

PATRIOTISM IN THE WESTERN AND RUSSIAN MODELS OF STATEHOOD: CULTURAL AND CIVILIZATIONAL SPECIFICITY

PATRIOTISMO NOS MODELOS OCIDENTAIS E RUSSOS DE ESTADO: ESPECIFICIDADE CULTURAL E CIVILIZACIONAL

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Abstract: The objective of the study is to enquire into cultural and civilizational specifics of patriotism in the scope of Western and Russian models of statehood, an overview of which is provided in order to analyze the way they influence different perceptions of citizenship, civil society, and its interactions with the state as a political institution. The research's methodological framework is composed of interdisciplinary and civilizational approaches that allow exploring the complex nature and sociocultural specifics of patriotism, reflecting the direction in which Russian and Western European nationhoods have been developing. The use of logical, systematic, and comparative research methods as well as complex analysis permits a deeper understanding of patriotism in its intricate, multifaceted core. The authors conclude that a variety of connotations determines perception and interpretation of patriotism in the West and in Russia, the main reason being fundamental differences in cultural and political traditions alike.

Keywords: civil society; spiritual values; nationalism; national identity; patriotism.

Resumo: O objetivo do estudo é investigar as especificidades culturais e civilizacionais do patriotismo no escopo dos modelos de Estado ocidentais e russos, cuja visão geral é fornecida para analisar como eles influenciam diferentes percepções de cidadania, sociedade civil e suas interações com o estado como uma instituição política. O quadro metodológico da pesquisa é composto por abordagens interdisciplinares e civilizacionais que permitem explorar a natureza complexa e as especificidades socioculturais do patriotismo, refletindo a direção na qual as nações da Rússia e da Europa Ocidental vêm se desenvolvendo. O uso de métodos de pesquisa lógicos, sistemáticos e comparativos, bem como análises complexas, permite uma compreensão mais profunda do patriotismo em seu núcleo complexo e multifacetado. Os autores concluem que a percepção e interpretação do patriotismo no Ocidente e na Rússia são determinadas por uma variedade de conotações, sendo a principal razão as diferenças fundamentais nas tradições culturais e políticas.

Palavras-chave: sociedade civil; valores espirituais; nacionalismo; identidade nacional; patriotismo.

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Introduction

At present, Russian society is in a state of sociocultural divide reflected in the increasing differentiation in all its forms, including social, cultural, economic, etc. Apart from undermining the unity of the people and jeopardizing spiritual staples, it leads to the atomization of individuals and fragmentation of society, thus creating the basis for a confrontation between various social groups (Kayumova & Vlasova, 2017). As a result, negative potential accumulating in society manifests itself in different forms of social deviance becoming more common.

The presence of destructive trends in Russian society poses risks to the national security of the state. Society as a sociocultural whole, united by common history and culture, starts to break up into local communities that appeal to ethnic, religious and other identities. The primary outcome is due to disintegration processes taking place. In the context of objectively existing multi-ethnicity and multi-confessionalism of Russian society, such trends endanger the state's very integrity (Zakirova, Kayumova & Sabirova, 2017). In modern Russia, widespread nationalist and racist movements based on patriotic rhetoric that boils down to national chauvinism recruit underage citizens to fill their ranks.

The ideological vacuum in society is filled out with value pluralism, culturally alien to Russian society. This creates an appalling crisis of attitudes and values among youth, twists historical memory, and ultimately destroys the country's cultural and national identity.

Given the circumstances, the problem of search for national ideas intended to consolidate society in the face of internal and external threats is particularly acute, with a target of said threats being the spiritual sphere. Patriotism has been increasingly discussed lately in terms of it having the potential to become a spiritual core of a national idea. Its entry into the public consciousness should contribute to the consolidation of a divided Russian society. In this regard, the study of the specifics of patriotism in the context of Russian realities is of both scientific and social value.

Methods

The methodological framework is based on the interdisciplinary approach through which disciplinary restrictions are transcended, consequently making complex social and philosophical analysis of patriotism, a phenomenon comprised of personal and public interests, possible with data derived from many academic disciplines.

The use of the civilizational approach is necessitated by the difference between patriotism in Western and Russian scientific traditions and political practices, respectively. In addition, the civilizational approach provides insight into the differences in value systems determining the content of "patriotism" as a concept.

The research is based on the analysis of Western European and Russian models of statehood, taking their social and cultural specifics and dynamics defining their evolution and peculiarities of forming the relationship between an individual and the government into account.

Results and Discussion

A wide array of research approaches to understanding the essence of patriotism has been developed in scientific discourse. Those are reflected in sociological, philological, socio-psychological, and philosophical knowledge.

In terms of sociological direction, patriotism is considered mainly in the context of the problems of youth socialization (Aslanov, 2015), development of civic activism (Lubsky, 2017), and shaping of civic identity (Orekhovskaya, 2015; Rozhkova & Vasilyeva, 2014).

Sociologists analyze the problem of patriotism from the perspective of the social orientation of Russian youth, the need to establish patriotic attitudes. The set of social institutions determines the development of the latter. We refer primarily to educational and recreational institutions, the activities of public and state organizations, and the media. They are to create an institutional environment supportive of the rise of patriotic conscience among modern Russian youth.

Sociologists consider patriotism as one of the basic spiritual values, manifested in love

for the motherland and activity on its prosperity. In addition, in the sociological discourse, patriotism is the basis of national identity as "... the individual's self-identification with the national community in involvement in its culture, history, and destiny, one's willingness to work for the common good" (Tikhomirov, 2010).

From the perspective of political science, patriotism is seen as a phenomenon of political consciousness. An approach has been developed in foreign scientific research whose representatives emphasize the close connection between patriotism and nationalism. In the works of B. Anderson (2002), E. Gellner (1991), J. Habermas (1992), E. Hobsbaum (1989), patriotism is considered a way of mobilizing the masses in order to construct a political community - a nation-state.

Russian researchers admit that a linkage exists between patriotism and nationalism due to them sharing a common emotional component. They both appear to be born out of a sense of attachment to one's social community (ethnic, national). However, this circumstance forms fundamentally different types of relations between representatives of different communities: "...in one case they are built on the basis of mutual respect and equality, in the other they imply confrontation, hostility, and striving for superiority" (Lubsky, Serikov & Shevchenko, 2014).

In the study of patriotism, the political science approach is based mainly on the instrumental paradigm. Patriotism is interpreted exclusively as a political tool aimed at changing socio-political reality. Acting as an element of political ideology, patriotism in most cases serves as the spiritual core of a nationwide idea and a way of forming a collective identity. Supporters of the political science approach emphasize the powerful manipulative potential of patriotism.

In the field of social psychology behavioral approach prevails, associated with the understanding of patriotism as an attitude that determines the behavior of a person in society. The latter is based mainly on the sensations, emotions and experiences of a person associated with a sense of attachment to the Motherland, to its history, culture, language, nature. In this aspect, patriotism acts as a component of the non-reflective structure that determines people's attitude toward their homeland and place of birth. According to the researchers, patriotism is "...an integrative, system-forming personality characteristic that has genetic roots, reflecting the historically established moral and emotional connection of a person to a range of geographical, ethnic, historical, cultural, ideological, aesthetic, religious and other perceptions" (Butyrina, 2015).

In the psychological-pedagogical field, patriotism is taken into consideration in a different context (Grevtseva, 2012). The urgent problems associated with developing civic attributed during socialization and the moral and patriotic education of youth constitute said context. Patriotism is an integral part of the spiritual development of a person associated with the formation of "...the need to be devoted to one's Motherland, to love and serve her, to contribute to her might and well-being through one's deeds; a sense of utmost reliance on her and spiritual connection with her and the people" (Petrova, 2012). In this regard, the process of patriotic education should be aimed at harmonization of interests of the individual, society, and the state.

A deeper understanding of patriotism belongs to the philosophic tradition. Questions about the essence of patriotism were first raised in ancient authors' works, acquiring special relevance in the philosophy of the New Age - the works of T. Hobbes (1989), C.L. Montesquieu (1955). In Western European philosophic tradition, the problem of patriotism has historically been a part of the discourse on natural human rights, the relationship between the individual and the state, the rights and duties of the citizen.

In Russian philosophy, the problem of patriotism is addressed by P.Ya. Chaadaev (1991), N.A. Berdyaev (1990), I.A. Ilyin (1993), G. Florovsky (1992) and others. In understanding the essence of patriotism P.Ya. Chaadaev (1991) relies on a pragmatic approach that leads a person toward better understanding of Motherland's issues and possible ways to solve them rather than blind love for her. "...I have not ever learned to love my homeland with my eyes closed, with my head bowed and my lips locked. This blissful patriotism of laziness with its rose-tinted glasses and cherished illusions is beyond me ... the "sighted" love is conscientious and demanding. It does not allow being silent. On the contrary, it encourages one to fight social ills and

not to avoid the struggle of seeking the cure” (Chaadaev, 1991). According to P.Ya. Chaadaev (1991), patriotism is a reasonable and responsible attitude toward one’s homeland.

I.A. Ilyin (1993) views patriotism as exclusively state-oriented since “...the essence of the state suggests that all its citizens have and recognize not just their own various personal interests and goals, but a common interest and a common goal as well, for the state is a spiritual community itself” (Ilyin, 1993). From G. Florovsky’s (1992) perspective, patriotism is a purely moral quality of a person expressed through devotion and service to their homeland. He finds patriotism to be a spiritual, creative act of exaltation involving a human being that possesses moral and other qualities that allow them to comprehend their unity with the Motherland, the highest value of all, and the need to serve her and her people. The same position is maintained by N.A. Berdyaev (1997). He emphasizes that patriotism is a moral imperative that gives rise to one’s commitment to a country’s fate.

The variety of approaches to patriotism that have developed in Russian philosophical thought owes its existence to the complex and sophisticated nature of patriotism itself. It consists of a combination of thoughts, feelings, emotions, and attitudes regarding one’s country - its past, present, and future.

In modern philosophical knowledge, the problem of patriotism is studied in a broad theoretical context, including a range of issues related to the topics of freedom and responsibility of the individual (Kolomak, 2006), civil society and the state (Kapustin, 2011), citizenship and civil culture of society (Grevtseva, 2012); sociocultural dynamics of civic values in modern Russian society (Kolyabina, 2006).

It can be concluded, based on analysis of theoretical approaches to the specifics of patriotism, that a unifying concept of patriotism is yet to be developed. The reason is the ambiguous and multidimensional nature of this phenomenon that belongs to multiple scientific areas.

At the same time, the analysis of scientific literature allows us to place the sociocultural differences in the understanding of patriotism in Western European and Russian philosophical traditions on record. This gives reason to address the problem of the sociocultural specificity of patriotism, due to the characteristics of the cultural and civilizational development of society.

Representation of patriotism in Western European scientific and public discourse is defined by the process of developing ideas of citizen’s status, civil society, and their relationship with the state as a political institution. Rise of patriotism was initially associated with the emergence of Greek polises and, consequently, civil rights and obligations. In this regard, Greeks identified patriotism with citizenship. Patriotism was composed of feelings such as love, pride, responsibility and willingness to sacrifice for the sake of one’s polis’ good.

Further development of this concept in the Western cultural and civilizational tradition is associated with the development of the idea of civil society. Classical definitions of such are based on individual freedom, individual responsibility, and inalienability of civil rights.

The evolution of civil institutions in Western countries has transformed the relations between the state and civil society. An understanding has been reached that welfare growth and ensuring majority’s interests are only achievable through the interaction of civil and political institutions.

Thus, the idea of patriotism and citizenship is associated with the development of a liberal ideology that upholds the principles of a democratic society, respect and observance of human rights, priority of legal relations and the rule of law. M. Weber (1990) affirms that a true citizen, who loves their Motherland and has a clear idea of their rights and obligations, relies exclusively on “responsibility ethics”. Said concept is not based on emotions (love, affection, etc.) toward society and state, but instead relies on completely rational forms of social behavior, including the exercise of civil rights and personal responsibility (Weber, 1990).

Therefore, it can be concluded that patriotism, as it has developed in the Western European civilizational range, is a civic personality trait based on the awareness of legal and moral obligations to society and state, as well as the active participation of a person in solving socially significant problems. As a result, patriotism as a value has become an integral component of liberal ideology in the Western cultural tradition. One component that brought to the forefront

the problems of freedom, responsibility, civil society and the rule of law.

Patriotism and citizenship in the Russian cultural tradition have been formed in a qualitatively different cultural and historical space. The process of institutionalization of citizenship in Russia began during the reign of Catherine II. Moreover, citizenship as a noble virtue would correlate exclusively with the fulfillment of one's duties to the ruler and state. One of the empress' orders reads as follows: "...virtue and honor should be one's (nobleman) command by the rules prescribing love for the Native land, desire to serve, obedience and loyalty to the emperor ..." (Hobsbaum 1989, p. 34). Notably, the sovereign and the Native land were equal objects of ministry and reverence for the nobility.

It seems that the specifics of patriotism and citizenship are due to the special status of the state in Russian history. The reason is that entirely different sociocultural grounds set the stage for development of state as a political institution in Russia and in the West. In the Western European cultural tradition, the state represents the result of a social contract. Relations between the government and society are built on a contractual basis, in which the rights and mutual obligations of the parties are indicated. Moreover, relations between the state and citizens are built on the basis of partnership. Thus, in Western European society an individualist personality type is formed, its holders having civil rights and obligations and acting exclusively within the framework of the law.

Russian model of statehood has been built on grounds that are completely different from the western one. Researchers note that Russian statehood is belongs to the eastern type (Sabirova, Zakirova & Kayumova, 2017). A defining feature of this type is cult of power. Relations are solely state-dominated. The state is a key actor, the one who has the right to make all socially significant decisions. As for citizens, they have only obligations to the state: they are considered exclusively as subjects and, therefore, their duty to the Fatherland is humble service.

The authoritarian character of Russian statehood has created a paternalistic model of the relationship between people in power and common citizens. Under this model, governmental authority takes care of a society that does not possess subjectivity and passively expects patronage and protection. This type of relationship does not contribute to the development of civic activity and distorts the sense of responsibility for both the country and the course of one's own life.

In addition, under authoritarianism in Russian culture, a special idea of freedom is formed. A vivid contrast exists between it and the liberal interpretation of freedom as independence and responsibility. The former is often viewed as self-defense against all kinds of arbitrariness. The specifics of the idea of freedom in Russian mentality were described by N.A. Berdyaev (1990): "...the Russian people seem to not crave for freedom under the state, but for freedom from the state". The negative understanding of freedom as "freedom from" is a consequence of the identification of state power with dominance and suppression. The historical legal nihilism only strengthens the destructive image, allowing the idea of freedom as anarchy and permissiveness, the ability to do "whatever you want."

It is no coincidence that Russian authors note that "...two types of relations between a person and the state have developed in Russian society and, accordingly, two polar faces of citizenship: official citizenship, loyal and faithful, which has given birth to state patriotism, and opposition citizenship, rebellious, from which critical patriotism has emerged" (Lubsky, 2017). Agreeing with this position, it should be emphasized that the two conflicting types of patriotism in Russian society came to existence through its cultural and civilizational characteristics. An authoritarian model of statehood has formed that impedes the development of a Western-style civil society in Russia.

Conclusions

The above allows us to conclude that the understanding of patriotism in the West and in Russia is loaded with various connotations, the sources of which are fundamental differences in cultural and political traditions. In Western European culture, the development of ideas

about patriotism is a part of formation of civil society and the rule of law. Therefore, in the West, patriotism is closely tied with a culture of citizenship forming the ethical and legal qualities of an individual, allowing them to realize themselves as a subject of law. In this cultural and civilizational context, a rational type of patriotism has been created, through which horizontal relations between the citizen and state are built, suggesting common effort for the benefit of society.

In Russia, the concept of patriotism is formed under authoritarian model of statehood. Relations between authority and society are of vertical nature, shaped by authoritarianism, paternalism, legal nihilism, etc. Two types of patriotism have emerged: 1) faithful, loyal to political structure due to conformism; 2) critical, rebellious, spontaneous, appealing to emotions (love for the Motherland, saving the Fatherland, etc.), manifesting in periods of decline in power vertical and aimed at renovating public life.

Obviously, the lack of civic institutions in Russian society makes it difficult to establish and develop a civil type of patriotism, the subject of which is a competent and responsible person who is aware of his rights and obligations and acts in the public interest.

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