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Сиренко Е.Н.

**НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЕ ГОСУДАРСТВО КАК ФАКТОР
КОНСТИТУИРОВАНИЯ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ**

Одесский национальный морской университет,

Одесса, Мечникова 34, 65029

Sirenko E.N.

**NATIONAL STATE AS THE FACTOR OF CONSTITUTING OF NATIONAL
IDENTITY**

Odessa National Maritime University,

Odessa, Mechnikova 34, 65029

Анотація. В роботі розглядається роль національного державства як фактора конститування національної ідентичності. Національне державство створює і підтримує політико-юридическі умови функціонування соціальних інститутів в рамках яких здійснюється вироблення об'єктивних критеріїв національної ідентифікації

Ключевые слова: национальная идентичность, национальное государство, нация.

Abstract. This article is intended to elucidate the state principles of constituting of national identity. National state social institutions function not only in the form of certain rules, norms, instructions and values that ensure the transfer of social experience, but rather act as certain institutions and organizations controlled and managed by the state, and it is their activity that enables the nation to unite and regenerate in all the diversity of its subjective and objective characteristics; the criteria of national identification do not exist by themselves, but are the result of

purposeful activity of state mechanism as to their implementation and institutionalization.

Key words: national identity, national state, nation.

The hypothesis of this study is an assumption that there is a direct link between definiteness of national authentication and the level of institutional registration of interests of national community – the more interests of nation get institutional format from state institutions, the more specific are the principles of community identity and individual national identification.

The defining feature of contemporary world is a globalization induced transformation that has affected almost all spheres of human existence. The integration processes that started in the economic, financial and production spheres occur in politics as well. They inevitably affect the political reality and social consciousness in a certain way. So, the problem facing scientists is to find out the mechanism of influence of national state as a social institute on the practices identifying community and individuals.

Revolutionary changes in Europe started the process of formation of national states in their modern sense. During the previous historical periods state institute was considered to be a divine institution and therefore wasn't considered as the result of public policy. The relationships between government institutions and the people were built on the basis of nationality and vassal-fief dependence. People were excluded from participation in political processes and governance and so "national interests" were in fact represented by class interests of the ruling circles. An English historian, classical liberalism apologist Lord Acton, thinking about the nature of European nationalism, said, "Under the old system neither the European governments recognized the rights of nationalities, nor the people themselves protected them. The interests of the ruling families, not nations, settled the borders; and the governance was generally carried out without taking into account the desire of people [1. p. 86-87].

The important contribution of the Enlightenment thinkers was a theoretical comprehension of the role of people as a source of power – a sovereign, whose will

must be the engine of political changes in the society. However, the notion of the nation in these concepts is especially synonymous with the "third class", bourgeois and does not cover the population of the country in full.

National state springs up to meet needs and interests of ethno-national community. With its help society creates mechanisms of political representation of the nation on the world stage. Ethno-national community with all social institutions of civil society is the original reality which gives lots of researchers the right to consider "the mission of the national state being to serve the society, i.e. a community of independent and socially stratified individuals" [2, p.56]. National state realizes and expresses national sovereignty and is based on democratic principles of legal equality and political participation of citizens in governance.

Analyzing the nature of society and its problems D. Duyi says that the only constant function of state is regulation and satisfaction of public interests which are formed as a result of expanding the sphere of joint activities, and the existence of public institutions ensures its effectiveness [3, p. 37]. Thus the mechanisms of realizing national interests represent their practical aspects and are connected with the activities of social institutions. V. Kirichenko defines national interests as "an integral expression of interests of all the members of the society, realized through political system" [4, p. 118]. National interests are realized through the institutions of the political system: state, political parties, public organizations, national church, as institutional forms of expression of its citizens' will. At the same time the state controls not only institutions of political system, but other institutionally organized spheres of national life. This control can be direct at state, regional and local levels as well as indirect – being realized by legislative, budgetary and ideological mechanisms.

The idea of state sovereignty appeared not only as the result of theoretical arguments, but primarily of sharp social and political conflicts between governments and peoples. The Westphalian model of international relations, which had been in force until 1945, was based on the recognition of state sovereignty in certain borders, and none of the states had supreme authority, conflicts were settled directly by their

participants, and cooperation beyond diplomatic relations was minimal. Within this model came the final institutionalization of state sovereignty through international law system and diplomatic missions.

Hence, national state becomes the dominant political subject in the international relations. Researchers say, “Modern states are nation-states – i.e. political mechanisms which differ from both the ruler and his subordinates, with the supreme jurisdiction within the territory with defined borders, demanding monopoly on coercive force and the use of legitimacy as a result of the minimum level of support or loyalty by the citizens” [5,p. 69]. But, from now on, their activity isn’t only limited by politics as they also begin to control other areas of social life: education, finance, certain areas of production, proceedings, they begin to influence the redistribution of public goods, economic and labor relations, etc.

One of the essential features of state is the monopoly right to use violence, which is considered not as misfeasance, but as a mechanism of restoring public order and protecting rights and freedoms of the citizens. The activity of national state is connected with ensuring social stability and security both in international relations and domestic policy. Y. Habermas says, “... the true child of French Revolution is the national state, which managed to direct patriotism of its citizens to universal conscription. Along with the birth of national consciousness for the citizens of the state who had broken the traditional caste-corporate ties, new forms of social integration were formed” [6, p. 59]. Centralization of political power, expansion of state management and formation of regular armies become the main tendency of consolidation of state.

The institutionalization of state enforcement machinery and normative regulation of social interaction became important steps in the process of acquiring by the state of regulatory powers in relation to society. State began to regulate not only the sphere of justice and policy, but economy, education, family and ethno-national relations, etc. as well.

Formation of national states is closely associated with the development of the capitalist economic system. The development of production and transition to the industrial stage constituted the material basis of nation-building in Europe.

Development of capitalist production requires creation of national markets for goods, finance and labor. At the previous, ethno-cultural stage, the development of production was slowed down by the lack of labor market that was connected with social class system of society, limited trade and financial turnover which resulted from a considerable autonomy of administrative units. National state overcomes intrastate borders that obstructed financial, raw materials and cargo flows thus creating conditions for industrialization of production.

National state began with the constitution of political and legal equality, which took place during revolutionary events in Europe in the 15-16 centuries, overcoming social consequences of political discrimination. The question now is about the social consequences of this unequal distribution of power, which is not carried out politically but economically” [6, p. 41]. The awareness of the need for state regulation of social processes and creation of mechanisms for performing this function were gradually influenced by protest movements of disadvantaged citizens. Capitalization of the labor market, lumpenization of a large number of people employed in manufacturing, created axis of tension in social relations. Repressive methods of solving problems were ineffective, and thus states evolved into acquiring social skills.

Nowadays a lot of researchers speak about old, in the literal sense, nations, where the vast majority of representatives are on pension or are not of reproductive age. Actually, the population of these primarily European countries isn't decreasing in number, but a significant portion of them are residents of other countries and immigrants whose share is constantly growing as a percentage of traditional national communities. They, in turn, being people of other cultural types and usually do not accept the culture of the host country and have only political, civic loyalty to the new homeland. Another aspect of human reproduction as an ethnic substratum of the

nation is the problem of birth control. Absolutely natural biological factors curbing population growth in the past, now become administrative, social in nature.

In the contemporary world the institute of education, which is controlled and funded by state, plays an important role in the process of socialization. Today a full social identification of an individual is impossible without professional and educational criteria. In the world of high technology, intellectual potential of nation ensures its success on the world stage. Intellectual elite is the pride of the nation and indicates the level of social development and the state of its productive forces. Government regulation and certification of educational programs ensure creation of contemporary personality type due to the combination of educational process with upbringing. The sense of patriotism and national pride is cultivated in pupils and students by studying national and world history, teaching in the state language.

I. Cohn says that due to the transition of society to the industrial stage of development socialization becomes “a public, national matter, which requires systematic government planning, management, coordination of efforts of individual institutions (family, school, peer groups, the media, etc.” [7, p. 187]. The socialization of personality loses its natural character, even within the family because educational processes are organized on the basis of recommendations and taking into account theoretical achievements of such sciences as psychology and pedagogy. At the same time, education is combined with upbringing, an important part of which is the formation of child's sense of patriotism and national pride. Hence national identification of an individual occurs under control and with the focused impact of the state.

Formation of ideas of growing importance of masses as the decisive force of historical process and of people's will as a source of political reforms on the one hand, and the increasing individualism due to the weakening of traditional identities of a personality on the other – both became the consequences of formation of a capitalist economic system and bourgeois European revolutions.

Studying cultural identities in the era of modernism, N. Kostenko sees in the national identification "a special social and political mission of an individual which

was realized through the rightful participating in expressing of collective will, in the constitution of the institution of state citizenship - nation. Therein individual and collective identities got very close being linked by mutual responsibility for the social result” [8, p.28].

The analysis of specific features of national identity under the conditions of existence of national state enables to make the following conclusions: under the conditions of national state social institutions function not only in the form of certain rules, norms, instructions and values that ensure the transfer of social experience, but rather act as certain institutions and organizations controlled and managed by the state, and it is their activity that enables the nation to unite and regenerate in all the diversity of its subjective and objective characteristics; the criteria of national identification do not exist by themselves, but are the result of purposeful activity of state mechanism as to their implementation and institutionalization. State offers individuals and society certain basis for the identification: henceforth citizenship, language, education, enforcement machinery, legal system, market become the factors of identification; the era of dominance of national state is characterized by two important social processes that occur simultaneously in objective and subjective dimensions of national life: they are a state institutionalization of national interests and political and legal in nature national identification of both individuals and society.

During this period it is not the need to produce cultural distinction that comes to the forefront, but rather the need to maintain the existing institutionalized basis and thus national state assumes the function of the single representative of the interests of national community as well as the decisive criterion of collective and personal identity.

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