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NATIONAL AND LOCAL PATRIOTISM IN SPATIAL DIMENSION: CASE OF PODOLIA, UKRAINE

The relationship between national and local patriotism is an important scientific issue in view of modern socio-political crisis in Ukraine and arising processes of regionalism and separatism in many countries throughout the world. The paper represents an attempt to disclose and understand spatial patterns of local and national patriotism in Ukraine. This case-study was focused on Podolia in view of significant internal historical and cultural diversity. The data for analysis was collected by means of a questionnaire survey that make possible to assess separate aspects of local and national patriotism as well as calculate their integral indices. Indicators for local patriotism assessment are as follows: presence of small motherland, love and proud of the settlement (topophilia), preferable consumption of local products, and support for local sports teams. Indicators applied for national patriotism evaluation are: mental attachment to Ukraine, willingness to be born again in Ukraine, and proud of being Ukrainian. Overlaying these characteristics allowed splitting study region into the four areas in terms of national and local patriotism relationship. However, the results prove that strength of both local and national patriotism is closely linked to the historical and cultural specificity of the region and confirm cumulative (synergistic) interaction between national and local patriotism, suggesting developed local (regional) identity to be an essential prerequisite for the preservation of the territorial integrity of the state.

Keywords: local patriotism, national patriotism, topophilia, territorial identity, Podolia.

Олексій Гнатюк. ПРОСТОРОВИЙ ВИМІР МІСЦЕВОГО І НАЦІОНАЛЬНОГО ПАТРІОТИЗМУ: ПРИКЛАД ПОДІЛЛЯ, УКРАЇНА

Запропоновано методикку оцінки місцевого та національного патріотизму населення регіону з використанням соціологічних методів. Досліджено просторові відмінності показників місцевого та національного патріотизму населення Поділля, проаналізовано їх обумовленість історико-культурними факторами, визначено особливості їх співвідношення у представників різних субетнічних груп населення регіону. Розкрито кумулятивний (синергетичний) характер взаємозв'язку між силою місцевого та національного патріотизму. Показано, що в моноетнічному середовищі розвинута місцева (регіональна) ідентичність не тільки не створює загрози сепаратизму, але є передумовою для збереження територіальної цілісності держави.

Ключові слова: місцевий патріотизм, національний патріотизм, топофілія, територіальна ідентичність, Поділля.

Алексей Гнатюк. ПРОСТРАНСТВЕННОЕ ИЗМЕРЕНИЕ МЕСТНОГО И НАЦИОНАЛЬНОГО ПАТРИОТИЗМА: ПРИМЕР ПОДОЛЬЯ, УКРАИНА

Предложена методика оценки местного и национального патриотизма населения региона с использованием социологических методов. Исследованы пространственные различия показателей местного и национального патриотизма населения Подолья, проанализирована их обусловленность историко-культурными факторами, определены особенности их соотношения у представителей различных субэтнических групп населения региона. Раскрыт кумулятивный (синергетический) характер взаимосвязи между силой местного и национального патриотизма. Показано, что в моноэтнической среде развитая местная (региональная) идентичность не только не создает угрозы сепаратизма, но является предпосылкой для сохранения территориальной целостности государства.

Ключевые слова: местный патриотизм, национальный патриотизм, топофилия, территориальная идентичность, Подолье.

Introduction. Local patriotism, i.e. mental attachment of people to own settlement or region, is an important factor of regional development in modern Ukraine. It is no exaggeration that, all else equal, the perception of own region as a distinctive, promising, and favourable for life etc. determines its socio-economic competitiveness. Coincidentally, territorial identity may become an instrument of political influence, sometimes destructive for states and regions. Modern socio-political crisis in Ukraine has occurred not least due to the peculiarities of the territorial identity in some regions of the country, violation of the balance between its different hierarchical levels. For this very reason the relationship between national and local patriotism is an important scientific issue.

Scientific background. The ratio between local and national patriotism were studied by scientists especially in countries with a significant historical and cultural differences, such as Belgium [11; 12] and Spain [13]. In the post-Soviet space, hypotheses about the nature of

the interaction between different levels of territorial identity in individuals and communities were expressed by S. Pavliuk [7], L. Smirniagin [8], and M. Krylov [4]. Krylov suggested a need to abandon the harsh opposition between the hierarchical levels of territorial identity, primarily national and regional [4, p. 206]. Smirniagin [8, p. 97] guesses that love to the Motherland cannot be full-value and complete without love to the native small motherland. Krylov, together with Gritsenko, conducted a large-scale research of Ukrainian, Russian and regional patriotism within the Ukrainian-Russian borderland [2]. Among the Ukrainian scientists, correlation of national and local patriotism has been studied by Dnistriansky [6; 9; 10], Nagorna [6], Melnychuk [5], Gnatiuk [1] and others. However, holistic spatial studies of national and local patriotism at mesoregional level in Ukraine have still not been carried out; methods to estimate indicators of national and local patriotism, as well as technique of their comparison, require further improvement and validation.

Study goal and methods. The aim of the study is the analysis of local and national patriotism within

Ukrainian mesoregion in terms of spatial patterns of strength and manifestations, as well as conditioning factors. For our case-study we elected Podolia in the administrative borders of the Vinnytsia, Khmelnytskyi and Ternopil regions. In our opinion, this is a pretty good test area, in view of significant internal historical and cultural diversity.

As a research method we used questionnaire survey of the population, which took place in 2013-2014. In total, 1223 questionnaires were collected, in particular: in Vinnytsia region – 658 questionnaires, in Khmelnytskyi region – 313 questionnaires, in Ternopil region – 252 questionnaires. Each administrative raion was represented by a minimum of 15 questionnaires. The sample was balanced by gender and age. The questionnaire contained the following questions:

A. For national patriotism evaluation:

1. Is it important for you to feel attachment to Ukraine?

2. In what country would you like to be born?

3. Are you proud that you are a Ukrainian?

B. For local patriotism evaluation:

4. Being in your residential place, do you consider yourself: (local, because I was born and raised here; local, although I was born and raised in a different place; do not consider myself local, but was born and raised here);

5. Do you consider any place to be your small motherland (region, settlement, part of settlement, etc.)? If so, indicate.

6. If you had a choice, what kind of settlement to live, would you choose the settlement where you live now? if not, in what settlement (or location area) would you like to live?

7. Do you like the settlement where you live? If yes, then why?

8. Do you prefer goods from your region (region, raion, settlement)?

9. Are you proud to live in your settlement?

10. Do you consider yourself a supporter for local and/or regional sports teams?

The level of Ukrainian patriotism was defined:

1. In terms of percentage of respondents who a. feel attachment to Ukraine (passive patriotism); b. wished to be born in Ukraine (active patriotism); and c. are proud to be Ukrainians (questions # 1, 2, and 3 respectively).

2. By conversion of the answers to questions # 1, 2, and 3 into numerical scores by means of a specially developed scale, to calculate an integral index of Ukrainian patriotism as the sum of the scores for individual indicators, both at the individual level and at the level of administrative units.

The level of local patriotism was defined:

1. In terms of percentage of respondents who a. have a small motherland in the place of permanent residence (rootedness); b. feel themselves to be locals (rootedness, passive patriotism); c. love their own settlement (topophilia); d. would like to continue living in their settlement (active patriotism); e. give preference for local goods; f. are proud to be inhabitants of their own settlements (questions # 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, respectively).

2. By conversion of the answers to questions # 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 into numerical scores by means of a

specially developed scale, to calculate an integral index of local patriotism as the sum of the scores for individual indicators, both at the individual level and at the level of administrative units.

Administrative raions were the basic territorial units for the calculation of indicators. Data for all cities of region subordination, excluding region capitals, were merged with the data for respective or bordering administrative raions. To correct the calculation of percentages for administrative regions, weighting coefficients were applied to the number of respondents in each basic territorial unit.

Results and discussion. *Local patriotism.* More than 80% of respondents indicated that they have a small motherland in a place of residence or elsewhere. Within the study region, the proportion of such individuals increases slightly from west to east (from 79.4% in Ternopil region to 82.8% in Vinnytsia region), and in the opposite direction increases the proportion of those who have only a great Motherland (i.e. Ukraine). The vast majority of respondents understand a small motherland, primarily, as a native settlement (82.8%), followed by administrative region (6.9 percent), administrative raion (4.0%), Ukraine (2.2%), macro-region of Ukraine (1.7%) and the settlement part (1.6%). Some individuals have argued a small motherland to be a different country or even planet Earth (less than 1.0%).

The proportion of those who like own settlement (topophilia, a measure of passive local patriotism), in terms of the regions decreases in eastern direction, i.e. from 93.8% in Ternopil region to 82.5% in Vinnytsia region. This rate is especially high in the central and northern parts of the Ternopil region and in the north of Vinnytsia region (over 80%) and the lowest values are observed in the area covering the south-west of Vinnytsia region and south-east of Khmelnytskyi region (50-60%).

In rural areas topophilia is caused mainly by the beauty of the local scenery. The second place priorities are: mentality of the local population, kindness of the people, and friendliness of the community. The third position is the mere fact of birth. Other common reasons were quietness (calmness and comfort), good ecological status, historical past, and unique local traditions. These are the reasons frequently cited by respondents from different location. However, some settlements have special reasons for topophilia based on local specificity. E.g., historical past plays significant role in Yarmolyntsi, Starokostiantyniv, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Letychiv, Tulchyn, Zboriv, Berezhany, Buchach, Slavuta, Bar; architecture masterpieces – in Zbarazh, Berezhany, Iziaslav, Starokostiantyniv, Slavuta, Kremenets, Buchach, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Chortkiv; Europeaness – in Vinnytsia, Khmelnytskyi; tourism potential – in Kamianets-Podilskyi, Ternopil, Vinnytsia; resort potential – in Khmilnyk; administrative status – in Vinnytsia; prospects and development – in Vinnytsia, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Khmelnytskyi, Sharhorod, Teofipol etc.; environmental condition – in Orativ, Starokostiantyniv, Lityn, Lanivtsi; landscaping – in Kamianets-Podilskyi, Ternopil, Vinnytsia; spatial compactness – in Ladyzhyn, Tulchyn, Ternopil, Khmelnytskyi, Vinnytsia, Kamianets-Podilskyi; neatness and cleanliness – in Starokostian-

tyniv, Ternopil, Khmilnyk; local infrastructure – in Vinnytsia, Khmelnytskyi.

The proportion of those who are proud of their own settlement falls down from west to east (30-40% in the western part of Ternopil region and 5-10% in the southeast of Vinnytsia region. Respective figures for pride of the settlement are 30-50% and only 10%. A desire to continue to live in settlement (active manifestation of local patriotism), has more expressive spatial differences. In Ternopil region (76.5%) this figure is significantly higher than in Khmelnytskyi (61,2%) and Vinnytsia (60.1%) regions. By administrative raions, the highest values (60-90%) were registered in Ternopil region, except for the Borshchiv raion; average values (40-60%) – in the northern part of Khmelnytskyi region and the eastern and central parts of Vinnytsia region, and the lowest values (20-40%) are typical for the former Podolian Voivodeship areas (with the exception of the areas located directly along the Dniester river, where the figure is higher, making 70-80%).

The population of the various territories within the region study has different dominant directions of the potential spatial mobility. E.g., residents of the areas surrounding the regional capitals tend to move to them, but residents of the raion centers and peripheral parts of the regions are willing to move mostly to other major cities of Ukraine (Kyiv, Lviv, Odessa, Kharkiv, etc.) or abroad.

Preferable consumption of local products is another manifestation of local patriotism. Among all respondents, 44.5% prefer goods of local producers. The highest value of this index was observed in Vinnytsia region (48.7%), the lowest – in Khmelnytskyi region (40.8%). In the context of administrative raions, the largest values were in Slavuta, Yarmolyntsi, and Pishchanka raions, the lowest – in Kozova, Dunayivtsi, Kamianets-Podilskyi raions. This aspect of local patriotism within Podolia has no general spatial trend and depends on the following: a) the presence of popular local manufacturers and brands; b) the presence of the popular manufacturers and brands at regional level (this explains the high value of the index in Vinnytsia region and the lowest values in Khmelnytskyi region; c) the level of urbanization: in major cities about 40% of inhabitants prefer local goods, whereas in small towns and rural areas this figure rises up to about 50%.

Support for local sports teams is another manifestation of local patriotism. The share of local sports team fans decreases from west to east, and in Ternopil region it is significantly higher than in Khmelnytskyi and Vinnytsia regions (56.1% vs. 35.3% and 29.2%, respectively). The spatial pattern of the fans within each region is significantly impacted by the geography of fans of the region capital teams, especially football clubs, as they are perceived as the local by the people across the region. The number of such fans increases towards the regional capitals, resulting in a general concentric pattern. However, the role of region team fans differs through the study region: if in Vinnytsia region they prevail, in Khmelnytskyi and especially Ternopil region significant part of people actively supports local level teams (from own settlement or administrative raion).

The integral index of local patriotism, which takes

into account all the above analysed indicators, more or less gradually decreases from the west (0.7-0.8) to the southeast (0.5-0.6). Other spatial differences that are clearly traced in the analysis of individual components are smoothed out almost completely. This means that local patriotism, even estimated with the same integral index, may have a different component structure in different locations, and therefore the behaviour of the locals, which is based on certain aspects of local patriotism, may differ significantly.

Ukrainian national patriotism. Unlike indicators of local patriotism, almost all analyzed indicators of national patriotism had common features of spatial pattern.

The share of people with strong mental attachment to Ukraine (an indicator of passive Ukrainian patriotism) in general constitutes 79.0%, decreasing from west to east, being significantly higher in Ternopil region (85.7%) than in Khmelnytsky (77.8%) and Vinnytsia (76.9%) regions. A particularly high level of this indicator is observed in the central and northern parts of Ternopil region (70-100%), relatively high values are also typical for the northern part of Khmelnytskyi region and the eastern part of Vinnytsia region (50-60%). At the rest of the studied region strong mental attachment to Ukraine feel only 50-60% of the total population. The proportion of respondents, who are proud to be Ukrainians, shows similar spatial variations (in the range from 60 to 100%).

Respondents, who would like to be born again in Ukraine, account for 69.3%. Thus, approximately 10% of the population has only passive, purely sensual dimension of patriotism, not backed by practical choice of residence place. The pattern of spatial differences of this index is virtually the same: a sharp increase in the Ternopil region (85.4%) compared to Vinnytsia (64.8%) and Khmelnytskyi (61.4%) regions, rather high values in the east of Vinnytsia region (70-90%), medium (50-70%) in the north of Khmelnytsky region, low values (30-70%) in the rest of the study region.

The spatial variation of the integral index of national patriotism gives grounds to highlight four areas:

1. Ternopil region with a very high index (0.8 – 1.0);
2. The eastern part of Vinnytsia region with a high index (0.7 – 1.0);
3. The northern part of Khmelnytskyi region with a medium index (0.6-0.9);
4. The southern and central parts of Khmelnytsky region, and western part of Vinnytsia region, with low index (mainly 0.6-0.8).

Local and national patriotism: differences between subethnic groups. The area of low index of national patriotism coincides with the territory where Podolians by self-definition constitute the majority of total population. In this regard, the question arises whether the reduced power of national patriotism (and, possibly, local patriotism) is typical for Podolians as subethnic group at the present stage of historical development. Therefore, integral indices of local and national patriotism were calculated separately for Podolians, Galicians, Volhynians and individuals without strong subethnic identity, for all Podolian region, and separately for specific territories of Volhyn-Podolia (northern part of Khmelnytskyi region)

and Ternopil region, in order to separate factors of subethnicity and residence location).

Calculation showed that Podolians have the strength of local patriotism (0.64) somewhat inferior to Galicians and Volhynians (0.70); the strength of national patriotism in Podolians (0.80) is slightly inferior to Volhynians (0.83) and much inferior to Galicians (0.91). Individuals without strong subethnic identity have their indices much lower compared to all subethnic groups (0.58 and 0.56 for local and national patriotism respectively). Within Volhyn-Podolia Podolians also turned out to be less local (0.58 versus 0.68) and national (0.79 versus 0.82) patriots than Volhynians. Relative to the respondents from Ternopil region, the figures for Podolians (0.67 and 0.90 for local and national patriotism respectively) are similar to that of Galicians (0.70 and 0.91) and Volhynians (0.72 and 0.86). The above suggests that Podolians has slightly weakened national patriotism as compared to Galicians and Volhynians, but only in the area of their compact residence. Podolians, living in their historic area, oppose themselves to such socio-political centers as Kyiv and Lviv, considering that have their own (e.g., Kamianets-Podilskyi, Vinnytsia), and the national idea here has no such a sacral sense as in Galicia (core of the Ukrainian national liberation and political movement in XIX – XX centuries) or the Middle Dnieper (the capital region). On the other hand, the evidence suggests that a high level of national patriotism in the eastern part of Vinnytsia region is formed just by Podolians rather than individuals without strong subethnic identity. Thus, the obtained results do not indicate a pathological underdevelopment of the Ukrainian national identity of Podolians as the subethnic group, but demonstrate the influence of geographical position and historic past on modern understanding of national identity.

Correlation of local and national patriotism. Strictly speaking, indices of local and national patriotism are relative indicators; therefore, their use for relationship of local and national patriotism is not quite correct. However, by comparing the indexes it is possible to identify areas where national patriotism is stronger with respect to local and vice versa. In this way it was determined that national patriotism is the strongest in comparison to local in Ternopil region, in the east of Vinnytsia region and the north of Khmelnytskyi region. Local patriotism is relatively the strongest in regard to national in the band surrounding the area with a maximum share of Podolians from the west, north and east. This phenomenon is explained by earlier decrease of the national patriotism index than the index of local patriotism with the move towards the resettlement area of Podolians.

In contrast to the abstract relative integral indexes, the same individual specific indicators of local and national patriotism can be directly compared. When com-

paring, for example, the percentage of respondents who would like to be born again in Ukraine with the percentage of respondents who would like to continue live in own settlement, we get in general a similar picture. In the area with a maximum share of Podolian in the population structure, especially in its peripheral band, people demonstrate more desire to live in their native settlements than in Ukraine. However, a desire to continue to live in native settlement potentially holds up to 10% of population in such areas from leaving the country. Simultaneously, people from other studies territories have more desire to live in Ukraine than to continue living in native settlement, which leads to increasing potential of spatial mobility for approximately 10% of the population within Ukraine.

Local tophophilia exceeds national one in the most part of studied region. This fact is one of the evidence that the development of territorial identity starts from its lower levels, from special relationship to small motherland, and then feeds the attachment to the country as a whole. But the share of those who are proud of their settlement is 2-6 times less than the share of those who are proud of their Ukrainian origin. Apparently, to be proud of belonging to a great diverse country and generalized images of people/nation/ethnicity is much easier than finding a reason to be proud of the specific settlement, often with challenging social and economic situation, deplorable state of housing and communal services, unrealized potential and non-abstract people with their positive and negative features.

The information provided on available spatial imbalances between the manifestations of local and national patriotism did not deny the fact of their general positive relationship. It is proved not only by the similar nature of their spatial patterns, but also by the coefficient of pair correlation (0.76) between the integral indices of local and national patriotism by administrative raions, contributing to the evidence for cumulative, or synergistic, relationship between development of territorial identity at different hierarchical levels.

Conclusions. The strength of both local and national patriotism is closely linked to the historical and cultural specificity of the region. This explains the significant differences in these indicators within Podolia. The results of the study also confirm the hypothesis that insists upon the cumulative (synergistic) interaction between national and local patriotism: a strong mental connection with settlement or region ultimately stimulates the development of national patriotism. Thus, local (regional) identity in monoethnics environment not only hardly creates the threat of separatism, but is a prerequisite for the preservation of the territorial integrity of the state.

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