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**The specifics of shaping the national and political identities
in Ukrainian society: history and modernity**

The study examines the shaping of political and national identity in Ukraine in historical context, defines the factors influencing the process; the scope of the study covers the period from the beginning of the 20th century to the present days. The urgency of the study lies in the fact of existence of double identities in the collective and individual consciousness of Ukrainians at the beginning of the 20th century, which also complicates the problem of the choice of identities in modern Ukrainian society. The main range of problems requiring further research, debating points and poorly investigated problems, perspectives of studies in the area and ways of solving the existing social problems are identified. Along with the theoretical principles of studying the specifics of shaping of social consciousness, practical measures are taken to overcome the existing crisis in the public consciousness, complex solutions to the problem of shaping the collective historical memory of Ukrainians are proposed.

Key Words: Shaping of Identity; Political Identity; National Identity; Dual Identities; Problem of Identity in Contemporary Ukraine.

Головіна О. В. Особливості формування національних та політичних ідентичностей в українському суспільстві: історія та сучасність

У дослідженні розглянуто формування політичної та національної ідентичності в Україні в історичному дискурсі, визначено основні фактори, що впливали на цей процес; межі розвідки охоплюють період із початку ХХ ст. до сьогодення. Актуальність вивчення проблеми обумовлено існуванням подвійних ідентичностей у колективній та індивідуальній свідомості українців початку ХХ ст., що розглядається як чинник проблем вибору ідентичностей, що існують у сучасному українському суспільстві. У розвідці на підставі низки загальнонаукових методів та загальних методів історичної науки: аналізу, синтезу, порівняльно-історичного, системно-структурного – досліджено особливості становлення національної та політичної свідомості в українському суспільстві, пов'язану з ними самоідентифікацію, як чинники політичних та державотворчих процесів у ХХ ст. Визначено основне коло питань, що потребують подальшого дослідження, дискусійні та малодосліджені проблеми, перспективи розвідок у даній царині та позначено шляхи вирішення існуючої суспільної проблеми. Поряд із теоретичними засадами дослідження особливостей формування суспільної свідомості наведено й практичні заходи подолання існуючої кризи у суспільній свідомості, запропоновані комплексне вирішення проблеми формування колективної історичної пам'яті українців.

Ключові слова: формування ідентичності; політична ідентичність; національна ідентичність; подвійні ідентичності; проблема ідентичності у сучасній Україні.

Головина О. В. Особенности формирования национальных и политических идентичностей в украинском обществе: история и современность

В исследовании рассмотрено формирование национальной и политической идентичности в Украине в историческом дискурсе, обозначены основные факторы, влияющие на этот процесс; хронологические рамки исследования охватывают период от начала ХХ в. до настоящего времени. Актуальность исследования проблемы обуславливает существование двойных идентичностей в коллективном и индивидуальном сознании украинцев начала ХХ в., что выступает фактором проблем выбора идентичностей, существующих в современном украинском обществе. В статье на основе ряда общенаучных методов и общих методов исторической науки: анализа, синтеза, сравнительно-исторического, системно-структурного – рассмотрены особенности становления национального и политического сознания в украинском обществе, связанную с ними самоидентификацию, как факто-

ры важнейших политических процессов XX в. В статье определено круг вопросов, требующих дальнейшего изучения, дискуссионные и малоисследованные проблемы, перспективы исследований в данном направлении, обозначены пути решения имеющейся социальной проблемы. Наряду с теоретическими подходами к исследованию особенностей формирования общественного сознания приведены практические рекомендации для преодоления существующего кризиса в общественном сознании, предложены комплексные меры для решения проблем формирования коллективной исторической памяти украинцев.

Ключевые слова: формирование идентичности; политическая идентичность, национальная идентичность, двойные идентичности, проблема идентичности в современной Украине.

Formulation of the problem. The problem of shaping the national and political identity in a contemporary context gains ground due to the urgent needs of Ukrainian society – the need for national consolidation and the protection of the sovereignty and integrity of the state, given that the state- and nation-building completion processes are inextricably linked to the processes of shaping the national identity of Ukrainian citizen. The problem of national and political self-identification of Ukrainian citizens is extremely challenging and urgent in the context of the European political Ukrainian nation-building. As a result of the Russian Empire adopting the lengthy unification state policy on the Eastern Ukrainian lands, the existing identities got blurred, and at the same time the shaping of new, modern identities got crippled, causing the crisis of identities existing in today's Ukraine.

Until recently, the ethnicity was not considered as the main criterion for identifying the group affiliations and differences. Religious, class differences within one nation were paid more attention than the trans-national differences. Understanding the specifics of the shaping of national and political identity on Ukrainian lands is impossible without historical discourse, which under this research study covers the period from the beginning of the 20th century. The study proposes to consider and research conditions for the shaping of identities, the factors that influenced this process, having settled on certain components of consciousness, as well as to determine the range of problems existing in this area and prospects for further exploration on this issue, and to identify the ways needed to solve the existing social problem.

Analysis of publications. Distinguished scholars and socio-political personas of the 19th and early 20th centuries made a significant contribution to the study of the problems of the Ukrainian nation-building, the shaping of a national consciousness, and the search for identity. (M. Kostomarov, V. Antonovich, M. Drahomanov, I. Franko, M. Hrushevsky). Modern researchers of the ethno-political processes in Ukraine emphasize the relevance of the study of the processes of the Ukrainian nation-building and development of the state, considering them through the historical, political, philosophical and even psychological lens (G. Kasyanov, Y. Hrytsak, I. Gyrych, Y. Vermenich,

P. Gnatenko, M. Popovich, V. Golovko, T. Voropayeva and others).

Presentation of the main material. National identity is inextricably linked to the shaping of national consciousness, which gets shaped at the time of the formation and self-awareness of the nation. Until the modern era, the ethnicity was not considered as the main criterion for identifying the group affiliations and differences. Religious and class differences within one nation were paid more attention than the trans-national differences. The new Ukrainian intellectual elite – *intelligentsia* – became the bearer of Ukrainian national identity in the 19th century. By identifying the components of national identity, its representatives focused on such features of the Ukrainian ethnic community as history, folklore, language, and literature.

As V. Golovko notes, the political identity «has an integrating nature, it feeds on and absorbs other types of identity: regional (distorting it to the state level), religious (as the cult of deification of supreme authority, the introduction of state religion), ethnic (dominant ethnic group as the support of the state or the attraction to the merger of the state and the ethnic community)». National identity is a «plexus of ethnic and political identities». Among the main attributes of national identity we can highlight one's own name, shared historical territory, shared historical memory and historical myths, common legal rights and obligations, a common economy with the option of free movement within the national territory (Golovko, 2002).

In the process of analyzing political identity, the following characteristics must be considered: historical conditions, specifics of the ethnic composition of the population, the religions and religious denominations of the territory of interest, the level of urbanization, political culture, etc. The phenomenon of multiple identity was typical for the empires of the 19th century. Double identities in the public consciousness of Ukrainians, both collective and individual, became common and widespread phenomenon at the beginning of the 20th century.

In the historical context of the development of the Ukrainian people, the shaping of national and political Ukrainian consciousness has become much more complicated. Under unfavorable circumstances for the national development of the Ukrainian people,

primarily the mass denationalization of the higher, most educated and influential classes of Ukrainian society, double (sometimes triple) identities were shaped in the Ukrainian population.

The conditions for the shaping of national and political Ukrainian identity at the beginning of the 20th century made the development of identification factors more complicated and led to the existence of several parallel identities in the collective and individual consciousness of Ukrainians, combining the imperial («Great Russian») – political and Ukrainian – ethnic ones.

At the beginning of the 20th century, among the Ukrainians loyal to the official imperial rule ideology, only the idea of the possibility of Ukrainian development only on the Russian soil, in close and inseparable connection with the «Russian» culture, was welcome. This type of identity can be defined as «Little Russian».

According to L. Nagorna's definition, «the «Little Russian identity» arose as a form of self-awareness of that part of the left-bank Ukrainian gentry, which tried to combine the local patriotism with loyalty to the Russian monarchy» (Nagorna, 2002). An additional reason for the existence of double political loyalty, as I. Gyrych put it, was the certain socio-economic situation that has come about in the Russian Empire and almost made it impossible for an open confrontation with the system of monarchical state power. Considering the phenomenon of double political loyalty and the relevant double national identity of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, I. Gyrych claims that «the intelligentsia became the bearer of the idea of separateness, the situation, when the land aristocracy contented itself with the advantages gained from the metropolis as a reward for the disavowal of Ukrainian irredentism» (Gyrych, 2014), consciously choosing Ukrainian cultural identity, and further – through culture mongering – moving to the ideas of the political isolation of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Thus, when examining the processes of shaping of national and political identities in the population of Ukrainian lands at the beginning of the 20th century, it is necessary to take into account the specifics of the shaping of the national Ukrainian identity and bear in mind the complexity of the ethno-political processes that were abundant in the territory of Ukraine.

Among the ideological factors that largely determined the vector of the political process, and later on influenced the direction of the state-building process, was the specifics of the right-wing movement on the territory of Ukraine, namely the participation of ethnic Ukrainians in it. Ethnic origin Ukrainians constituted a significant share, in particular, in the representatives of Russian nationalist parties, who, according to the then-official doctrine of the unity of

the Russian people, self-identified themselves as Russians («Russian nationals»). So, as V. Lyubchenko notes, the stand of Russian nationalist organizations on the Ukrainian issue is at the same time the stand of politically active ethnic Ukrainians – the representatives of the higher society class, fully exploiting the advantages gained from being officially recognized as the part of the dominant nation of the empire (Lyubchenko, 1997).

Regarding the problems of shaping of political consciousness of the population of the Russian Ukraine, we should elaborate the attitude of Ukrainians towards the official – global imperial – right-wing ideology, including its transformation from monarchism to nationalism, based on the ideological triad «Orthodoxy – autocracy – nationality», which can be considered as ideological preconditions of political processes in Ukraine since the beginning of the 20th century up to the present days. Since the right-wing global imperial ideology – from monarchism to Russian nationalism – determined the creation of a political social consciousness based on the global imperial ideology, the study of this problem is of great importance for understanding the specifics of political consciousness in Ukrainian society at the beginning of the 20th century, which still remains an inadequately researched topic and needs further study.

The significant material for analyzing the state of national consciousness and political identity of Ukrainians at the beginning of the 20th century can be obtained from the political journalism, in particular, from the articles of M. Hrushevsky. For example, in the collection of articles of 1907 (although the cover and the title claim 1906), «From the running wave», in which the postulates of M. Hrushevsky's political program are formulated, one of them is «the recognition of the Ukrainian nation as a separate and independent national unit, which should not be subject to any restrictions on the account of its supposedly lower cultural value or close kinship with some other nation» (Hrushevsky, 1906). M. Hrushevsky, to some extent, accused of the situation at hand «the older generation of Ukrainian patriots, the so-called Ukrainiano-philes» who proclaimed the culture mongering idea, rejecting all sorts of political postulates. In his work «Ukrainian heritage in Russia, its demands and needs» (1906), M. Hrushevsky condemned the participation of Ukrainians in the All-Russian revolutionary movement, since it diverted them from solving national problems, from the national Ukrainian movement.

The problems of self-identification and political awareness, as never before, arose before Ukrainian society during the period of the Ukrainian Revolution, given that it directly determined the further path of the Ukrainian state. As a distinguished historian, M. S. Grushevsky understood all the importance of

the political moment, and thus he shaped the public opinion of Ukrainians with the journalistic works of that time and influenced the public's understanding of the acuteness of the current issues – the development of Ukrainian statehood and nation-building. In particular, by defining the geopolitical factor in the shaping of the mental foundations of the Ukrainian people, M. S. Hrushevsky defines the Moscow political orientation of Ukrainian citizenship as extremely harmful for understanding the Ukrainian separateness. Justifying the Ukrainian Eurocentrism, M. Hrushevsky emphasizes the liminary nature of civilization, separating the Ukrainian cultural space from the Russian: created in difficult times of Ukraine's struggle for independence and statehood.

The national self-identity got even more complicated in Soviet times. According to Y. Vermenich, «disoriented and demoralized people when choosing among the self-identifications, chose not optimal, but least dangerous. <...> The void created by the eradication of traditions, at best, was filled by the mindless nihilism, and at worst – by the aggressive hostility to the otherness» (Vermenych, 2017). At that time, the classical approach became the dominant element for identifying identity.

An important marker of national and political identification has always been the attitude toward the language, because of its tight bounds with the national psychology. The ambivalence in political and national identities as a manifestation of «split consciousness» – a double Ukrainian-Russian (or Russian-Soviet) identity – clearly manifests itself in relation to the Ukrainian language: because of the historically developed regional specifics of Ukraine, the language question has remained relevant until now, which enabled to use it during election campaigns.

The existence of multiple loyalty and identity of Ukrainians during the 20th century and the influence of these factors on the shaping of the consciousness of modern Ukrainians allow to outline a range of problems that need to be addressed further:

- conditions for the shaping of national and political Ukrainian identity, overall identities in Ukraine;
- peculiarities of double (multiple) identities in the collective and individual consciousness of Ukrainians at the beginning of the 20th century;
- the influence of double identities in the public consciousness on the choice of identities in modern Ukraine;
- problems of shaping the Ukrainian identity, which in the modern context acts as a factor of national security.

Among the scientific issues that require further research, Y. Vermenich puts emphasis on the question of politicizing the ethics and the new phase of the Ukrainian national movement that occurred in the

1920s and early 1930s (Vermenych, 2017). The study of this issue is a continuation of the discussion from the 1990's in order to determine the nature of the Ukrainization policy pursued by the Soviet regime, and will allow to give meaning to the processes of shaping the Ukrainian political nation at the new methodological level.

On top of the specified range of problems, the identity issue becomes of particular relevance in the context of regional history, the aspects of shaping the regional identities, and the distortion of self-identification get defined. The existence of regional specifics and differences in the modern Ukrainian socioeconomic reality is conditioned by the political processes of the early 20th century that took place on Ukrainian lands of the Russian Ukraine. For one, in recent studies on regional issues both the stages and crises of regional identities and the conditions for the formation of modern regional elites are defined. While studying the specifics of new identities, V. Golovko defined the general features of «postmodern identity» based on comparison with the main types of social structures and institutions (family, territory, class, confession, politics, ethnos, nation, language, civilization), and concluded that there is no alternative for Ukraine's post-industrial development, and thus for the completion of the crystallization of postmodern identity (Golovko, 2012).

Historians – researchers of public consciousness, and governance experts, exploring this range of issues – offer the practical measures to overcome the existing crisis in the public consciousness, the ways out of a situation marked by blurred identity. The shaping of national consciousness is inextricably linked with the historical memory, and concrete measures for shaping the collective and historical memory in the modern Ukrainian state should include, according to I. Gyrych and Y. Shapoval, such components as the relieving the historical memory of the burden of the remnants of Russian-Soviet ideological influence, through the introduction of educational programs that propagate Ukrainian history and culture, establishing the control over the Ukrainian information space, the priority financing of publishing educational programs, etc. (Gyrych and Shapoval, 2010).

Rethinking the past, the shaping of collective and/or historical memory is a problem that requires a comprehensive solution. Among the modern, new forms of commemoration methods that allow the shaping of public memory, G. Golubchik emphasizes the interactive media projects, reconstructions of historical events, as well as the latest ones: collecting and publishing the thematic memoirs, the documentary theater (verbatim), affecting the viewer by specific methods, broadcasting certain ideas. The mentioned measures «fully meet the demand for demonopolization and democratization of the memory space as a global

feature of the present times» (Golubchik, 2014), thus directly affecting the shaping of national and political consciousness as well – both individual and collective ones.

Conclusions. To sum up, it can be noted that the presence of multiple identities in the public consciousness, due to the geopolitical position of Ukrainian lands in the past, affects the choice of identity in the modern Ukraine. This problem hindered self-identification in Ukrainian society throughout the 20th century, had an impact on the shaping of the Soviet identity, and is still observed, along with the

double Russian-Ukrainian identity. One of the reasons for the crisis of national identity is the affiliation of Ukrainian citizens to various socio-cultural traditions, which manifests itself in the presence of mutually exclusive attitudes in the worldview, therefore the range of issues related to the search for identity in modern Ukraine and the scientific reflection on this issue need to be addressed in context and also with regard to the existing ethnopolitical situation in Ukraine and adequately considering the current geopolitical conditions.

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