

Dialectics of National-Civic and Ethnic in Ukrainian Society

We can responsibly state that the scientific research «Dialectics of National-Civic and Ethnic in Ukrainian Society» is the first comprehensive study of the dialectical interrelation of the national-civic and ethnic in the development of the identity of the Ukrainian nation. This study applies various scientific approaches, methodological mechanisms, and a unique categorical apparatus.

The monograph presents theoretical and praxeological results of the study of the dynamics of the dialectical interaction of the national-civic and ethnic in the development of the identity of the Ukrainian nation, state construction, social and cultural processes in Ukraine starting its sovereignization time at the end of the 1980s and the declaration of independence in 1991 until 2022 – the first year of full-scale Russian aggression against Ukraine and its people. It could be useful for scholars, teachers, students and politicians interested in the processes of formation of the modern Ukrainian nation and ethnic policy in Ukraine.

It would not be difficult to imagine what this book is about if the word «dialectic» did not appear first in its title. In that case, the national-civic would be seen as being linked to the Ukrainian nation as a community, whose membership is determined by the fact that its members have citizenship of the state of Ukraine and identify themselves with it. This connection is manifested in the mutual rights and obligations of the citizen and the state. Ethnic would mean that which relates to origin as a lineage – a blood relationship of generations and/or language, culture, customs, traditions, religion, and other attributes of a community called an ethnic group.

If such an ideal binary existed, there would be no need to ask many questions that have even more versions of answers. In particular, why does the word «national» in everyday, scientific, political, and legislative discourse refer to both what is related to the state and what is related to the whole of society, or state and society together, and what is interpreted as ethnic? Why is it that in all these discourses, the nation is defined as a community, either ethnic, political, civic, or characterized by some combination of the

ethnic, civic, and political? Sometimes it is postulated that there are two Ukrainian nations and national identities in Ukraine at the same time: ethnic and political/civic. Are ethnicity and its characteristics inherited, or are they acquired and can be lost? Can the ethnic identity/affiliation (or nationality in the sense of ethnicity) of a person be recognized if that person is not a carrier of all or some part of the cultural, customary, linguistic and other traditions of his or her community? Or is the person a carrier of such traditions, but these traditions are markedly different from those of the same ethnic community (nationality) in another region?

Can a citizen of Ukraine be recognized as a member of the Ukrainian nation if, for one reason or another, he or she is not a carrier of the ethnic features of Ukrainian national identity defined by law, including «ethnic-social origin, historical memory, a set of spiritual and cultural values, in particular, the Ukrainian language and folk traditions»?

Why is the word «ethnic-national» used to refer to both what concerns a nation as a mono-ethnic (monocultural) community and what concerns interethnic cultural, linguistic, religious and other differences within such a nation, as well as what testifies to the multiethnicity and multiculturalism of the nation as a civil community?

Why is the word «Ukrainians» used to refer to citizens/persons who have ethnic features of Ukrainians, as well as citizens of Ukraine of other nationalities (in the ethnic interpretation) than Ukrainians?

There is no binary between national-civic and ethnic in Ukrainian society. These phenomena are in a changing and evolving dialectical relationship of unity and struggle of opposites, the dynamics of which have shaped, formed and determined the development of a modern Ukrainian multi-ethnic and multicultural civic nation with an ethnic-Ukrainian core, capable of living and winning. This book is about the results of a study of such dynamics in the processes of social change and state-building during the period of Ukraine's sovereignty and after independence, including 2022, the first year of full-scale armed aggression by Russia and Russians against Ukraine and Ukrainians, against the Ukrainian nation.

The dialectical connection between nation and ethnicity, national (national-civic) and ethnic (national-ethnic), is ubiquitous or almost ubiquitous – at least in European and other civilized countries on other continents. Not all researchers agree with this statement. Why is that? This is discussed in the chapters of **Part 1** of the monograph.

Chapter 1 (Viktor Kotygorenko) shows that in Ukrainian and foreign scientific discourses on ethnicities and nations, there is no generally accepted and universal concept/paradigm for studying and interpreting these phenomena. At the same time, there are hardly any convincing reasons to consider one of these concepts/paradigms as valid (scientific) and the other as false (unscientific), if both are formed in the process of studying a certain historical experience and are not logically contradictory.

Chapter 2 (Viktor Kotygorenko) analyzes the conceptual/paradigmatic pluralism inherent in the scientific research and interpretation of the dialectic of the national (national-civic) and the ethnic in Ukrainian society. This situation can be considered the norm and even a positive aspect of the cognitive process. The same cannot be said about the plurality of contradictory definitions of ethnic-political concepts in the current legislation of Ukraine. It undermines the integrity of the purpose, goals and objectives of the state policy of integration and consolidation of the ethnically and culturally diverse civil society of Ukraine into a community nation. Meanwhile, Ukrainian citizens' perception of themselves as a nation and their behavior in crises have proven to be much more homogeneous and coherent than those of legislators and politicians. In particular, and perhaps above all, it was these perceptions and the solidarity behavior based on them that ensured the ability of the Ukrainian nation to respond effectively to internal and external threats to its existence and development.

The dialectical social interaction of the national-civic and the ethnic has occurred, is occurring, and is manifesting itself in various segments of the state system and the social sphere. The relevant dynamics are analyzed and described in the chapters of **Part 2** of the monograph.

Chapter 3 (Oleksii Liashenko) presents the results of the study of such interaction in the process and results of the formation and peculiarities of the functioning of the state (territorial-administrative) structure of Ukraine.

Chapter 4 (Oleksii Liashenko) analyses the dynamics of interaction between the national-civic and ethnic phenomena in the electoral and other political behavior of Ukrainian citizens.

Chapter 5 (Anastasiia Dehterenko) examines the peculiarities of the political and socio-professional structure of the Ukrainian population in the national-civic and ethnic dimensions.

Chapter 6 (Oleg Kalakura) examines and conceptualizes the multiculturalism of the Ukrainian civic nation and national identity, as well as the integrative model of state ethnic policy in culture and education.

Chapter 7 (Natalia Kochan) examines the national-civic and ethnic in the context of contradictions in the functioning of the church-religious sphere and its openness to the construction of non-religious identities and certain elements of civil religion as consensus values.

Chapter 8 (Yuriy Nikolaiets) analyses changes in national-civic and ethnic narratives and state policy priorities in the space of historical memory.

The interaction of the national-civic and the ethnic in society is the result of immanent factors, but not only. The chapters in **Part 3** of the monograph present the results of a study of the impact of several domestic and foreign social actors on this interaction.

Chapter 9 (Anastasiia Dehterenko) deals with the system of state and local government institutions in Ukraine.

Chapter 10 (Valeriy Novorodovsky) deals with domestic public associations.

Chapter 11 (Yuriy Nikolaiets) deals with the peculiarities of the influence of the media sphere on the dynamics of national-civic and ethnicity in Ukrainian society.

Chapter 12 (Lyudmyla Mazuka) focuses on the potential of existing associations of Ukrainians abroad and the importance of forming powerful Ukrainian communities and

organizations to preserve and strengthen the Ukrainian national identity of people who come from Ukraine, especially those who fled the war, regardless of their ethnic origin.

Chapter 13 (Anastasiia Dehterenko) focuses on international institutions and the standards they have developed for the protection of the rights of national minorities and indigenous peoples, as well as the requirements for adapting Ukrainian legislation to these standards.

Chapter 14 (Oleg Kalakura) analyzes the ideology and practices of the so-called «Russkiy Mir» («Russian world») other agents of Russian influence on the identity of Ukrainians living in the Russian Federation, as well as Ukrainian citizens in Ukraine itself.

Based on the results of the research, the authors of the chapters outlined the issues for further research, as well as formulated conclusions and proposals for the institutions of the state authorities to improve the policy of national and civil integration and consolidation of Ukrainian ethnic and cultural diversity to win and develop successfully together¹.

Ruslan Kaminskyi carried out research and supporting work in the process of conducting the study and preparing the text of the monograph for publication.

AFTERWORD

As the authors of this study were nearing completion, the Russian Federation escalated the war against Ukraine that began in 2014. The full-scale armed invasion has dramatically changed the lives of Ukrainians. At the same time, the situation around the world began to change. It turned out that globalization has made countries and societies even more dependent on each other than intellectuals had thought, written, and spoken

¹ In a number of cases, when the authors analyzed and described phenomena and events somehow related to the ethnic identity and attributes of the ethnic identity of Ukrainian citizens and Russian citizens whose linguistic tradition includes the self-naming «Russkiy» this word and its derivatives were used. Such use of the word seems more appropriate, since the word «Russians» in the Ukrainian language denotes both ethnic identity and citizenship of the Russian Federation. Calling ethnic Russkiys who are citizens of Ukraine as Russians has always been incorrectly, both semantically, politically, and legally. The full-scale Russian invasion seems to be the most convincing argument for changes in the Ukrainian language thesaurus, at least in the thesaurus of this edition.

about. Some of them, and not only them, argue that only now, in the war against the aggressor, is the Ukrainian nation being formed. This is a purely speculative statement. It is not much further removed from reality than the delusions of the Kremlin leader and his camarilla that Ukrainians as a nation do not exist and have never existed, that Ukrainians are one people with Russians. It therefore should be together under the «care» of the Kremlin authorities. This delusion was fuelled by historians, philosophers, political scientists, etc. close to the government. Through the means of mass communication, it infected and shaped the feelings and consciousness of the general population of Russia and beyond. The influence of the «Russkiy Mir» («Russian world») was spreading in Ukraine by secular and church agents.

This further increased the fever of the Kremlin's master and his desire to fulfill his morbid dream. It is not known whether and to what extent that fever has subsided. But it has become clear not only «behind the curb» but also worldwide that there is and will be a powerful Ukrainian nation in Ukraine. It united the overwhelming majority of ethnic Ukrainians, Ukrainian-speaking and non-Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainian Belarusians, Jews, Crimean Tatars, Moldovans, Poles, Romanians, Russkiys (Russians), Hungarians, and citizens of other nationalities. Since February 24, 2022, this multi-ethnic and multicultural civil society with an ethnic-Ukrainian core has been facing another test in its history – a full-scale war. This is a tragic and, at the same time, the most expressive and illustrative manifestation of the dialectic of national-civic, and ethnicity in Ukrainian society.

The parameters of this dialectic have never been constant; they are constantly changing. The study of the relevant dynamics has shown their contradictory and nonlinear nature. Successes in nation-building alternated with failures and temporary defeats. However, the Ukrainian nation emerged from all crises stronger. This does not mean that in each case, the problems disappeared. Some were resolved, others became latent, and new ones emerged. The issues of systematic priorities and legislative and institutional support for the state policy of consolidation and development of the Ukrainian nation, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious, and other identities of all indigenous peoples and

national minorities of Ukraine, in particular, in the part of tasks, the fulfillment of which is necessary for successful accession to the European Union, have been formed and remain relevant.

The war has not removed but exacerbated the difficulties that arose before it with the successful continuation of the decentralization reform and territorial organization of power, and the formation of capable local self-government based on the reconciliation of the interests of the state, regions, and communes. These interests include those related to meeting ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and other needs and demands.

The change of priorities has not eliminated the need to overcome the uneven socio-economic development of regions and communes, including those with different ethnic compositions, languages, and other preferences of the population.

The long-standing problem of balancing the national, civil, and ethnic in the church-religious sphere has become more acute. At the same time, new opportunities for solving it have emerged. Their successful implementation requires perseverance, but also caution.

The strengthening of civic initiative and self-organization caused by the war is important to preserve to solving post-war problems, including those related to the reintegration into the Ukrainian social space of the temporarily occupied territories and their population, which is ethnically and culturally different from the majority of the country's citizens. These differences have only increased during the occupation. Reintegration problems will also arise in the process of returning to Ukraine of the so-called «displaced persons» who fled the horrors of war both to the West and to the East, including to the territory of the Russian Federation.

A demographically and economically determined and necessary increase in immigration to Ukraine from Indochina, Central Asia, the Middle East and other regions, including the post-Soviet space, should probably be expected. Therefore, we should prepare to neutralize the threats of erosion of the traditional ethnic, cultural, civilizational, value, and other national spaces, including the world outlook national space, which until recently was and still is not as powerful and stable as it should be.

The autocratic threat to the democratic choice of Ukraine and Ukrainians will not disappear, and it may intensify, which could lead to a new political crisis and another wave of social destabilization, which could be directed by interested parties in the direction of ethnic, linguistic, racial, and other differences.

The state, together with scientists, politicians, civic society, and all socially active citizens, should already be preparing effective responses to possible challenges. Several proposals for such responses are presented in this publication.

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