



# Patriotism as the subject of discursive practices in Russia

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## Abstract

Discourses of the patriotism in Russia represent presentations of its study results in the framework of such scientific disciplines, as philosophy, history, political science, sociology and psychology. Within the framework of these disciplines, the patriotism is studied, taking into account various paradigmatic preferences, first, ontological, axiological, identification and behavioural content. The diversity of the paradigmatic foundations of research practices generates in the discourse the most diverse ideas about the patriotism in Russia. These representations, filled with the specific content, are, as a rule, of disciplinary unilateral and paradigmatic limited nature. The conceptual comprehension of the patriotism in Russia, as an integral social reality presupposes the development of a multidimensional methodological construct of its holistic scientific study.

**Keywords:** Patriotism; Discursive Practices; Ontological Approach; Axiological Approach; Disciplinary Unilateralism; Paradigmatic Limitation; Identification Approach; Behavioral Approach; Multidimensional Methodological Construct; Holistic Approach.

## 1. Introduction

Modern discourses of the patriotism, on the one hand, were generated by the globalization, which seriously challenges national differences and national and patriotic practices, on the other - discourses of the patriotism were due to the localization, within the framework of which national communities received the opportunity to reconstruct their history and identity. In foreign discursive practices, it is possible to emphasize several directions, connected with various interpretations of the patriotism. Within the frameworks of one of these, the patriotism is often given an ideological dimension, which equates it with the nationalism. In particular, various aspects of the correlation of patriotism and nationalism found their conceptual expression in works of many well-known foreign scientists. In the discourse, it is possible to emphasize other directions, which are connected with the comprehension of the transformation of the patriotism concept in the historical context; the idea of "good patriotism", which presupposes the special pride for their homeland or the fatherland (this idea originated in the course of European wars of the Reformation epoch); the distinction between true and false patriotism [1-3].

In modern explanatory dictionaries of French, English and German languages, the word "patriotism" is usually interpreted, as a sense of the social attachment of citizens, the content of which is "love to the Fatherland, the Motherland, their own country", as well as "the readiness to subordinate own private interests to their interests" [4, 5]. Along with that, in the foreign discourse there exists also a negative attitude toward the patriotism, as "the last refuge of villains" (S. Johnson) or "the readiness to kill and be killed for the most trivial reasons" (B. Russell).

The peculiarity of the Russian discourse lies in the fact, that the patriotism as "a very old sense, expressed through the love to the Motherland, to a neighbour, own place of the birth and the residence" is often perceived, as an irrational phenomenon or is treated, as a basic structure of the mental matrix of the social behaviour in

the Russian society. At the same time, many intellectuals in Russia continue to relate negatively to the patriotism. Beginnings of such attitude come from L.N. Tolstoy, who wrote, that "the patriotism in its simplest, clearest and undoubted meaning is nothing more for rulers, than an instrument for achieving ambitious and mercenary goals, and for the managed ones - the denial of the human dignity, intellect, conscience and slavish conformity of oneself to those, who is in power". In this regard, it should be noted, that in the Russian intellectual tradition, even V.S. Solovyev paid attention to the existence of the internal contradiction "between the true patriotism, wanting Russia to be as good as possible, and false claims of the nationalism, claiming that she is anyway better, than others". Therefore V.S. Solovyev understood the patriotism "not, as a hatred to aliens and adherents of a different faith, but as the active love to own suffering people" [6], [7].

In modern Russia, in conditions of search for national responses to challenges of the globalization and increased external pressure, the important part of the state policy, aimed at consolidation of the Russian society, has recently become the count on the patriotism. At that, on the one hand, it is noted that the patriotism is the quality, which underlies the national character of Russians. However, on the other hand, it is emphasized, that in modern Russian society it is necessary "to cultivate a healthy sense of the patriotism", since there is always the danger of the development of the patriotism into the nationalism. In this regard, "the patriotism fundamentally differs from the nationalism. Nationalism is hatred to other nations. And patriotism is a love for the own Motherland".

In this connection, various aspects of the patriotism interpretation, as a subject of modern discursive practices in Russia, attract the particular theoretical interest [8], [9].

## 2. Review of the scientific literature

Within the framework of various scientific disciplines, conclusions of the study of patriotism were drawn, primarily in thesis researches

on the sociology and the philosophy. Analytical reviews of scientific works on the patriotism are also contained in special articles, devoted to patriotic problems. Attempts were also made to examine individual conceptual approaches, connected with the study of the patriotism. Surveys of scientific researches, contained in these works, are evidence of the multi-aspect nature of their subject fields and the presence of various methodological grounds for studying patriotism within the framework of individual scientific disciplines. All this generates discussion nature of results of research practices, giving them a problematic nature. The subject of disputes in scientific research practices is the nature of patriotism in the context of substantiating its natural or constructed entity. The question of the relationship between patriotism and nationalism, patriotism and cosmopolitanism is not sufficiently clarified. As main problems, connected with the study of patriotism, researchers usually call its theoretically unreasonable definitions and typologies. Problems of the patriotism and the civic patriotism in Russia, as integral social phenomena, presupposing their consideration in the frames of the interdisciplinary research, await their conceptual development [1014].

Thus, it can be stated, that results of the study of patriotism have already been drawn in the framework of individual scientific disciplines, but, as a rule, without separation of problem fields and paradigmatic foundations of research practices, existing in them. This does not provide an opportunity to present the cognitive situation, connected with the study of patriotism, in general, both in subject and methodological standpoints. In this regard, there is a need for a critical analysis of established research practices, related to the study of the patriotism in Russia. Theoretical reflection as to their results will contribute to reveal the content of the subject fields of comprehending patriotism in Russian discursive practices, taking into account its paradigmatic grounds.

### 3. Methodology

The methodological basis of studying patriotism, as a subject of discursive practices in Russia, is theories of the discourse analysis, which established within the framework of primarily the socio-constructivist trend in the epistemology. These theories are based on the idea, that discourses form the social world with the help of language practices. The basis of the discourse analysis is following theoretical premises. Firstly, the idea, that scientific knowledges about the social world are not a direct reflection of the "external" social reality, but the result of scientific methods of its categorizing, or a product of the scientific discourse. Secondly, the recognition, those knowledges about the social world are a product of the historically established human interaction, and, therefore, methods of the scientific understanding and representation of this world have historically and culturally conditioned specificity. Since discourses, presenting the social reality in a certain way, the main goal of the discourse analysis is to find out, how that is the social world (or its aspects) is discursively attributed to values and what social consequences this has. In this regard, some authors pay attention to the fact, that discourse is not a mean of understanding social reality, but a presentation of research practices. Therefore, the semantic structure of the discourse conditions not knowledges of scientists about the social reality, but structures this very reality. Therefore, discursive practices represent, on the one hand, a variety of judgements about the social reality, an ensemble of semantic schemes, forming the social reality, on the other hand - the cognitive field of the competitive struggle in the science, related to the production of the scientific knowledge.

Features of modern discourse practices in Russia are largely due to that intellectual situation, which emerged in social sciences in the late XX - early XXI century. This situation is characterized, on the one hand, by the fact, that the social reality poses to social sciences challenges of the complexity and the uncertainty, answers to which require the holistic study of the social reality, as the complex system. On the other hand, the increasing disciplinary specialization and, accordingly, the subjective unilateralism of research activities,

as well as the growing multi-paradigmality of scientific research practices, generating their methodological limitation, is accompanied with the fragmentarization of the scientific knowledge. For this reason, in research practices constantly eludes the integrity and the multidimensionality of studied social phenomena. Therefore, today social sciences need such ways of thinking and methods of the scientific research activities, which would allow, on the one hand, as researchers note, "fearlessly look in the face of the complexity", on the other, to overcome the disciplinary unilateralism of the social cognition and the heuristic limitation of specialized scientific and research practices.

The methodological basis of the study of patriotism, as a subject of discursive practices in Russia, representing the cognitive field of the competitive struggle in social sciences, connected with the production of scientific knowledges, is also formed by principles of the historical and scientific researches. These principles are based on theoretical notions about the subject of such type of researches. In a broad sense, the subject of historical and scientific researches are both the history of ideas and the history of people, as creators of the science, and its history as a social institution. In a narrow sense, the subject of historical and scientific researches is developments of the science, as a system of the knowledge: the content of scientific concepts and their paradigm grounds.

In the framework of such understanding of the subject of historical and scientific researches, the theoretical reflection as to established existing thematic directions in the scientific study of the patriotism, its paradigmatic bases and results, obtained within the framework of various disciplinary practices, is of particular significance. The basis of this reflection is the critical epistemological analysis of the existing system of the scientific knowledge, devoted to the patriotic range of problems. This analysis presupposes following methodological procedures: Firstly, the definition of object fields of disciplinary research practices and the detection of their paradigmatic grounds; secondly, the description of scientific results, the definition of discussion issues and the scientific "lacunae"; thirdly, the establishment of the authenticity (reliability and completeness) of scientific knowledge's by the assessment of the degree of their justification, the detection of contradictions and scientific lacunae in the existing system of knowledge.

### 4. Results

The analysis of discursive practices in the field of the study of patriotism in the Russian scientific tradition showed, that the philosophical, historical, psychological, political and sociological directions are most broadly and thematically extended in this object field. Philosophical science has its own deep traditions of researching patriotism, which in many ways constitute an intellectual tradition of studying this phenomenon in Russia. Modern philosophical developments in the study of patriotism from the point of view of the thematic subject matters, contained in them, which are included in discursive practices, reflect both the general vector of their development in the interdisciplinary space of comprehending patriotism and specific directions, connected with detection of ontological grounds of such phenomenon, as the patriotism.

Within the framework of the philosophical reflection, patriotism appears, as a "phenomenon of the spirituality, its various interpretations, individual aspects and components". From this point of view, the patriotism is considered, as a positive characteristic of human being, as a purely positive phenomenon, since it manifests itself in the constructive creative representation on the basis of nobility of thoughts, purity of thoughts, intelligence, openness, kind and virtuous deeds, aimed at high goals. In other words, patriotism is not limited to a pure idea, but is a characteristic of a person's quality of life, which necessarily includes the readiness for active actions in the name of the Motherland.

Many of researchers in the definition of the patriotism turn to ideas of I.A. Ilyin, as the fundamental in the interpretation and the methodological substantiation of this phenomenon, under which the lat-

ter understood the spiritual and creative act of the self-determination of the individual and the nation. In this brief definition lies the deep essence of the "patriotism" concept, which then in many other definitions is revealed in more extended form, taking into account the spiritual and moral component (patriotism, as the spiritual heritage of man, as the basic spiritual value), emotional and sensuous component (the love to the Motherland, the Fatherland), the identification component (belonging to the fate of the Fatherland, its nation and identification of oneself with it, with its culture, history, victories and defeats, goals in the present and the future, etc.), activity component (readiness to work and act for the benefit of the Motherland, the nation).

The most common in the Russian philosophy in the patriotism interpretation is the axiological approach, within which patriotism is considered, as one of the most important values, which is a condition for the identification of the individual and is manifested in activities for the benefit of the Motherland. The axiological approach, actively used by philosophers to determine the essence of the patriotism, is, as a rule, based on recognizing, as a key characteristic of this phenomenon, the love for the Motherland, belonging to its culture, history, achievements, and this characteristic already a priori contains a positive attitude of people to the Motherland.

In the space of the philosophical reflection, there are also ontological, gnosiological, axiological and praxeological approaches to the study of the patriotism. In the context of the first (ontological), the patriotism is associated with the world of real feelings, views, ideas, wherein this phenomenon manifests itself, that contributes to the formation of a significant space of contradictory positions, regarding the essence, nature, functions, patriotism content, manifesting itself differently in different conditions of the social development. Patriotism from positions of this direction appears, as a dynamic, constantly evolving phenomenon, determined by tendencies of the socio-cultural dynamics. Within the framework of the second (gnosiological) direction, the patriotism appears in the form of the real reality, reflected in the mind of a man that determines the importance of studying the structure of patriotism, as reflected in the public consciousness and being. The study of patriotism within the framework of this direction presupposes the two-level analysis: Scientific-theoretical and ordinary-everyday, with an emphasis on the second as the primary, preceding what is then formed in the form of some ideological concepts. In the value and praxeological direction, the emphasis is on the spiritual side of patriotism, as transforming man in his relation to the reality, which is manifested, including at a practical, effective level, that allows within the framework of this direction considering patriotism not only from the standpoint of its spiritual, but also effective conditionality, without which the patriotism is impossible, since only concrete actions make it possible to transform the idea of patriotism into the patriotism, as the real force.

In the space of philosophical reflection, the issue of the correlation of patriotism and nationalism is also pushed. It is treated differently, but the main idea comes down to necessity to maintain the equilibrium state of two components: nationalism and internationalism. If the national beginning strengthens in patriotism, it turns into its opposite - chauvinism; If the international component increases, patriotism can turn to the other extreme - cosmopolitanism». In this context of the thematic discourse, an identification approach develops in the study of patriotism, within the framework of which it is considered, as the form of socio-cultural and national identity.

In the ideological approach in the philosophical direction of the patriotism study, the attention is focused on the ideological content of patriotism and such its types, as the state and civil patriotism are distinguished. The first is a necessary condition of the statesmanship, and the second, as a continuation of the first, in its basis contains the love to own native land, the nation, the respect to its traditions, and the pride for historical and cultural achievements.

Regarding types of patriotism, various discursive practices have formed in the philosophical literature. So, in one classification such types of patriotism are marked out, as state, civil, ethnic, very close to national, personal and spiritual-religious. In another classifica-

tion, patriotism appears in such forms, as class, socialist and people's. Researchers also suggest the typology of patriotism, wherein such its types, as the policy patriotism (derived from the policy system in the antique period, in which it originated), the imperial patriotism, the ethnic patriotism (as a synonym for the nationalism), the state patriotism, jingoism (hurray-patriotism - in its basis is a hypertrophied feeling of love to the state, to own nation). Researchers attribute "hurray-patriotism" to the number of distorted and transformed forms of the patriotic consciousness along with such kinds, as the fanatic patriotism, the false "anti-patriotism", and also describes forms of consciousness, which are contrary to the patriotism, such as the "pseudo-patriotism", the counter-patriotism, the patriotic nihilism, the patriotic indifferentism and the like, pointing out that fact, that "all of them, regardless of their content, represent a unilateral, metaphysical approach to the essence of the patriotism, over-emphasizing, driving to the extreme one or another its aspect". In this formulation of the issue, connected with distorted forms of the patriotism and the patriotic consciousness, it is possible to cite a number of other forms, including, among others, the nationalism, the source of which can be the ethnic patriotism or the hypertrophied state patriotism.

In other words, patriotism and anti-patriotism, patriotism and false patriotism, state patriotism and nationalism, as its distorted form - all these and many, formed by the dialectic dependence, forms and anti-forms of patriotism coexist in a single space and are activated in dependence on the specific situation, specific social conditions, political goals, etc.

In historical discursive practices on patriotism, this concept is revealed in its evolutionary and historical conditioning, as a phenomenon, that came a long way of has lasted for a long time of becoming in various types of societies and civilizations and containing, as a basic characteristic, a deep sense for the Fatherland. Among features of the historical discourse on the problem of patriotism, its interpretation, as a national idea, is emphasized, which, unlike the patriotism, as G.N. Lebedeva notes, not everybody have. The national idea of Russia (the Russian national idea), in her opinion, begins to form during the period of overcoming the Horde-era yoke, when Byzantium fell and the Moscow tzardom became to be perceived, as the last stronghold of the Orthodox faith. "Moscow is the third Rome" - that's when this ideology began to form, which has reached our days in this or that meaning. Later, in the Petrine epoch, the national idea was somewhat modified. It is well known to contemporaries, as the triad of "Orthodoxy. Autocracy, National ethos", personified in the ideological basis of the patriotic upbringing, especially in the army, "For Faith, Tsar and Fatherland!". Along with the national idea, the concept of patriotism evolved, which in centuries of its development has acquired the same etatist character, which to this day distinguishes the Russian patriotism. The special attitude to his own state, absolute devotion to it, the ethics of serving the state, for which the Russian nation could make various sacrifices - are those features, which historically formed in Russia and today, to a large extent, determine the sense and content of the Russian patriotism. What was perceived in the West, as a manifestation of the slavish nature, in Russia was boundless devotion to its own state.

In the historical scientific tradition, their own approaches to the classification of patriotism were formed. Researchers mark out two major types of patriotism - military and civil, and the very fact of the formation of the paramilitary patriotism historians associate with the historical fate of Russia, for which the peace state "was always just the exception, and a war - a cruel rule", which led to the fact, that only those, who defended the Motherland, were considered real patriots and heroes. Invoking the understanding of the patriotism, as the basic design of the national consciousness, S.A. Margil proposes his own typology of patriotism, who singled out three main forms or historical versions of patriotism in Russia: imperial, sovereign patristic patriotism, which was dominant in the pre-revolutionary period; Soviet paramilitary patriotism, which dominated in the communist period, and post-Soviet patriotism, corresponding to the current period of the Russian society development and synthesizing the pre-Soviet single-sovereign, the Soviet paramilitary

and the new civil democratic patriotism, which together formed the highly controversial and ineffective form of the patriotism.

It was just in the historical scientific tradition, that the issue of the patriotism nature of was sharply raised, that was formalized in the constructivist paradigm, from positions of which it is asserted, that "patriotism is not absolutely natural, «seventh" sense even for a Soviet man, but is the result of a large-scale project for designing a patriotic reality. From this point of view, patriotism appears, as an "ideologically instrumental construct".

This constructivist tradition of studying patriotism continues in political and sociological discursive practices. In particular, the constructivist aspect of the patriotism study in political science is connected by scientists with its identity function, an excessive appeal to which can turn the patriotism into the a political tool of manipulating the mass consciousness for the use for purposes, which are far from the good of the nation and the state itself. In general, by extension of discursive practices, available in the political science, patriotism loses its existential sounding in them and obtains an instrumental character, as a method of changing the socio-political reality. An important feature of political discourse practices is also the theme of the patriotic ideology, which in most cases appears, as the national-wide idea and as the method of forming the collective identity.

In general, patriotism in the political science is considered from various perspectives: as an important value, as a method of forming the Russian identity, as the national idea, which finds expression in the patriotic ideology, as a tool of the state policy, the use of which can take various forms - ideological, educational, and cultural.

Specificity of discursive practices of the patriotism in the psychological science is connected with the understanding of patriotism, as a social setting and as a moral sense, which determines the human behaviour, as well as study it from the standpoint of the three-component structure, wherein cognitive (person's ideas about the Motherland, the culture of his nation, his civil duty), emotional (a complex of emotional experience, which characterize a person's sense of love to the Motherland, to its history, culture, language, nature, etc.), behavioural (manifestation of an attitude toward the Motherland in the behaviour and activities of man) components are distinguished.

The sociological approach to patriotism, along with the philosophical approach, is, perhaps, one of the most developed and widely presented in the Russian science. At the same time, practically all directions, that established in other branches of the social and humanitarian knowledge, accumulated in it within the strict framework of the sociological reflection, but obtained their (sociological) methodological arrangement and the empirical verification.

The most common in the sociology is the axiological approach to patriotism, according to which this phenomenon is considered, as reflecting the individual's value attitude toward the Motherland in a set of its characteristics - historical, cultural, ethnic, territorial, and religious, etc. From this value conditionality of the patriotism follows the second direction in the sociological study of patriotism - identity, which is based on the significance of the patriotism, as a shared value of the society, which determines citizens' belonging to the history, the culture, traditions, achievements, etc. of the country, a sense of unity with its nation.

In the axiological vein, generational and resource approaches to the study of patriotism receive development in the sociology. Within the framework of the first one, patriotism is understood, as "the attitude to the Motherland, the state and citizens of the country, formed in specific socio-cultural conditions under the influence of historical facts and events, experienced by various generations through the prism of their own historical experience". In the second approach, patriotism is considered, as a constructive form of the social self-determination, which is reflected in the relationship of interests of an individual and the local social system.

In sociological discursive practices on patriotism, the constructivist approach also received development, invoking from understanding patriotism, as the result of the artificial construction of the reality, and since this process has always been led in Russia by the political elite, patriotism is automatically transformed in this theoretical vein

into a political construct, in spite of that agents of the influence can be non-political actors, institutions, but acting under the influence of political actors (for example, the modern media).

Enough established in the sociological science is the approach, connected with the separation of two types of patriotism - constructive and negative (blind) with a basic criterion - the presence/absence of criticism of the state, the freedom of expression, and therefore in the second variant of patriotism (blind), the lack of freedoms, the ability of the criticism of the state are correlated with such phenomena, as authoritarianism, nationalism, chauvinism.

Sociologists often aim to work out an integrative approach to the concept of patriotism, having combined in it the most diverse aspects of this, extremely multifaceted, concept. So, from the standpoint of the socio-cultural approach, which is also often used, as the axiological approach, the integrative concept of the patriotism, as the unity of patriotic senses, knowledges and the active participation of social actors in various types of the social and labour activity is substantiated. The question of how effective and productive it is to try to define patriotism from the integral standpoint, taking into account many manifestations of this phenomenon in the most diverse social fields and processes, is quite controversial, but it seems to us, that this task is not a kind of simple, and while it is at such, integrative level, not solved for the time being, moreover, not only within the framework of the sociological science, but also other branches of the social and humanitarian knowledge.

In general, regardless of the branch of the scientific knowledge, patriotism is considered in most works of modern Russian researchers, as the concept of spiritual and moral order, connected with the sense of deep love to the Motherland and belonging to its culture, history and nation. Hence the important feature of patriotism is the identification component, which is connected with the indispensable sense of a single inseparable connection between the individual and the nation, its culture, history, and also the value component, as the recognition of patriotism, as the highest value, which is necessary for the vital activity of the nation and the viability of the state.

The next important aspect, which unites all directions of the study of patriotism in the Russian science, is the activity component - to love the Motherland means, among other things, take certain actions, deeds, which would contribute to the maintenance of the cultural heritage and the prosperity of the Fatherland and its nation.

Such component, as security, is not always included in definitions of patriotism, but often appear in them, meaning the readiness of an individual to stand up for the defence of the Motherland and its people and give away, if it is necessary, the life for their sake.

The ideological approach is the indispensable attribute of almost all directions in the study of patriotism, in the framework of which patriotism appears in the form of the national idea (sometimes, the Russian idea) and is often studied in the context of the problem of the patriotic ideology, as well as the ideological tool, used by political forces to construct the socio-political reality.

## 5. Conclusion

Discourses, as presentations of results of disciplinary research practices represent, on the one hand, the diversity of judgements about the patriotism, on the other hand - the cognitive field of competition struggle, which is connected with the production of the scientific knowledge within the framework of various paradigmatic grounds. In the social philosophy in Russia, axiological, identification and ontological approaches dominate, within the framework of which the patriotism is considered, as the spiritual heritage of a man; basic spiritual value; love to the Motherland, Fatherland; readiness to work for the good of the Motherland and its own nation, the act of self-determination and self-identification of the individual and the nation, the natural essence of a man. In the historical science, the political science and the sociology, along with the axiological one, the constructivist paradigm plays a large role, within the framework of which the patriotism is considered, as the result of the social construction with the help of the symbolic capital of the power. At that,

in the historical discourse, patriotism is often considered, as the national idea, the basic structure of the national consciousness, the tool of the ideological influence. In the political science, patriotism is widely interpreted: as a mean of the identification and the value, as the national idea and the political tool, aimed at changing the socio-political reality.

The significance of sociological discourse practices in the patriotism study in Russia is determined, above all, by the attempt to implement the integrative approach that explains the relatively high existing mosaic structure in their notions of patriotism. In the sociology, patriotism appears, firstly, as a value, which provides the possibility of the very existence and life activities of the society, as the socio-cultural community and the civil nation; secondly, as a result of constructivist influences and the constructive form of the social self-determination; thirdly, as the political construct and the tool of the political management; fourthly, as basic component of the citizenship, the civil culture, the civic identity (in this aspect patriotism is considered, as the civil patriotism). Within the framework of the integrative approach, patriotism is sometimes considered, as the guarantor of the national security, taking into account its socialization, mobilization, identification and solidarity potential. In psychology, a patriotism structure was proposed, which includes cognitive, emotional and behavioural components. At that, the behavioural paradigm is dominant in psychological discursive practices, within which patriotism is considered, as a social setting and as a moral sense, which determines the human behaviour.

Thus, in the modern Russian discourse of patriotism, there was formed a rather extensive presentation field of results of disciplinary research practices, which includes a variety of approaches, within the framework of which the notions of patriotism obtain, on the one hand, its own specifics, and on the other hand, the paradigmatic limitation. As a result, in discursive practices in Russia, the concept of patriotism, as the integral social phenomenon is lost. In this connection, the cognitive need arises for the development of a multidimensional methodological construct for the holistic study of patriotism in Russia.

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