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Research Paper

Civic patriotism in the context of solidarity practicesin western european countries

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Abstract

The paper links civil patriotism in the context of solidarity practices to citizens' civil activity and moral responsibility to a civil community. In the epoch of early modernity, there were such types of civil patriotism as liberal and revolutionary patriotism and national patriotism in Western European countries. In the epoch of late modernity, liberal civil patriotism prevails in the Western democratic countries. It involves a historical and cultural model of civil patriotism and a model of constitutional patriotism with a political dimension.

Keywords: *Patriotism; Civil Patriotism; Liberal and Revolutionary Patriotism; National Patriotism; Constitutional Patriotism; Western European Countries.*

1. Introduction

On the one hand, the discourses of patriotism and solidarity practices were aused by globalization, which is a great challenge to national differences and national patriotic practices. Some Russian researchers assume that patriotism as "an ancient feeling manifested in the love for one's country, a love for a close one and a place of one's birth and residence" as an irrational phenomenon [1-3]. Foreign research practices treat patriotism as an ideological phenomenon and identify it with nationalism. In the result, we have a negative attitude to patriotism as "the last resort of scoundrels" (S. Johnson) or "readiness to kill and to be killed for the most trivial of reasons"(B. Russel). In the Russian intellectual tradition, a negative attitude to patriotism comes from Leo Tolstoy. He wrote that "patriotism in its simplest, clearest, and most indubitable signification is nothing else but a means of obtaining for the rulers their ambitions and covetous desires, and for the ruled the abdication of human dignity, reason, and conscience, and a slavish enthralment to those in power."[4], [5].

On the other hand, the discourses of patriotism and solidarity practices are conditioned by localization, which enables national communities to reconstruct their history and identity.

This reconstruction is often based on civil patriotism developed in the context of solidarity practices. Its resource potential is used for the development of these practices, since "a pursuit ofsolidarity activity as a positive form of social participation is associated with a sense of patriotism".

Modern French, English and German explanatory dictionaries usually treat the word "patriotism" as a sense of citizens' social attachment, which implies "a love for a native land, a homeland" and "readiness to subordinate their private interests to the interests of their country." In Russia, the discourses of patriotism vary too. They have different connotations in the everyday consciousness of the Russian people depending on the assessment of some events in Russia or abroad. Therefore, the temporal and spatial aspects of the interpretation of civil patriotism in the context of solidarity practices in the Western countries are of special interest.

2. A review of scientific literature

One of the trends of foreign discursive practice is to consider the relations between patriotism and nationalism and to interpret the notion patriotism in the historical context. The foreign discourse has both positive and negative interpretations of patriotism, which involve true and false, good and bad patriotism [6-9]. Besides, the research practices deal with constitutional and civil patriotism. Russian scientific discourse with predominating psychological, axiological and ideological interpretations treats patriotism as a sense, a duty, and an idea In this case, they distinguish between jingoism, which is hostile to everything foreign; flag-waving, which is blatant, demonstrative, and noisy; protective patriotism, which is suspicious to anything new; rhetoric and declarative, true and abstract patriotism; bureaucratic, civil and military patriotism; imperial, state and ethnical patriotism.Researchers say that the ideological content of patriotism comprises state and civil patriotism. The first one is a necessary condition for a state. The latter one is the continuation of the first one based on the love for one's native shore, people, respect for their traditions, and pride in its historical and cultural achievements [8], [9].

Besides, the discourse pays much attention to the interpretations of the notion solidarity in the history of sociology, social psychology, and modern research practices. The researchers mention that sociology itself originates from the discussions on the idea of solidarity in society. However, this idea had a very complicated destiny. The periods of rise and decline of the interest in it succeed each other constantly. As for the notion solidarity, it sometimes becomes marginal and disappears and sometimes returns to the scientific discourse again. Thus, we have an increased interest in solidarity now. It is sometimes "interpreted as a concentrated expression and (or) a synonym of social life or as a border notion between a science, moral, law, or politics." This enables scientists to discuss many-faced solidarity – as a social practice, a moral prescription or an emotional state [10-12].

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Today, the scientific discourse uses the notion civil solidarity as a basis for social integration. However, some scientists report that the discourse often confuses the notions civil solidarity and state loyalty. Besides, various forms of particular and political solidarities including state and bureaucratic, family and kinship, national and ethnic, religious, class, corporate, professional and other solidarities tend to dominate in society. Sometimes, they struggle against each other. Thus, some researchers assume that all the particular or "exclusive" (excluding others) solidarities may be "positive only if they are involved in civil solidarity. Without it, they have a huge potential of disintegration and destruction whatever powerful and comprehensive they may seem."

Thus, various aspects of civil patriotism and solidarity practices have already been studied in various paradigm aspects. However, civil patriotism in the context of solidarity practices in the Western countries has not been the subject of a holistic scientific interest yet. The research of civil patriotism in the context of solidarity practices enables to consider it nature, which is not equal to the emotional parameter of the relationships between citizens and a state, from a new perspective.

3. Methodology

The elaboration of methodological bases for the scientific studies of civil patriotism in the context of solidarity practices in Western countries implies, first of all, the operationalization of basic notions by revealing their substantive meaning. Thus, we should mention that in the discourse practices, civil patriotism is a concept loaded with various value connotations. Moreover, the representatives of a liberal and radical position assume that civil patriotism is an oxymoron. They assume that patriotism and citizenship are by no means compatible, because citizenship implies a conscious responsibility for one's actions and deeds, and, therefore, is rational, while patriotism is, above all, feelings, emotions and passion. The followers of a moderate liberal position criticize state patriotism, which supports a political regime that replaces freedom by order. They assume that civil patriotism is based on freedom and human and civil rights.

In some cases, research practices highlight that civil patriotism is distinguished by the love for a native land and its history and loyalty to its values and traditions is related to civil responsibility, tolerance, an active life position, and the development of civil political culture. In other cases, they emphasize that civil patriotism is a system of values possessed by a person for a society, and by a state for a citizen. They also report that civil patriotism is based, on the one hand, onthe deep love for a native land, its people, culture, language, nature, historical roots; readiness to serve one's country, to strengthen, develop and protect it. On the other hand, it is based on the love thata native land has for its citizens and respect for human rights and freedoms and the entire civil society providing its well-being, power and greatness expressed by a patriotic state.

There is also a representation that civil patriotism is tolerant patriotism. However, it is not tolerantlyunconcerned with differences between people. This patriotism is ready to learn the best from these differences and to use it in social practices. Civil patriotism based on a feeling of organic identity with one's homeland and nation also implies pride in one's country. One of the major features of civil patriotism is citizens' readiness to take active measures for their country.

In the activity approach, the notion civil patriotism is closely associated with solidarity practices that reproduce citizen's ties with a national community rationally or emotionally. Therefore, together with purposeful rational solidarity practices and value rational practices, we can reveal routine practices. They are conditioned by customs and traditions. Therefore, they are unconscious.

In society, they distinguish between social practices of coercion, concordance and solidarity as special types of social interactions. Researchers reveal common bases for socialsolidarity. They report that despite all the nuances, its different interpretations encompass: 1) objective functional interdependence, mutual supplementation and common interests of individuals, groups and societies; 2) subjective mutual affection, empathy, compassion, and consensus of social actors; 3) their devotion to the same norms and values; 4) their common social (group) identity; 5) a social tie in the broadest sense; 6) social integration; 7) common views and responsibility of actors; 8) joint activities to achieve a certain goal; 9) altruistic aid, mutual assistance or support of social actors; 10) moral duty based on the value of justice that prescribes assisting other people (close ones, colleagues in a common business, the needy, the downtrodden); 11) various forms of social, economic and political support including state support to improve the position of certain social groups and layers including the activities of social protection and insurance institutions; 12) joint responsibility for anything (therefore, solidarity is described as mutual cover-up and the application of the principle 'one for all and all for one'."

The specifics of solidarity practices are that, on the one hand, they meet people's expectations and, on the other hand, they are conditioned by the moral assessments of rational actions. Therefore, some researchers assume that solidarity is a special type of social interaction, when moral duty transfers the resource of identity into real activity and highlights transpersonal preferences." Hence, one the methodological issues associated with the research of solidarity is the ratio of solidarity as a "fact" and solidarity as a "duty".

Scientific discourse gives different answers to this question: some scientists derive the ethics of solidarity from factual solidarity. They rely on discourse judgements in postulating moral prescriptions. The followers of liberal deontology defend the principle of a communicative origin of solidarity as rooted in a discursive practice and focused on an individual. However, their opponents – communitarists – want to restore the moral authority of a community during the individualization of a social life. However, other scientists assume that solidarity as a real phenomenon does not imply a moral duty and a moral obligation to be solidary. In the result, some researchers emphasize that "social science, which separates a factual representation of solidarity from a regulatory one, cannot and should not become completely released from a representation of the due. The point is that in a scientific research, we should, first, to separate the matter from the due and, second, to base the latter one on the first one and not vice versa".

In the historical retrospective, we can reveal affective, conventional and reflective forms of solidarity. Affective solidarity, which emerged in traditional societies in the context of close social relations (neighboring, kinship, family), is directly personal. Conventional solidarity, which occurs in the epoch of modernity and is based on common social interests and values that bring social groups and communities together, is socially mediated and particularly exclusive. Reflexive solidarity, which occurs in the epoch of late modernity in a climate of globalization and growing cultural parallelism and aims at overcoming affective and conventional solidarities, is universal. It is a basis for the integrity of the ideal communicative society.

We should note that social solidarity is based, first of all, on universal discursive subjectivity and activity social subjectivity. It enables to discuss and to harmonize social interests and values and to exercise institutional practices of solidarity based on these interests and values. A cognitive and regulatory basis of solidarity actions is represented, first of all, by the principles of social justice and social trust.

Therefore, a cumulative concept of social solidarity was elaborated in the format of late modernity. It is based on the idea that "the description of solidarity in terms of human (intersubjective) relations means the recognition of an individual in question as an equal and worthy partner in the interaction". Besides, it implies that "the society, which can be described in terms of solidarity, is based on just distribution of their subjects' chances of recognition". Moreover, "a just order of recognition is a prerequisite of social cohesion and solidarity".

4. Results

Civil patriotism in the context of solidarity practices implies emotional compassion supported by the imagery unity of a national community. Therefore, civil patriotism is a product of ideologically developed national consciousness, which mobilizes patriotic feelings of a nation during the decline of traditional solidarity. At the period of early modernity, the seeds of civil patriotism in the context of solidarity practices in Western European countries emerge inside the revolutionary liberalism of the third order. It aims at struggling against the absolutism and creating a democratic national state. A mass solidary support of the American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789 were the most significant manifestations of civil patriotism. At the period of Napoleonic wars, the idea of revolutionary civil patriotism covered the bourgeois layers of many Western European countries. It was united with liberal and democratic ideals of the French revolution "freedom, equity, brotherhood". However, most national states in the Central and Eastern Europe were based on state chauvinism andnational patriotism instead of state patriotism. The governments used them to satisfy geopolitical ambitions.

Civil patriotism becomes possible during the transformation of revolutionary classes into concerned groups of citizens capable of cooperation with each other and the state and identifying themselves with a civil community. A legal enforcement of basic civil freedoms is a mean of such transformation. In the result, the struggle of bourgeoisie and proletariat against the old regime and against each other became less devastating as soon as economic (the XVIII century), democratic (the XIX century) and social (the XX century) freedoms were enforced by law. Pressed by the forces of political resistance, the ruling regimes in the Western countries choose the liberal strategy for the institutionalization of class conflicts.

The liberal strategy for the institutionalization of class conflicts became dominant in the Western European countries at the second half of the XX century. It created necessary regulatory conditions for the development of liberal civil patriotism. Besides, non-liberal regimes, which used various combinations of civil rights, succeeded in converting a class struggle into a regulated process by resorting to the practices of cultivating citizens' loyalty to a state. In the result, liberal civil patriotism replaced citizens' revolutionary patriotism in the epoch of early modernity. It comprised the practices of prosperity with non-violent protest activities of civil associations that want to change the living conditions of downtrodden social layers. The strategy of conciliation corporatism in the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands and Austria had the same result. Here, key economic, political and social decisions are taken in trilateral negotiations between trade unions, associations of employers and civil representatives.

However, in the epoch of late modernity, it would be premature to discuss the final triumph of the liberal civil patriotismin the Western constitutional democracies in a climate of their political instability. Thus, a modern discourse constructs new models of citizens' patriotism. The model of constitutional patriotism is the most widely discussed among them now. The notion of constitutional patriotism offered by D. Sternberger was then conceptually developed by J. Habermas and other researchers. Constitutional patriotism as a special type of liberal patriotism is an alternative to civil patriotism based on the historical and cultural community of citizens. In case of constitutional patriotism, a civil community is united by the devotion to rather political values of freedom and democracy than language and culture. A model of constitutional patriotism is based on the republican understanding of a nation. The constitutional model of patriotism treats "people" as "demos", i.e. citizens who have rights to vote and perceive themselves as politically free and equal before the law.

The model of constitutional patriotism implies the rational identification of citizens with basic values underlying the constitution, which can be supplemented by affective identification. The model of constitutional patriotism also impliesa set of solidarity practices including the participation of citizens in elections and the activities of political parties and civil associations as well as civil initiatives. It this case, the attention is drawn to the rationality of discursive practices, which involve an equal well-reasoned dialogue between a government and a civil society in defining the interests of parties and the issues to be solved. Therefore, the model of constitutional patriotism excludes the unconditional recognition of the constitution and emphasizes the conscious adoption of nation's basic values institutionalized in constitutional democracy. The republicans assume that the development of citizens' patriotic community is not a goal in itself, but a necessary condition of freedom and equity of the members of society.

The model of constitutional patriotism is criticized for citizens' too rational attitude to a political process and an underestimated emotional tie to a nation, which is necessary to develop an active civil society. Besides, the model of constitutional patriotism excludes those citizens who want to revise the constitution. Criticists also report that this model has a narrow interpretation of the national history and culture. It treats them only as the history of constitutional democracy and political culture. Strict opposition of civil and ethnic identities in the patriotism of citizens with a positive historical experience of good neighborliness between ethnic communities is considered inadmissible.

The types of constitutional practices of solidarities that develop citizens' constitutional patriotism are still a subject of discussions. Thus, V. Ackermann offered a special variant of the theory of constitutional patriotism. He argues that the most democratic form of the adoption of the constitution with a wide discussion of basic values develops both civil devotion to the constitution and pride in being a member of the civil community in the country. This variant of the theory of constitutional patriotism is based on the principle of a strict causal relationship between a type of constitutional procedure and civil consolidation of the society. However, the examples of the "third wave" of democratization and the constitutional development of the Western European countries after 1945 make us doubt in V. Ackermann's theory. Two examples make the arguments for this theory especially problematic. First, the adoption and ratification of the constitution of the Fourth French Republic in 1946 was the most democratic in the European history with respect to procedure. However, the constitution did not enjoy popularity among the civilians due to decolonization processes. It existed for only eleven years. Second, the adoption of the West Germany's constitutional law in 1949 was the less democratic. It was considered to be just a solution of the problem of two Germanic states. Nevertheless, as long as the West Germany's constitution existed, there emerged "constitutional patriotism", which contributed to the consolidation of post-war West Germany in addition to its "economic miracle". Therefore, there is no strict connection between the procedure of the adoption of country's constitutional law and the length of its existence. Just the same, there is no direct association between public discussions on the values and the constitutional patriotism of values. This association is rather mediated by the dialogue between the government and the society in the adoption and joint execution of the programs for social and economic development and harmonization of national relationships as well as by solidarity institutional practices. The involvement into these practices is motivated by moral responsibility for defending their compatriots from the conditions that create life risks and prevent from civil activity.

5. Summary

The research of civil patriotism in the context of solidarity practices enables to consider it nature, which is not equal to the emotional parameters of the relationships between citizens and a state, from a new perspective. From the standpoint of an activity approach, civil patriotism in the context of solidarity practices is associated, on the one hand, with civil activity aimed at defending citizens form life risks and overcoming social barriers that prevent civil participation in the state affaires. On the other hand, it is associated with citizens' moral responsibility to the nation as a civil community. We should also note that citizens' solidarity practices reproduce their rational and emotional ties to a civil community based on national identity

and a sense of national pride. Besides, solidarity practices symbolize local, ethnocultural, political or historical meanings of the tie to a nation that are significant for citizens but cannot be observed from outside.

In the historical retrospective, we can reveal two types of civil patriotism in Western European countries in the epoch of early modernity: liberal and revolutionary patriotism during the American and French Revolutions of the third quarter of the XVIII century and national patriotism of the Restoration period. At the period of late modernity, liberal civil patriotism prevails in the Western democratic countries. It involves a historical and cultural model of civil patriotism and a model of constitutional patriotism with a political dimension.

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