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DIALOG OF CULTURE AS A DEFINING PRINCIPLE OF CONSOLIDATION OF UKRAINIAN SOCIETY

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У статті розглядається консолідація українського суспільства як результат внутрішньокультурного діалогу, поширення комунікативних практик, толерантності та взаєморозуміння громадян. Хоча діалогічність та толерантність завжди були прикметними рисами української культури, що визначалося впливом множини культурно-цивілізаційних і геополітичних впливів, сучасна українська культура має ще значний консолідаційний потенціал. Утвердження діалогічності культури є актуальним та важливим вектором розвитку гуманітарної політики української держави, забезпечення її самобутності та безпеки.

Ключові слова: консолідація, діалог, культура, сепаратизм, гармонізація інтересів, міжособистісна довіра.

In the article we consider the consolidation of Ukrainian society as a result of the dialogue inside the culture and dissemination practices of communication, tolerance and understanding people. Although dialogic and tolerance always were notable features of Ukrainian culture, that defined the influence of plural cultural and civilizational and geopolitical influences, the modern Ukrainian culture still has a significant consolidation potential. The promotion of dialogue of culture is a relevant and important vector of development of Ukrainian humanitarian policy of the state and ensuring its identity and security.

Keywords: consolidation, dialogue, culture, separatism, harmonization of interests, interpersonal trust.

Problems of consolidation of society are discussed in various scientific discourses, including philosophy, sociology, political sciences, economic and cultural studies and so on. As a scientific term, consolidation in Latin (consolido) "consolidation" means union, strengthening the cohesion of individuals, groups and organizations to achieve some common goals. Consolidation is a central factor in the effectiveness of any social action that requires collective mind or collective enthu-

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siasm, and also the one and/or the other strategic goal, whose achievement is simply impossible without the involvement of this phenomenon, cannot but be mentioned. For society as a cultural system of high order, different characteristics of consolidation (pseudo-, re-, de-, counter and so on) process are probably the most important integral indicator of its quality and the quality of life of its citizens.

Consolidation of society depends on determining dialogue inside the culture in which everyone can understand and hear the "Other". In modern democratic European traditions, which are popular in Ukraine also, "Other" – is just not "our", but one that has the right to own "I" and its own civilizational choice. As the case studies show [1], in spite of the difficult and sometimes tragic relations with its neighbors, the xenophobic complex against any of them has not been developed among the Ukrainians. Even open confrontation of two nation projects in Ukraine – Ukrainian political and Russian imperialistic - has, in our view, as its principles assimilation policy of the Russian state and ideological aggression of the "Russian World", but not the Ukrainian world outlook.

Even in a crisis situation that has developed in Ukraine in late 2013 – early 2014, the vast majority of people had no distinct models for these events such as panic or aggressive responses regarding the "Other". According to psychologists, Ukraine has shown quite unusual reactions to the events that took place. According to L. Hrydkovets, when various public events occur, the most people of different countries "primitive instincts" that replace the moral and ethical principles are awakened. Looting and theft are starting. At the same time Ukrainian space was self-organized and based on moral values (the Revolution of Dignity) that is unusual for such situations. It can be explained primarily by the fact that the Ukrainian nation, the Ukrainians, is not aggressive in their basic characteristic - mentality.

So the purpose of the article is to understand the practices of dialogue as the defining principles of the Ukrainian society consolidation. The problem of unity and social stability, ensuring harmony among its citizens was a priority of social science studies since antiquity until today. In ancient China, unity and harmony of society was considered as a result of compliance with moral principles, rituals and traditions. Ancient thinkers - Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Epicurus - argued that the function of the regulator do the law of the state. From the time of the birth of national states issue their unity and consolidation were analyzed in the works of I. Herder, I. Fichte, Dzh. St. Mill, Zh. Zh. Russo, E. Renan, Weber and other philosophers, historians and sociologists. In modern Ukraine problem of consolidation of society, the role of ethno-national component in this process is investigated in the works of I. Varzar, O. Vlasiuk, O. Derhachov, V. Yevtukh, A. Kolodii, O. Kartunov, V. Kaplov, V. Krysachenko, Kuras, G. Lutsyshyn, O. Maiboroda, I. Nadolishnii, M. Panchuk, M. Piren, Ρ. B. Popov, Yu. Rymarenko, V. Troshchynskyi, L. Shkliar, M. Shulha, H. Yavorska and others.

However, the problem requires a conceptual understanding of content, factors and potential mechanisms for implementing consolidation cultural dialogue relationship as the modern paradigm of transformation.

Axiological context of social consolidation may be seen as an issue of mutual recognition of citizens equivalence of different interests, beliefs, ideologies, beliefs, orientations and life strategies, values, customs and archetypes culture that emerged in the regional and ethnic communities based on the characteristics of their development of culture for constructive effective interaction the interests of society.

The problem of unity generated by the collision of at least two value systems – obtained from the previous society, on the one hand, and the new strategic guidelines and priorities for further development of an independent state – on the other. Its visual impact is enhanced also historical and political past of Ukraine and its geopolitical position as a territory that is at fault

and the points of contact of several civilizations, both large and local. Throughout its history, Ukraine has been a meeting place, crossing the plurality and mutual culturalcivilizational and geopolitical patterns that define available ambivalent state of the cultural preferences of its citizens and a number of ethnic and political problems of the present. But now the country is a minimum national consensus that would allow its progress as a relatively predictable and democratic society. The state currently established adequate political framework that meets the needs of multi-ethnic society and international legal standards for the protection of such rights of ethnic minorities, immigrants and internal migrants, providing them all possible conditions for a stay in its territory involving all spheres of society, consolidating them around national interests.

However, the lack of constructive dialogue of central government and regional elites, their consensus on the strategy for socio-economic and political development generates such a phenomenon as separa-tism, which is a major threat to public consolidation, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state.

The potential separatism depends primarily on the capacity of regional communities, among which apply or can spread separatist sentiment. This is its strength as well as the attractiveness of the relevant identity; common interests other than the interests of the rest of the population; the existence of significant linguistic, cultural and religious characteristics due to the history of the region. Finally, do not factor in the expansion's main separatist movements is the presence of foreign allies separatists and their relative strength compared with the state, where there are separatist attempts.

During the existence of Ukraine in the USSR and in the absence of deliberate policy formation Ukrainian identity since independence, the country remained targets regional areas (Donbas and Crimea) "Soviet man" or "scoop" with all its components: the Russian language and culture, symbols, heroes and anti-heroes, values, customs, traditions, myths and more. Chief among them – the wicked, in their view, the distribution of the national income of the state and together with Russia Ukrainian incompatible with identical values, which became the ideological foundation is distributing pro-Russian sentiments and movements kvazi respublik. Not least due to this "closeness" of these areas of Ukrainian and world civilizational influences. According to H. Tuka, before the Russian occupation of Donbas 87 % of its residents never left the boundaries of their region, and 93 % of the population have never left the territory of Ukraine [2].

His autarchic existence of the inhabitants of these territories then and now simply with nothing to compare, and so easy to manipulate society. Added to this is also the low level of domestic co-production of certain territories in Ukraine against the backdrop of mostly one-sided orientation of foreign economic relations, especially in eastern and southern Ukraine to Russia.

However, you can claim that the spread of separatist practices in Ukraine since independence is not the result of powerful regional movements or organizations that rely on significant popular support. Regarding Donbas and Crimea – the consequences of a hybrid war against Ukraine as an attempt to revive the former USSR or remedy prevent its European powers.

A significant impediment national dialogue, consolidation of society is a war of information that it is against Ukraine. As content itself, so the huge imbalance in the structure of Ukrainian information and communication space for the Russian media suggest a conscious effort on the part of Russian authorities to slow down or stop and national self-determination of citizens of Ukraine.

A significant part of this war is to limit or oppression and Ukrainian studies and Ukrainian in Crimea and eastern Ukraine. Paradigm "language is the national identity" is a historical construct, which largely determines the current division of the world into nation-states. In the language generated content, find expression values are emerging signs and symbols of state pointed out that even theorists dialogical concepts. So Jacques Lacan, exploring the works of Freud, noted that the measure of truth arises only with the appearance of language. And the concept of "the Other", in his view is only possible through the concept of broadcasting. According to M. Merleau-Ponty theoretical framework of dialogue mediated by concepts like the concepts of the track, time, and the concepts of language and speech. The power of language comes from its ability to create a unified field of exchange and communication that promote national identity and the consolidation of society.

As the director of the Institute of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences Mr. Hrytsenko, the years of independence the Ukrainian language happens radical changes, just expanded its field of operation, increased vocabulary and terminology, the number of texts available in Ukrainian. According to him, over the years has grown significantly Ukrainiangeneration, and no political conditions can not offset the status of Ukrainian as the state language and one of the factors of nation-building [3].

However, the situation is not clear. According to sociological studies in families communicate mostly Ukrainian only 39 % of young respondents (aged 18–24 years – 42% in 25–34 years – 36%). Although consider Ukrainian their native language 67 % (in 18-24 years – 70 %, 25–34 years – 69 %). A support granting the Russian language official status in Ukraine 37 %, 34 % - in youth cohorts. But consider that it is appropriate, in addition to Ukrainian, Russian language study, 69% of respondents (51% – 18-24 year olds and 65 % - 25-34 years old) and learn English find it necessary 83 % of the respondents (89% - 18-24 year olds)and 86 % – 25–34 years old) [3].

That is, we can say that the main problem of verbal dialogue in Ukraine is the presence of two different linguistic communities – Russian and Ukrainian. Although de facto state provides and guarantees the rights of ethnic Russians at the nationalcultural autonomy. An extensive system of secondary and higher education, the opportunity to receive information in their native language, attend Russian cultural institutions, presence vast array of Russian library collections, a strong network of national-cultural associations representing the Russian minority, suggest that at the national level in this area not acute problems requiring immediate solution that besides reflected in assessments of Ukraine.

Ethnic Russians in Ukraine have opportunities to meet their needs in their native language in culture and information. This promotes the free exchange of information in the media, on radio channels, television, on the Internet and so on. In Ukraine every year goes sufficient Russian books. The country operates an extensive national network of secondary schools teaching in Russian. In the overall reduction in the number of educational institutions, mainly due to a demographic change, the number of schools teaching the Russian language has increased from 1199 in 2008–2009 academic year to 1256 in 2012–2013 academic year.

In Ukraine today there is no comprehensive program of expanding the social base of the state language, which should include: real time adaptation of the population to the use of the Ukrainian language in various spheres of life; the creation of individual training programs and their implementation; stimulate Ukrainian language; software process Ukrainian language necessary material resources; study and use of international experience on this issue; training of teaching staff; improvement of publishing and so on. Without this introduction and use of Ukrainian as the state language must celebrate frank resistance of the population, especially russian speaking and do not contribute to consolidation processes. The language factor, which is now the subject of political speculation to achieve vested economic interests and meet the political ambitions of local elites to convert to consolidating factor for society (perception of Ukrainian as the only state language of Ukraine possible). Other provisions enshrined 10 Article of the Constitution of Ukraine under any circumstances and no other consideration should not be questioned and, especially, audit, and should be the basis of all future

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concepts and strategies of language policy in Ukraine, including those created to implement global geopolitical strategies (EU integration) and the corresponding formation of legal framework (ratified "European Charter for regional or minority languages"). This is the opportunity and the need for language policy in the consolidation of the country, in the formation of Ukrainian Unification and combating destructive manifestations of separatism.

An important mechanism for consolidating society is dialogue between the government and civil society, which should be realized through a formalized structure – parties, trade unions, and through the structures of civil society - NGOs, movements, initiatives etc. However, in Ukraine initiators of these structures is often seen their way to attract the attention of authorities, means to climb the social ladder, etc., but hardly think that NGOs exist primarily to ensure that citizens can own her own in solving various problems that they are a way of creating their own society, civil society, and be able to act independently of the state. We can mention here the analysis of similar structures in the US of A. de Tocqueville. He writes that creating associations Americans, therefore, in essence, form the society. Thus the positive aspect of the American experience is not propaganda, not constant emphasis on the fact that minorities "have the right to be right ..." and cooperation in the creation of the society, the nation, the state is crucial to achieve mutual understanding between people of different cultures. And he states that "Wherever at the head of a particular case, you will see the government in France, or nobleman in England, in the United States with certainty you will find the association" [4].

And the political parties in Ukraine – it means no deployment of internal democratic processes through dialogue, but rather its simulacrum. The very number of parties indicates excessive ambition and intransigence petty domestic political elite. Emerging in Ukraine are also major (conservatism, liberalism) political ideology. However, the party with entrenched ideological principles – communists, socialists and those from people's movement of Ukraine – Ukraine became a marginal status.

Unfortunately, all unions Ukraine (both old and newly created) were not democratic organizations of expression and protection of economic interests of workers. Most of them are, as in the Soviet system, closed corporate structures, depending on the power and controlled her that does not contribute to the national dialogue.

The main mechanism of consolidation in Ukrainian society is, in our view, harmonization of interests of all citizens of Ukraine, which provides a very complex system of agreements, including those enshrined in law that would settle, made conventional and generally accepted "rules of the game" between different socio-cultural components of society. Harmony (in Greek – communication, harmony, coherence) does not provide absolute consistency and lack of contradictions. Harmony is a combination of quantity and quality, the dialectical unity of opposites: part and whole, content and form, essence and existence. This is one of the points in the overall movement of reality, along with moments of disharmony, conflict, etc. Harmony is different from the unity and struggle of opposites, the latter dominated, especially in the so-called antagonistic contradictions. This harmony is the general philosophical concept, which is manifested in various spheres of reality and practice consolidation of society. Therefore, we must clearly understand that the harmonization of interpersonal relationships orthodoxy of "rules" on the joint success of the project depends on Ukrainian political nation – its spiritual and material well-being.

Harmonizing the interests of all citizens of Ukraine is critically dependent on interpersonal trust as a generalized characteristic attitude toward people in general – not family, not friends – that confidence in the people about whom there is no specific information. Trust and tolerance in any relationship citizens have features of civic political culture, which is the result of the functioning of civil society, communication and dialogue of people belonging to different communities and regions in the creation of the state, the nation, the society to which they belong. In terms of personal trust in Ukraine is average for global standards of a country that has good prospects for the development of dialogue society. To confirm this conclusion, we note that global average generalized interpersonal trust, designed for 83 countries is 29.5 %. The highest level of confidence recorded in Scandinavia, where the answer is "most people can be trusted" staunchly defend about 60 %. Most distrustful were countries such as Turkey (less than 5 %) and Brazil where positive answer to this question is usually not more than 10 % of [5]. Citizens of Ukraine most trusted volunteers and community organizations, and the least - the courts and the prosecutor's office, according to a sociological study "Socio-political attitudes of the population of Ukraine", conducted by Gorshenin Institute from 8 to 17 February 2016, reports Forbes.ua. During the presentation of sociological research sociologists said that volunteers trusted by 71.3 % of Ukrainian, NGOs -49.2 %. The high level of confidence, according to a study in the Armed Forces of Ukraine – 48.8 % These structures have lost all credibility Ukrainian [6].

The lowest rates of trust in the authorities, officials, institutions, political parties and movements, associations, social programs, events, etc., is essential brake on institutional development of Ukraine. According to results of a study KIIS 78.3 % of people dissatisfied with the Prime Minister and the President. More than 87 % of respondents reported worsening socio-economic situation, of which more than 33 % of respondents attributed this situation to the inefficient management Yatsenyuk, and more than 24 % – of the President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko [7].

Although as noted by specialists of the Institute of Sociology of NAS of Ukraine, the danger of this situation is that some institutional mechanisms former paternalistic system in the country (particularly in the coordinates of social and economic policy) has been destroyed. Instead of eliminating the state "parents" care and responsibility for the people has not offset in part by a lack of new institutional conditions and opportunities, full civil responsibility of society and various social groups [8].

Conclusions

Thus, the Ukrainian state should develop a targeted policy of consolidation of society. Its part is overcoming the mental division of East and West Ukraine by eninter-communication hancing neutralize separatist practices, deepening the dialogue between government and civil society, to develop an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust between citizens, increasing the communication capacity of the state language, distribution and promotion of successful life practice in the field of science and education, health, poverty reduction, gender equality and so on. Society can unite as awareness of "who are we?" And the implementation of successful strategies address the political and socio-economic problems and modernization of society based on the needs and interests of the majority of citizens of Ukraine, not oligarchic clans.

In addition, value-semantic basis for the consolidation process of society should be the strategy for the formation of national identity and national ideology. The weakness of the national identity increases the attractiveness for ethnic groups, compactly living in the border regions of Ukraine identify themselves with the peoples of neighboring countries, and for many neighboring countries - to develop scenarios temptation "protect" their "own countrymen" in Ukraine. Consolidation of the society is not possible without state ideology. The fact that no ideology can be public, took care even the founding fathers of Ukraine, which introduced that provision in its Constitution. However, the lack of national self-determination of the state has the consequence that today most Russian invaders and Ukrainian are still not taking, the enemy "by mistake". In a society without ideology real enemies are only those who committed evil directly to you or your family and friends. Therefore,

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effective nationalism is not only guaranteed patriotic leadership of the state. This is a complete consolidation of the nation to the threat of external aggression and pledge civilization formation isolation of Ukrainian society.

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