



## EXPLORANDO ALTERNATIVAS EM NARRATIVAS POLÍTICAS: IDENTIDADES NACIONAIS E CIVILIZACIONAIS NO DISCURSO GLOBAL

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## RESUMO

**Objetivo:** Este estudo visa explorar as abordagens alternativas para projetos narrativos civilizacionais e nacionais de identificação dentro de comunidades políticas específicas e da comunidade internacional. O foco é entender como essas narrativas moldam a política global e abordam questões globais.

**Métodos:** A pesquisa envolveu um exame filosófico e epistemológico da racionalidade narrativa, analisando suas formas, limites e critérios. Além disso, foi realizada uma reconstrução semântica de narrativas nacionais e civilizacionais para avaliar sua heterogeneidade e potencial de interação.

**Resultados:** A análise revelou uma gama diversificada de "mundos possíveis" dentro dessas narrativas políticas. A pesquisa destacou a complexidade e variabilidade na interação entre narrativas nacionais e civilizacionais no discurso político global.

**Conclusão:** O estudo sugere que há potencial para o desenvolvimento de novas narrativas integradas que combinem aspectos nacionais e civilizacionais da identidade política. Essa abordagem está alinhada com a tradição filosófica do cosmismo, sugerindo uma nova orientação para a narração política no mundo pós-global.

**Palavras-chave:** Narrativa política. Cosmismo. Narrativa do mundo global. Mundo pós-global. Narrativa do mundo possível. Explicação tropológica.





## EXPLORING ALTERNATIVES IN POLITICAL NARRATIVES: NATIONAL AND CIVILIZATIONAL IDENTITIES IN GLOBAL DISCOURSE

### ABSTRACT

**Objective:** This study aims to explore alternative approaches to civilizational and national narrative identification projects within both specific political communities and the international community. The focus is to understand how these narratives shape global politics and address global issues.

**Methods:** The research involved a philosophical and epistemological examination of narrative rationality, analyzing its forms, boundaries, and criteria. In addition, a semantic reconstruction of national and civilizational narratives was conducted to assess their heterogeneity and potential interplay.

**Results:** The analysis revealed a diverse range of "possible worlds" within these political narratives. The research highlighted the complexity and variability in the interaction between national and civilizational narratives in global political discourse.

**Conclusion:** The study suggests that there is potential for developing new integrated narratives that combine national and civilizational aspects of political identity. This approach aligns with the philosophical tradition of cosmism, suggesting a new orientation for political narration in the post-global world.

**Keywords:** Political narrative. Cosmism. Global world narrative. Post global world. Narrative possible world. Topological explanation.

### 1 INTRODUCTION

In a variety of modern symbolic structures that act as formative principles of political and cultural practice, a civilizational and national narrative projects of identification and self-identification alternative is found. This alternative takes place both in specific political communities and within the international community. Due to the need to form a long-term global policy and solve global problems in the post-global world, modern political theory and practice are faced with the task of finding new ways of convergence and reconfiguration of the globalist, civilizational and national narrative.

In connection with the task of rethinking this alternative, an appeal to philosophical and epistemological questions about narrative rationality, explication of its possible forms, boundaries and criteria is actualized. The criticism of the metaphysics of substance carried out in the Western European tradition in the XIX-XX centuries led to a revision of the traditional principles of scientific, political and pedagogical activity. In order to identify narrative rationality, leading to the removal of



the alternative of civilizational and national in post-global political discourse, in this article the authors turn to the philosophical project of Russian cosmism and, more broadly, to the world non-Euro-centric antistatist tradition of philosophy of process.

## 2 NARRATIVE RATIONALITY AND EVERYDAY EXPERIENCE

As F. R. Ankersmit (2002) puts it out the representation of political reality underlying any meaningful political action is essentially aesthetic. The process of identification and self-identification itself is based on narrative procedures that constitute a certain possible world (see: Lindemann, 2001; Schroer & Schroer, 2014). In the center of such a world, an actor which acts in temporal and spatial dimensions, formed by a particular political narrative (Dennett, 1992).

Strict demarcation between functional and realistic narratives seems very troublesome at the current moment. Narrative researchers are often become hostages of antagonism between constructivism and representationalism. Constructivists seek to dissolve any narrative knowledge in the structures of individual or collective imagination, while defenders of realism in this regard want to describe on the basis of strict criteria special scientific (historical, realistic) on the type of narrative, which serves as representation of "untold stories". The task of a somewhat strict statement of the question of attributing any narrative subject-area to a particular ontological domain (if one exists) presupposes a preliminary understanding of the essence of the processes of formation of cognitive practices of the narrative in connection with the epistemological dynamics of everyday experience. The construction and understanding of the narrative are possible due to the usage of the basic cognitive structures of everyday experience, namely: a number of competencies from the system of knowledge and skills of common sense, symbolic mediations of natural language, and perceptual data of first-person sensory experience (Strelchenko, 2019).

The creation and perception of a narrative presupposes the necessity to distinguish the intelligible structure of action. The implementation of this distinction implies acquaintance with the system of concepts in which action is characterized in its difference from physical movement. Such concepts include "goal", "motive", "circumstances", "interactions", etc. All these concepts, implied by the process of narration itself, are contained in the system of common sense in non-reflexive derivatives of an understanding (symbolic) attitude to the world. However, the very emergence of these categories of action in the system of common sense is mediated



by narrative practices of listening and reading in a specific language environment with its set of symbolic mediations. The process of everyday recognition of action and the construction and understanding of the narrative related in form of the "hermeneutic circle". The structure of the action imitates the syntax of the sentence and the formal aspects of the narrative, and the syntax of sentences and narratives is historically and genetically mediated by human practice (Ricoeur, 2008).

Articulation of the meanings of such ubiquitous actions as acquaintance, confrontation, assistance, in their typicality is accomplished in the context of a symbolic system that is understandable to both the narrator and the listener. The symbolic system of common sense is fixed in the structure of everyday language and for this reason sets the context of description for individual actions, primary readability. The symbolic system of everyday language reduces the inimitable uniqueness of a particular action to the intersubjective senses of everyday language, symbolic constructs in which culture recognized itself.

And finally, the articulation of action in the structure of everyday language is temporarily organized with reference to the primary temporal comprehension of the perceptual stream of consciousness in the first-person perspective. It is easy to demonstrate this on the basis of concepts that define an intelligible structure of action. The concept of motivation indicates a close relationship with the experience inherited from the past. The concepts of a goal or a project presuppose the future, and the future, understood in a special way, as a possible future that can and should become only as a result of a certain action. The concept of action applied to any agent in expressions such as "he acts", "he suffers", etc., explicitly implies the present. As has been repeatedly noted in the research literature, the temporal nature of human experience is related with narrative organization in such a way that human time is articulated in the narrative and narrative is derived from human temporality (Brockmeier & Harre, 2001; Carr, 1986; Ricoeur, 1998 etc.)

The above-mentioned three aspects of narration in its connection with the experience of everyday life can work as a heuristic model in interpreting the antagonism of projects of narrative identification and self-identification in the field of politics.

### 3 NATIONAL AND CIVILIZATIONAL NARRATIVE AND THEIR POSSIBLE WORLDS

The task of the author in this article is not an essential characterization of the





national and civilizational narrative, which, like the concept of narrative as a whole, cannot be strictly defined. In our consideration, we will describe something like a system of family similarities for national and civilizational narrative respectively.

The tropological characteristic of narration of the national narrative will be the figure of a metaphor with the associated ways of plotting, ideological implications and ways of explanation (White, 1975).

In the possible world of the national narrative, a political actor figures as a collective individual with self-awareness and a system of needs, desires and interests. The key forms of political action of such an actor will be focused on ensuring the conditions for its preservation and development within the framework of an autonomous and independent "national state". The actor of the national narrative is defined by relatively strict exclusion criteria, which may be ethnic, cultural, geographical, linguistic, etc. A distinctive feature is the exclusive nature of such criteria. The set of actions and modes of their evaluation, which define the space of the possibilities in the national narrative usually belongs in the conceptual boundaries of the ethics of consequentialism.

The leading trope of the civilizational narrative will rather be a synecdoche, which implied a teleological way of explanation, a comedic model of the plot and conservative implications. In the civilizational narrative, the political actor, on the contrary, finding a way to intermix and merge various cultural, linguistic, ethnic communities on the basis of a number of civilizational symbolic paradigms (law, religion, written language) claiming rationality and universality. The actor of the civilizational narrative deals not with other rational political actors, but with barbarians, who are not capable of teleological political action and, therefore, need to mediate their life practices with symbolic paradigms of civilization. The actor in such a narrative opposes the civilizational order and forms of life to the chaos and disorder of barbarism. The list of actions constituting the content of the civilizational narrative exists inside the ethical framework of teleology. The barbarian must correct himself by introducing to the teleology of symbolic system of civilization and finally tread in step with the march of history. The cultural autonomy of the barbarians is declared, but the cultural practices themselves are significantly transformed and are in the face of a constant threat of dissolution in the civilizational paradigm order. In the extreme case, different sets of signifiers represented in cultures included in single civilization begin to denote meanings referring to the paradigm of civilization only. The differences between the narrative worlds of the national and civilizational identification project of political





communities are found not only at the level of the entities inhabiting them, qualities and ways of attitude, but also at the level of spatial and temporal organization.

In the topology of the national narrative ideas about natural places to which nations gravitate in the course of their history echoing with the metaphysical cosmology of Aristotle. The coexistence and prosperity of nations is determined by their relevancy in the heterogeneous space of the possible world of the national narrative. Implicit ideas about the temporal dimension in the national narrative go back to the metaphysical considerations of the philosophy of life. Time is understood through conscious phenomena of tension and endeavor. The antinomies of temporality are removed by its vitalization, characterized by the non-contemporaneity of the events of history, the acceleration and deceleration of time in the actions of actors. In this regard implicit semantic metaphysics, the national narrative gravitates to pluralism.

In the possible world of the civilizational narrative, the spatial dimension is homogeneous, it is uniform and can only be limited by another civilization. In the civilizational narrative, the expansiveness of action is reflected in the expansiveness of the time dimension. The history of civilization, from the point of view of the civilizational self-identification project, has the features of an oxymoron, it is a superficial effect of the purposeful unfolding of civilizational symbolic paradigms. Substantial monism characterizes the metaphysical implications of the civilizational narrative.

#### 4 POLITICAL NARRATIVES OF GLOBAL WORLD AND POST GLOBAL WORLD

The alternative of the national and civilizational in narrative identification projects until relatively recently found its solution in the narrative of the global world. The global political narrative aesthetically arises from a series of metonymic transformations of narrative categories represented in the national and civilizational narrative. A vivid example of such a transformation is the expression of national interests as global interests. The narrative of world globalism combines the praxis and ethos of the national narrative with the metaphysical implications of the civilizational narrative. Relying on the tragic plot structure, liberal or radical ideological implications and causal models of explanation, the project of identification through narrative of global world accomplish the convergence of semantic plans of the national and civilizational narrative. Nevertheless, the globalist tragicomedy of universal ethics of the second half







of the XX century by the end of the century is faced with a relativizing satire of contradictions of national and civilizational interests, accompanied by parrhesiastic (or pseudo-parrhesiastic, for as Galen and Epictetus taught us, it is difficult to define a parrhesiast) appeals to renewal, reassembly, transformation of the global ethos. The dialectical game of language and action unfolding in the modern post-global world with its points of unity and rupture once again refers to the problem of the antagonism of the national and civilizational identification project in political thought. The inconsistency of formal aspects of political action and narrative in national and civilizational symbolic paradigms grows into substantive cultural, political and military conflicts. The problems have not ceased to be global, but the language and practices that emerged as a political response of liberal globalism of the XX century, apparently cease to be adequate to the challenges and aspirations of the world's population in the XXI century. A new form of neighborhood is needed, in which the antagonism of national and civilizational will be removed. How to "build a community of one destiny" in a new way in modern realities? The answer to this question requires the development of a new common language and mode of action, i.e. ideology not as a false consciousness, but as a way to live together.

Creating a system of international relations that would allow overcoming the semantic contradictions of political narratives will require a new narrative. To paraphrase R. Barth, a narrative can only be defeated by another narrative, complete demythologization turns out to be a lack of reflection (Barthes, 2008).

The semantic plans of the civilizational and national narrative, in their reliance on the system of the knowledge of the common sense, reproduce the key categories of the European metaphysics of substance, derived from ancient and modernist models in culture and grammar.

As a result, it looks promising to appeal to those fragments of the philosophical tradition that do not rely on substantial metaphysical classifications and categories. One of the prototypes of the integration and renewal of cognitive practices of constructing semantic plans of political narratives can be the world tradition of cosmism as a philosophical and broader cultural movement. It should be noted, however, that cosmism as an intellectual tradition has a living content that resists unification, it is essentially diverse, which does not allow us to consider it as a concrete guide to a socio-political project but allows us to act in accordance with its main ideas in creation of the political narrative of the post-global world (Griakalov, 2019). The emphasis on the existential significance of event in the social and natural order of action, on





responsibility to humanity and the world as a whole, testifies in favor of cosmism as a thought focused on the all-cosmic ethical responsibility to the living and the dead, the oppressed and oppressors, winners and losers. The *organoprojective* approach of cosmism claims that, to paraphrase P. A. Florenskiy (1993), the line of technology, life and politics should run parallel to each other, breaking through the constructive world of the narrative in the direction of the reality of a human event.

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