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## **PROBLEMS OF NATION-BUILDING PROCESSES IN UKRAINE AT THE PRESENT STAGE**

The article deals with the problematic aspects of nation-building processes in Ukraine at the present stage. A methodological basis is a comprehensive approach to problem analysis. The categories «nation», «Ukrainian nation», «Ukrainian people» are characterized. The main markers of national identity are identified among which: national consciousness, national interest, national territory, national idea, culture, language, history, common origin, religion. The nation was found to contain both ethnic, cultural and political components. From the dominance of one of these characteristics is formed in essence, an ethnic or political nation. The basic internal and external factors that negatively effecting nation-building processes in Ukraine are investigated. The internal ones include: lack of clear legislative criteria for inclusion in the ethnic community and real indicators of the ethnic composition of the Ukrainian people; loss of title ethnic identity based on linguistic marker; political speculation about the ethno-cultural features of the regions of Ukraine, linguistic and mental differences of the citizens of Ukraine; lack of an effective system of national-patriotic education and formation of national consciousness. External factors include: hybrid war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, aimed at loss of territorial integrity and state sovereignty of Ukraine, aggravation of interethnic relations; intensive globalization processes that require new approaches to public policy on preserving and developing national identity; negative impact of information flows of foreign countries on the formation of information and cultural space of Ukraine; political and cultural expansion of neighboring countries (Hungary, Poland, Romania, Russia) into

Ukraine, which goes beyond the support of their national minorities and poses a direct threat to Ukraine's national security.

*Keywords:* ethnicity, nation, national identity, nationalization, Ukraine, Ukrainian nation, hybrid war.

Due to the long absence of its own statehood, the presence of various parts of Ukrainian lands in other States and the Anti-Ukrainian Assimilation Policy of the latter led to the incompleteness of the process of forming the Ukrainian nation. In the context of Russia's hybrid war against Ukraine, the challenges of globalization and modern civilizational threats, the problems of consolidation of Ukrainian society, the growth of national consciousness and the formation of the Ukrainian nation based on interethnic tolerance and interaction were actualized.

The problems of the formation of Ukrainian national identity and Ukrainian national formation are the subject of scientific researches of domestic scientists. Significant contributions to the study of this problem were made by the following scientists: K. Wittman, V. Yevtukh, M. Kozlovets, I. Kresina, V. Kriachko, H. Lutsyshyn, O. Nelha, P. Nadolishnii, V. Naulko, O. Rafalskyi, V. Troshchynskyi, and M. Shulha. The foreign policy aspects of the problem of consolidation of Ukrainian society were analyzed by E. Magda, A. Pavko, and Y. Tirkus.

Within the framework of research approaches to the issues of nationalization in Ukraine, the main focus is on the theoretical problems of ethnicity and nationhood, the protection of rights and freedoms of national minorities, and the fight against ethnic discrimination. However, to date, a number of internal and external problems have been actualized, which are major challenges to the process of the formation of the Ukrainian nation and require comprehensive analysis.

The main objective of this study is to analyze the factors that negatively affect the genesis processes in Ukraine at the present stage.

The stay of the territory of Ukraine in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires, The Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Czechoslovakia, Romanian and Hungarian states, the USSR had a negative impact on the processes of formation of a modern Ukrainian nation. These states pursued a conscious policy of denationalization and assimilation of the Ukrainian population. After the declaration of independence, Ukraine, unfortunately, failed to establish itself as a Ukrainian national state and today, there is an incomplete process of formation of the Ukrainian nation.

A key element in the process of nationalization is national identity, which includes a set of political and cultural identities, which in turn have appropriate markers. The markers of political identities include national consciousness, national interest, national territory and national idea. The markers of cultural identities are culture, language, history, community of origin and religion<sup>1</sup>.

Culture is an important and voluminous element of national identity. According to E. Smith, it includes a system of public rituals, symbols, and ceremonies, as well as public codes and literature that are characteristic of the ethnic community. Culture contributes to the preservation of national traditions, customs and everyday life, which

<sup>1</sup> Костючок П. Культурні маркери національної ідентичності. *Вісник Прикарпатського університету. Історія*. Івано-Франківськ, 2012. Вип. 22. С. 106.

are preserved in the historical memory of the people and protected from ino-ethnic influences. The language of the ethnic community is closely intertwined with its language, which is more resilient than other markers of national identity<sup>2</sup>.

Therefore, the nation has both ethnic, cultural and political components. Between them, there can be both a proportional relation and the dominance of one of the characteristics, which in turn forms an inherently ethnic or political nation. This understanding of the nation is common among Western scientists. In Ukrainian political science, the category 'nation' is regarded as 'a type of ethnos, socio-economic and spiritual community of people with certain psychology and consciousness, the emergence of which occurred historically and which is characterized by a stable set of essential characteristics'<sup>3</sup>. Such characteristics include the cultural and psychological characteristics of people united by a common fate, as well as language, customs, culture, religion, political and non-political institutions, the history with which they identify themselves, and the territory that forms an appropriate way of being<sup>4</sup>.

The Preamble to the Constitution of Ukraine states that Ukrainian state formation is based on the exercised right to self-determination not only of the Ukrainian nation but also of the whole Ukrainian people, which is formed by citizens of Ukraine of all nationalities<sup>5</sup>. This statement separates the Ukrainian nation and the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian People notion is interpreted as citizens of Ukraine of all nationalities. It consolidates the status of Ukraine, on the one hand, as a nation-state, on the other as a multinational and multicultural, and the civic and ethnic components are based on the Ukrainian nation. The Constitution of Ukraine identifies the Ukrainian nation, national minorities, and indigenous peoples as the structural ethnic components of Ukrainian society. This statement can be seen as a desire to form a nation in Ukraine as a society based on the statehood of the nation, which gave the name to the state as Ukrainians, and other ethnic groups living in the territory of Ukraine.

The draft Concept of State Ethno-National Policy of Ukraine, developed by the Expert Council for Ethno-Politics of the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine, delineates the concepts of 'Ukrainian people' (Ukrainian political nation) and 'the nation-building nation of Ukraine' (Ukrainian nation). In particular, the nation-building nation of Ukraine (Ukrainian nation) is interpreted as an ethnic community that unites people of Ukrainian nationality who have a sense of community among themselves, for whom the Ukrainian language and culture are native, as well as Ukrainian traditions, which has realized the right to its own national state provided for by international law<sup>6</sup>. The Ukrainian people (Ukrainian political nation), according to the authors of the Concept, are all citizens of Ukraine, regardless of ethnic origin, United by a single citizenship, common territory, economic life, political interests, legal rights and obligations, historical destiny, cultural

<sup>2</sup> Сміт Ентоні Д. Національна ідентичність / пер. з англ. П. Тарашука. Київ: Основи, 1994. С. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Політологічний енциклопедичний словник / ред.-упоряд. В. П. Горбатенко. 2-ге вид. доп. і переробл. Київ, 2004. С. 396.

<sup>4</sup> Кафарський В. Українська політична чи етнополітична нація? *Політичний менеджмент. Етнополітологія* (Київ). 2006. № 4. С. 44–54.

<sup>5</sup> Конституція України. URL: <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/254к/96-вр/> (дата звернення: 28.01.2020).

<sup>6</sup> Концепція державної етнонаціональної політики України: проект. URL: [http://mincult.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/officialcategory?cat\\_id=245272920](http://mincult.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/officialcategory?cat_id=245272920) (дата звернення: 21.01.2020).

traditions, awareness of a single national identity and the future of the Motherland as a democratic, social, legal Ukrainian state<sup>7</sup>.

Nation-building processes in Ukraine are adversely affected by a number of internal and external factors that deconsolidate Ukrainian society and blur national consciousness and form the basis for political speculation around Ukraine's ethnopolitical situation. Internal ones include:

1. Absence of clear legislative criteria for inclusion in the ethnic community and real indicators of the ethnic composition of the population of Ukraine. In particular, according to Article 3 of the Law of Ukraine «On National Minorities», national minorities belong to groups of citizens of Ukraine who are not Ukrainians by nationality, showing a sense of national self-awareness and community among themselves<sup>8</sup>. This definition is general and does not contain clear criteria for inclusion in a national minority: neither temporal (period of stay in Ukraine), nor quantitative (number of representatives of a national minority living in Ukraine), nor characteristics of socio-political status or presence of one's own historical homeland. The absence of clear criteria for inclusion in the national minority makes it possible to grant the status of a national minority to any person or group of citizens who have obtained Ukrainian citizenship, which in turn allows to unreasonably fix a large number of national minorities in Ukraine and erroneously consider it a multi-ethnic state.

To date, there are no real data on the ethnic composition of the population of Ukraine. This does not allow a proper assessment of the ethnopolitical situation and making effective management decisions. The last census was conducted in Ukraine in 2001. Then out of the total population of Ukraine (48 million 457 K), the majority were Ukrainians – 77.8%. The largest ethnic minority was the Russian minority (17.3%). Belarusians, Moldovans, Crimean Tatars made up 0.5% each; Bulgarians – 0.4%, Hungarians, Romanians and Poles – 0.3% each, Jews – 0.2%<sup>9</sup>. Due to the intensification of migration processes, the situation regarding the quantitative and ethnic composition of the population in Ukraine has changed significantly.

2. Loss of titular nation-building ethnic identity based on linguistic factor. Language is an important nation-building factor and the key factor of statehood. Where language disappears, the state disappears. Some of the citizens who identify themselves as Ukrainians consider their mother tongue not in Ukrainian but in Russian and are held captive by the Russian information and cultural space. This is evidenced by the data of opinion polls conducted in March 2017. 90.6% of the population considered themselves Ukrainians by nationality. However, only 50.5% used Ukrainian as the main language of everyday communication. Russian was used as the main language of everyday communication by 24% of respondents. Traditionally, Russian-speaking people are in the Eastern and Southern regions of Ukraine. Ukrainian is spoken in the West (97.2%) and Southwest

<sup>7</sup> Концепція державної етнонаціональної політики України...

<sup>8</sup> Про національні меншини України: Закон України. Відомості Верховної Ради України (ВВР). 1992. N 36. С. 529.

<sup>9</sup> Про кількість та склад населення України за підсумками Всеукраїнського перепису населення 2001 року. URL: <http://2001.ukrcensus.gov.ua/results/general/nationality/> (дата звернення: 20.12.2019).

(91.6%) of the country<sup>10</sup>. It was the Russian-speaking region that became the trigger for the Russian attack, while the Ukrainian-speaking region avoided such a threat.

3. Political speculation around ethno-regional linguistic and mental differences in Ukraine. According to the 2001 Census of Ukraine, the ethnic map of Ukraine consists of dispersed and compact ethnic groups. This serves as a basis for individual political forces in Ukraine as well as in neighboring countries, in particular in Russia, for the requirements of national-territorial autonomy for individual national minorities in Ukraine, despite the fact that it does not introduce official bilingualism. This not only provokes ethnic separatism but also led to the loss of the territorial integrity of the Ukrainian state.

4. Lack of an effective system of national-patriotic education and formation of national consciousness. In the context of Ukrainian national formation, the problems of the formation of national consciousness and patriotic values among the citizens of Ukraine, respect for its cultural and historical past are urgent. V. Lypynskiy also noted that it is best to overcome the internal organic weaknesses of Ukrainians and unite the Ukrainian nation on the basis of 'territorial patriotism', that is, awakening a sense of solidarity and unity of all permanent residents of the Ukrainian land, regardless of their ethnic origin, class, religion, or cultural level. The feeling of love for the native land, like the Ukrainian land-nurse as an organic whole, the researcher believed, is the necessary and only possibility of the most native connection of people in the world, which is called the 'nation'<sup>11</sup>.

In this regard, national-patriotic education should become one of the priority directions of the activity of the state and society for development on the basis of such national values as identity, will, catholicity, dignity; forming a sense of patriotism, respect for the Constitution and laws of Ukraine; social activity and responsibility for the entrusted state and public affairs; readiness to fulfill the obligation to protect the independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine, and to uphold Ukrainian national values<sup>12</sup>.

Among the main external challenges that stand in the way of forming the Ukrainian national identity and the Ukrainian nation, we can distinguish the following:

1. Hybrid war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, aimed at the loss of territorial integrity and state sovereignty of Ukraine, and aggravation of interethnic relations. Its powerful component is the information war, in which the main focus is on: the Russian-speaking population excommunicated from the Ukrainian language; distorting historical facts and denying the authenticity of the Ukrainian language and culture and the very existence of Ukrainians as a nation; the struggle for the establishment of the Russian language as the second state language and the displacement of the Ukrainian language from the Media Market; the use of political technologies and election campaigns

<sup>10</sup> Більше 90 % громадян назвали себе українцями за національністю. *Українська правда*. 17 червня 2017 р.. URL: <http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2017/06/17/7147226/> (дата звернення: 14.09.2019).

<sup>11</sup> Вільчинський Ю. Українська національна ідея в історії В. Липинського. *Другий міжнародний конгрес українців. Філософія: доповіді і повідомлення*. Львів: Атлас, 1994. С. 227.

<sup>12</sup> Стратегія національно-патріотичного виховання: Указ Президента України від 18 травня 2019 року № 286/2019. URL: <https://www.president.gov.ua/documents/2862019-27025> (дата звернення: 15.12.2019).

to differentiate regions of Ukraine, clash of interests on the basis of difference and deepen contradictions; and nostalgia for the Soviet past<sup>13</sup>.

2. Intensive globalization processes that require new approaches to public policy for the preservation and development of national identity, since globalization tendencies generate an unstable nature of identity, which occurs as a conscious reaction of the individual to external social circumstances, lead to the destruction of ethnic borders and the deconsolidation of society.

3. The negative impact of information flows of foreign countries on the formation of information and cultural space of Ukraine. They are filled with alien to the Ukrainian nation for mental values and ideals and not the best quality information products that blur the Ukrainian national identity, undermine the foundations of Ukrainian cultural identity, and are a powerful factor in the suppression of national consciousness. Within such an information space, society is transformed into an indefinite amorphous mass of consumers.

4. Political and cultural expansion of neighboring states (Hungary, Poland, Romania, Russia) into Ukraine, which goes beyond the support of its national minorities and constitutes a direct threat to Ukraine's national security due to the escalation of inter-ethnic confrontation and ethnic separatism. An example of this is the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation, the Russian-inspired war in the Donbas, and numerous statements by Hungary's top officials about the need for the Hungarians in Transcarpathia to seek autonomy.

In order to overcome the factors that negatively affect the process of Ukrainian national formation, an effective public policy should be pursued on reforming all spheres of public and political life, ensuring the informational sovereignty of Ukraine, forming a positive image of Ukraine, counteracting information anti-Ukrainian propaganda of neighboring states, introducing the Ukrainian state language in all public languages spheres, and strengthening of measures of national-patriotic upbringing. The process of forming a Ukrainian political nation should become a means for the functioning of a full-fledged Ukrainian state.

#### Conclusions for This Study & Prospects for Further Exploration in This Area.

1. It is established that the nation is a socio-cultural, economic, political, and communicative unity of people, which provides them with a civilized life within the world community. It forms a viable society and a state that guarantees its security and vital interests and serves as a carrier of the goal of society as a whole.

2. It is determined that the main markers of national identity are national consciousness, national interest, national territory, national idea, culture, language, history, the community of origin, and religion.

3. Key factors that negatively influence nation-building processes in Ukraine are investigated. These include: loss of ethnic identity by the titular ethnic group on the basis of a language marker, lack of clear criteria approved at the legislative level for classifying it as an ethnic community, political speculation around ethnic and cultural differences

<sup>13</sup> Бех І., Журба К. Концепція з формування у підлітків національно-культурної ідентичності у загальноосвітніх навчальних закладах. *Формування національно-культурної ідентичності особистості у викликах часу: збірник матеріалів Всеукраїнського круглого столу (до 100-річчя від заснування Кам'янець-Подільського національного університету імені Івана Огієнка) / редкол.: С. А. Копилов (співголова, наук. ред.), І. Д. Бех (співголова) та ін. Кам'янець-Подільський, 2018. С. 4.*

in the regions of Ukraine, lack of an effective system of national-patriotic upbringing and formation of national consciousness, ‘hybrid’ aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, escalation of inter-ethnic conflicts in Ukraine by neighboring states, intensive globalization processes, the negative impact of information flows of foreign countries on the formation of information and cultural space of Ukraine.

The subject of further scientific research will be ways to overcome threats to nation-building processes in Ukraine at the present stage.

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## **ПРОБЛЕМИ НАЦІЄТВОРЧИХ ПРОЦЕСІВ В УКРАЇНІ НА СУЧАСНОМУ ЕТАПІ**

Досліджено проблемні аспекти націєтворчих процесів в Україні на сучасному етапі. Як методологічну основу використано комплексний підхід до аналізу проблеми. Схарактеризовано категорії «нація», «українська нація», «український народ». Визначено основні маркери національної ідентичності, серед яких національна свідомість, національний інтерес, національна територія, національна ідея, культура, мова, історія, спільність походження, релігія. З'ясовано, що нація містить у собі як етнічно-культурну, так і політичну складові, і від домінування однієї з них формується за сутністю етнічна або політична нація.

Розглянуто основні внутрішні й зовнішні чинники, що негативно впливають на націєтворчі процеси в сучасній Україні. Відповідно до внутрішніх віднесено: відсутність затверджених на законодавчому рівні чітких критеріїв зарахування до етнічної спільноти та реальних показників етнічного складу населення України; втрата титульною державотворчою нацією етнічної самобутності на основі мовного чинника; політичні спекуляції навколо етнорегіональних мовних і ментальних відмінностей України; відсутність ефективної системи національно-патріотичного виховання та формування національної свідомості. До зовнішніх чинників віднесено: гібридна війна Російської Федерації проти України, спрямована на втрату територіальної цілісності й державного суверенітету України, загострення міжетнічних відносин; інтенсивні глобалізаційні процеси, які вимагають нових підходів до публічної політики щодо збереження та розвитку національної ідентичності; негативний вплив інформаційних потоків зарубіжних держав на формування інформаційно-культурного простору України; політична й культурна експансія сусідніх держав (Угорщини, Польщі, Румунії, Росії) в Україну, яка виходить за межі підтримки своїх національних меншин і становить пряму загрозу національній безпеці України.

*Ключові слова:* етнічність, нація, національна ідентичність, націєтворення, Україна, українська нація, гібридна війна.