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TRANSFORMATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY: TRANSITION FROM ETHNIC FOUNDATIONS TO UNIVERSAL VALUES

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National identity is a relatively new notion. British researcher B. Parekh even claims that it is no older than the mid-20th century. Until the 1950s, he says, instead of national identity, discourse was about national culture, national soul, national character and so on [4, p. 196]. In this short time frame national identity has become a crucial part of people's self-identity.

No wonder that discussions dedicated to the topic of identity in general and national identity in particular do not subside, but only become louder. The war sharpened this question in Ukraine, as Ukraine finally removed Russian influence from the process of shaping its own national narratives and has a strong inspiration for the revival of the old cultural symbols, as well as creating something new.

As A. Hassan and S. J. Barber showed, the more frequently information is encountered, the more truthful that information is perceived to be [3, p. 8]. Thus, it is especially important to work with national narratives and symbols properly, since it becomes much harder to remove flawed narratives once they are incorporated into people's minds.

National identity is closely tight with national memory. Sharing a mutual past, full of grief and glory makes it possible for people who live on the same piece of land to create shared cultural codes. These codes are present in language, national holidays, national heroes, symbols both physical and intellectual. So, it is natural that traditionally Ukrainian identity has been shaped around the common memory about history of people of Ukrainian ethnicity. As P. Gerchanivska claims this kind of ethnic identity is one of the oldest forms of identity [1, p. 4]. It is also more enduring than national

identity which tends to be more dynamic [1, p. 6]. This approach was useful at the beginning of nation formation and national countries, as it was a unification factor for people.

However, despite the fact that Ukrainian national identity is deeply tied to ethnic identity of the country's titular nation – Ukrainians – historically, Ukrainian lands were populated not only by people of Ukrainian ethnicity but also by Crimean Tatars, Krymchaks, Poles, Jews, Greeks, Roma, and others. This raises the question: why can we still observe their exclusion from the national narratives that shape national identity?

Ukrainian national identity, traditionally shaped around shared history and ethnicity, will face new challenges. Multiculturalism of the Ukrainian population will be even more prominent when the war is over and Ukrainian businesses will invite foreign workers. Even before the full-scale war started Ukraine was a popular destination for education for people from Southeast Asia and Central African countries. It is possible to speculate that this trend will only strengthen after the war is over. Thus, Ukraine will face a challenge many developed countries have already faced — the need to incorporate all these immigrants into its national identity. While there will be individuals who come on work contracts and later return home, there will also likely be people who decide to stay, get Ukrainian citizenship, bring their families to Ukraine, or vice versa — marry locals. At this point we can no longer build Ukrainian national identity solely on shared history and ethnicity. From this point, 'being Ukrainian' should mean sharing common values that allow everyone to be included rather than divided.

This kind of discourse has been present in such countries of immigrants as the USA and Canada for some time. Discrimination has created generational trauma among people who were excluded. Even today, it is possible to observe hostility toward North Americans of second, third, and earlier generations.

In his classic article 'National Identity and the Politics of Multi-culturalism', H. A. Giroux criticized the form of nationalism that emerges from national identity. He calls national identity 'a vehicle to foster racism, nativism, and political censorship' [2, 47]. Thus, we may see national identity as a double-edged sword that can help people to unite but also exclude those who don't meet its requirements.

In his article, Giroux also cites examples of radical nationalism that led to tragic consequences like World War II and the oppression of Kurds in Türkiye. Moreover, he notes that in the early 1990s, it was easy to see the rise of neo-Nazi youth movements in Germany, the success of the neo-fascist party in Italy, and ethnic cleansing by Serbian nationalists in the former Yugoslavia. Then he concludes that 'This highly selective list merely illustrates how national identity can be fashioned around appeals

to a monolithic cultural identity that affirms intolerance, bigotry, and an indifference to the precepts of democratic pluralism' [2, p. 45].

In 1995, he claimed that national identity must be inclusive and informed by democratic pluralization of national identities [2, p. 54]. We fully agree. We recognize the value of human lives and dignity – who knows this better than Ukrainians, who understand the cost of being invisible within the borders of Empires, struggling with speaking our native language and even calling ourselves Ukrainians out loud in order to achieve recognition?

A multicultural Ukraine is inevitable, so we should prepare sooner rather than later. Ukrainian ethnic identity offers values such as freedom, independence, democracy, respect for human dignity, and hospitality. These values are easy to share with newcomers because they are inclusive and respectful. This is why we believe that Ukrainian identity should be built on shared values that are accessible to all, rather than limited to historical and ethnic boundaries. This approach will foster a resilient, multicultural Ukraine, ready to face global challenges.

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