation of legal consciousness, patriotic feelings and an active position as a citizen. Despite the formal presence of rational goals, the strongest emphasis on the emotional component blocks the possibility of their realisation. By formally articulating elements of civic education, respondents revealed them in a spirit of patriotic upbringing (Table 1). This represents a rather strong reference to the practice of Soviet education and the upbringing system.

Table 1. Patriotic stuffing of citizenship education (citations from the interviews).

	First part of citation (citizenship education accent)	Second part of citation (patriotic upbringing accent)
School director (woman, 55, Leningrad Oblast)	<i>The school was never limited to education. Knowledge is important, and we develop their knowledge, of course, ...</i>	<i>...but moral stability and understanding how to behave are equally important. There can be no education without upbringing, although we are now trying much harder to build a tandem of schools and parents. Parents and school raise [the children], and the</i>

¹⁹ C. Blattberg, 'We Are All Compatriots,' in W. Kymlicka and K. Walker (eds.), *Rooted Cosmopolitanism: Canada and the World*, Vancouver, UBC Press, 2012, pp. 105-128.

²⁰ R.T. Schatz, E. Staub, and H. Lavine, 'On the Varieties of National Attachment: Blind Versus Constructive Patriotism,' *Political Psychology*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1999, pp. 151-174.

²¹ J. Kahne and E. Middaugh, 'Is Patriotism Good for Democracy? A Study of High School Seniors' Patriotic Commitments,' *Phi Delta Kappan*, vol. 4, 2006, pp. 600-607.

		<i>school in greater degree educates, but also raises, because they form the collective, and only in a collective can we look around and see something bigger, first the little home [malaja Rodina] and then the state as a whole.</i>
Guidance counsellor of the district Department of Education (woman, 48, Pskov Oblast)	<i>Any school is a place where a child should acquire different types of knowledge. These are the knowledge of the law, the ability to apply it in practice, and knowledge of their rights and responsibilities, ...</i>	<i>...including the ability to love their homeland; the school also brings this up.</i>
Primary school teacher (woman, 54, Leningrad Oblast)	<i>When we teach children, including all that civic stuff, maybe laws... we are already talking about the Constitution in primary school... and ways of thinking and acting in the state, like a citizen...</i>	<i>...we also raise them, their nature, we mold them into persons who love their homeland and their state.</i>
Basic Military Education teacher (man, 58, Pskov Oblast)	<i>Knowledge is important, skills are important.</i>	<i>But without moral guidance, these skills cannot be applied. These are very dangerous weapons, lack of moral guidance.</i>
Primary school teacher and deputy of extracurricular activity (woman, 50, Chelyabinsk Oblast)	<i>Education is a direct function of the school.</i>	<i>Upbringing is an additional function, on the one hand, because there are parents, and families, and other institutions. But maybe that is what makes the upbringing so important at school. Because we have to interact with those other institutions as well.</i>
History teacher and deputy of extracurricular activity (woman, 45, Moscow Oblast)	<i>Knowledge makes a student an educated person.</i>	<i>Moral guidelines make a student a human being. We can't ignore the moral values in school education.</i>

Another significant successor to the Soviet system of patriotic education is the idea of citizenship and patriotic education as a continuous education built by many different school subjects. The continuity of citizenship education means that it must be multi-phased and encompass all formation periods of an individual. An interview question asked the respondents to highlight classroom disciplines in the school curriculum and the skills and knowledge in citizenship education acquired by students as a result of learning; in general, respondents proposed the following system (Table 2). Following those statements, citizenship education is considered to be a patriotic upbringing with its emotional and non-critical aspects.

Table 2. The content of the components of citizenship education in the main classroom disciplines of public schools (systematisation of the interview statements).

Level of training	Subject	Values and attitudes to be brought to students
Elementary School	The World Around Us	Culture of the peoples of Russia and the world, love for the Motherland and aspiration for its heritage preservation.
Elementary School	Russian Language and Literature	Literary and cultural heritage, the foundations of national identity, a sense of respect for language and history.
Elementary and Middle School	Social Studies (Social Science)	Knowledge about humans and society, the main areas of public life, and the ability to interact with the social and natural environment; the formation of values and ideals of a democratic society.
Elementary and Middle School	History	Ideas on spiritual development, the status of a person and citizen, formation of civic identity, tolerance and citizenship.
Elementary and Middle School	Literature	Works as a source of the notions of good/evil, humans and God, humans and nature, conscience, duty, moral choice, the formation of moral concepts and values.

The background of such an old-fashioned understanding of citizenship education is formed by the common values, attitudes and behavioural patterns of school teachers, local counsellors, and school directors and vice-directors, as well as by their personal histories. Most of the people who determine the agenda of the educational process in the Russian regions came through the Soviet school system as students, and many of them worked in the Soviet educational system and learned its

methodological basis. Also, teaching is always a personal and very important choice in an individual's history: They survived the hardest economic and political crisis, but they did not change professions, remaining teachers or counsellors. It is unsurprising that the old principles and approaches guide them as they work with contemporary children. It is also unsurprising that they share these values, attitudes and behaviour patterns, understanding each other easily at the value level of communication. According to Schwartz, values serve as conceptions of the desirable that guide behaviour patterns, evaluations, attitudes and explanations of people's actions. Values are 'trans-situational criteria or goals'²² ordered by importance as guiding principles in life.

Education and patriotism are seen by all three groups of respondents as key values of their profession, and the reproduction of those values is understood as a major behavioural pattern, a mission. This is evident in almost every text section describing personal attitudes. To give an example, the following quotations contain different types of values (underlined), but values of conservatism (in bold) such as tradition, loyalty, stability, etc., still remain the major theme.

It's a pity, it's a pity that we left the **system**, the **base** that gave us **reliability and certainty**. Kids can get lost now, and they get lost in a sea of that information, in any interpretation of historical facts... They can talk and discuss, of course, and they do, and this develops both critical thinking and self-confidence. It's important for being a contemporary citizen. But **without the past there is no future** and **without a foundation it is hard to go forward**.

History teacher and deputy of extracurricular activity (woman, 65, Leningrad Oblast)

We have different... types of colleagues; we have those who support exclusively civic education in its, like, freest expression. I respect their position, I even share it, to a certain extent. Freedom of thought, freedom of speech is a guarantee of progress, both personal and universal, and at the level of the state. But still, if we talk about the state and us as citizens, **tradition** is what connects us. These are the **roots** of what we have **historically acquired**, which can be **brought up naturally and easily**. This must be the **basis**.

Guidance counsellor of the district Department of Education (woman, 48, Pskov Oblast)

The systematisation of the respondents' statements obtained with the help of MAXQDA coding (Table 3) shows that those statements may be accompanied by additional or side values, including

²² Schwartz, 'A Theory of Cultural Values and Some Implications for Work.'

quite progressive ones (like critical thinking or open-mindedness), but they have conservatism as the major emotional and context message.

Table 3. Conservative values as dominants in respondents' answers.

Respondent	Quotation	Core values (conservative)	Additional values
Guidance counsellor of the district Department of Education (woman, 40, Leningrad Oblast)	<i>We will probably continue this line of patriotic education, since it has shown its efficiency and viability in the Soviet past. This is a certain reliance on the traditions that exist in the school, although those traditions come from such a distant past, but they are still traditions, and they are moreover supported by the current directions of development of the country.</i>	Tradition	Authority Efficiency
Guidance counsellor of the district Department of Education (woman, 45, Novgorod Oblast)	<i>The school is built into the system and therefore it cannot be just on its own. Giving knowledge is combined with the development of a person who will then live in this state. And the state needs thinking, good-thinking citizens who have both critical thinking and are able to defend their point of view. But still, to a certain extent they should be loyal to the state, the state as an idea at least. Not the government, but the country.</i>	Loyalty	Citizenship Knowledge Success
School director (woman, 63, Leningrad Oblast)	<i>Elements of patriotic education in classes give a certain stability, a connection with the past, and connection between subjects in the present. It's like we're doing something together, and for each other, and we're like a family.</i>	Stability	Community Service to others
Deputy of extracurricular activity (woman, 60, Pskov Oblast)	<i>Knowledge of the image of a citizen that should be a result of patriotic education, and those qualities that are needed from our graduates, they greatly facilitate the task of education and even bring a creative note to the lessons. Both children and teachers like it. It gives us an additional sense to do what we do.</i>	Predictability	Creativity

History teacher (woman, 45, Moscow Oblast)	<i>Education of a citizen is constant and difficult work, starting from primary school. Children are passed from teacher to teacher, and our task is not to harm but to develop not only knowledge but also human qualities. To love nature, to love the country.</i>	Hard work	Environmentalism
Basic Military Education teacher (man, 58, Pskov Oblast)	<i>Patriotism means serving your country, even if not actively, but in readiness to serve. Military training is an extreme, but it allows you to look into some 'what ifs' and make a choice for yourself right now. And our task as teachers is to help in making this choice. To be honest with yourself.</i>	Commitment to service	Honesty

The core values listed in Table 3 belong to the conservative dimension of values. Conservative values imply certain attitudes and behaviours. These attitudes are most often not neutral or tolerant and are based on sufficiently strong emotional acceptance or rejection. Most likely, this is due to the fact that conservative attitudes have become part of their personal and professional ego. Behavioural attitudes determined by conservative values are aimed at maintaining and preserving the existing order of things. The analysed circle of stakeholders of patriotic education has no difficulties in realising these attitudes because they are in direct interaction with each other and share the context of conservative values. They need this communicative circle as an educational and moral charge to legitimise their low-paid work and increase their own professional value. They also require a clear methodological framework, not only for the core subjects of the school curriculum but also for extracurricular activities. Thus, what we observe is the routinisation of conservatism; the reproduction of the values of patriotic education is routine. This also helps to suggest that we can find the reasons of Russian conservative patriotism in the Soviet legacy with its strong and unified model of patriotic education.

Conclusion

If recently-emerged states are an important area for the thoughtful and well-designed implementation of citizenship education, then Russia is an example of a failure of such attempts. The limitations of citizen upbringing in Russia led to the development of patriotic education instead of civic education. This type of citizen upbringing is mostly about citizen-state relationships instead of citizen-citizen

relationships. Those limitations are caused by the lack of a structured and defined educational policy as well as the pedagogical inheritance from Soviet times.

It would be an oversimplification to reduce the cause of patriotic education to the authoritarian ambitions of Russian leaders. Russian society has a specific social demand for the formation of certain political structures. At first glance, this demand seems to have been imposed upon society from above, but both the society and authorities take part in this game. Ideological trends and political appointments not only reflect positions of power but inevitably meet the needs of the society. School-based patriotic education in contemporary Russia is an actual example of how specifically social structures can rebuild a political institution.

As stakeholder analysis and an analysis of values have shown, the development of patriotic education as it is now in Russia is determined not only (and perhaps not so much) by the government or ideology but by the routine practice of conservatism performed by the key stakeholders of patriotic education such as local guidance counsellors, school directors and vice-directors, and school teachers. This routinisation of conservative practice is one of the reasons why the Soviet-originated core fabric of the citizenship education model was surprisingly persistent and self-reproducing. It was so stable and complete that, after its dismantling in the 1990s, it was able to revive itself in contemporary Russia. In the 1990s, it seemed as though the historical model of Soviet patriotism would never return; however, in this century, its revival is becoming more and more apparent. The Soviet model of patriotic education was preserved by local guidance counsellors, school teachers and administrators, among others, who considered it an indispensable part of their work and who continue to reproduce values relevant to conservatism in the routine circles of communication.

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