

RUSSIA'S NATIONAL IDENTITY REPORT – 2020^{1 2}

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Introduction

This report examines the construction of contemporary Russia's national identity through a systematic analysis of political, economic, socio-cultural, and historical discourses across a diverse set of sources produced in 2020. The study draws on materials from five genres: speeches, textbooks, newspapers, novels, and films, in order to capture both elite and mass articulations of identity. By combining these sources, the report points out dominant as well as competing discourses that shape understandings of Russia's national identity. In 2020, the dominant narrative is one of State-Centric Stability, which highlights the elites' desires to unify the national identity around legitimate authority, historical continuity, and traditional values. These discourses are then challenged by the mass disillusionment and disappointment over social inequalities and injustices. By tracing how identity is framed, reinforced, and contested across genres, this report aims to provide insight into the dominant narratives that underpin Russia's self-representation in 2020, as well as the tensions and contradictions that complicate these narratives.

This report introduces the logic of the source selection, proceeds with an in-depth analysis of identity categories, and proposes the dominant identity discourse and its challengers.

1. Text selection and classification of sources

The dataset includes speeches, textbooks, newspapers, novels, and movies (see the *Sources* section below for a full list). As in previous Russian identity reports, the analytical approach deviates from the standard Making Identity Count (MIC) procedure. First, letters to the editor are absent from the dataset because major newspapers did not publish them in 2020. Second, to avoid quantitative bias in favor of textbooks and newspapers, the analysis relies on genre-normalized percentages rather

¹ This national identity report was completed as part of the Making Identity Count (MIC) Estonia project (PRG1052 – National Identity and Estonian-Russian Relations: A Longitudinal Study of Elite and Mass Discourses). The sampled material was coded using the MIC procedure (Allan 2016). The full collection of MIC Estonia national identity reports are available at: <https://hdl.handle.net/10062/108183>.

² ChatGPT was used in refining the language in this report. DeepL was used in translation of the quotes.

than raw code counts. This involved creating an additional table that calculated the relative prominence of each final category across genres based on the raw coding data. Categories with an average prominence below 1% across genres were excluded from further analysis. As a result, the final dataset consists of 2,557 codes across 25 categories, which form the basis of this report.

Two speeches delivered in 2020 were coded, both by Vladimir Putin. The first, the annual address to the Federal Assembly, was delivered on 15 January 2020. In this speech, Putin proposed a series of constitutional amendments alongside a broader social and policy agenda. While the amendments were later put to a public vote in July, the speech itself immediately preceded a major political development: the resignation of Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev and the appointment of Mikhail Mishustin. The second speech was delivered on 24 June 2020 at the military parade commemorating the 75th anniversary of victory in the Second World War, attended by several foreign heads of state and government. Together, these speeches can be understood as key statements addressing both domestic and international audiences.

The two selected textbooks, edited by Russian Academy of Science academics Anatoly Torkunov and Sergey Karpov, were approved in accordance with state educational standards and were designed for 10th-grade secondary school students. Both textbooks focus on modern Russian history and consist of several volumes.

The selection of the newspapers *Izvestiya* and *Novaya Gazeta* was based on their popularity among readers of, respectively, state-aligned and independent media. *Izvestiya* was among the most widely circulated Russian-language daily newspapers around 2020. According to Mediascope, in a single month in 2020 it reached 9.1% of Russia's population, or approximately 11.1 million people (Poponov 2020). *Novaya Gazeta*, by contrast, had a more limited but influential readership, reaching approximately 500,000 readers per day (AFP 2021). For both newspapers, articles were selected from the first available issue of each month in 2020. In this report's case newspapers could be accounting for both elite and mass discourses, especially considering this dataset's source selection, where state-aligned and independent media outlets are represented.

The novels selected for analysis were Daria Dontsova's *The Black Pearl of Discord* and Aleksandra Marinina's *Flawless Reputation*. Both are detective novels. Dontsova is the most published author in Russia (Voropaev 2021), and the selected novel had a circulation of approximately 30,000 copies. Marinina's novel had a lower print circulation of around 7,000 copies; however, the *Litres*

platform, the largest distributor of electronic and audiobooks in Russia, named *Flawless Reputation* the best book of 2020 (Litres 2020).

Two movies were selected for analysis: *Kholop (Serf)* and *Petrov's Flu*. *Kholop* was one of the most commercially successful movies in the history of Russian cinema, making it highly significant for the domestic film market. *Petrov's Flu*, while achieving a much smaller box office, was selected for the Cannes Film Festival, giving it notable international recognition.

2. Raw identity categories

A different procedure was used to select aggregated categories than in the standard MIC project because the codes were not evenly distributed across genres. Using the raw count table, we calculated genre-normalized percentages to determine the relative prominence of each category within its respective genre. Categories with an average prominence below 1% were excluded, leaving 25 categories for further analysis.

Tables 1 and 2 summarize the identity categories inductively recovered from the sampled texts. To facilitate interpretation and highlight the most prominent discourses, the categories were organized into five overarching groups. The following section explains the meaning of each category within these groups. Examples of texts are illustrative of types of sentiments present, while entire discourse category is not limited to them.

Political image

This section examines political identity as articulated across the analyzed sources and includes the following categories: Authorities, Corruption, Great power, Opposition, Police/Military, Rule of law.

Elite discourse presents **authorities** in a predominantly positive light, emphasizing the achievements and legitimacy of the current and most recent administrations. In his address to the Federal Assembly, Vladimir Putin reinforced executive authority by asserting influence over all branches of government, including the security agencies. His personal authority is framed as representative of the broader societal will, thereby strengthening the image of centralized and unified leadership:

Russia must remain a strong presidential republic. [...] I propose that the president be able to appoint the heads of all so-called security agencies after consulting with the Federation Council. I believe that this approach will make the work of the security and law enforcement

agencies more transparent and more accountable to society. (Putin 2020; {2020_S_PUTI_01680})

This positive portrayal is echoed in textbooks and the state-aligned newspaper *Izvestiya*, which consistently depict Putin and the political leadership favorably: “His successful performance as head of state, Russia's return to international prestige, and its reunification with Crimea all explain the high public regard for Vladimir Putin's work” (Nikonov and Devyatov 2020, p. 162; {2020_T_NIKO_11820}). *Izvestiya* also extends this discourse to lower levels of the ruling elite, combining praise with occasional criticism, thereby maintaining overall legitimacy while allowing limited acknowledgment of imperfections.

In contrast, mass discourses, represented by newspapers, novels, and movies, reveal a pronounced dissonance in representations of authority. These sources frequently portray authorities in a negative manner, highlighting institutional failures, political inefficiency, and numerous instances of **corruption**.

In post-Soviet Russia, many crimes have been and continue to be committed with impunity. Under the current political regime, they cannot be investigated: government officials deliberately cover them up and sanction them, and sometimes even participate in them. This creates systemic impunity. The possibility of restoring justice will only arise after a change in the political regime. (Borbinskiy and Dmitrievskiy 2020; {2020_P_NOVA_00050, 2020_P_NOVA_00070})

Across both positive and negative portrayals, references often converge around the concept of *vlast* (authority), which functions as an empty signifier, without clearly defined actors.

At the same time in mass sources like independent newspapers and novels **opposition** is framed more positively and neutrally. These discourses are associated with resistance and desire to change the political system.

I always attend [protests]. I honor Nemtsov's memory. All those who are dissatisfied come here, and I am dissatisfied. I always come here dissatisfied with the current regime, dreaming that Putin will resign, dreaming that our country will be free and democratic. There are more young people now, maybe because I am getting older. The first marches were very tragic, but now everyone who is dissatisfied with something has joined the march in memory of Nemtsov. (Mikisha 2020; {2020_P_NOVA_11250})

Discourses surrounding **rule of law** and **great power** status largely mirror those of authority. Speeches, textbooks, and newspapers tend to frame these categories positively, presenting Russia as a sovereign, law-governed, and globally significant actor. In novels and films, however, the same concepts acquire negative or critical connotations. For instance, existing legislation depicted as ineffective or unjust:

The innocent are imprisoned, that is true, and everyone knows it, just as the truly guilty are acquitted and not brought to justice, but in real life this process looks completely different. It is simpler, more cynical, and rougher. In our country, it is not customary to be gentle with the population. So, what if everyone knows? We will look you in the eye and say that this is not the case, and what can you do about it? (Marinina 2021, p. 294; {2020_N_MARI_00580})

Representations of the **police and military** are more fragmented across mass sources. Positive, negative, and ambiguous valences appear with roughly equal frequency, suggesting ambivalence rather than overall consensus. For example, Marinina's novel portrays individual police officers sympathetically while simultaneously criticizing the institution as structurally flawed, illustrating a distinction between personal morality and systemic failure:

You can probably guess what I think of our police force, since I don't hide it. When I met Vasily at your agency and was told that he had just resigned from the force, I was puzzled: why? He was a smart young man who could have had a career and earned money, like everyone else there. I decided that he had simply been fired for negligence. Now I understand that he left on his own. He turned out to be a decent guy who couldn't stand the filth. (Marinina 2021, p. 137; {2020_N_MARI_00490})

Overall, the political image emerging from the dataset is characterized by a sharp divide between elite and mass discourses. While official and institutional sources emphasize authority, stability, and power, cultural and popular narratives foreground critique, ambivalence, and institutional distrust.

Economic Development

This section captures economic identity and includes the following categories: Capitalism, Class inequality, Economy, Provincial, and Social welfare.

Economic resilience is framed most positively in elite discourse. Presidential speeches emphasize the **economy** and **social welfare** in strongly positive terms, portraying economic management as effective and socially responsible. These narratives highlight stability, growth, and the state's commitment to improving citizens' well-being, often downplaying structural problems. For instance, Putin mentioned the following in his speech:

In recent years, we have focused our efforts on strengthening macroeconomic stability, as I just mentioned. The federal budget is once again in surplus. Our state reserves comfortably cover our total external debt. (Putin 2020; {2020_S_PUTI_00860})

In last year's Address, I spoke about the need to expand the practice of social contracts. These contracts are intended to serve as a kind of individual program to increase income and improve quality of life for every family in need. Under these contracts, the state will provide citizens with regular payments, assistance with retraining and upgrading skills, and support in finding employment or starting a small business. (Putin 2020; {2020_S_PUTI_00320})

Textbooks and newspapers echo this framing to a lesser degree, combining praise for economic achievements with limited acknowledgment of challenges, like here “Despite difficulties and problems in its development, the Russian economy has demonstrated its highest growth rates in thirty years. This has created the conditions for Russia's transition to innovative development” (Gorinov et al. 2023, p. 85; {2020_T_TORK_04000})

Class inequality, by contrast, is portrayed negatively across all genres. This is one of the most consistently negative categories in the dataset. Newspapers, novels, and movies emphasize social stratification, injustice, and unequal access to resources: “When discussing the Russian bourgeoisie, we tend to say one of two things: either ‘they cry too’ or ‘they overindulge’. But most often, they both cry and overindulge” (Malyukova 2020; {2020_P_NOVA_02950}); “We saw absolutely staggering growth in inequality in the 1990s, a truly fantastic explosion. And now Russia ranks second in Europe in terms of inequality” (Tokareva 2020; {2020_P_NOVA_07410}). Novels

occasionally introduce nuance by recognizing inequality while also acknowledging moral acceptance of class, but the overall discourse remains critical with wishes to go past the class inequality.

Capitalism appears mainly in genres like novels and movies and is presented ambivalently or negatively. In novels, capitalism is often associated with moral decay, exploitation, or alienation:

You both do not understand anything! Your labor, your work – it is all nonsense, she declared. It is people like you who have ruined the country. All you think about is work and money! You need to think about love, family, children, then there will be order in the country. Why are you harping on about work? Haven't you earned enough money yet? Isn't it enough for you? Won't your greed break you? You're rolling in gold, but you steal my spices, always looking for something else to profit from. (Marinina 2021, p. 215; {2020_N_MARI_00220})

This contrasts with elite silence on capitalism as a system, suggesting it functions as an implicit rather than openly debated framework in official discourse.

The category **Provincial** is marginal and appears primarily in movies, where it carries a negative or ambivalent valence, reinforcing narratives of regional neglect, stagnation, and distance from centers of power.

Overall, economic discourse reveals a sharp divide: elite narratives emphasize success and welfare provision, while mass sources foreground inequality, hardship, and systemic shortcomings.

Socio-Cultural Beliefs

This section includes Age, Discrimination, Humanism, Religion, and Traditional family/gender values.

Traditional family and gender values are among the most positively framed socio-cultural categories, particularly in elite discourse. Speeches strongly promote these values, presenting them as foundational to national identity and social development. The major call in Putin's January speech was to increase population through adherence to traditional family structures:

It is very important that they understand the true values of a big family, that family means love, happiness, the joy of motherhood and fatherhood, that family is a strong bond between several generations, where respect for elders and care for children always unite, give a sense of confidence, security, and reliability. (Putin 2020; {2020_S_PUTI_00590})

Textbooks and newspapers largely support this framing, though newspapers, especially through the influence of pro-feminist and pro-LGBTQ discourses in *Novaya Gazeta*, occasionally introduce opposite sentiment: “Maxim and Bogdan's family became a refuge for Masha and her children. And an example. She never allowed anyone to hit her again” (Kostyuchenko and Odissonova 2020; {2020_P_NOVA_04490}).

Novels reflect a mixed stance, sometimes endorsing traditional norms while simultaneously exposing their contradictions or social costs, especially when it comes to women’s experiences in patriarchal society. Movies tend to portray these values through irony, also showing ambivalence like novels.

Religion too occupies a more ambivalent position. In textbooks and newspapers, it is treated cautiously but generally positively, often linked to tradition, morality, and cultural heritage.

‘Why is it important for you to restore the temple?’ I ask.

‘Is it important for you to wash your face in the morning? It is just as important for a believer to wash their soul. And where else can you do that if not in a temple?’ replies a girl named Evgenia. (Kirihanova 2020; {2020_P_NOVA_12620})

Novels tend toward ambiguity, while movies portray religion more negatively, undermining its importance for national identity. The last two sources, however, do not show many codes, thus, this category should be studied further for more information.

Categories related to **age** and **discrimination** appear almost exclusively in mass sources, where age is viewed negatively and ambiguously in novels and neutrally in movies, while discrimination is considered acceptable in novels and movies (positive valence). These discourses highlight ageism and racism present in Russian society and expressed through stories in novels and movies in this manner: “They've all conspired against me! Older, older... You'd think she belonged in the graveyard already” (Marinina 2021, p. 47; {2020_N_MARI_00040}); “We notice the different skin color but pretend not to see that there is a [N-word] in front of us. Ugh! Someone once said

something stupid about African Americans, and everyone picked up on it” (Dontsova 2019, p. 23; {2020_N_DONT_00050}); “And now blacks³ are everywhere” (Serebrennikov 2020; {2020_M_SERY_00050}). Their low prominence in elite discourses could suggest limited institutional engagement with these issues.

Humanism appears only in movies and carries ambiguous and positive valences, often contrasted with social inequality or institutional indifference. In Klim Shipenko’s film *Kholop*, for instance, characters highlight empathy and the expression of emotions as valuable human features that sometimes come above political and cultural affiliations: “Empathy is an important emotion for us” (Shipenko 2019; {2020_M_SHIP_00100}). However, it is not uncommon for films to frame both characters and narratives positively through emotional appeal, suggesting that this category would benefit from further analysis, particularly given the low number of codes identified.

Overall, socio-cultural beliefs reveal normative alignment between elite sources, while mass ones serve as spaces for critique, ambivalence, and moral questioning.

Historical Others

This section includes representations of the 1990s, the USSR (foreign relations, leadership, people), and WWII memory.

The most dominant historical narrative concerns **WWII memory**, which is overwhelmingly positive across genres, especially in speeches. It is important to acknowledge, however, that the second speech was at the military parade celebrating the victory in that war, and thus, the strong dominance of positive discourse might be affected. The January speech also included mentions to WWII memory. Overall, the Second World War is presented as a unifying, heroic, and foundational event for national identity. Textbooks and newspapers reinforce this narrative.

The war was truly a nationwide effort, with representatives of all the peoples of the USSR fighting for the freedom of their homeland. The struggle was not only fought on the front lines, where combat operations took place; in the rear, the citizens of our vast country forged

³ In the movie the character uses derogatory word referring to people of non-Slavic origin, from Caucasus and Central Asia.

victory. The slogan 'Everything for the front, everything for victory!' rallied the entire nation to fight the enemy. (Gorinov et al. 2023, p. 13; {2020_T_TORK_01840})

The 1990s are portrayed negatively in textbooks and movies. The textbook authors write: “The situation that had developed in the country was increasingly referred to as ‘legal chaos.’” (Nikonov and Devyatov 2020, p. 120; {2020_T_NIKO_10170}). This period is associated with instability, decline, and loss, functioning as a negative historical reference point that legitimizes the current political order.

Representations of the **USSR** are more fragmented. **Foreign relations** and **leadership** are treated mostly neutrally and negatively in textbooks, reflecting a cautious assessment of the legacy.

In the 1930s, Stalinist socialism was established in the USSR. Its characteristic features were hyper-centralization of government, dictatorship of the leader, replacement of party organs, and the priority of administrative methods for solving political and economic tasks. Alongside industrial giants stood the camp towers of the Gulag, where forced labor of prisoners was used. (Gorinov et al. 2023, p. 6; {2020_T_TORK_00090})

Novels tend to highlight ambiguity and moral complexity especially regarding leadership: “In Soviet times, the sanatorium was considered elite, and the children and wives of party officials vacationed there. Nowadays, high-ranking politicians send their families abroad. In the USSR, this was not welcomed” (Dontsova 2019, p. 11; {2020_N_DONT_00030}).

The category **USSR: people** shows some divergence: speeches portray the Soviet people positively, emphasizing endurance and collective achievement, while novels and movies introduce ambiguity and critique, focusing on accepting oneself as a Soviet person:

What can I do, Leshik? I am a product of Soviet upbringing, taught from infancy to be dependent and to look to others for approval. For our generation, feeling dependent is normal, as is silent protest, ostentatious politeness, and the ability to adapt to any circumstances. (Marinina 2021, p. 260; {2020_N_MARI_00240})

Overall, historical discourse is highly selective: WWII victory functions as a sacred, unifying narrative, while other historical periods and actors are framed more critically or ambiguously with the goal to contrast and show the current administration in a more positive light.

Significant Others

This section includes EU/Europe, the West, Ukraine, and the USA.

Significant Others are predominantly framed in negative terms, especially in textbooks and mass media sources. **The USA** is consistently portrayed negatively across textbooks, newspapers, and novels, reinforcing an adversarial image. **The West** more broadly follows a similar pattern, with negative or ambiguous valences dominating, particularly in newspapers and movies.

After the collapse of the USSR, during the establishment of the Russian Federation as an independent state, the model of a ‘led country’ prevailed for some time — this course was advocated at the time by the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who declared that the world was divided into a civilized part and a ‘bunch of hooligans,’ and that after losing the ‘Cold War,’ Russia should join the ‘club of civilized states’ and submit to the rules of this club, which was led by the United States. [...] The model of a led country is unacceptable for Russia. (Nikonov and Devyatov 2020, p. 155; {2020_T_NIKO_11380})

Ukraine appears primarily in textbooks and newspapers and is framed negatively, often associated with instability and external (Western) influence: “In 2014, an unconstitutional armed coup took place in Ukraine, organized mainly by the United States to achieve its geopolitical goals” (Nikonov and Devyatov 2020, pp. 194-195; {2020_T_NIKO_13250}). Its absence from speeches and mass sources suggests both sensitivity and selectivity in national identity representation.

EU/Europe occupies a more ambivalent position. Speeches present Europe slightly positively (primarily due to including Serbia to this category), often in pragmatic or diplomatic terms, while textbooks and newspapers mix criticism with limited neutrality or approval. For instance, an article in *Izvestiya* (2020; {2020_P_IZVE_03840}) states: “Russophobic sentiments in the EU are running high, and only French President Emmanuel Macron and a number of other European leaders are attempting to change the negative attitudes toward Russia in the European Union”.

Overall, the discourse on Significant Others constructs a clear boundary between “us” and “them,” reinforcing external threat narratives and legitimizing domestic cohesion.

3. The predominant discourse and its challengers

The predominant national identity discourse in 2020 is **State-Centric Stability**, which is articulated most clearly in speeches, textbooks, and state-aligned media. This predominant discourse constructs Russia as a sovereign, historically legitimized, and morally grounded great power whose stability depends on strong state authority and social cohesion. Political leadership is portrayed as legitimate and necessary, with centralized power framed as the guarantor of order, law, and continuity. The state appears both as a protector against external threats and as a paternal figure responsible for economic management and social welfare.

WWII memory functions as the symbolic anchor of this discourse, legitimizing contemporary authority and national unity. Traditional family and gender values reinforce internal order, while economic success and social welfare are framed as outcomes of strong governance.

This discourse minimizes internal conflict, treats capitalism as implicit rather than debated, and externalizes threats. The USA and “the West” are consistently negative across genres, while Europe is treated more pragmatically. Ukraine appears as a problematized actor rather than an equal subject. This externalization of threat reinforces internal solidarity and legitimizes political centralization.

The challengers are **systemic injustice and inequality** and **institutional distrust**. Challenger discourses are fragmented, genre-specific (mass over elite), and experiential rather than programmatic and cohesive. These challengers are most visible in novels, films, and independent media, which question the credibility and fairness of state institutions. Rather than directly rejecting statehood or sovereignty, challengers portray authority as compromised by corruption, selective law enforcement, and systemic inefficiency. The rule of law is framed as unevenly applied, and political power as self-serving rather than representative.

Economic critique is central to the challenger discourses. Class inequality is depicted as pervasive and structural, while capitalism is associated with moral decay, alienation, and exploitation. Regional marginalization and provincial neglect further undermine the image of a cohesive and well-governed state.

Importantly, challenger discourses often distinguish between individual morality and institutional failure, particularly in portrayals of police, bureaucrats, and ordinary citizens. Individuals may be depicted sympathetically, while the system itself is shown as unjust or dysfunctional.

Rather than offering a unified ideology, opposition between elite and mass discourses in many of the analyzed categories exposes contradictions between official narratives of stability and the lived realities of inequality, injustice, and disillusionment.

Conclusion

The analysis reveals an internally contested identity landscape in 2020 Russia. Across elite sources, a coherent predominant discourse emerges, State-Centric Stability. It emphasizes sovereign statehood, political stability, historical continuity, and moral order. This discourse presents strong centralized authority as both legitimate and necessary, anchors national identity in the memory of the Second World War, and frames traditional social values as essential to cohesion. External actors—particularly the United States and the West—are portrayed as adversarial, reinforcing significance of sovereignty and justifying political centralization.

At the same time, this predominant discourse is persistently challenged by an alternative set of narratives articulated primarily through novels, films, and independent media. These challenger discourses foreground institutional distrust, systemic corruption, class inequality, and social disillusionment. Although in a very incohesive manner they expose the gap between official narratives of stability and the lived realities of injustice ordinary masses are exposed to daily. Authority, law, and economic order are thus assessed as hollow or selectively applied, even when individual actors are portrayed sympathetically.

Taken together, existing discourses highlight a dissonance between the elites and masses in the way they construct Russia's national identity in 2020.

Table 1. Raw counts

Category	Total codes	Speeches	Textbooks	Newspapers	Novels	Movies
Authorities	293	19	40	233		1
Traditional family/gender values	235	25	31	134	27	18
SO: USA	235		56	176	3	
SO: EU / Europe	183	4	34	145		
SO: Ukraine	174		33	141		
HO: WWII memory	152	25	57	70		
HO: USSR: foreign relations	137	1	132	4		
Economy	129	8	34	87		
HO: USSR: leadership	126	1	98	25	2	
Class inequality	115	11	23	63	10	8
Religion	98		44	50	1	3
Great power	93	7	48	37		1
Police/Military	93	1	7	74	6	5
Opposition	90	1	7	78	4	
HO: the 1990s	70	1	49	18	2	
SO: the West	70		36	32	1	1
Rule of law	69	15	4	47	3	
Social welfare	54	14	6	29	2	3
HO: USSR: people	33	4	16	6	2	5
Provincial	31		2	26		3
Corruption	29		3	20	6	
Discrimination	20		1	13	4	2
Capitalism	14		4	3	3	4
Age	8			3	4	1
Humanism	6			1		5
Totals	2557	137	765	1515	80	60

Table 2. Topography of Russian identity

	Speeches	Textbooks	Newspapers	Novels	Movies
Political image					
Authorities	++/~	/+	--- +/		-
Corruption			-	--/	
Great power	++	/+	+		-
Opposition			+/	/+	
Police/Military			-+	-~+	++~
Rule of law	++~		+	-	
Economic development					
Capitalism				-/~	+~
Class inequality	--	-	-/	--~+/	-----
Economy	++	-+	+ -/		
Provincial					-~
Social welfare	++~		+	-	-~
Socio-cultural beliefs					
Age				-~	/
Discrimination				~+	+
Humanism					~~+
Religion		+~	+ -	~	--
Traditional family/gender values	++++	/+	+~	++ -- ~	--/~+
Historical Others					
HO: the 1990s		-/		-~	
HO: USSR: foreign relations		//- -+~			
HO: USSR: leadership		//-~+		-~	
HO: USSR: people	+			-~	--+
HO: WWII memory	+++++	++/	+		
Significant Others					
SO: EU / Europe	+	-/	-+/		
SO: the West		-~	-	~	-
SO: Ukraine		-~	--~		
SO: USA		--/	--/~	-/	

Salience of categories is measured on the following scale: 1.0–5.0 (1); 5.0–9.0 (2); 9.0–13.0 (3); 13.0–17.0 (4); above 17.0 (5).

SOURCES

1. Speeches:

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- 2) Putin, V. (2020, June 24). *Выступление Президента России на военном параде в честь 75-летия Великой Победы* [Speech of the President of Russia at the military parade dedicated to the 75th celebration of the Great Victory]. *Kremlin*. <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/63560>

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3. Newspapers:

- 1) *Izvestiya*, 2020
- 2) *Novaya Gazeta*, 2020

4. Novel:

- 1) Marinina, A. (2021). *Безупречная репутация* [Flawless reputation].
- 2) Dontsova, D. (2019). *Черная жемчужина раздора* [The black pearl of discord].

5. Movies:

- 1) Serebrennikov, K. (Director). (2020). *Петровы в гриппе* [Petrov's flu].
- 2) Shipenko, K. (Director). (2019). *Холод* [Serf].

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