STATIST IDENTIFICATION OF CITIZENS AS A STABILIZATION FACTOR FOR UKRAINIAN SOCIETY

Pashyna N. P.

INTRODUCTION

The issue of consolidated political identity is one of the most challenging in the period of independence of the Ukrainian state. This is conditioned by the fact that strengthening of the political nation, solution of the tasks of demographic transformation is possible due to the general identity milestones of the most population. At the same time, this process cannot be considered to be completed. The risk of emergence and extension of conflicts in the society on the grounds of discernible differences between citizens of some regions related to priority directions of the internal and external development maintains its relevance ¹.

Political practice shows that regional polarity emerges full blown in the epoch of crisis and changes when it is essential to unite and mobilize the society for solving socially important tasks. It becomes a subject-matter of the goal-directed influence of the state, political elites and interest groups. Ethnic and regional identity in that period is dominant in the processes of political identity formation. Election campaigns of the XXI century and tragic events at south-eastern Ukraine, which began in 2014, are an example of the use of regional differences for political expediency. During one decade and a half, the groundwork of political struggle in Ukraine was not a conceptual competition but conflict technologies based on modeling of "enemy image", the division of Ukraine into regional segments, the use of construction "two Ukraines" by political managers. In the context of exacerbation of crisis developments, such ideas have exceptionally fertile ground in the economic and social areas and become a significant factor in shaping the ethnic-regional political identity². Regional identification models are on the rise and intensively established, including through a political elite. And there is a growing emphasis on the local socio-cultural contrasts, social-class confrontations.

Thus, the analysis of shaping political identity in Ukraine shows that there are needs and considerable disagreements between the regions of Ukraine concerning the issues of social development due to some problems.

¹ Ідентичність громадян України: зміни, тенденції, регіональні особливості. Національна безпека і оборона. 2016. № 3–4 (161–162). С. 22–58.

² Панчук М. *Етинополітичні процеси в Україні: регіональні особливості*. Київ: Інститут політичних і етнонаціональних досліджень ім. І.Ф. Кураса НАН України, 2011. С. 203.

Comparing East and West of Ukraine, they are manifested in the electoral strengths, geopolitical orientations, evaluation of the historical background and language-based problems etc. more vividly. Ethnic-cultural regionalism creates additional difficulties in the forming of nationwide identity, consolidation of Ukrainian society towards strategic social development goals: its democratization and modernization.

Consequently, the building of nationwide identity under the conditions of sensitive regions in terms of the ethical and religious composition is one of the urgent problems of modern Ukraine.

Collective political identity (nationwide, national, civil) is a basis for the consolidation of citizens regarding the core social values. Taking into account the above, the shaping of collective nationwide forms of a political identity, which ensure the settling of political system, regimes and the entire society, is the crucial policy direction of contemporary states.

The research of J. Linz, G. Minenkov, E. Pain, V. Safran, A. Stepan, I. Yadav was devoted to the agenda of identity policy in the multiconfessional, multicultural and multilingual states of the modern world, solution of identity conflicts. The papers of R. Dahrendorf, Th. Carothers, A. Lijphart, S. Huntington consider the problems of development and strengthening of democratic regimes, consolidation in complex, multicultural, sociofragmented states. The papers of Yu. Koki, I. Neumann, J. Habermas, F. Cerruti are devoted to the constructing of Pan-European identity.

Scientific discourse on the problems of forming a national-civic identity as a necessary resource for stabilizing a social system, consolidation of Ukrainian society is currently of immediate interest in Ukrainian political science. The above fact is supported by many recent publications and research with a focus on nationwide identity³.

1. The role and significance of macro-political identity for stabilizing society

Identity is based on the mechanisms of differentiation and identification. Identity grows out of the comparison of "Self" with "Other" where "Other" may be defined as Enemy or Friend. Identity is a result of the identification process which exercises the functions of self-description and

³ Україна: шлях до консолідації суспільства: національна доповідь. Інститут політичних і етнонаціональних досліджень ім. І. Ф. Кураса НАН України. Київ : НАН України, 2017. 336 с.; Ідентичність громадян України в нових умовах: стан, тенденції, регіональні особливості. Український центр економічних і політичних досліджень імені Олександра Разумкова. 2016. № 3-4 (161–162). URL: http://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/journal/ ukr/NSD161-162_2016_ukr.pdf; Основні засади та шляхи формування спільної ідентичності громадян України. Український центр економічних і політичних досліджень імені Олександра 2017. № 1-2 (169-170). URL: http://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/journal/ukr/ Разумкова. NSD169-170_2017_ukr.pdf.

self-determination. Thus, identity may be considered as a result of the identification process, which shows the psychological and social mechanisms of identity constructing, and defined in general as a process of establishment, functioning and development of the identity of the subject. The characteristic of the actorness is its subject-role, functional, constructed nature.

Political identity may be regarded as an individual kind of social identity. In nature, it is balanced and reflexive together. Holding certain status position, a person compares his state, a system of political spots and values with other individuals and political objects, namely, the state, parties, interest groups, public movements etc.

Not only the study of individual types of political identity but also considering of the globalization processes, intensification of migration movements, amplification of the social structure, the emergence of new identification codes of its collective forms, especially in the complex states is relevant to modern science. Motivating the political behaviour, political identity, nowhere more so than in its collective macro-forms, determines the direction and is the most important resource of the political development, ensures the stability of the political regime and political system. And vice versa, the lack of collective forms of political identity at the macro-level exacerbates political contradictions in complex states and is a trigger for political turmoil, separatist tendencies, a threat to political security.

To study the collective forms of identity at the domestic level, in political science, it is expedient to use the terms "macro-political identity" which can have various forms (types): country-wide, national, civil, public. The essence of such a definition, as an analysis tool, is all about the universal denominator of collective identities, option to describe general processes, tools and mechanisms for their shaping ⁴.

Each of the forms of macro-political identity unites the society in its way, contributes to the political stabilization, and bridges sectional controversies. A. Lijphart marks four factors of political stability: support of the system, civil order, legitimacy and effectiveness, which are closely related and predetermine each other⁵.

The role and significance of the macro-political identity for a stable development are defined by the functions it performs within society. First of all, this is the integration and consolidation of the citizens of segmented society based on the shared goals and values that impede disintegration and destabilization processes.

⁴ Угрин Л. Я. Ідентичність і безпека: проблеми співвідношення в контексті соціального конструктивізму. *Гілея: науковий вісник.* 2016. Вип. 111. С. 329–333.

⁵ Лейпхарт А. Демократия в многосоставных обществах: сравнительное исследование. Москва: Аспект-пресс, 1997. 288 с.

Support of national goals and values by the majority of citizens, despite political and socio-cultural differences, indicates the existence of macro-political identity as a basic foundation that ensures the stability and continuity of the social system. At the same time, the setting of common goals and values is the result of public consensus and compromise. It is shared by most of the citizens and political elites and supported by the state through the implementation of policies in various public spheres. That tandem of society and state acts as "a persistent rod" – it is an important factor for a sustainable society.

If the formed macro-political identity is a stability factor in society, then the crisis (lack) of macro-political identity (e.g. under the change of political regime, dissipation of a state) due to the busting of common sociocultural and political myths, restructuring of the symbolic space is a danger to the community because it loses its benchmarks, the capacity to collective action. Crisis identity is often characterized by the predominance of a negative model of identity, the domination of the image of Enemy in the public consciousness, the generation of "a negative mobilization".

A consolidation of citizens based on hatred and fear, xenophobia growth, uncontrolled aggression against representatives of other political beliefs, socio-cultural minorities is a destructive factor in the development of a society that obstructs overcoming the crisis. Identity crisis causes the loss of the international actorness and geopolitical positions.

An agreement on the fundamental strategic issues of the development envisages the coherence of socio-political conduct with its modeling in a favorable direction to the state. "Imagined community" satisfies the majority of community members, ensures the government legitimacy, the vital activity of a political system and regime as a whole.

Macro-political identity based on the "imagined community" involves adjusting of the political system and community members to the available internal and external conditions, taking into account mutual interests of most participants of the political process.

One shouldn't ignore the psychotherapeutic role of macro-political identity. According to A. Maslow, safety need is a basic human need. Joined the macro-collective majority, community members assure themselves of security, confidence, inner comfort. From the viewpoint of E. Noelle-Neumann, political self-identification of citizens is the satisfaction of the need for recognition. The author believes that the need for recognition can play a

 $^{^6}$ Гудков Л. Н. К проблеме негативной идентификации. Гудков Л. Н. Негативная идентичность: статьи 1997–2002 годов. Москва : Новое литературное обозрение, «ВЦИОМ–А», 2004. С. 262–299.

⁷ Маслоу А. Мотивация и личность. Санкт-Петербург: Евразия, 1999. 478 с.

motivation role for political behaviour, assist in the transformation of activity needs, help people to feel familiar with political space and evaluate it⁸.

In general, macro-political identity as a mental indicator defines the real territorial boundaries of the community that determines some values and symbols as Own⁹.

Political identity in the postmodern society is a subject-matter of identity policy which can be exercised by all actors of the political process able to formulate and defend the interests of social groups or society as a whole. It is implemented following the principles of pluralism and stipulates that identities compete with each other, and identification of social actors is performed on the ground of "recognition".

Identity politics can be defined as a system of measures and actions of the actors of a political process designed to form a collective identity based on the promotion of some goals and values, clarification of the essence "We" and marking "Other".

However, the concept "identity politics" is mainly used in the science and public discourses to analyse government action (policy) on constructing, consolidating and correcting of macro-political identity in terms of promotion of some goals and values, clarification of the essence "We" and marking "Other". The above is basically realized in the ideological and humanitarian areas and, at the same time, media space is of key importance ¹⁰.

The dominant role of the state in the process of shaping political identity on a nationwide scale is defined by the fact that it has all required political, legal, administrative, economic, information and other resources at its disposal. The state also owns such a network of institutionalized channels for the implementation of collective identity as state symbols, science, academic and educational institutions, state media, libraries, museums etc.

Thus, the national identity politics means a complex of political decisions, measures and actions on the part of the state which are intended to build collective nationwide identity through relevant influence technologies.

At the same time, the constructing of political identity using available state resources (political, economic, administrative, communicative, educational) is limited by cultural and historical factors, which were developed due to the mentality of most of society, political traditions, and have peculiar characteristics in different countries.

⁹ Угрин Л. Я. Ідентичність і безпека: проблеми співвідношення в контексті соціального конструктивізму. Гілея: науковий вісник. 2016. Вип. 111. С. 329–333.

⁸ Ноэль-Нойман Э. Общественное мнение: открытие спирали молчания. Москва: Прогресс-Академия, ВесьМир, 1996. С. 74-95.

¹⁰ Пашина Н. П. Політика ідентичності: сутність та функції формування. *Науковий часопис НПУ імені М.П. Драгоманова*. Серія 22 : *Політичні науки та методика викладання соціально-політичних дисциплін*. 2015. Вип. 17. С. 88—93.

Identity politics focused on the formation of macro-political identity includes not only the cultural framework of the society – it deals with all aspects of social life related to the creation of the positive collective macro-political identity. Thus, in the political dimension, first of all, this is the case of consensus about social development goals, elite continuity in defining the core of identity politics – these are political rights and freedoms; in the legal area, these are equality before the law; in economics – the creation of equal opportunities to exercise the needs and abilities; in the social sphere – the building of the system of social guarantees and social protection of citizens etc. In general, identity politics should be aimed at cultivating a positive image of the state (or supranational community) in all activity areas.

The experience of consolidated states shows that cornerstone of their identity politics is the values of democracy and rule-of-law state. At the same time, according to R. Inglehart and Ch. Welzel, if there are threats to the vital interests, "pro-democracy values emphasizing self-expression are not capable of rooting" For this very reason, the essential component of modern identity politics is poverty reduction, an increase of employment level of able-bodied population, social guarantees, the establishment of high standards of living and psychological comfort.

The policy of macro-political identity should include the definition of policy models, strategy, tools and mechanisms. Considerable importance belongs to the legislative consolidation of strategic aims of identity politics, implementation of special programs, joining other actors of the political process: political parties, public movements, mass media, institutes of public society etc.

The challenges of modern epoch in the form of globalization processes, dissolving national boundaries complicate the act of identification and hierarchy of identities in the consciousness of identification subjects. A famous Polish-Britain political philosopher and sociologist Z. Bauman highlights that the modern era has given over having the determinacy nature; he characterizes its mobility as "a rare modernity" which is spinning out of control. "In our era of "rare modernity", the world around us is divided into poorly coordinated fragments while our individual lives are cut into many loosely bound episodes". Thus, the author believes that identity is not an individual problem but a series of problems ¹².

On the one hand, new tools for the formation of macro-political identity are emerging in the states, e.g. electronic and digital media, information management, on the other hand, the competition with other actors influencing the identification process in the form of online communities, various platforms

¹¹ Инглхарт Р. Модернизация, культурные изменения и демократия: Последовательность человеческого развития. Москва: Новое издательство, 2011. С. 237.

¹² Bauman Z. *Identity*. Cambridge: Malden, 2004. P. 12–13.

and Internet applications, fashionable sites and bloggers becomes more complicated. Such external factors as hybrid wars, the technology of "soft power", "behavioural wars" on the technologies of influence interested in geopolitical actors have a major impact on identity transformation.

The problems of constructing the political identity at the macro-level of plural societies, specification of tools for the creation of the common field for representatives of different cultural and political beliefs gain a peculiar currency in the modern communities. At the same time, reliance on cultural-civilizational and public priorities available in the society is the prominent mechanism for the shaping collective nationwide identity model.

Plural society means the division of society into segments of ideological, cultural, religious, regional, racial, national character. In G. Eckstein's opinion, a plural society is divided by "segmental contradictions", and political disputes mainly coincide with the most critical lines of social division¹³. Therefore, the integration of such a society under a common political denominator in the form of the shared goals and values is more complex compared to society more homogeneous in its structure. It doesn't mean that it is impossible to achieve unity with the goals and values most important for society, which are the basis for the formation of collective macro-identity, in the plural societies. Such plural societies as Switzerland, Austria, Netherlands, Belgium are an example of the successful consolidation. Democracy values and collaboration of elites is the foundation stone of their political stability¹⁴.

2. Statist identity as a resource for sustainable development

The formation and reproduction of collective types of identity have a double pillar: institutional and ideological. Institutional pillar is associated with the fact that collective actorness of communities rests on a certain organization – state, church or based on cultural communication (one which has clear institutional features – language, literature, art, science, education, folklore tradition, the phenomenon of the cultural elite, etc.). Ideological pillar lies in the identification of an individual with a community relies on its assimilation of the concept of common origin, collective mission, unifying values, significant differences from other communities of the same type. In view of the foregoing, modern scientists define a certain type of identity as one characterizing a person's belonging to the imagined community.

¹³ Lehmbruch G. Segmented Pluralism and Political Strategies in Continental Europe: Internal and External Conditions of «Concordant Democracy». *Paper presented at the Round Table of the International Political Science Association*, Turin. 1969. September. Pp. 1–2.

¹⁴ Ibid. Рр. 141–144. 15 Україна: політичні стратегії модернізації : зб. науково-аналітичних доп. / за ред. М. М. Розумного (заг. ред.), О. А. Корнієвського, В. М. Яблонського, С. О. Янішевського. К. : НІСД, 2011. С. 7.

For example, civil identity is a specific mechanism of individual socialization – its essence is a conscious identification of own fate with the fate of a particular country. It is marked by the participation in public affairs, political competence, tolerance and respect for the freedom and dignity of other citizens, the drive for democratic security. This requires the recognition of the decisive nature of the factors of nation creation, the positive effect of which is connected with tolerance, solidarity, loyalty, non-tolerance of xenophobia and chauvinism.

Endorsing the idea on topmost importance of the formation of common political civic identity of the country, we believe that it should be specified as a statist but not civic.

In the context of contemporary political development, statist identity may be defined as identification of a person with national state community, values that prioritize the duties and rights of other members of the community and the state ¹⁶.

The above definition looks more correct, taking into account the fact that the concept "civic" has different dimensions, and one should explain what level and type of "community" is meant when using it – village, city, region, ethnos or the whole state. Moreover, most manuscripts of Ukrainian authors represent the civic identity as an individual category, not collective, which is related to a certain social role, position or status and has manifestations in affective and ontological area of an individual, behaviour, strategies of life choice of an individual.

The use of the term "statist" rather than "state" identification emphasizes that it is studied the process of citizen's identification not with the government apparatus or authorities but with nation-building as a socioeconomic, political and socio-cultural community of people formed within a certain territory as a result of the interaction of different communities (national, ethnic, denominational, etc.).

The concept of statist identity draws attention to the very political not legal or sociological aspects of the process of social consolidation on a limited number of values shared by all inhabitants regardless of the kind of civic community they belong to.

Comparing the concepts "statist identity" and "national identity", it worth noting the use of the former directly indicates the political and legal nature of the phenomenon under consideration. At the same time, the category "national identity" doesn't have a clear content without additional explanation which national features it means – ethnic or political.

¹⁶ Пашина Н. П. Державницька ідентичність. Політична лексика сучасного українського політика і громадянина: енциклопедичний словник-довідник. Львів: «Магнолія 2006», 2017. С. 110.

In our opinion, the very concept "statist identity" corresponds to the concept of territorial patriotism, which was introduced by the prominent Ukrainian thinker V. Lypynskyi, to a greater extent. In his analysis, territorial patriotism should unite Ukrainian society and overcome the internal weaknesses of Ukrainian society. V. Lypynskyi considered the territorial patriotism as the awakening of a sense of solidarity and unity of all the permanent inhabitants of the Ukrainian land regardless of their ethnic origin, class, religion, socio-cultural level. That is why the love of the country – the Ukrainian land – which feeds all its inhabitants is an objective prerequisite for the creation of a social-national union. Thus, according to V. Lypynskyi, patriotism means the consciousness of the territory, the love of the land, of all its inhabitants without exception ¹⁷. Condemning nationalism, the scholar empathized that it is based on the consciousness of the community, not the territory, the sense of unanimity of people of one faith and one state, albeit from different territories, and hatred of people of another faith and another condition in any territory.

V. Lypynskyi's conclusions are of the most immediate interest in the XXI century, as the task of transition from retrospective-destructive to perspective-constructive comprehension of the Ukrainian statehood and relevant civil identification has not been completed. The point at issue is the fact that Ukrainian identity is often interpreted as a factor which divides ethnic Ukrainians from all other representatives of the Ukrainian society. To conserve and reproduce that sort of division, many political actors inside and outside the county have made efforts.

Instead, perspective-constructive identity needs the mechanisms of natural integration of people with other ethnic background and cultural tradition to Ukrainian cultural-political statecraft space. Moreover, the nationality should be deemed not as a heritage of the past but as the state-political project, which is formed and performed with the direct participation of the overwhelming majority of citizens and therefore, creates non-biased opportunities for overcoming mutual claims and mistrust.

The prerequisite for successful democratic development is a positive statist identification of citizens – an awareness of the state unity as an essential value and an integral feature of existence. Active life stance, interaction with other members of the society characterizes the positive statist identification. In modern Ukraine, the formation of the positive statist identity of citizens is hampered by the low level of legitimacy of the authorities and the dominance of paternalistic expectations about the actions of the state. Socio-political stances are marked by distrust and dissatisfaction with the current norms of social and political life under the willing to act against the rules (system

¹⁷ Липинський В. До українських хліборобів. Українська суспільно-політична думка у 20-му столітті. Документи і матеріали. Том. І. Київ : Сучасність, 1983. С. 472–483.

corruption, abuse of authority, tax evasion, etc.). Such development parameters form the confrontation consciousness towards other citizens of the state, which are outside the narrow area of private interests of a person, and provoke deepening of the rifts in Ukrainian society.

The overcoming of such negative processes requires a purpose-oriented program of action, which includes the following components:

- political-legal and value consolidation of society. Statist identity is connected with a range of social values and rules, which an individual accepts and supports as own ones. An effect of the value-based and statutory consensus, which is achieved within an identity, ensures the stability of public relations and gives a sense of safety every member of the society.
- collective self-determination. A community united by shared views is prone to collective thinking and collective actions. Statist identification lays the groundwork for the accomplishment of collective goals and interests. Thus, a life of every member of the community gains an additional sense because such interests and goals become his own to a certain extent. As a result, it is established the prerequisites for the consolidation of activists-based type of political culture in the society.
- legitimation of authority. Being organized around national identity, the community is naturally structured distinguishing its executive core a group that is empowered to make decisions and to promote the interests of the community. The function of government in that kind of a society is inherent in the processes of delegating powers and political responsibility. Shared identity is an intermediate conceptual structure in the relationship of trust between the people and the authorities.
- international actorness. The identification of the individual with the whole statist unit is a prerequisite for an effective foreign policy of the community. In international relations, the nation acts as a consolidated entity that must clearly understand its interests, make its strategy, make well-timed and unmistakable political decisions, and preserve the coherence and continuity of the foreign policy course regardless of changes in the foreign-policy state of affairs. A high level of coherence and coordination is achieved through complex collective forms of the national consciousness, which are traditionally peculiar to the state political elite of developed countries, and due to the comprehension and support of national goals by the majority of the population.
- image promotion and support. Based on the specific forms of the national awareness (history, culture, special aspect of the national character, lifestyle), it is build the general image of a representative of that sort of society. This image makes an impact on the interaction of each member of the community with the external world giving it certain benefits or damaging its reputation depending on the specific situation. As globalization and

communication technologies are swiftly expanding international contacts, the credibility of a particular nationality or the prejudiced attitude to its representative is a major factor in life and activity for an increasing number of people¹⁸.

Keeping in mind the above, one can conclude that in the concept of political identification, the statist component becomes central for modern Ukraine. The very statist identification of citizens should be a particular filter which forms the public perception (support or rejection) of the authorities, political leaders, ideologies, parties and other political entities. The process of shaping political identity has a dual nature: on the one hand, it involves a set of actions of the state policy, which are aimed at consolidating the society, and on the other hand – the activities of civil society, its reaction to the authoritative influence, acceptance or denial of elite policies.

The building of that kind of civic culture, the core of which is statist identification, can secure public consensus on the prospects and criteria for the development, cutback of conflict nature of the political environment and stable progress of Ukrainian society. Statist identification is the most relevant to the development of Ukraine in the XXI century because the democratic transformations are impossible without the growth of social capital of the community through advancing self-organization based on the confidence and interaction of different social groups and segment of the society.

Party identity can't act as an efficient core of the political identification of citizens in modern Ukraine as it took place in the classical democracy countries in the XX century because:

first, the country makes massive socio-political transformations, and their success is directly dependent on the unification of society around a particular value system, which is supported by all the leading political forces;

second, modern political parties have largely lost the ideological component and become the technological means of mobilizing of votes during election campaigns. This has caused the decline in popularity of parties and the blurring as well as the uncertainty of their public support. Thus, the identification with a party can't today guarantee the necessary consensus of the society following statist values and goals of social and political development:

third, nowadays, political identity is gaining new meaning, distancing itself from traditional political and party ideologies as rigid one-dimensional political models significantly discredited themselves in the context of democratic transit at the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

97

¹⁸ Україна: політичні стратегії модернізації : зб. науково-аналітичних доп. / за ред. М. М. Розумного (заг. ред.), О. А. Корнієвського, В. М. Яблонського, С. О. Янішевського. Київ : НІСД, 2011. С. 9−10.

CONCLUSIONS

The formation of constructive macro-political identity contributes to the stability of the political system and is a factor for stable development of society. New realities of the modernity, which are related to globalization processes and growth of migration, blur the state borders and complicate the fragmentary nature of society and identification benchmarks. The state is tasked with developing new models of identity politics which would adequately reflect the current dynamics of public consciousness and the segmentation of plural societies. Macro-political identity in plural societies is an important resource for the stabilization of society because it guarantees the public consensus towards the central problems over socio-cultural, political and other disputes. It is a factor that concretes plural societies, sociocultural basis that provides for the sustainability of the whole social system, an important component of the entire national security.

Thus, the task of the modern postmodern states is the constructing of such a universal model of political identity which would consolidate the society based on the norms and values, which are accepted by all members of the society, and be a ground for the collective self-identification of the national community. At the same time, the main mechanism for the formation of any collective model of identity is the reliance on cultural-civilizational and social priorities and practices existing in society.

The interest of Ukrainian scholars in the problems of macro-political identity is conditioned by the fact that politization of regional differences has led to the intensification of regionalization of electoral political preferences, escalation of social controversies concerning the geopolitical and ethnocultural values.

The key target of identity politics in the modern Ukraine is the shaping of that kind of macro-political identity which would be manifested not only in the collective positioning in relation to other nation-states as a basis for the integrity of the nation but also as a subject of the consensus on the community's vision of public goals and values. In this very context, political identity acts both as a frame and factor for stabilizing society.

Consolidated macro-political identity in contemporary Ukrainian society must have civic content and interpretation and be a democratic basis for the unification of many identities present in Ukrainian society. "Statist identity" based on democratic values and "statist patriotism" is a public identity which takes into account public socio-cultural and political realities of Ukraine.

Statist model of identity requires the mechanisms of public integration of people, their unification towards the realization of cohesion of state-political and cultural-valuable space.

Consequently, the modern Ukrainian state has to purposefully shape common identification of citizens through internal and external policy. The problems of formation of agreed development benchmarks of the country, their foregrounding and aggregation within a political course are currently main concerns of public policy.

SUMMARY

The article studies the interrelation of constructive macro-political identity with stable development of the society. It shows that when motivating political behaviour, political identity, especially in its collective macro-forms, determines a direction and is the most important resource of political development, guarantees the stability of the political regime and political system. And vice versa, the lack of collective forms of the political level at the macro-level sharpens political contradictions in plural societies and is a trigger for political turmoil and separatist tendencies.

The role and significance of macro-political identity for the sustainable development of society are determined by its functions which it performs in the state. First of all, this is an integration and consolidation of the citizens of the segmented community (state, supra-state) on the ground of generally accepted goals and values. Agreement about the key strategic issues provides for the consistency of socio-political conduct and its modeling in the direction favorable for the country.

The objective of identity politics in modern Ukraine is the building of that kind of the model of macro-political identity which would secure a public consensus on the major challenges for the development over socio-cultural, political and other contradictions and be a cementing factor, socio-cultural basis that arranges stability of the whole social system.

Consolidated macro-political identity in contemporary Ukrainian society must have civic content and interpretation and be a democratic basis for the unification of many identities present in Ukrainian society. "Statist identity" based on democratic values and "statist patriotism" is a public identity which takes into account public socio-cultural and political realities of Ukraine. Statist model of identity requires the mechanisms of civic integration of people, their unification towards the awareness of the unity of the state-political and cultural-value space.

REFERENCES

- 1. Гудков Л. Н. К проблеме негативной идентификации. Гудков Л. Н. Негативная идентичность: статьи 1997–2002 годов. Москва: Новое литературное обозрение, «ВЦИОМ–А», 2004. С. 262–299.
- 2. Инглхарт Р. Модернизация, культурные изменения и демократия: Последовательность человеческого развития. Москва: Новое издательство, 2011. 464 с.
- 3. Ідентичність громадян України в нових умовах: стан, тендерції, регіональні особливості. Український центр економічних і політичних досліджень імені Олександра Разумкова. 2016. № 3-4 (161–162). URL: http://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/journal/ukr/NSD161-162_2016_ukr.pdf.
- 4. Лейпхарт А. Демократия в многосоставных обществах: сравнительное исследование. Москва : Аспект-пресс, 1997. 288 с.
- 5. Липинський В. До українських хліборобів. Українська суспільно-політична думка у 20-му столітті. Документи і матеріали. Том І. К.: Сучасність, 1983. С. 472-483.
- 6. Маслоу А. Мотивация и личность. Санкт-Петербург: Евразия, 1999. 478 с.
- 7. Ноэль-Нойман Э. Общественное мнение : открытие спирали молчания. Москва: Прогресс-Академия, Весь Мир, 1996. С. 74–95.
- 8. Основні засади та шляхи формування спільної ідентичності громадян України. Український центр економічних і політичних досліджень імені Олександра Разумкова. 2017. № 1-2 (169–170). URL: http://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/journal/ukr/NSD169-170_2017_ukr.pdf.
- 9. Панчук М. Етнополітичні процеси в Україні: регіональні особливості. К.: Інститут політичних і етнонаціональних досліджень ім. І.Ф. Кураса НАН України, 2011. 396 с.
- 10. Пашина Н. П. Державницька ідентичність. Політична лексика сучасного українського політика і громадянина: енциклопедичний словник-довідник. Львів: «Магнолія 2006», 2017. 438 с.
- 11. Пашина Н. Концепт політичної ідентичності в українській політичній науці. Політичний менеджмент. 2012. № 4-5. С. 180–191.
- 12. Пашина Н. П. Політика ідентичності: сутність та функції формування. Науковий часопис НПУ імені М. П. Драгоманова. Серія 22 : Політичні науки та методика викладання соціально-політичних дисциплін. 2015. Вип. 17. С. 88–93.
- 13. Угрин Л. Я. Ідентичність і безпека: проблеми співвідношення в контексті соціального конструктивізму. Гілея: науковий вісник. 2016. Вип. 111. С. 329–333.
- 14. Україна: політичні стратегії модернізації : зб. науково-аналітичних доп. / за ред. М. М. Розумного (заг. ред.), О. А. Корнієвського, В. М. Яблонського, С. О. Янішевського. К. : НІСД, 2011. 328 с.

- 15. Україна: шлях до консолідації суспільства: національна доповідь. Інститут політичних і етнонаціональних досліджень ім. І. Ф. Кураса НАН України. Київ: НАН України, 2017. 336 с.
 - 16. Bauman Z. Identity. Cambridge: Malden, 2004. P. 12–13.
- 17. Lehmbruch G. Segmented Pluralism and Political Strategies in Continental Europe: Internal and External Conditions of «Concordant Democracy». Paper presented at the Round Table of the International Political Science Association, Turin. 1969. September. P. 1–2.

Information about the author: Pashyna N. P.,

Doctor of Political Sciences, Associate Professor, Professor at the Department of International Relations and Foreign Policy, Mariupol State University 129a, Budivelnykiv ave., Mariupol, 87500, Ukraine