HISTORICAL MEMORYAND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE POST-TRUTH ERA IN RUSSIAN FEDERATION

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This article deals with the perception of historical memory and national identity in the era of posterity, as well as their impact on the formation of Russian national unity; determines the role of the latter in the emergence of a new identity of the Russian nation. The initial methodological position for this study is the idea that, even in post-truth conditions, historical memory and national identity retain their true value. The authors use polls of the Russian Public Opinion Research Center. The survey method is a telephone interview. According to the polls, 92% believe that it is important to know the history of Russia, while at the same time, only 42% know it well. The results of the study can be used in various state programs, which are based on historical memory and aimed at the development of Russian national identity.

Príspevok sa zaoberá vnímaním historickej pamäte a národnej identity, ako aj ich vplyvom na formovanie ruskej národnej jednoty. Približuje ich úlohu pri vzniku novej identity ruského národa. Analyzované sú prieskumy Ruského centra pre výskum verejnej mienky. Metódou prieskumu je telefonický rozhovor. Podľa prieskumov 92 % respondentov verí, že je dôležité poznať históriu Ruska, zatiaľ čo dobre ju pozná iba 42 % opýtaných. Výsledky štúdie môžu byť použité v rôznych štátnych programoch, ktoré sa zoberajú výskumom historickej pamäte a národnej identity.

Introduction

Over the past few decades, the processes of accelerating globalisation and integration in political, cultural, and economic spheres are observed. These processes often contradict worldwide nationalist movements and ideologies. One of the most complex and controversial phenomena of modern post-truth reality is nationalism. It becomes a part of regional and global political processes based on the complex interaction of historical memory and national identity. Today's post-truth era is based not so much on facts, but rather on emotions, beliefs, sentiments, fiction, etc. According to the compilers of the Oxford Dictionary, the word post-truth is defined as "*relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping political debate or public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief*".[1] How close are people to the dystopian future where experts are derided as untrustworthy or elitist whenever their reported facts threaten to refute the well-established facts or the prejudices of the uninformed? People may not be there (yet), although there are reasons to be concerned about such a future. The terms „post-truth" and „post-reality", virtually unknown five years ago, have exploded in the media with thousands of recent mentions.[2] „*Post-truth politics (sometimes also called post-reality politics) can be regarded as a type of politic culture when real objective circumstances are less important than personal judgments and emotions in the formation of public opinion*".[3] National identity based on unconfirmed and emotionally experienced representations of historical memory serves as one of the forms of buffering political and social uncertainty and loss of trust. The phenomenon of nationalism in modern conditions in Russia is to a large extent a product of this manifestation of post-truth.

Through the example of post-Soviet Russia, one can see how national identity provides the interpretive framework through which foreign policymakers understand their role in the world and the actions of other states, as well as utilise national identity as a tool to mobilise public support for foreign policy manoeuvres. Foreign policy, in turn, is both shaped by constructions of national identity and often used to forge and substantiate the features of national identity which best serve domestic interests.[4]

An aspect of collective memory is the salience of victimhood; the Russian people have suffered greatly due to a series of events, among which are the revolutions of February and October of 1917. As presented by many authors who influenced the long-term processes of the formation of historical memory, a longue durée version of Russian history presents the country's past as a series of

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[1] OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY. New words notes June 2017. In Oxford English Dictionary June 2017 [online]. Available at: <https://public.oed.com/blog/june-2017-update-new-words-notes/>.

[2] LEWANDOWSKY, Stephan – ECKER, Ullrich K.H. – COOK, John. Beyond Misinformation: Understanding and Coping with the „Post-truth" Era. In Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition, 2017, vol. 6, pp. 353-359.

[3] MCINTYRE, Lee. Post-truth. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2018.

[4] HANSON-GREEN, Monica. Russian Foreign Policy and National Identity. In Sen Honors Theses, 2017, vol. 99, pp. 1-46.

promising upward trajectories interrupted by spirals of chaos and destruction.[5] As a rule, examples are given of the flowering of Peter the Great and the subsequent Distemper time, the era of Catherine The Great and the subsequent decline of palace coups and Paul II, the rapid economic and political development of the reign of Nicholas II and subsequent revolutions and other examples. At the very least there is a significant minority in Russia that accepts the three „lessons" of 1917 that are partially reproduced by state actors: (a) Russia must avoid internal upheaval at all cost; (b) Russia must be ruled by a strong hand; (c) external forces seek Russia's dissolution and must be resisted. This longue durée view buttresses the status quo today, encouraging loyalty to the state lest a repeat of the 1917 (or 1991) tragedy occurs today. Overall, the authors find ample evidence that myths about the past interact with and reinforce values in the present. Further work needs to be done to develop the picture further, linking the transmitted myths and pictures of a desirable past in the popular memory with the trends and developments in cultural memory, as well as the efforts of official memory.[6]

It is accepted to distinguish between historical memory and national identity. National identity is one of the forms of manifestation of the nation's collective essence, while historical memory is a collection of historical information transmitted from generation to generation in various forms and manifestations. Historical memory is one of the central components of ethno-national identity, as evidenced by the recent experience of people in both Western and Eastern Europe. Representation of historical memory plays an important but underestimated role; historical memory contributes to the formation of national narratives about the past and impacts on how societies speak and perceive their future.[7] Collective memory is a representation of the past shared by members of a group, such as a generation or a nation as a whole.[8] *„As with modern persons, so it is with nations, awareness of being embedded in secular, serial time, with all its implications of continuity, yet of „forgetting" the experience of this continuity - product of the ruptures of the late eighteenth century - engenders the need for a narrative of „identity""*.[9]

A certain role in the formation of historical memory and national identity is played by cultural narratives.[10] Cultural narratives are formed in the historical experience of a social group and continuously function as a heritage. This is especially evident in the study of Assam's history. The study emphasises the importance of recent trends in historiography, such as the selective use of traditions, folklore, etc.[11] Another example can be found in a study of modern Austrian his-

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[5] BLACKBURN, Matthew. Myths in the Russian Collective Memory: The Golden Era of Pre-revolutionary Russia and the Disaster of 1917. In Scando-Slavica, 2018, vol. 64, p. 31-46.

[6] BLACKBURN, pp. 31-46.

[7] BARSALOU, Judy. Post-Mubarak Egypt: History, Collective Memory and Memorialization. In Middle East Policy, 2012, vol. 19, pp. 134-147.

[8] WERTSCH, James V. The Narrative Organization of Collective Memory. In Ethos, 2008, vol. 36, pp. 120-135.

[9] ANDERSON, Benedict. Imagined Communities. London: Verso, 2006.

[10] ACHKASOV, Valery A. National Identity as a Historical Narrative. In Administrative Consulting, 2018, vol. 10, pp. 19-26.

[11] SARMA, Pranab Jyoti. Historical Myths or Mythological History: A Fresh Approach to Understand the History of Assam. In Space and Culture India, 2014, vol. 2, pp. 61-73.

tory, which found expression in the search for national identity, the ambivalent nature of perceiving the historical past and the desire for self-criticism and debunking of historical myths.[12] Oral stories are passed down from generation to generation and are stored in memory, and at different times the growth of such stories clearly shows the culture of the people.[13]

The politics of belonging involves not only maintaining and reproducing boundaries of the community by hegemonic political forces, but also contestation, challenge and resistance by other political agents. However, it is important to recognise that such political agents are struggling both to advance their specific projects in the construction of their collectivity and its boundaries and, at the same time, use these ideologies and projects to promote their power within and outside the community.[14]

Benedict Anderson[15] conducted an in-depth study of the experience in the development of nations and nationalism accumulated by the 1980s. This experience turned out to be timely on the eve of the political upheavals and the intensification of nationalist ideologies, mainly caused by the destruction of the former traditional system of international relations after the collapse of the USSR and the rise of these phenomena in other countries, as a protest to globalisation processes.[16]

Except for the single-minded idea of uniting a nation, nationalism represents the moral strength of social cohesion. Nationalism originates not only from an unconscious understanding of some commonality between people but also from constructivism and imagination. The concept of constructivism suggests that all communities are imaginary. They exist and develop only since their participants identify themselves as community members. This acts as a unifying moment of people's unity. A modern approach to understanding national identity is to consider it as a specific social space, which includes an emotional attachment to the place where a person lives.[17]

The development of nationalism and national identity is based on individual and collective narratives that are responsible for a person's self-identification. *„The politics of belonging comprises specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging in particular ways to particular collectivities that are, at the same time, themselves being constructed by these projects".*[18] Therefore, the existing explanation for the difference between belonging and the politics of belonging is *„crucial for any critical political discourse on nationalism, racism, or other contemporary politics of*

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[12] SHASTINA, Elena – KAZAKOVA, Julia – SHASTINA, Marina – TROFIMOVA, Lyudmila – BORISOV, Anatolii. Modern Austrian Novel: Endless Wanderings in the Labyrinths of Kafka's Castle. In Space and Culture India, 2019, vol. 7, pp. 54-61.

[13] CAESAR, Thounaojam – SANASAM, Reena. The Oral Folk Literature of the Ancient Meiteis of Manipur: An Analysis of its Cultural Significance. In Space and Culture India, 2018, vol. 6, p. 29-37.

[14] YUVAL-DAVIS, Nira. Belonging and the Politics of Belonging. In Patterns of Prejudice, 2006, vol. 40, pp. 197-204.

[15] ANDERSON, p. 25.

[16] ANDERSON, p. 26.

[17] YUVAL-DAVIS, p. 197.

[18] YUVAL-DAVIS, p. 203.

belonging".[19] Koukoutsaki-Monnier[20] proposed the construction of national identity and suggested to shape this process by two major interactions (Fig. 1).
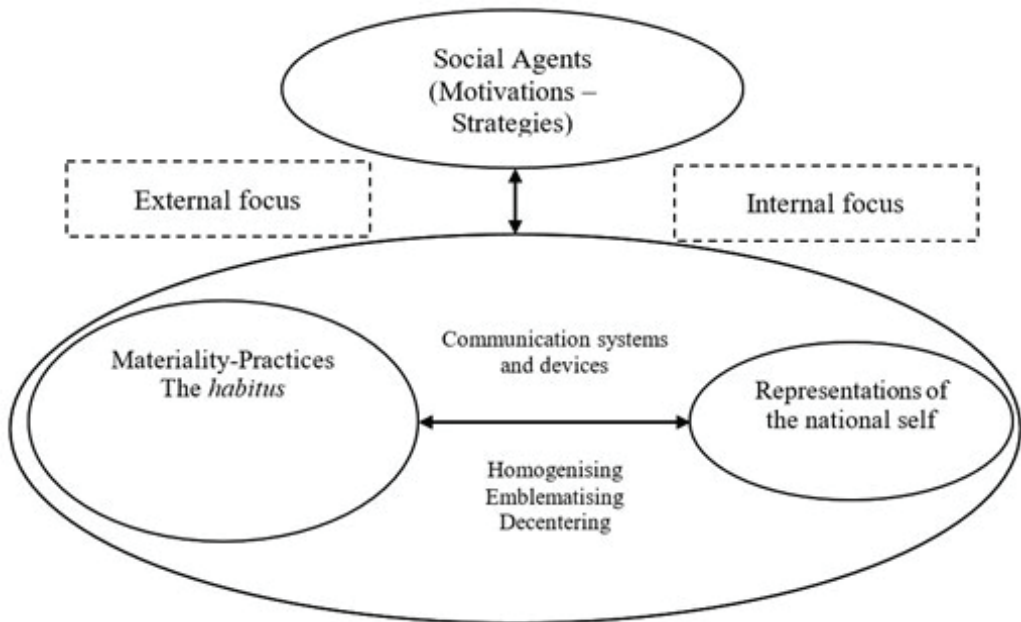

Figure 1. The construction of national identity: Theoretical framework and research agenda.
Source: elaborated by the author based on Koukoutsaki-Monnier, 2015.

„The first interaction refers to the relationship between the materiality and the practices of everyday life, on the one hand, and the engendered representations and symbolic patterns, on the other hand; the second interaction focuses on the inputs provided by communication systems and the motivations/strategies of the social agents. The first dimension addresses the referential aspect of national identity, while the second dimension raises the issue of power (the role of institutions, strategies, etc.) underlying its formation".[21]

Nationality, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind. People need to consider carefully their history, changes that have appeared over time, and today's emotional legitimacy.[22] Current discussions around the memory/history dilemma show that multiple, fragmented memories today go beyond the „territory of the historian", turn into an instrument of social communication and identity construction.[23] For a normally functioning society, the problem is not to separate history and memory, carefully outlining their scope, but to resolve the

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[19] YUVAL-DAVIS, p. 207.
[20] KOUKOUTSAKI-MONNIER, Angeliki. Understanding National Identity: Between Culture and Institutions. In American Journal of Cultural Sociology, 2015, vol. 3, pp. 65-88.
[21] KOUKOUTSAKI-MONNIER, p. 69.
[22] ANDERSON, David A. Reputation, Compensation, and Proof. In William & Mary Law Review, 1984, vol. 25, p. 747.
[23] FEDOROVA, Mariya M. History/memory: The "Difficult" Dilemma. In History of Philosophy, 2018, vol. 23, pp. 108-121; LEKTORSKIY, Vladislav A. – Trufanova, Elena O. – YAKOVLEVA, Alexandra F. The Subjective World in the Context of Challenges of Modern Cognitive Science. Moscow: Akvilon, 2017.

question of how history, memory and oblivion can be connected. Undoubtedly, the image of the past is the fundamental basis of historical memory.[24]

The breakdown of the old foundations of life and the old value-semantic guidelines has led to a split in the spiritual world of Russian society, a loss of national identity, sense of patriotism, national and socio-cultural identification of citizens.[25] The inert state policy in the field of social reform and the lack of new value guidelines have led to an increased interest of citizens in the historical past of the country; people try to find answers to the pressing issues.[26] The problem lies deeper – dependence of an individual on his/her memories allows him/her to identify him/herself.[27] Historical time is virtualised and acquires non-linear polysemy, which ceases to be a source of meanings and begins to serve as a virtual entertainment background of everyday life. Historical images, turning into objects of consumption, now themselves obey the logic of consumer ratings.

Russians now primarily combine a commitment to the values, culture and achievements of the Soviet period, and the period of modern Russia.[28] This includes the victory in World War II, scientific, technical and sports achievements, music and cinema. All this relates to the achievements of the multinational Russian nation and, therefore, is most significant for the formation of its identity. At the same time, national identities and the legitimacy of nation-states are arguably undermined by globalising pressures and multilateralism.[29] „With the destruction of education, which carries a system of values, youth breaks away from culture and loses historical memory".[30]

The purpose of the study is the measurement of the role of historical memory in Russian Federation population view and identifying its role in the formation of national identity in the post-truth era in Russian using the example of sociological dimensions. This study substantiates the importance of historical memory in the formation of Russian national identity and unity. The authors have considered foreign and domestic researches concerning different aspects of the relationship between historical memory and national identity. The following section discusses research methods (survey type, sample, and procedure), possible limitations as well as data analysis. The results of the research, discussions and conclusions are presented in the following sections.

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[24] DMITRIEVA, Olga O. Historical Memory and the Mechanisms of its Formation: An Analysis of Historiographic Concepts in Russian Science. In Bulletin of Chelyabinsk State University, 2015, vol. 6, pp. 132-137.
[25] PLOTNIKOVA, Olga A. The Crisis of National Self-identification in Modern Russia. In Social Studies, 2016, vol. 2, pp. 13-18.
[26] PLOTNIKOVA, p. 13.
[27] IONOV, Igor N. Forms of historical memory and identification problems. In TISHKOVA, V. – PIVNEVA, E. (eds.). Section 1. Historical Memory and Russian Identity. Moscow: RAS, 2018.
[28] FILIMONOV, Dmitriy. The Question of the Role of Russian Historical Memory in the Formation of Russian National Identity. In PolitBook, 2019, vol. 2, pp. 123-139.
[29] FORREST, Ray – KEARNS, Ade. Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood. In Urban Studies, 2001, vol. 38, pp. 2125-2143.
[30] STANDING, Guy. The Precariat-The New Dangerous Class. In Amalgam, 2014, vol. 6, p. 230.

Materials and Methods

Research Design, Sample and Survey

The main hypothesis for this study was the idea that, even in conditions of post-truth era, national and historical memories retain their true value as an important mechanism for the formation of the following: national unity; self-awareness; self-identification of not only each individual separately, but also the nation as a whole. To confirm this hypothesis, survey data were studied, and their analysis was carried out using mixed research methods. Mixed methods of research involved philosophical assumptions, the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches, and the mixing of both approaches in the study. Thus, in addition to collecting and analysing both kinds of data, the authors also used both approaches in tandem to strengthen the study.[31] Mixed research methods were used – two types of data (numeric and text), two types of data analysis (statistical and textual). Mixing of the two types of data occurred at several stages: the data collection, the data analysis, interpretation, and at all three phases.[32]

The study used open data from the Russian Public Opinion Research Centre.[33] The poll on knowledge of the history of Russia was carried out on September 6-7, 2017. There was also a poll on national unity that was carried out on October 28, 2019. This survey involved respondents aged 18 and over in an amount of at least 1600 people. The author was not involved in collecting data at the time of these surveys; this study uses public data and secondary data analysis. The data were checked for socio-demographic parameters. The survey method was a telephone interview on a stratified two-base random sample of fixed and mobile numbers. The sample was based on a complete list of telephone numbers used in the Russian Federation. The maximum error size with a probability of 95% for data collected within one day (1600 respondents) did not exceed 2.5%. Each survey presented all federal districts, at least 80 regions.

The initial methodological concepts, which were taken as a basis, were the following scientific works of the scholars: Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad;[34] Mariya Fedorova;[35] Lorina Repina.[36] The authors of the current study, thanks to the polls, studied the questions of knowledge of history as a criterion for assessing the level of perception of historical memory. A similar approach was used in a survey on national unity. The results of the latter could be interpreted as a criterion for assessing the perception of national identity in modern conditions of the post-truth world. Besides, issues of historical memory and national identity were

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[31] CRESWELL, John W. Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches. 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2009).

[32] CRESWELL, p. 31.

[33] RUSSIAN PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH CENTRE. National unity: A dream or reality? In Russian Public Opinion Research Centre [Online]. <https://wciom.com/index.php?id=61&uid=1720>.

[34] ASSMANN, Aleida – CONRAD, Sebastian. Memory in a Global Age Discourses, Practices and Trajectories. New: York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

[35] FEDOROVA, pp. 108-121.

[36] REPINA, Lorina. Historical Memory and National Identity: Approaches and Research Methods. In Memory Identity Knowledge, 2016, vol. 54, pp. 9-15.

considered in the context of the advent of the post-truth era, when public consciousness is increasingly formed on emotions, beliefs, feelings, fictions, and not just facts. This generally correlated with previously used research approaches.[37]

Data Analysis

Logical data control was performed on the collected array. If the phone interview records were too short, they were reviewed separately. If the interview records showed a data distribution that was significantly different from the average – such interview records were also sent for additional review. All the rejected interview records were deleted from the array.[38]

Therefore, when calculating socio-political indicators, the authors used socio--demographic indicators.

The used variables:

Type of settlement. The sample represented five types of settlements, reflecting the general population:
* city (one+ million people);
* city (500 thousand – one million people);
* city (100 thousand – 500 thousand people);
* city (less than 100 thousand people) and urban-type settlements;
* villages.

Sex. The sample reflected the sex structure of the population: Male, Female.

Age. The sample was divided into four age groups: 18-24 years old, 25-39 years old, 40-54 years old, 55 years old and older.

The level of education. The array was divided into two groups according to the level of education and reflected those with higher education and those without higher education.

Telephone Survey Reachability Indicators. For VTSIOM, reachability indicators were calculated using AAPOR technology.[39]

Research Limitations

It was not possible to fully reveal some of the issues of the transformation of historical memory and national identity under post-truth conditions, due to the lack of a period for systematic research.

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[37] Oksana BORISOVA, Post-truth as a Way of Manipulating Public Consciousness in Modern Russia. In All-Russian Scientific Conference with International Participation "Post-truth Politics and Populism in the Modern World". Saint Petersburg, September 22–23, 2017; DMITRIEVA, pp. 132-137; REPINA, ref. 36, pp. 9-15.

[38] RUSSIAN PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH CENTRE. Database of VTSIOM-Sputnik. In Russian Public Opinion Research Centre, 1 February 2019 [Online]. <https://wciom.ru/research/sputnik/>.

[39] STANDARD DEFINITIONS. Final Dispositions of Case Codes and Outcome Rates for Surveys. In Standard Definitions, 2016 [Online]. <https://www.aapor.org/AAPOR_Main/media/publications/StandardDefinitions20169theditionfinal.pdf>.

Results

Interviews confirmed the thesis of the relative fidelity of the assumption that in modern Russian society, there are problems in understanding historical memory and national identity as important elements of its sustainable development in the prevailing post-truth world. Today, there is a need to change the essence of these elements, adapt them to new challenges of the time, because familiar values and moral guidelines are increasingly being replaced by virtual substitutes, and facets of historical memory and national identity are being eroded.

The authors' analysis of data from a closed VTSIOM survey showed that in general, 92% of the total number of respondents consider that it is important to know the history of Russia, while only 42% know it well (that is, 39% – rather good and three per cent – very good) (Fig. 2). Moreover, the difference between the two answers „rather bad" and „rather good" turned out to be insignificant, respectively 40% and 39% of their total number. The latter indicates a deep crisis in the public consciousness regarding the perception of history and the transition of historical memory from generation to generation. The analysis of the obtained results shows that the level of history knowledge does not depend on the type of settlement in which a respondent lives.
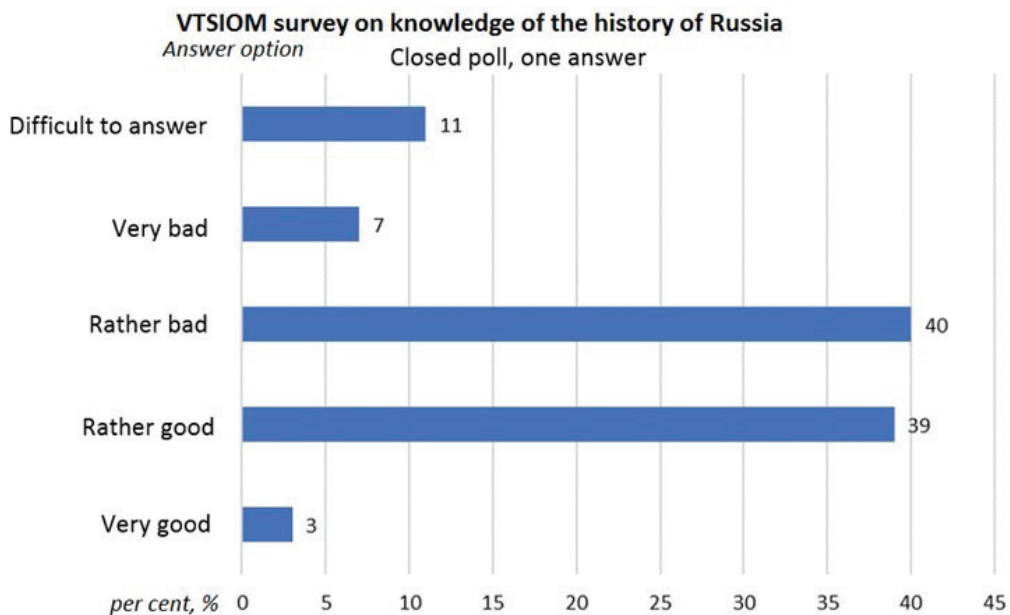

Figure 2. VTSIOM survey on knowledge of the history of Russia, conducted in 2017. Source: developed by the author based on the Russian Public Opinion Research Centre 2017.

There are relatively many respondents who have evaluated their knowledge of Russian history as „very bad", namely seven per cent, which more than in double exceeds the answer „very good". This can be interpreted from the position that historical memory, as a rule, has a certain set of basic cultural symbols, which imply the presence of a constantly updated structure in which the identity of a society is maintained through the reconstruction of the past. This can be achieved

by neutralising contradictory and even conflicting versions of this past, and a change in the organisation of historical experience occurs when society encounters a reality that does not fit into the framework of familiar ideas.

It is possible to put forward a hypothesis about the gap in the transmission of historical memory between different generations of people in Russia, which is also largely due to the complex processes of the post-truth world. One should pay attention to the fact that over the past decade, the influence of generation that has been the carrier of the Russian Soviet historical memory has decreased. It is important to understand that the correct application of past experience in the real world is a necessary condition for the formation of national identity. The established post-truth is quite different in its principles of functioning, explanatory models, and value guidelines.

At the same time, the analysis of the data of another survey, which was conducted in 2019, showed rather alarming moments in the current development of Russian society. Thus, there is a need for a deep rethinking of the importance and role of memory as an important mechanism for the formation of:

- national unity;
- self-awareness;
- self-identification of not only each individual separately, but also the nation as a whole (Fig. 3).
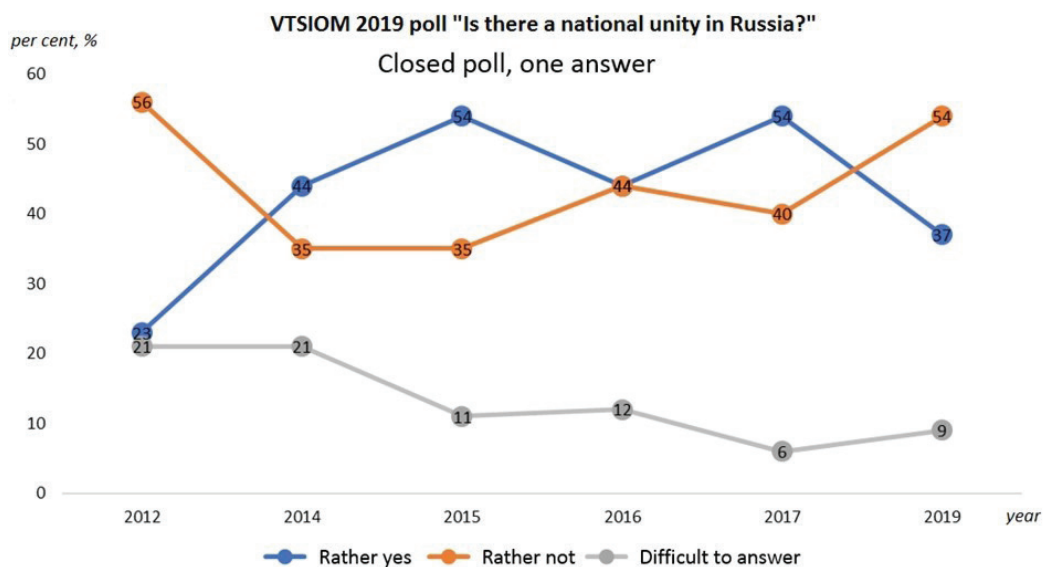

Figure 3. VTSIOM 2019 poll „Is there a national unity in Russia?"
Source: Russian Public Opinion Research Centre 2019.

There was a poll on the presence of national unity in Russia. The results indicated that in 2012 and 2019 there was the lowest percentage of positive answers, 23% and 37%, respectively, while the negative answers were 56% and 54%. Moreover, the percentage of those respondents who found it difficult to answer the question concerning national unity decreased quite significantly. On the one hand, this

may indicate an increasing polarisation of public opinion, and on the other, the gradual formation of a holistic perception of this problem by Russian society.

Therefore, it is important to understand that historical memory and national identity retain their true value as an important mechanism for the formation of national unity, self-awareness and self-identification not only of each individual separately, but also of the nation as a whole. The results of the study suggest that in the rapidly developing global virtual world, there is a diffusion between historical memory and national identity. The very concept of memory loses its paramount meaning as a determining element of social consciousness and collective identity. Based on the foregoing, it can be argued that the Russian nation is faced with a threat of the loss of unity and community; thus, in the near future, contradictions and conflicts may arise. Therefore, based on the obtained results, one should accept that there are the following issues that occupy an important place in scientific discourse, namely:

- perceiving historical memory and national identity in the post-truth era.
- influence of historical memory on the formation of the unity of the Russian nation;
- formation of Russian national identity and its place in the new emerging world.

Today, the influence of globalisation and neoliberal policies (pursued by political power elites in domestic politics) on the formation of historical memory and national identity in Russia is insignificant compared to the 1990s. Social networks (Facebook, Twitter, VKontakte) now have a significant impact on the formation of national identity, sometimes replacing the traditional channels for obtaining information by society. At the same time, they compete with other Internet media, television and cinema.

Power elites are trying to influence these processes. However, every year this becomes more difficult since historical memory and national identity in the modern world are more formed on emotions, beliefs, feelings, fictions, and not just facts. At the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, the spread and dominance of the ideas of neoliberalism and globalisation necessitated a reassessment of historical, cultural and national characteristics in many countries of the world. At the same time, there was a threat of loss of national identity and erosion of historical memory in the context of the formation of a new post-truth world.

Discussion

A similar (to the current research) understanding of the essence of memory is in the study of Bell,[40] where he draws attention to the danger of its manipulation and misuse. The difference of this work from others lies in a comprehensive examination of the problem of measuring individual and collective memory, as well as various forms of its representation.

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[40] BELL, Duncan S.A. Mythscapes: Memory, Mythology, and National Identity. In The British Journal of Sociology, 2003, vol. 54, pp. 63-81.

Post-truth era is characterised by the increasing role of information as memory storage in all spheres of human activity.[41] In our study, the decrease in the number of doubters about the answer about national unity to some extent reflects the tendency of the post-truth era to increase confidence in information due to the background of easier access to information that is not necessarily true. This is similar to the ideas of Nath,[42] who, studying the problem of the development of the information society, argues that in today's world more information is used in everyday life than it was before. At the same time, the study of this author lacks a holistic understanding of the importance of memory's role in the development of information society. Changes in saturation of the information field can make a targeted impact on the formation of national memory as a dynamic process more effective.

Approaches to the study of the perception of historical memory and national identity in most of the works of mentioned domestic scientists are similar in the following. Namely, in the understanding of the role of the memory in constructing national identity.[43] A distinctive feature in the case of Olga Dmitrieva[44] is a large focus on the application of the analysis of historiographic concepts, while Olga Plotnikova[45] concentrates on the problem of the crisis of national self-identification. On the whole, one can agree with the opinion of Lorina Repina[46] that to study the role played by historical memory in specific historical situations (that require important social and political decisions), a complex model is needed. Namely, a model of interaction of general cultural and group ideas about the past, the present and the future. This model should be capable of embracing the long-term processes of competition of political projects that use:

- historical argumentation;
- concepts of „triumphs" and „disasters", „heroes" and „traitors" to manipulate the public mind;
- history of political thought;
- professional historiography.

Within the framework of this model, professional academic historiography appears to be politically and ideologically neutral, but it is inevitably interpreted and used by political projects within the framework of long-term processes of forming historical memory.

In modern realities, the concept of a nation (even with a multimillion population) is vague, since globalisation is blurring the borders between countries.[47] Indeed, not all concepts are important to people in the same way and to the same extent. Emotions and perceptions change according to the time and situation, becoming more or less reflective. As a rule, the emotional perception of oneself

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[41] ASSMANN – CONRAD, p. 23.
[42] NATH, Hiranya K. The Information Society. In Space and Culture India, 2017, vol. 4, pp. 19-28.
[43] DMITRIEVA, pp. 132-137; PLOTNIKOVA, pp. 13-18.
[44] DMITRIEVA, pp. 132-137.
[45] PLOTNIKOVA, pp. 13-18.
[46] REPINA, pp. 9-15.
[47] ANDERSON, p. 205.

and one's identity becomes more central, the more threatened and less secure one feels.[48] The modern digital environment and politicians have updated the concept of „post-truth" when the truth becomes not fundamentally important. At the same time, national identity, as shown in the survey results used, is closely related to knowledge of the history of Russia. This knowledge, by definition, must be recognized as „true", which makes it a field for manipulation. Manipulation of emotions has a strong influence on public opinion and the formation of its national identity. All of the above examples prove that emotions cannot only distort facts, but also replace them with another truth.

Conclusions

At the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century, the spread and dominance of neoliberalism and globalisation necessitated a reassessment of historical, cultural and national characteristics in many countries of the world. At the same time, there was a threat of loss of national identity and erosion of historical memory in the context of the formation of a new post-truth world. The search for identity and historical memory is closely connected with the processes of nation formation and the emergence of nationalism. The nation is an integration of people's thoughts, customs, and ways of living. It represents a collaboration of language, territory, history, and ethnicity, shaped during centuries, rather than a pre-formed biological or social given. The post-truth era is characterised by the fact that public consciousness in Russia, like in most countries of the world, is increasingly formed on emotions, beliefs, feelings, fictions, and not just facts. National identity is created in the process of comprehension by the nation of its history and memory, an adequate understanding of its current situation, and the image of possible and desired development prospects.

In the context of globalisation and the digital revolution, historical memory and national identity have become an instrument of the struggle for power and control over citizens within Russia and in other countries of the world. Today, social networks and the Internet create information flows that have a more substantial effect on public consciousness than the historical memory. The increase in public demand for a national idea is caused by a critical state of the public's perception of its own identity as well as problems associated with historical memory. According to the polls, 92% believe that it is important to know the history of Russia, while at the same time, only 42% know it well.

The primary mission of historical memory is to carry a system of values that help the young generation to better adapt to the conditions of globalisation, not to break away from the national culture and not to lose their own collective identity in the modern world of post-truth. A systematic understanding of the modern phenomena of nation and nationalism, as well as the reasons for their occurrence and development mechanisms, is becoming crucial for efficiency in politics during the post-truth era. This understanding allows finding optimal solutions to many national and interethnic challenges and helps to maintain social stability.

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[48] YUVAL-DAVIS, pp. 197-214.

The results of the study can be used while developing various state programmes based on national and historical memory.

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