



UDC 351.851:005

[https://doi.org/10.32689/2617-2224-2021-1\(26\)-42-60](https://doi.org/10.32689/2617-2224-2021-1(26)-42-60)

Klochko Olexiy Anatoliyovych,
Postgraduated Student, Department of Public Administration, Interregional Academy of Personnel Management, 03039, Kyiv, Str. Frometivska, 2, tel.: +38 (044) 490 95 00, e-mail: olexiy.klochko@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3482-5054>

Клочко Олексій Анатолійович,
аспірант кафедри публічного адміністрування, Міжрегіональна Академія управління персоналом, 03039, м. Київ, вул. Фрометівська, 2, тел. +38 (044) 490 95 00, e-mail: olexiy.klochko@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3482-5054>

Клочко Алексей Анатольевич,
аспирант кафедры публичного администрирования, Межрегиональная Акаде-

мия управления персоналом, 03039, г. Киев, ул. Фрометовская, 2, тел. +38 (044) 490 95 00, e-mail: olexiy.klochko@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3482-5054>

HEROIC MYTH IN THE SECURITY ASPECT OF TRANSFORMATION OF UKRAINIAN SOCIETY: THE “IMAGINER” APPROACH OF G. DURAND

Abstract. The article is dedicated to analysis heroic myths in the security aspects of modern Ukrainian society.

The current international security situation is characterized by profound changes which are primarily related to the intensification of integration processes at the global and regional levels. Globalization processes have imprinted all spheres of world civilization, in particular defense and security. Today, globalization processes have a decisive influence on international, regional and national security systems and carry a number of emerging threats along with new opportunities. Ukraine is no exception in this situation.

The study of social structures and social processes using double hermeneutics in the “logos/mythos” paradigm, proposed by G. Durand, significantly expands the interpretive, semantic and prognostic capabilities of scientific research, including in the aspect of analysis, prediction and design of social structures of Ukrainian society. The study of the structures of the collective unconscious al-

lows us to explain a number of processes at the stage of the transition of society to new social forms.

Myth is the first level of imagination structuring; it can gain energy and wear out. This, on the one hand, is a component of the collective unconscious, and at the same time something that lends itself to reflection and awareness.

As dynamic equilibrium is mainly suspended in transitional society, myths always accompany this sphere. The political myth may contain a mystified and distorted image of a specific political and economic situation, not correspond to reality. Thanks to this, image carriers can be idealized or disqualified.

The transformation and transition of Ukrainian society is complicated by the long non-formation of the political culture of the democratic and national-conscious character of the population of the whole of Ukraine, but at the present stage we can state the trend of accelerated movement of society in a given direction.

Keywords: heroic myth, transformation of society, the “imager” approach of G. Durand, public management, public security.

ГЕРОЇЧНІ МІФИ У БЕЗПЕКОВОМУ АСПЕКТІ ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЇ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СУСПІЛЬСТВА: ПІДХІД “ІМАЖИНЕРА” Ж. ДЮРАНА

Анотація. Проаналізовано героїчні міфи у контексті безпекового сучасного етапу розвитку українського суспільства.

Сучасна ситуація у сфері міжнародної безпеки характеризується глибокими змінами, пов'язаними, насамперед, з активізацією інтеграційних процесів на глобальному і регіональному рівнях. Процеси глобалізації наклали відбиток на всі сфери світової цивілізації, зокрема оборони й безпеки. Сучасні глобалізаційні процеси мають визначальний вплив на міжнародну, регіональні і національні системи безпеки та несуть у собі поряд із новими можливостями низку новітніх загроз. Україна в цій ситуації не є винятком.

Дослідження соціальних структур і соціальних процесів за допомогою подвійної герменевтики в парадигмі “логос/міфос”, що запропонував Ж. Дюран, істотно розширює інтерпретаційні, семантичні та прогностичні можливості наукових досліджень, у тому числі в аспекті аналізу, прогнозування та конструювання соціальних структур українського суспільства. Вивчення структур колективного несвідомого дасть змогу пояснити низку процесів на етапі переходу суспільства до нових соціальних форм.

Наголошено, що міф є першим рівнем структурування уяви. Він може набиратися енергією і зношуватися. Це, з одного боку, компонент колективного несвідомого, з другого — що піддається осмисленню та усвідомленню.

Оскільки в перехідних суспільствах існує здебільшого динамічна рівновага, міфи завжди супроводжують цю сферу. Політичний міф може містити містифікований і спотворений образ конкретної політико-економічної ситуації, що не відповідатиме дійсності. Завдяки цьому носії образів можуть ідеалізуватися або дискваліфікуватися.

Трансформаційність, перехідність українського суспільства ускладнюється тривалою несформованістю політичної культури демократичного та національно-свідомого характеру населення всієї України, однак на сучасному етапі можна констатувати тенденцію прискороного руху суспільства у заданому напрямі.

Ключові слова: героїчний міф, трансформація суспільства, підхід “імажинера” Ж. Дюрана, публічне управління, публічна безпека.

ГЕРОИЧЕСКИЕ МИФЫ В БЕЗОПАСНОМ АСПЕКТЕ ТРАНСФОРМАЦИИ УКРАИНСКОГО ОБЩЕСТВА: ПОДХОД “ИМАЖИНЕРА” Ж. ДЮРАНА

Аннотация. Проанализированы героические мифы в контексте безопасности современного этапа развития украинского общества.

Современная ситуация в сфере международной безопасности характеризуется глубокими изменениями, связанными, прежде всего, с активизацией интеграционных процессов на глобальном и региональном уровнях. Процессы глобализации наложили отпечаток на все аспекты мировой цивилизации, в частности обороны и безопасности. Сегодня глобализационные процессы имеют большое влияние на международную, региональные и национальную системы безопасности и несут в себе новые возможности и ряд новейших угроз. Украина в этой ситуации не является исключением.

Исследование социальных структур и социальных процессов с помощью двойной герменевтики в парадигме “логос/мифос”, который предложил Ж. Дюран, и существенно расширяет интерпретационные, семантические и прогностические возможности научных исследований, в том числе в аспекте анализа, прогнозирования и конструирования социальных структур украинского общества. Изучение структур коллективного бессознательного позволяет объяснить ряд процессов на этапе перехода общества к новым социальным формам.

Отмечено, что миф является первым уровнем структурирования воображения. Он может набираться энергией и изнашиваться. Это, с одной стороны, компонент коллективного бессознательного, с другой — что поддается осмыслению и осознанию.

Политический миф может содержать в себе мистифицированный и искаженный образ конкретной политико-экономической ситуации, не соответствовать действительности. Благодаря этому носители образов могут идеализироваться или дисквалифицироваться.

Переходность украинского общества осложняется длительной несформированностью политической культуры демократического и национально-сознательного характера населения всей Украины, однако на современном этапе можно констатировать тенденцию к ускоренному движению общества в заданном направлении.

Ключевые слова: эгероический миф, трансформація общества, підхід “імажинера” Ж. Дюрана, публічне управління, публічна безпека.

Formulation of the problem.

Ukrainian society is currently undergoing a difficult period of transformation and reform of many instruments and institutions of the functioning of the state.

In today's circumstances, global threats can only be counteracted by global means, the possibilities for which are created by the system of international relations. The main forms of such resistance are attracting external resources, mobilizing international support and forming a network of interstate unions and strategic partnerships to achieve strategic goals and realize national security priorities; support for mutually beneficial and dynamic relations with leading states, integration associations and collective security systems of the modern world, primarily the United States and NATO.

The formation and implementation in Ukraine of the state policy of national security is almost the headline problem of the effective management of society, that is transforming. Ukrainian political practice shows that the technology of implementing doctrines, strategies, concepts and programs of state policy in the area of national security should objectively integrate all components of political activity of the state and be based on fundamental theoretical foundations.

Choosing a European integration course and defining NATO membership as its strategic priority, Ukraine should focus primarily on the development strategy of the NATO member countries in the area of security.

The changes that have occurred in Ukrainian society since autumn of 2013 (annexation of Crimea) have led

to a rethinking and renewal of ideas about Ukraine and Ukrainians both in the citizens of the state and in the world community. The civilian component in the national security system of Ukraine, the war in the East of Ukraine showed that society should not only be a consumer of security, but also a participant in its preservation and strengthening in the face of threats to the independence of the state. Events happened in Ukraine after the Revolution of Dignity, unfortunately, revealed the insufficient ability of State security agencies to resist the influence of the Russian Federation on the situation in Ukraine and its further invasion of Ukrainian territory. This led to an objective assessment of the state of the country's national security, as the possibility of a real military threat to Ukraine was not previously considered a threat to its national security.

An important task for our state is to build a single national myth, which should unite and pull together the nation for rapid and successful further development. In the field of security national myths fall into the category of political myth, as they recall how institutions and laws of a nation that has its own state form were created. The problematic aspects of national security, as a reflection of the state of social and political life, are often correlated with the consequences of unsuccessful searches for social and political values that could unite individualized people. Therefore, the issue of a single state positive myth in this context is very relevant.

Analysis of the recent research and publications. The general scientific and practical foundations of

public administration in the area of national security were to be studied in numerous works of home and foreign scientists, such as: S. Andreev, O. Vlasyuk, V. Horbulin, S. Dombrovska, N. Kosolapov, Ya. Malyk, V. Lipkan, V. Mamonov, S. Pavlenko, S. Pyrozhhkov, H. Ponomarenko, I. Protsenko, I. Rusnak, H. Sytnyk and others. At different times myths were studied by such outstanding scientists as: Euhemerus, G. Vico, F. Schelling, M. Müller, O. Potebnya, J. Frazer, C. Levi–Strauss, E. Cassirer, S. Freud, C. G. Jung, E. Meletinskiy, N. Frye and others. Despite this, the problem of using heroic myths as the basis for regulating the security of country remains beyond the attention of scientists. The analysis of the identified problem within the framework of the approach of Imaginer by G. Durand will be new for home science.

The scientific works of G. Durand played a huge role in the determination of the “sociology of imagination” (“sociology of depths”), in which society receives an additional deep dimension – “imaginary social reality”. The sociology of imagination is a grand theory that can be useful in the process of studying archaic and traditional societies, as well as communities of the Art Nouveau and postmodern era to understand the features of their social time and the structures of social space. The approach of Imaginer by G. Durand interprets the category of “Imaginer” as the designer of social reality in various societies, as well as social reality itself as an “anthropological trajectory”, which determines social interactions and social changes. Imagination as a collective unconscious informally in-

cludes three groups of myths – heroic, dramatic and mystical, as well as two modes of myths – day and night.

The scientific views of G. Durand were based on the developments of the members of “the Eranos” circle, in particular G. Bachelard, C. Levi-Strauss. G. Bachelard came to the conclusion that the system of thought images is the basis of scientific discoveries. It is worth changing the character of the image and the look at the physical picture of the world will change. The significance of the works of G. Durand is primarily that he was able to generalize the main content of the discussions of “Eranos” and direct them towards rethinking the meaning of myth after many centuries of the dominance of rational and logocentric European culture and science. G. Durand’s integral theory systematized knowledge in the areas of mythology, psychology, ethnology in the context of classical sociological theories to substantiate the “anthropological structures of imagination” [1, p. 274–293].

The works of the members of “the Eranos” circle have determined meaning for building the sociology of imagination as a sociological grand theory. It is to them that this theory refers when it becomes necessary to describe the general structures of the myth, individual mythemes or topics of the collective unconscious.

The purpose of the study is to substantiate the need to use heroic myths in the aspect of security of the transformation of Ukrainian society based on the approach of Imaginer by Gilbert Durand.

Presentation of the main material. Research on public administra-

tion through the lens of heroic myths is especially relevant for determining the prospects for the development of relations in the context of foreign and home policies from the point of view of strengthening the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of our state by ensuring the security of the country together with the European community through accession to NATO. Such an approach would enhance the effectiveness of public administration in the area of security.

Taking into account of a number of challenges of 2020 and in the context of the folding prognostication of the development of Ukrainian society, the mechanism of an additional deep measurement of Ukrainian society will be quite valuable, which suggests the imaginer's approach. Returning to the collective unconscious has always been a definite protector for uncertainty and anomaly in crises. G. Durand proposes to build on the understanding of myth by the primary and the ability to explain the rational component of reality with the help of myth, and not vice versa.

The appeal to myths, associations, reactions, reflexes, symbols, archetypes, etc., explains many fundamental philosophical, sociological, religious, gnoseological and psychological problems. The imaginer's approach at the centre of the anthropological structure helps analyze mythologies scattered in social institutions, relationships, reflecting the deep properties of imagination.

Myth is the axis of anthropological trajectory. "Anthropological Trajectory" is what is located between the subject and the object of imagination; and a stable balance between the organism

and the complex of conditions affecting it".

G. Durand divides the content of the imagination into three groups of myths (heroic, dramatic and mystical). The scientist proposes to distinguish two modes of imagination:

1) "diurne" (fr. "Day regime"),

2) "nocturne" (fr. "Night regime").

Then we will use the special terms "diurnal" and "nocturnal" [1, p. 275].

Diurnal, the "day regime", includes only one group of myths – heroic myths. Nocturnal, the "night regime", consists of two groups of myths (dramatic and mystical) [2; 3].

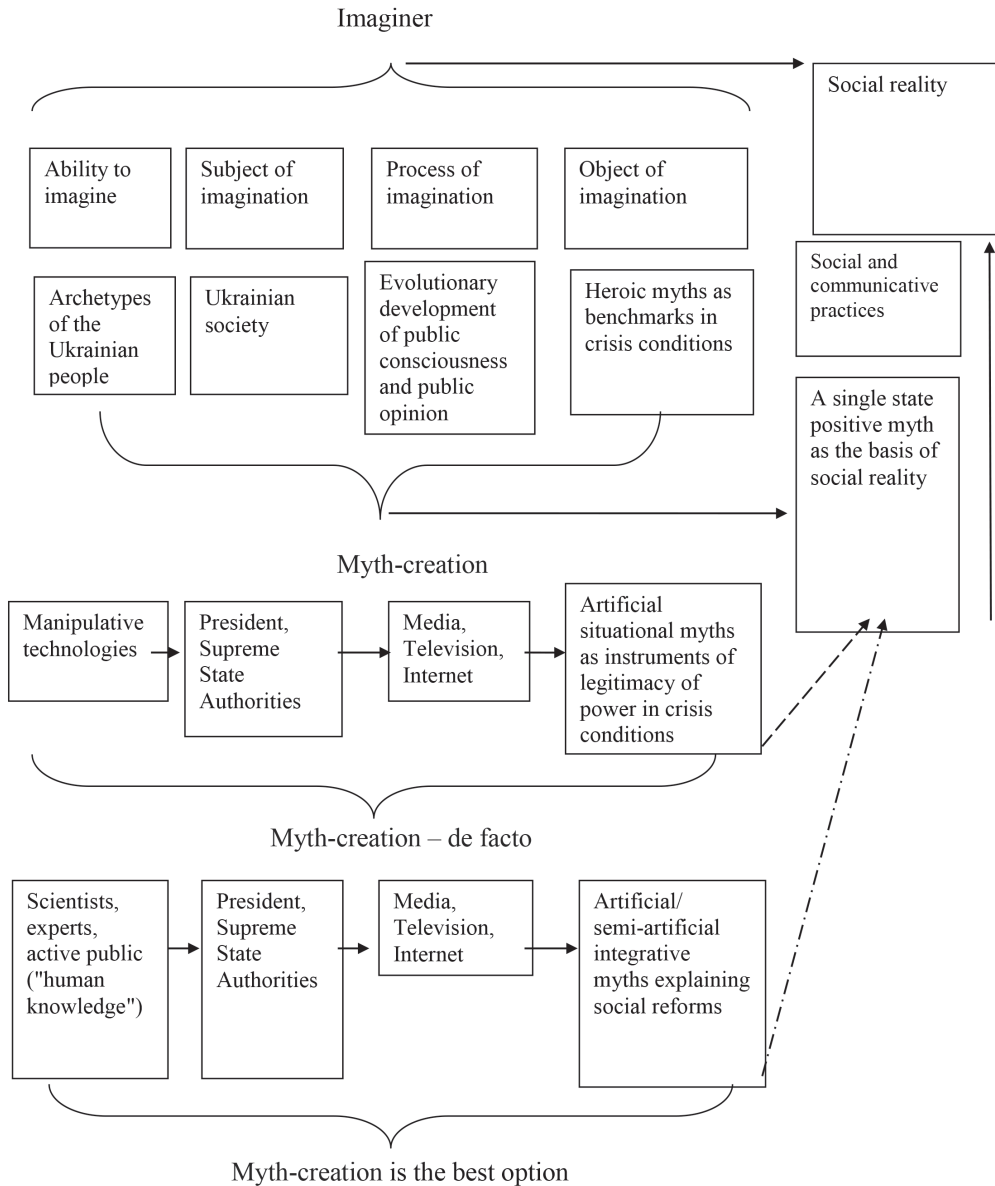
Three groups of myths correspond to one of the three fundamental, dominant reflexes of a newborn creature. Reflexes already in childhood lay the main models of attitude. Diurnal are myths of differentiation and distinction (in a newborn it is a distinction between colors, tactile impulses, sounds, smells, etc.). Hero is the classic carrier of diurnal in mythology. It is the hero who challenges death, breaks the balance of the usual routine being, adds strategic horizons to life. The hero is unthinkable without fighting and clashing with others, with Enemies. In the understanding of G. Durand, diurnal and heroic myths by functional composition are synonyms, they remarkably reflect the properties of the day regime of the imaginer [1].

The plots of battles, persecution, duels with the enemy, mythical creatures, images of soldiers, warriors, military equipment, aggressive enemies, attacking predators, wolves, tigers, monsters, scenes of violent capture and distribution reflect various variations of the "diurnal regime" [4].

“Heroic Myth” correlates with G. Durand’s reflex of getting a child on his feet. Imagination manifests itself in a vertical attitude to the world. Here, a psychological array of fear of falling is formed, but at the same time the will to stay upright, the desire to rise and

rush endlessly up (hence the theme of flights in dreams and dreams).

Diurnal is directly related to the day, daylight hours [5]. Therefore, this imaginer regime is associated with the phenomenon of light and various images, figures and phenomena related



Boundaries of application of Imaginer by G. Durand’s approach to home realities

to light. It's the sun, the light, the daytime sky. In the light of day objects look clear and contrasting. In the imager structure light is associated with vertical orientation and, accordingly, flight plots. This feature usually reflects the orientation of heroic myths in the direction of motivation for development, movement forward, up, progress. Therefore, heroic myths are quite convenient methodological tools for legitimizing the goals of progress and directions of social development. The oppositions are sharpened and brought to the maximum in the diurnal regime. This somewhat simplifies the perception and definition of the good and evil, Hero and Other. Images of the most dangerous animals in heroic myths – those that are not in real life – dragons, monsters, generalize the repulsive sides of all animals.

The hero strengthens his identity (and the project strengthens subjectivity), defeating the Other, levelling any hints of uncertainty and doubt, strengthening his own integrity.

The diurnal regime is mainly the dualism regime [1, p. 276]. Myth dualism can be manifested at all levels – religious, moral, political, social. All the content of the heroic myth is the endless and absolute war of the day against darkness. The diurnal regime is associated with masculinity, that is, courage, a special psychological, social, cultural type, which embodies a complex of associations and paradigm gestures of a heroic beginning. This image may not be directly related to the real anatomical image of a man, since in different cultures men relate to different modes of imagination. According to Jung, it is more likely to correspond to an animus.

Masculinity can project into culture, society, politics, religion, giving rise to the masculinity of systems. In 2016, Ukraine conducted an assessment of the level of masculinity (EIL-AB at the University of Ontario Institute of Technology and Collaboritsi). According to the results of the study, the level of masculinity of Ukrainian society is 27 %, which indicates a significant untapped potential of heroic myths in order to motivate behavior in a masculine type society – strong-willed, responsible, courageous, convinced, confident.

Let's summarize the theoretical possibilities of using the imager's approach to Ukrainian realities.

Different societies with different organization of the structure of imagination, however, exist in different space-time continuums. From the point of view of sociology, time and space have a social, and therefore an "imaginary" essence. If Descartes and I. Kant did not give the image any role at all, then G. Durand claims that the imagination is primary. The real world is the result of a free game of imagination.

The Ukrainian imager operates over time which is a multi-layered structure where people's archaic, religious, political and rational-scientific strata are combined, together create an algorithm for Ukrainian society to perceive its social history.

"Anthropological trajectory" is the provision of an independent ontological status of what is "between" the subject and the object of imagination, nature and culture, between the unconscious and conscious, between the project (future) and history (past) [5]. A "trajectory" is a "scheme", a "route",

a “trajectory” of motion that results in an identity.

The work of the media in modern conditions is like the inflammation of a “sacred” candle and a strong process of activating the imagination. The spark plug process in modern Ukraine is influenced by certain political groups associated with oligarchic clans and the control of other states.

Scattered mythological images of democracy that originated in Ukrainian society in the early 90s XX century, could not create a holistic conceptual-ity and, as a result, mobilize society through its isolation from the archaic elements of national culture. In order to effectively influence people, myths have to resonate with existing stereotypes of collective memory and mental stereotypes.

The activation of social myth-creation, with the participation of scientists (sociologists, historians, anthropologists, etc.) as an important factor in social changes, is more correct to portray not so much the “revival” of outdated mythical forms as the transformation of the phenomenon of myth itself and the introduction into the latest metahistoric outlines, respectively, historical and modern features of the development of Ukrainian society. According to this logic of myth-creation, there is a high probability of creating integrative myths in support of the unity of the country and legitimizing the meanings of the policy of systemic reforms (see Scheme 1). In the context of long and evolutionary processes of myth-creation, such a wide process of myth-creation of a somewhat intellectual nature will contribute to the creation of a single positive state myth in Ukraine.

But, myth-creation with the active participation of interested politicians and the media is rather short-sighted, disintegrating, which leads mainly to the appearance of situational myths. This process is not strong enough to lead to the formation of a long heroic myth of the Ukrainian people as a prototype of a unifying single state positive myth.

There is a fusion of the general, special and singular into dialectical integrity in the myth, and in the mosaic-resonant world of mass communication. Both myth and mass communication contribute to the emergence of the phenomenon of global identity, involvement in everything that happens in the world. Mass communication is thus a powerful source of myths, the ultimate goal of manipulation, the purpose of which is to create and maintain a certain political mythology.

Myth, according to Jung, is the way of individuation. Heroic myth is a tool for a kind of “individualization of the community”. The war in the East of Ukraine, which was glorified and heroized, so far also gradually acquired separate features of the myth, which was supposed to work to bring people together to support the authorities and the army, were noticeably weak. The myth was to reinforce faith in the correctness of the actions of the country’s leadership on the military front and the victory of the Ukrainian army, to update the concept of military honour. In general, in the basic political (national) myth, it is difficult to separate the state and military sphere (they coincide in values such as stability, power, strength). Now Ukrainian society knows many examples of the self-sacrifice and valour of the military — with

the successful symbolic design of such in the form of myths, they will be able to regularly serve as positive guidelines for stimulating conscious citizenship. However, the need for *a historical basis for designing myths should be taken into account, because focusing on the level of the current moment is a short-term perspective.*

At crisis tipping points, there is an activation in the mythological thinking of certain mythical structures. In particular, this process is taking place in three directions:

1) personal loss of one's own identity which motivates the search for new forms and ways of identification with the social environment. After all, mythological consciousness is characterized by a form of *self-identification of a person by merging with a group.* For identification with a community that is perceived as "we", the image of the Other, enemies and opponents is of great importance;

2) activation of mythological structures of mass consciousness as personification of ideas about the causes of changes that occur in society and which further develop into images of "good" and "evil" forces, "hero" and "enemy". Mythological logic does not admit the possibility of the existence of an impersonal, objective cause of an incident or phenomenon. Therefore, the archetype of the "hero" becomes dominant in such a situation, on the basis of which a positive image of the subject of politics is created. In this work we use the Hero to denote a large historical subject – all the people;

3) activation of mythological ideas about time and space. In such periods the political elite offers a path to

a bright future or a return to the old model of political life.

One of the components of the collective unconscious of Ukrainians is the archetype of annihilating equality. The latter provides a priority pleasure for the individual/community those needs whose realization guarantees a bright sight. A person dissolves in pleasure, forgetting the need to maintain the necessary indicators of the social context.

It is important that according to the results of studies of ethnopsychologists, 42 % of Ukrainians were characterized by signs of the Dinar prototype (courage, honesty, will), 31 % – Ostia (indecision, lack of own opinion), 27 % – a combination of Dinar and Ostia. Such a combination looks like a cognitive dissonance, in fact this is a reflection of the virtual reality of public consciousness of Ukrainians as a trend of the 21st century. After all, a modern person lives virtually 40–50 % (rating television programs, the Internet), so A. Ulyanovsky in the work "Advertising Mythodesign" puts forward the concept of T-mythology (mythology of consumers of the modern information society).

We will follow the main provisions of G. Durand's theory for solving the problems of security research in the aspect of the topic.

In a transitional society the processes of purposeful creation of myths are the foundations of proclaimed overdue reforms. Myth is a natural defense mechanism, in the public consciousness it is able to level out the contradictions of real reality. Therefore, the myth is a particularly convenient means of relaying social values for the transformative

period of the development of society, characterized by complex protracted value conflicts.

According to C. Levy-Strauss [6], the goal of the myth is to give a logical model for solving a certain contradiction of the modification of social consciousness. Therefore, according to the views of V. Kravchenko [7] to popularize the new political myth, it is not necessary to debunk all relict and modernized myths that have accumulated for years. It is enough to create chaos in the heads of people and through it penetrate the foundations of public consciousness, and then propose a new concept of worldview.

The basis of modern myth is the architectonics of archaic myths, along with the obvious effectiveness of modern myths, often causes contradictions in modifications of public consciousness. Indeed, in the new, dynamically changing context of the development of social relations not all archetypes tested by history work as effectively as before. In times of uncertainty the state of strained expectations of society activates the social mechanisms of mythology as opposed to mythology. Thanks to the mythologized consciousness and the reality virtualized by it, the face first in the imaginary, and then in reality, learns how to solve problems and defeat the enemy. Therefore, in order for an artificial myth to be effective, the mythologems of its composition must meet the mentality and structure of a collective unconscious object on which mythological influence is directed.

Moreover, low degree of public confidence in state institutions of power, ignoring the legitimate ways of resolving conflicts, and the predominance of

emotional regulators in political activity are inherent modern political consciousness of Ukraine [8]. The Ukrainian political culture is contradictory, eclectic, marked by the lack of a clear orientation of political development and priorities of home and foreign policy, the growth of social pessimism and the presence of miracle syndrome that weakens the political will of a person.

A significant number of negative phenomena that are components of the social consciousness of modern Ukraine testify to both the super-complex past and the fact that modern political and social and economic trends (domestic and global), so far do not sufficiently contribute to the formation of the national unit. Threat to territorial integrity of Ukraine united the Ukrainian people as rational ideas (give credit to new leaders, help the army, in war conditions one should be patient and sympathetic to economic problems), both natural (Ukraine is the only) and artificial myths (myth of victory in the East, the Ukrainian army is heroic).

In general, the variable dynamics of the axiological field of a transitional society causes significant difficulties in mass consciousness, often find themselves in forms of apathy, apolitical, confusion, the emergence of extremism, despondency and frustration “in the new”, and the polarization of mass sentiments from complete passivity to radical activity seems inevitable. The variability of political attributes, therefore, is valuably ambivalent in nature, which places responsibility on all subjects of social and political life.

Now we exist in the age of reality that is designed by political myths as technologies for managing collective

consciousness. In general, the social Logos analyzed by classical science, only an islet in the middle of the ocean mythos (which conditioned exactly such a logos structure), as proved by G. Durand through the theory of “imager” (fr. l’imaginaire imaginary) of the primary integrity that is inherent in the nature of sapiens [9, p. 227], which makes the concept of “modern man” quite relative. A. Losev gave a well-defined characteristic to the myth: “The myth is life itself... The myth is not an ideal being, but it is vital and creative, reality and bodily validity” [10, p. 404]. The myth not only helps to communicate with the outside world, including... “what defines a myth is not the subject of its communication, but the way it is expressed; there are formal boundaries in the myth, but there are no substantive” [11, p. 265].

Man is an artificial being generated not by nature but by self-birth through cultural inventions, such as rituals, myths, magic, etc., is not a theory of the world, but is a way of constructing man with natural, biological raw materials [12, p. 47]. The myth as a “culture machine” (M. Mamardashvili) is a bridge between nature and civilization, constructs man himself through the formation of his worldview, the internal “picture of the world”. Mastering the inner world of man, the myth manipulates it, immersing it in a specific mythological reality, which it realizes as reliable. In this definition the functions of the “sacred” and political myth coincide.

In conditions of social upheaval political myths act as a guarantor that this community (in the process of implementing revolutionary shifts) will not be disconnected and destroyed.

Political myth gives a person the opportunity to identify with a collective under any changing conditions, including when a person cannot himself survive and comprehend the depth of the fundamental transformations that occur. And only involvement in some large collective through a certain natural or artificial myth gives a person confidence and vitality. However, for such certainty, a person tends to sacrifice, in whole or in part, his or her individuality, although there are distinct cases where myths significantly emotionally reinforce individual individuals. During periods of stability, a rational organization needs less political myths (mainly to justify the need for change in order to ensure constant progress and continue to experiment even when everything is fine). In periods of instability — rational arguments weaken and cease to hide old mythical concepts. E. Cassirer notes that myths cannot be completely removed from the consciousness of society, they can only be suppressed in order to be actualized at a certain moment due to the need for their influence on public consciousness [13, p. 96]. In our opinion, this point of view is more concerned with the life cycle of basic or natural myths, however, by no means artificial, technological, especially selective.

The crisis situation of the transformation of Ukrainian statehood has become a toposphere of the development of mythology as a reaction to the challenges of time, the search for means of cultural adaptation and rehabilitation. Mythologization determines the phenomena of mentality and identity, because mentality concerns self-consciousness (the mentality of

self-expression), and identity is a belief based on correlation with previously conscious images/models [9, p. 10]. However, the myth is not based on logic, but on the faith that the majority of the population professes.

As E. Cassirer noted, the “twentieth century gave rise to the “technique” of mythological thinking, that has no analogues in history. From that moment on myths began to be invented and produced in the same sense by the same methods as machine guns and combat aircraft invent. And myths are used for the same purpose as military equipment for internal and external warfare” [14, p. 158].

A common technological myth for a long time in Ukraine was the myth of NATO as an aggressive bloc developed by Russian technology as a means of separating Ukrainian society. To keep Ukraine in the sphere of its influence, Russia has developed even several myths about this alliance with the aim of discrediting this body and preventing the Ukrainian from reaching a higher standard of security and standard of living:

1) Ukraine’s accession to NATO will entail waves of terrorist acts on the territory of Ukraine;

2) the transformation of Ukraine into a military camp with foreign mili-

tary (although NATO does not have its own army, there are armies of the member countries of the alliance).

3) Ukraine, as a member state, is forced to send its soldiers to participate in military operations (however only professional military personnel participate in such operations). For example, the losses of the USSR in Afghanistan amounted to 14 thousand people, in the total NATO losses in Kosovo and Afghanistan – 181 soldiers).

Due to the dominance of such myths not all members of Ukrainian society understood that NATO is an international organization of equal independent states where all decisions are made by consensus.

The attitude to the Euro-Atlantic perspective was one of the main sensitive topics in Euromaidan, and at the moment is one of the dimensions where the most radical changes in public opinion took place since 2013–2014.

The first trend is a radical change in attitude towards the idea of NATO membership in the whole country. Opponents of joining NATO from 2005 to 2014 traditionally made up the majority. As of 2012, NATO supporters in a hypothetical referendum would be 26 %, opponents – 61 % (according to a possible turnout of 58,5 %) (Table 1) [15].

Table 1

If you took part in the referendum on joining NATO, how would you vote?
(% of those who would take part in the referendum)

	December 2007	December 2009	April 2012	June 2014	July 2015
Would vote to join	31,8	21,0	26,2	45,4	63,9
Would vote against joining	52,8	59,7	60,6	36,4	28,5
It is hard to say	15,4	19,3	13,4	18,1	7,6

A radical change in the orientations of citizens relative to NATO was recorded already in June 2014, when the part of opponents was almost halved, and supporters for the first time made up a relative majority – 45 %. Obviously, this was a rapid reaction of public opinion to the course of events at that time – the annexation of Crimea and the beginning of Russian aggression in the Donbass. In the future modeling of a hypothetical referendum showed an increase in support for the idea of Ukraine’s membership in NATO, while reducing the proportion of those who would oppose (with comparable indicators of expected turnout). So, in July 2015, 64 % of referendum participants would vote “in favor”. It is unlikely that another social and political topic can be found on which would such significant changes in public opinion take place in the period 2014–2015.

“The Maidan” of 2013–2014, which passed mainly under national flags, the anti-terrorist operation in the Donbass, as well as the activation of the volunteer movement throughout the country, made it necessary to determine the people of Ukraine with their own attitude to the concept of national security.

Of course, the starting point for the most significant transformations of public opinion regarding NATO in the history of independent Ukraine was the Russian military aggression of 2014.

The second trend is during 2014–2015 not only quantitative, but also qualitative indicators of public opinion regarding NATO are changing. It is the orientation to join NATO from 2014 that prevails in Ukrainian public opinion as the main option for ensuring the security of the state (Table 2) [15].

Table 2

What variant of providing the security would be, in your opinion, the best for Ukraine?, %

	December 2007	April 2012	May 2014	September 2014	December 2014	July 2015	November 2015
Joining NATO	18,9	13,0	32,6	43,6	46,4	35,9	45,7
Military alliance with Russia and other CIS countries	31,3	26,2	13,0	14,8	10,1	7,8	8,2
Military alliance with USA	–	–	1,5	–	–	3,2	3,4
Nonblock status of Ukraine	30,7	42,1	28,3	22,2	20,9	28,9	22,6
Others	1,6	0,9	1,0	0,4	1,0	1,6	2,4
It is hard to say	17,5	17,8	23,7	19	21,7	22,6	17,6

In particular, we see that compared to 2012, the share of those who advocate NATO as a key security policy option has more than tripled: from 13 % in April 2012 to 46 % in November 2015. Already in May 2014, immediately after the annexation of Crimea and the start of Russian aggression in Donbass, a “jump” in “+ 20 %” took place. Subsequently, the part of adherents to NATO membership also grew, but the first break occurred in early 2014.

At the same time, it is significant that the upward dynamics were observed not only in the more pro-Atlantic-oriented regions of the West and the Centre, but also in the South and East of Ukraine, as well as in the Donbass where the prospect of Euro-Atlantic integration had not previously found tangible support and was in a range close to indicators of statistical error.

Political elites in Ukraine, in turn, tried to catch a new “wave” of rapidly changing public sentiments about NATO. And at the end of 2014, the Ukrainian Parliament abolished the so-called “non-bloc status” of Ukraine, which was approved with the filing of former President Viktor Yanukovich in 2010, although it did not proclaim an unequivocal course for NATO membership [16]. However, in February 2017, President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko in an interview with a German publication made an unexpected statement about his intention to hold a referendum on Ukraine’s membership in NATO, while appealing to current trends in public opinion [17]. A little later, at the initiative of the President, a new approach in relations with NATO was approved at the level of Ukrainian legislation. On June 8,

2017, the Verkhovna Rada introduced some legislative changes in terms of Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine, which determined, in particular, “gaining membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization” as the country’s foreign policy priority [18]. At the same time, the Ukrainian president during his meeting with NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg in July 2017 noted that “Ukraine has a clear schedule or” road map “of what needs to be done to meet the criteria for NATO membership by 2020” [18]. Thus, the official vector of Kyiv’s policy regarding Euro-Atlantic integration was gradually transformed in accordance with current changes in public sentiment and public opinion trends.

Given the new challenges and threats, the Alliance has evolved from a military and political organization on political structures, uniting the majority of the countries of the Euro-Atlantic region into a system of collective security.

As the history of independent Ukraine shows, again myths did not turn into an effective ideology, which could become the basis for the formation of a new political paradigm and a system of political values. But utopian projects arose that divert public attention from the true reasons for the braking of updates that are overdue in the transformational context. To some extent, this was served by new political myths – myths about democratization, about the development of civil society institutions, remain myths, despite their certain legitimization by legal means.

After the events of the Dignity Revolution 2013–2014 in front of the

whole world, the myth of anti patriotism Ukrainian was destroyed. The combination of the idea of national development, the construction of a strong self-sufficient national state, integrity, unity of Ukraine based on deep patriotism with the idea of European integration, a civilization gap with Russia so far creates a particularly favourable basis for popularizing positive symbols, myths, information codes that will help Ukraine quickly and successfully complete modernization processes.

In order to accelerate the implementation of political and economic reforms, primarily in strengthening the country's security and enhancing the combat effectiveness of the armed forces, it has become a guarantee of protection against Russian aggression and contributes to increasing post-Soviet and European regional stability in general, the United States is actively assisting Ukraine. That is why the cost of USA assistance to strengthen Ukraine and turn it into a truly effective sovereign and able to protect itself, in no case exceeds the cost of its collapse or geopolitical incorporation by Russia [17].

Consequently, it was the Russian aggression that significantly intensified USA attention to Ukraine and sent its status as a strategic partner, while maintaining the asymmetry of the interests of the parties, as evidenced, in particular, by the provision of aircraft defensive weapons by Washington and the allocation of annual military assistance.

Conclusions. The system of public administration of Ukraine should not only be as adapted as possible to the new globalization conditions deve-

loped, but also have a powerful tool for influencing them, as well as their use in the interests of realizing national interests. This, in turn, will allow Ukraine to develop a new geopolitical strategy that will contribute to its effective economic, political and spiritual development.

The basis for the development of an effective state is the formation of a paradigm of common interests of the state and society, provides for the affirmation of systemic principles for the protection of natural and public human rights and freedoms, and the promotion of the development of civil initiatives should be a priority political and strategic task of the state as a condition for its sustainability and effectiveness, a guarantee of national security, a pillar for internal and external challenges.

The results of the study provide grounds for further appeals to the works of G. Durand to find answers to modern challenges and, if possible, to develop forecasts in the field related to the author's direct scientific interests regarding public administration and the security sector aspect.

In the understanding of G. Durand, a person has being and meaning only as an anthropological trajectory. Outside of this functional state, a person is an abstraction, an unproven hypothesis. Mythos is a structured collection of archetypes and symbols, reflecting the deep properties of imagination inherent in it initially. It is more correct to comprehend the logos and its structure, starting from mythos. Myth, on the one hand, is a segment of imagination, a structural component of the collective unconscious, and at the same time something that lends itself to compre-

hension, awareness. Myth is the axis of anthropological trajectory.

The myth is a natural protective mechanism, in the public consciousness it is able to offset the contradictions of real reality and can provide an internal sense of security when there are no proper external circumstances for this.

Now the understanding of the events of military aggression in the East of Ukraine is being formed with the help of imagination and artificial myths. However, we note the existing untapped potential of artificial integrative myths, makes it possible to use them for selfish purposes – to consolidate society and legitimize the policy of systemic reforms in Ukraine. It is important in the process of mythology to level the influence of manipulative technologies, and to involve specialists-scientists in the development of myths, they will help to substantiate mythologies/mythologies based on the historical features of the formation of a collective unconscious Ukrainian society (1), the actualization of appeals, taking into account the state of modern problems of its development (2), the appropriateness and validity of determining long-term promising inspiring development goals (3).

Guiding visionary meanings, helping to understand the complexities of the reform process and its importance for future development, are important to society. Ukrainian society needs heroic myths, which can be the basis of the Ukrainian idea, to visualize the role of Ukraine in the world, its historical mission and its promising role. The imaginer's approach allows to comprehensively analyze the heroic myth (di-

urnal regime), understand the significance of each component of the myth and the logic of its content.

REFERENCES

1. Durand G. (2016). *Les Structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire*. Paris: Dunod.
2. Durand G. (1989). *Beaux-arts et archétypes. La religion de l'art*. Paris: P.U.F.
3. Durand G. (1992). *Figures mythiques et visages de l'oeuvre: de la mythocritique à la mythanalyse*. Paris: Dunod.
4. Durand G. (1996). *Introduction à la mythologie*. Paris: Albin Michel.
5. Durand G. (1994). *L'imaginaire. Essai sur les sciences et la philosophie de l'image*. Paris: Hatier (Optiques).
6. Levi-Stross K. (1983). *Strukturnaja antropologija* [Structural anthropology]. Moscow: Nauka [in Russian].
7. Kravchenko V. (2009). Sotsialno-politychnyi mif yak element derzhavnoho upravlinnia v umovakh svitovoi ekonomichnoi kryzy [Socio-political myth as an element of public administration in the global economic crisis]. *Suchasna ukrainska polityka. Polityka i politolohy pro nei – Modern Ukrainian politics. Politics and political scientists about it*, (p. 150–160). Kyiv: Suchasna ukrainska polityka [in Ukrainian].
8. Zvedeni rezultaty doslidzhen Fondu "Demokratychni initsiatyvy" im. Ilka Kucheriva (PIK) [Summary of research results of the Foundation "Democratic Initiatives" Ilka Kucheriva]. (n.d.). *dif.org.ua*. Retrieved from <http://dif.org.ua/article/gromadska-dumka-pro-natonoviy-poglyad> [in Ukrainian].
9. Navarrija D. (2016). *Simvolicheskaja antropologija. Chelovek religioznyj i ego opyt svjashhennogo* [Symbolic anthropology. The man is religious and his

- experience is sacred*]. Kyiv: Dukh i Literatura, Ukraine [in Ukrainian].
10. Losev A. (2001). *Dialektika mifa* [The dialectic of myth]. Moscow: Mysl [in Russian].
 11. Bart R. (2008). *Mifologii* [Mythology]. Moscow: Akademicheskij Proekt [in Russian].
 12. Mamardashvili M. (2000). *Vvedenie v filosofiju* [Introduction to philosophy]. Saint Petersburg: Nauka [in Russian].
 13. Kassirer Je. (2001). *Filosofija simvolicheskikh form* [Philosophy of symbolic forms]. Saint Petersburg: Nauka [in Russian].
 14. Kasirer Je. (1993). *Tehnika politicheskikh mifov* [Technique of political myths]. Moscow: Akademicheskij Proekt [in Russian].
 15. Rezultaty zahalnonatsionalnoho opytuvannia Fondu "Demokratychni initsiatyvy" im. Ilka Kucheriva. (PIK) [The results of a nationwide survey of the Democratic Initiatives Foundation. Ilka Kucheriva]. (n.d.). *dif.org.ua*. Retrieved from <http://dif.org.ua/article/referendumshchodo-vstupudonato-buv-bi-vigraniy-prote-tse-pitannya-dilit-ukrainu>.
 16. European truth (2014). European truth Rada skasovala pozablokovyi status Ukrainy [The Council abolished Ukraine's non-aligned status]. (n.d.). *www.eurointegration.com.ua*. Retrieved from <http://www.eurointegration.com.ua/news/2014/12/23/7029095/>.
 17. Büscker G. & Gaugele J. (2017). *Lockerung der Russland-Sanktionen gefährlich*. Retrieved from <https://www.morgenpost.de/politik/ausland/article209473203/Ukraine-Praesident-Poroshenko-Die-Nato-ist-unverzichtbar.html>
 18. Poroshenko P. (2017). *Ukrayna hotova provestiy reformy dlia dostyzhenyia kryteryev chlenstva v NATO* [Ukraine is ready to carry out reforms to meet the criteria for NATO]. Retrieved from <https://www.golos-ameriki.ru/a/tb-3936228.html>.

СПИСОК ВИКОРИСТАНИХ ДЖЕРЕЛ

1. Durand G. Les Structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire. Paris: Dunod, <https://doi.org/10.3917/dunod.duran.2016.01>. 560 p.
2. Durand G. Beaux-arts et archétypes. La religion de l'art. Paris: P.U.F., 1989.
3. Durand G. Figures mythiques et visages de l'oeuvre: de la mythocritique à la mythanalyse. Paris: Dunod, 1992.
4. Durand G. Introduction à la mythologie. Paris: Albin Michel, 1996.
5. Durand G. L'imaginaire. Essai sur les sciences et la philosophie de l'image. Paris: Hatier (Optiques), 1994.
6. Леви-Строс К. Структурная антропология. М., 1983.
7. Кравченко В. Соціально-політичний міф як елемент державного управління в умовах світової економічної кризи // Сучасна українська політика. Політика і політологи про неї. К.: Укр. центр політичного менеджменту, 2009. Вип. 18. С. 150–160.
8. Зведені результати досліджень Фонду "Демократичні ініціативи" ім. Ілька Кучеріва [Електронний ресурс]. Режим доступу: <http://dif.org.ua/article/gromadska-dumka-propatonoiviy-poglyad>.
9. Наваррия Давиде. Символическая антропология. Человек религиозный и его опыт священного / Пер. с итал. И. Варжанской. К.: Дух і Літера, 2016. 376 с.
10. Лосев А. Ф. Дialektika mifa / Общ. ред. А. ТахоГоди, В. Троицкий. М.: Мысль, 2001. 558 с.
11. Барт Р. Мифологии / Пер. с фр., вступ. ст. и коммент. С. Зенкина. М.: Акад. проект, 2008. 351 с.

12. *Мамардашвили М. К.* Введение в философию // Мой опыт не типичен: сборник статей и выступлений. СПб.: Азбука, 2000.
13. *Кассирер Э.* Философия символических форм. Т. 1: Язык / Э. Кассирер. М.; СПб.: Унив. кн., 2001. 271 с.
14. *Кассирер Э.* Техника политических мифов / Ред. А. А. Ананьев. М., 1993.
15. Результаты загальнонаціонального опитування Фонду “Демократичні ініціативи” ім. Ілька Кучеріва [Електронний ресурс]. Режим доступу: <http://dif.org.ua/article/referendumshchodo-vstupu-do-natobuv-bi-vigraniy-prote-tse-pitannya-dilit-ukrainu>
16. Рада скасувала позаблоковий статус України // Європейська прав-
да. 2014. 23 грудня. Режим доступу: <http://www.euointegration.com.ua/news/2014/12/23/7029095/>
17. *Büscher G., Gaugele J.* Poroschenko: Lockerung der Russland-Sanktionen gefährlich [Електронний ресурс] / Berliner Morgenpost, 02.02.2017. Режим доступу: <https://www.morgenpost.de/politik/ausland/article209473203/Ukraine-Praesident-Poroschenko-Die-Nato-ist-unverzichtbar.html>
18. *Порошенко П.* Украина готова провести реформы для достижения критериев членства в НАТО [Електронний ресурс] / Голос Америки, 10.07.2017. Режим доступа: <https://www.golos-ameriki.ru/a/tb-/3936228.html>