POLITICAL CULTURE AND IDENTITY POLITICS IN THE UKRAINIAN SOCIETY

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Abstract: The development of the political culture among students is a process that is influenced by various historical, social, economic, and political factors. In order to streamline this process, to deprive it of spontaneity, it is important to outline the purposes and tasks that the Ukrainian society sets for itself to build a democratic rule of law state. The study is aimed at analysing the political culture of the Ukrainian population and identifying changes in the Ukrainian political culture. The methodological basis of the research is a set of philosophical, general, and specialised research methods. The study proves that the key element of identity policy is the implementation, maintenance, and adjustment of symbolic boundaries between people. The authors analyse the relationship between social boundaries and symbolic boundaries, examine the role of symbolic boundaries in the political sphere and their place in symbolic politics, show how symbolic boundaries are used in various forms and areas of identity politics. The study analyses the specific features of Ukrainian internal political development, the fluctuations occurring in the country

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between the presidential-parliamentary and parliamentary-presidential government forms. The authors concluded that the causes for the development of a new political culture as a stabiliser and destabiliser in society indicate the complete absence of clear purposes and objectives at all levels of this culture and the urgent need for stability and cultural rationalism to resolve social contradictions. The practical significance of the research lies in the experimental verification of the conditions that contribute to the intensified development of political culture; introduction of the methodology on the development of political culture to citizens.

Keywords: *political competence, state and legal values, symbolic boundaries, changes in society, civic position*

1. Introduction

Studying the state and dynamics of society's political culture is a necessary condition for deep comprehension of the features inherent in the ongoing socio-political processes and phenomena. The study of the political culture within different social groups, their values, orientations, attitudes, and stereotypes allow predicting the forms of citizens' political behaviour, their socio-political moods, to identify the causes of conflicts that cannot be explained based on the common reason for politics – the struggle for power. However, knowledge of political culture cannot clarify everything that happens in the political life of society. Even people with similar political values and attitudes act differently and face different issues. New life experiences can influence citizens' attitudes and values, which can lead to the dynamics of the characteristics within political culture. Therefore, political culture is constantly subject to changes, which is especially obvious in the context of crises of social and political transformations (Tong, 2018).

Political culture is determined as a qualitative feature of the entire political life of society, which, among other things, reflects the individual's development level and collective political consciousness. Reformation and socio-cultural processes, fundamental changes within political power cause transformations in political culture, just as existing traditions contribute to the stability of its various elements. The socio-cultural components of society, which are reflected in the political culture and political mentality of people, manifest themselves as ethnocultural unique features to these people, affect the development vector of society, and determine the possibility of borrowing political and cultural values, innovations. While maintaining its own matrix core, political transformation allows the social system to adjust certain parameters and structures in which it lags behind in order to increase its stability and viability (Reis, 2019; Ordukhanyan, 2019).

The main structural elements of political culture are the political vision of the world, political behaviour, political ideals, political values, political views, political traditions, and stereotypes. All these elements play a special role in the functioning of political culture, yet the most important and understudied component of political culture is the political mentality. The political mentality is a special phenomenon of socio-cultural life, which is manifested in the individual and collective political behaviour of citizens, their

political desires, priorities, and expectations. The political mentality is a historical political mentality, the unity of political values, norms, views, stereotypes in their cognitive and behavioural expression. This phenomenon, above all, contains elements of political consciousness and social psychology, especially socio-historical memory, political moods, archetypes. Political mentality as an expression of the group consciousness allows determining the peculiarity of perception and evaluation regarding a certain political phenomenon or process by different social groups, a generalised and widespread idea of a particular political institution, organisation, event (Motta, 2018; Brint, 2019).

Political practice manifests itself in a list of constant forms of political knowledge (ideas, values, opinions, customs, misconceptions) and political behaviour that reflects citizens' reactions to political life, political parties, and processes in the political system. Some key features and recent transformations in Ukrainian political culture are based on the results of social research conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology regarding political assessment skills, political values and attitudes, participation forms in Ukrainian politics. A modern democratic state, which Ukraine aspires to become, is unthinkable without elements of a political participation culture, therefore, the primary task of transformations in Ukrainian society is the development of an active civic position. The development of political culture is a component of Ukrainian national revival, it is a complex systemic process that demonstrates the connection between the growth of national, historical consciousness and political culture (Kutsenko, 2017).

The practical significance of the research lies in the experimental verification of the conditions that contribute to the intensified development of political culture; introduction of the methodology on the development of political culture to citizens. The importance of studying the Ukrainian political culture is connected with understanding the features of the political reform within the post-Soviet Ukrainian society. According to the authors, understanding the features of the transforming Ukrainian society is impossible without studying the dependence of transformational changes on attitudes, values, stereotypes, methods, and forms of mass political behaviour that originated in the past. This will inevitably lead to difficulties in the transition to a market that is based on Ukraine's democratic development.

2. Literature Review

Numerous scientists have made a considerable contribution to the scientific understanding of social policy. Thus, the term "dependent development" was proposed. This conceptualisation of the post-socialist transformation emphasised the importance of past structures, norms, and values that influence the area of a changing society. Important conceptual ideas and empirically-based positions in investigating political culture, political values and preferences, social attitudes of society are presented in the studies of O. Kutsenko (2017), D. Tong (2018), N. Reis (2019), E. Ordukhanyan (2019), R. Motta (2018), L. Dencik and P. Wilkin (2020) et al. The development of the behavioural concept within the political culture is most clearly presented in the study of G. Almond and S. Verba (2015) "The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in

five nations". The researchers identified several types of political culture, the main criterion to measure citizens' participation in political life. However, despite the originality and validity, the authors' classification has disadvantages. According to this concept, a very strong connection between political institutions and political culture should be considered primarily as a factor of the stability of the system. This, in turn, contradicts the fact that in practice a particular political culture contains opposite components. The understanding of political culture has changed over time. In particular, a qualitatively different approach to the study of this phenomenon is required, which has developed within the framework of explanatory paradigms.

In addition, social science researchers have considerably conceptualised the national political cultures, widely presented methods for studying political attitudes and preferences, analysis of the influence of political attitudes and interests on political behaviour. Thus, the studies of G. Almond, S. Verba (2015; 2019), T. Clark (2018), R. Hernández (2019), and M. Brint (2019) review the main elements, levels, and indicators of political culture. Despite the fact that there are many definitions of political culture, which is associated with different approaches to its consideration, many researchers identify very similar indicators of this phenomenon. Such indicators include: the level of citizens' interest in politics, political effectiveness (assessment of subject's ability to influence political events and decisions), political orientations, attitude to the state and prospects for its development in the domestic and international aspects. When conducting comparative international sociological research of political culture, its main indicators are studied, which correspond to the classical theory of political culture:

1) interest in politics;

2) political knowledge;

3) political competence (awareness of the ability to influence the authorities);

4) political participation (involvement in political activities);

5) political values and preferences.

The issues of developing the political culture among Ukrainian citizens from the standpoint of generalising the individual's political and psychological characteristics, individual's political development level, the ability to acquire political knowledge within the existing political system. These issues are studied by the following researchers V. Bebik, M. Holovaty, V. Rebkalo (1996), E. Holovakha, N. Panyna (2007), N. Gedikova (1999) and others. The study of famous Ukrainian reseachers V. Andrushchenko and O. Babkina (2009), is aimed at solving the theoretical issues of the development and functioning of political culture. In particular, they note that the low-level perception of the democratic political culture distances young people from the social and political processes in Ukrainian society. Therewith, the building of a democratic state in Ukrainian society is organically connected with the establishment of spiritual values, the core of which is the people, their rights, including human freedom, their life, health, honour, dignity, inviolability, and security. The past experience has proved that social and political transformations in Ukraine largely depend on the state of political education and culture of its citizens, the ideals of a democratic rule-of-law state and its

establishment, their personal values. An open society is characterised by binding norms, correct political interaction of all elements within the political system. For this purpose, according to V. Andrushchenko and O. Babkina (2009), it is necessary to create a mechanism for high-quality political education, which, taking into account the emerging issues, will form the basis of a democratic mentality and a mature political culture within political socialisation. The researcher A. Khoroshenyuk (2002) has studied the political culture of the elderly. The author claims that the development of political culture is influenced by various factors that directly or indirectly affect personality. A. Khoroshenyuk identified two large groups of factors: a) external – the macro-and micro-environment, pedagogical influences, the essence and complexity of tasks, family, and living conditions, b) internal factors – personality traits, mental state, personal experiences and relationships, personality orientation. The essence of political culture development and establishment in the process of studying social science lies in the fact that a person independently, under the influence of a specially organised process, shapes their own value orientations, including political ones, which would meet the requirements of society and the state (Khoroshenyuk, 2002). The philosophical aspect of political culture development, especially the political mentality structure and the peculiarities of the functioning of political mythology, political consciousness, political stereotypes, political behaviour, political archetypes, political attitudes are analysed in the dissertation of E. Makarenko (Makarenko, 2000; Makarenko & Koval, 1997). The study of M. Ostapenko (2000), based on the analysis of various political culture concepts in modern political science, reflects the conceptual foundations of the political culture in Ukraine.

3. Materials and Methods

The methodological basis of the research is a set of philosophical, general, and specialised methods that ensure the unity of epistemological, socio-philosophical, and political analysis of a political culture in relation to other components of socio-cultural and political public life. The epistemological approach allows exploring a specific form of reflection and cognition of the studied subject, and the socio-philosophical and political science approach is aimed at identifying its place, significance, and role in socio-political interaction in social life. The socio-philosophical cognition involves the analysis of the emergence and resolution of contradictions that determine the development and functioning of the research object. The civilisational approach is based on the human personality, its freedom, the possibilities of its fulfilment and self-development, as well as the means to achieve democracy, the rule of law, civil society, and democratic political culture. This makes it possible to identify and analyse the common components of civilisation and the functions of political phenomena (in this case, political culture) and based on this resolve the issues of history and theory of socio-political phenomena, as well as to examine such political categories as awareness of choice, democratic values, the rule of law and civil society, national identity, political socialisation.

The new scientific discovery was based on the fact that for the first time a conceptual framework for creating a political culture of young students in the field of multicultural education was developed and scientifically substantiated. Based on the analysis of the

conceptualisation of various political cultures present in modern political science, the study lays foundations regarding political culture cognition among Ukrainian students as a unit of historical management, the laws of social and regional behaviour, whereas psychological actions are characterised by the political environment. The study developed and implemented the design and practical structure of students' political culture. The modern approach to politics is presented as a complex, interdisciplinary process that combines fragments of various political cultures, especially elements of dictatorship and democratic freedoms.

Upon analysing the political culture of the modern Ukrainian population, the authors outline its characteristic features, contradictions and examine the mutual influence of citizens' political culture and socio-economic and political transformations in Ukraine; determine the peculiarity of the population's political socialisation, which consists of uncontrolled, spontaneous factors when mastering political knowledge, values, behaviour patterns by citizens. In the study of political socialisation, the authors identify the main socialising agents; assess the influence of political education quality (through the teaching of political science) from the standpoint of the development of the democratic values, forms of its political participation. The research tools mainly consist of two methods. First of all, it refers to the method of constructing a historical concept (in the sense applied by M. Weber (1990)). This method is used when conceptualising the political identity, building this abstract model and using it in the study. The method requires the identification of various connections, signs, and characteristics contained in the studied phenomenon in certain historical and cultural conditions. The concept consists of separate parts taken, on the one hand, from a broad historical context (modernity or the modern era), and on the other hand, from a narrow context. In this case, the method is used not to separate the definition of a general or final political identity, but to interpret it in the form in which it is presented. Secondly, the authors apply a case study method, which means that the resulting concept is applied to a specific case and is considered empirically.

The case study method systemises information about the studied subject, collecting it from various sources, including normative legal and doctrinal documents, scientific publications, publications and speeches of leading politicians, the results of sociological research, etc. This method was borrowed from the study of J. Gerring (2017). Therewith, the given study is not purely positive – the considered issues are complicated due to ignorance or an opinion of the objective researcher. In other words, in many respects, not only the research results are reflected but also the civil position, social ideas about both the current and the desired image of the country. These views are open to criticism, and the study itself initiates the further discussion. The issues of citizens' political socialisation are summarised, namely: 1) lack of clear value system of political socialisation in society; 2) the lack of necessary experience transfer regarding political participation and behaviour, which is manifested in the inconsistency of old political behaviour models with modern political realities and in the slow-pace development of new ones. The authors improve the content, forms, and methods of political culture development within the multicultural space, clarify the content of political culture and the role of the system within its development; the theory and

methodology of political culture development within the multicultural space are further developed.

4. Results and Discussion

A distinctive feature of interpretive approaches to studying political culture is the search for the meanings of political life, distinguishing semantic aspects of politics. Therewith, a wide range of methodological techniques is used – from various descriptions and analyses of Ukrainian history to the study of popular cultural samples. When determining the types of political cultures, the differentiation is based on the idea of limited lifestyles which are inherent to certain cultures (Toshchenko, 2015). The considered theoretical prerequisites and features of modern approaches to studying political culture allow comprehending the content of individual components of political culture within the framework of the main research paradigms, to realise the current changes in political culture in Serbia, the context of social processes in society. The above should be taken into account when studying the political culture state of each particular society. As for the study of Ukrainian political culture, some development features of political cultures in transitional societies should be noted. Most researchers agree that the transitional state of society determines the transitional state of political culture in it: the presence of totalitarian culture elements in various combinations together with the emergence of a democratic culture. The political cultures of such societies have a certain genotype, which differs depending on the society.

To characterise the main trends in the Ukrainian political culture, within the framework of the stated subject, the socio-political department of the Institute of Sociology NAS of Ukraine conducted an integral test of the developed types of political culture. In this case, political culture is determined as a set of stable forms of political consciousness and people's behaviour, which determine the specific features of various subjects of the political process within a particular political system. Stable forms of political consciousness mean political orientations, views, beliefs. Whereas stable forms of political behaviour are typical reactions and stereotypes that develop within a political activity (for example, stable forms of participation in certain political organisations, actions, campaigns). The theoretical prerequisite for the development of a holistic test was the approach to the typology of political culture proposed by E. Holovakha and N. Panyna (2007). The authors of the study used two scales to examine the main trends in the development of political culture in Ukrainian society: 1) democracy/totalitarianism; 2) activity/passivity. The first scale reflects the political development area of society and its stated purpose. The second scale determines the readiness for cooperation to achieve this purpose. The importance of the criteria for political culture, which are considered as a basis, is determined by the fact that such an approach to typology presupposes an understanding of political culture as a holistic attitude of social actors to a specific political situation. Therewith, the starting point for determining political culture types is the transitional orientation of Ukrainian society, which is determined by the peculiarities of its development within the totalitarian system and the processes of forming democratic principles.

The developed comprehensive test of political culture types allows distinguishing four types that describe the past and the more definite and declared future of the political system of society:

1) active-totalitarian political culture (inherent to the era of Stalinism, when the mass political consciousness is focused on the totalitarian system and is ready to actively support it);

2) passive-totalitarian political culture (inherent to the period of so-called stagnation, when the totalitarian system remains the main reference point of political consciousness, but the carriers of this culture do not want to actively participate in its reproduction and protection from enemy encroachments);

3) passive-democratic political culture (declared democratic principles are accepted, but there are not enough politically active actors to implement them);

4) active-democratic political culture (the majority of citizens are ready to actively defend the democratic principles of the political system).

Considering the class features of the political culture of Ukrainian society, it should be noted that in Ukrainian society, as in all societies in which transformation processes are actively taking place, there is no stable class structure. This type of society is characterised by the rapid destruction of the existing system of social connections and the search for new social coordinates. Therefore, the space of social classes can be described as a space of connections, imaginary and real, stable and variable, coexisting and overlapping in parallel. The socio-class space of Ukrainian society is multidimensional with obvious inequality. In a Soviet-type society, there was a considerable inequality between the party spaces with the state apparatus and society as a totalitarian entity, whereas, in modern Ukrainian society, the vectors of party inequality are strictly separated. Groups based on socio-territorial characteristics, socio-economic, political and cultural connections.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, two complementary trends became apparent in society: the rapid destruction of social connections that had developed in previous decades and the search for new solidarity between the group and social coordinates in society. In this process of restructuring, the previously existing classes of workers, specialists and employees lost their specific class characteristics – a certain position in society, a certain way of life, a sense of belonging to their class (Kutsenko, 2017). The social class in this case, according to T. Parsons (2014), is determined as a large number of individuals and social groups who, based on their own and other people's judgments, occupy relatively the same positions in society in many socially important aspects, which approximately predicts the development of such social practices. Such aspects, according to the authors, consider variables of financial status and income level, the social influence level and managerial functions, the education level, the professional activity and social prestige, as well as the general ideological values (Parsons, 2014).

The data of the annual monitoring of the Ukrainian Society 2019 by the Institute of Sociology NAS of Ukraine provide an opportunity to consider some of these aspects. Notably, Ukrainian society is characterised mainly by a passive-democratic type of political culture (Table 1).

Table 1: Structuring of the Ukrainian society by political culture types, %

Types of political culture	Percentage of representatives
Active-democratic	16.7
Passive-democratic	50.7
Active-totalitarian	5.9
Passive-totalitarian	26.7

Source: own representation

Each selected type has its own characteristics. Representatives of the actively totalitarian type of political culture do not perceive the ideas of democracy, actively representing the values of a totalitarian society. They account for 5.9% of all respondents. People of the passive-totalitarian type of political culture also do not perceive the ideas of democracy, yet they are not inclined to actively defend the values of the totalitarian society they adhere to. They account for 26.7%. An actively democratic political culture is a politically active part of society, which is characterised by a willingness to defend the principles of democracy. These citizens account for 16.7%. At last, a passive-democratic type of political culture, which is characterised by the acceptance of democratic values, but is not ready to actively support them. They account for 50.7% of the total population. When considering the socio-class structure of Ukrainian society in the context of political culture, a conditional division was used according to the measurement of social status into upper, middle, and lower classes. To determine the class belonging to the self-determination of citizens, the authors used a seven-step scale. Having grouped the data obtained by conditionally allocated three classes and comparing them with the political culture types, the authors of the study obtained the following trends (Table 2).

Table 2: The political culture of the classes allocated according to the socio-status dimension, %

Socio-status dimension	Types of political culture			
	Active-democratic	Passive-totalitarian	Passive-democratic	Active-totalitarian
Lower class	11.5	32.9	49.9	5.7
Middle class	24.8	18.2	51.1	5.9
Upper class	17.6	29.7	44.1	8.8

Source: own representation

The superiority of the passive-democratic form of political culture is inherent to three classes that are limited in their social status for the general public. Along with a passive

democratic culture, each class has its own political culture. Although it is considerably lower than the dominant in the second type of percentage ratio, it is differentiated by classes. Representatives of the lower class are more inclined to a passive totalitarian culture than other citizens (32.9%). The middle class is characterised by an active democratic type (24.8%). The upper class is more inclined to a passive totalitarian type of political culture (29.7%) than the middle class but less than the lower class. The financial aspect of the socio-class space in Ukraine was discussed regarding the subjectivity of the family's financial status: How do you assess the financial status of the family in general? The following cultural and political trends can be distinguished (Table 3).

Table 3: The political culture of groups identified by family's financial status, %

The financial status of the family	Types of political culture			
	Active-democratic	Passive-totalitarian	Passive-democratic	Active-totalitarian
Low	14.7	29.2	51.8	4.3
Average	25.0	18.7	49.2	7.2
High	5.9	17.6	70.6	5.9

Source: own representation

As in the previous case, the passive-democratic type of political culture prevails for all the selected groups. Other prevailing types of political culture among the selected groups are as follows. For people who assess the financial status as low (in this case, this corresponds to the lower class in the field of social status), a passive totalitarian political culture is characteristic (29.2%). From the standpoint of the financial status of the family, the active democratic type of political culture is inherent to the middle class (25.0%), and the upper class is characterised by a passive totalitarian type (17.6%). In addition, a number of subsequent questions helped to outline the professional activity as one of the dimensions of the social class space and to characterise the political culture of individual groups. Having grouped the questions about employment types of the respondents, the authors classically divided them into four groups: highly skilled workers, businessmen, workers, and peasants (Table 4).

In the context of political culture, the following characteristics of the class political culture of these groups can be distinguished. As already mentioned, the type of passive-democratic political culture prevails in all classes. For the first two categories (highly skilled workers and businessmen), which can be conditionally associated with the upper and middle classes in the space of social classes, the actively democratic type of political culture is dominant, whereas workers and peasants, interpreted as the lower-class representatives, are members of the passive totalitarian political culture.

Table 4: The political culture of groups identified by their professional activity, %

The professional activity	Types of political culture			
	Active-democratic	Passive-totalitarian	Passive-democratic	Active-totalitarian
Highly skilled workers	23.3	17.4	53.9	5.4
Businessmen	25.4	21.1	47.9	5.6
Workers	16.1	24.8	52.7	6.5
Peasants	18.2	29.5	45.5	6.8

Source: own representation

Thus, the authors can conclude that both for the whole society and for individual groups, the dominant type of political culture is passive-democratic. However, concerning the second dominant type of political culture, there are some differences between classes. Thus, the lower class is characterised by a passive totalitarian type of political culture, which implies a positive attitude of these citizens to paternalistic values, social and economic equality, as well as an attitude to equality. In this respect, the middle class is characterised by an active-democratic type of political culture. Within this social group, people rely more on themselves than on others. This indicates a transition from paternalistic attitudes to individual responsibility. Representatives of the upper class are mostly top managers and influential entrepreneurs whose income level meets vital material needs. Within this class, there is no clearly defined political culture, although the tendency to a passive totalitarian political culture prevails.

Determining the areas and priorities of identity policy requires taking into account the internal and external conditions of the national community development, its objective state and the peculiarities of collective self-awareness. In Ukraine, the success of identity policy depends crucially on such internal and external factors.

(I.) Internal factors:

1) The incompleteness of the national project: state independence and the national sovereignty do not get sufficient support in Ukraine from the standpoint of socio-political consensus, as evidenced by survey data, vulnerability to external information and the constant aggravation of political conflicts around identity, external orientation, etc.

2) The stable form of collective self-cognition: the main concepts of national awareness, its role in the political nation development, and the social practices associated with this cognitive activity that influenced most citizens in the Soviet era. In this sense, the identification policy is considered as ideological violence and

propaganda, which contributes to the restoration of public consciousness and stereotypes that generate conflict, and prevents the creative resolution of existing conflicts.

3) Stagnation in the sphere of national identity and self-projection: throughout the 20 years of independence, the main types of identity (national, reactionary post-Soviet, liberal-cosmopolitan, and pro-imperial) are represented in Ukrainian society in almost constant conditions. Thus, along with the outdated forms of identities, a number of identifications and their potential conflict remain.

4) The lack of adaptation of the main national identity model to the criteria of a political nation and postmodernism: the pathos of the national liberation struggle, folk-romantic interpretation of cultural individuality, attempts at cultural and educational unification on the models of the 19th-20th centuries do not have the expected results, but only lead to the rejection of Ukrainian identity and its discrediting. In the conditions of unformed or insufficient attractiveness of the dominant type of national identification, competing versions of identification are reproduced and updated.

5) The politicisation of identity issues: political competition in the conditions of undeveloped forms of political culture and instability of national identification has led to the active use of crisis phenomena in the field of identity in order to mobilise the electorate. The use of appropriate technologies led to the ideological and cultural separation of political forces and socially active groups, which has a pronounced regional character.

(II.) External factors:

6) The globalisation of cultural and political processes substantially influences the forms of collective identity, their content, and hierarchical relations. According to most concepts of globalisation, the national sovereignty in the new environment is subject to considerable restrictions, and the person associated with it dissolves in the space between global and local forms of communities, which, on the other hand, cease to exist. It is controlled by public and political figures, globalisation theorists. In their opinion, the pressure of globalisation leads to a protective reaction of cultural and civilisational localisation.

7) The term soft power in modern international relations in general and geopolitical rivalry, in particular, puts the sphere of identity at the centre of information and psychological confrontation. Eliminating the enemy's national identity, internal collapses, political destabilisation, weakening the positions on the international stage are the purposes of numerous cyber-attacks and propaganda campaigns, which is for many modern countries a manifestation of their own identity policy, but in an external, expansionist vector.

The analysis of the current Ukrainian sphere of national identity, as well as taking into account the factors of internal and external influence and the world experience of its development, reproduction, and adjustment allow identifying a number of urgent tasks of Ukrainian identity policy. First, it is necessary to determine the basic model of national identity, which involves relying on one of the two principles of the nation – ethnic or political (nation-state or state-nation). The complexity of this choice lies in the fact that the "political nation", which today has a much larger number of supporters at both the expert and general levels, and is supported by the main political actors both inside the country and abroad, in its pure form does not sufficiently take into account the peculiarities of Ukrainian statehood genesis and its historical and cultural legitimation. The fact is that national sovereignty presupposes a certain logic of community development and its legitimisation. This logic consists in the fact that a Ukrainian state is primarily an object of self-determination of its citizens, and therefore its legitimacy is inevitably connected with ethnic, cultural, and historical identity. Thus, the main political model approaches of the nation, among which are the fundamental equality of citizens' rights, ensuring meeting the cultural, linguistic, and religious needs of national minorities and ethnic groups, it is also necessary to include such value and normative elements that reflect the national cultural and political tradition of Ukraine in the general doctrine of the identity of its citizens. Such elements are already present in the current Constitution (in particular, in Article 11), yet their assimilation at the society level must be accompanied by consistent informational and educational campaigns.

It is impossible to achieve a civil consensus regarding the basic model of identity without a coordinated or compromise approach to the content of national identity, which is currently the subject of acute disputes and conflicts. It refers to the issues of the state language, the assessment of events and contradictory figures from the historical past, the priority of certain ideological approaches, the inclusion in the national tradition of names, events, and works that have an ambivalent cultural and political identification. After all, in Ukraine, throughout the entire national history, there was an acute controversy and a struggle of irreconcilable positions regarding identity and its political and cultural manifestations. The ideological legacy of this struggle continues to divide Ukrainian society. To overcome the conflict regarding Ukrainian identity it is most often proposed to avoid urgent issues, inconvenient topics, controversial phenomena and personalities.

The same activity in some countries has shown its effectiveness and has allowed to a certain extent reconciling the descendants of participants in former fratricidal conflicts. However, the informational taboo on conflict issues leads to the withdrawal of a considerable part of the national spiritual and intellectual heritage from active circulation. Thus, in conditions when national culture and ideas about the features of people's historical fate are still developing, this leads to an artificial impoverishment of the spiritual and intellectual life of the community and to the establishment of an unsightly national image that is not perceived by the majority of citizens. Therefore, a more justified way to national harmony is the establishment of synthetic concepts of national history and culture, including the cognition of conflict and polemical subjects based on the integrity of national life, its natural inconsistency, and the complexity of finding optimal solutions. Ukrainian history and culture in this form appear as non-

linear and variable, the main values of which are the experience acquired by the community, contradictory ideas established in the process of national development, and cultural values and works of art created by representatives of various trends and approaches. A necessary condition to approve a more modern and adequate Ukrainian identity model is to clarify criteria of the person's nationality or a cultural and historical phenomenon. It is obvious that without such clarification, it is impossible to change approaches to the content of national identity.

The importance of criteria regarding the native language, ethnic origin (nationality – in the terminology of the Soviet period), and religious affiliation differ substantially in the context of the ethnic and political model of the nation. In the context of the first model, the above-mentioned features are considered innate and strictly determine national identity, whereas the second model assumes the fundamental possibility of a conscious choice of identity and interprets it as a set of contractual obligations between the community and the individual. It is obvious that the Ukrainian identity in modern conditions will have greater opportunities for development and prospects for attracting the maximum number of citizens as its active carriers if it develops according to the second model. Therewith, the term "Ukrainian" has to acquire predominantly political and civic meaning – as is common for most European nations and is now implemented in Russia through the introduction of the self-identification as Russian. It is obvious that the key to the success and constructiveness of such a process will be the semantic diffusion between the two types of national identification. The identification as "Ukrainian" to all citizens of Ukraine is impossible without adopting social loyalty according to the main forms of conventional ethnocultural identification, which inevitably leads to partial assimilation of their adapted modifications by all members of the community. Thus, a stable and constructive model of national identity in Ukraine should include such meaningful elements:

− awareness and recognition of the historical and cultural identity of the Ukrainian people;

− recognition of the civil principle of the development of the modern Ukrainian nation and its multicultural, multi-confessional, multi-ethnic composition;

− the settlement of the language issue through separating the functions of the state language and the functions of other languages, which can act as a means of interethnic and international communication (the distinction of functions, not spheres of application, is fundamental);

− considering the fact that in modern conditions a new form of Ukrainian national culture and national identity is being created, which preserves ideological, cultural elements inherited by representatives of various sub-identities from previous periods, while there are also fundamentally new components that are formed under the influence of the new political and cultural subjectivity of Ukraine and the experience of coexistence of different groups in the conditions of Ukrainian statehood;

− motivation to create a new Ukrainian cultural identity as fundamentally dialogical, which requires mutual respect, provides for cultural mutual enrichment, has the

potential for rapid development and offers opportunities for creating new cultural syntheses.

5. Conclusions

Any identity model becomes applicable, and not declarative, provided that it is based on public consent and an appropriate competence level regarding the issues of most citizens. Therefore, the adopted identity model should be represented by a considerable number of cultural, propaganda, educational projections, consistently and creatively reproduced in the symbolic field of politics and the main communicative discourses. The main constructive elements of this model should be included in the speeches of leaders, state policy documents, programmes of official celebrations, and so on. The institutional and normative policy of the state should be based on the principles corresponding to the chosen strategy for the development and reproduction of national identity.

The specificity of state decisions regarding identity is that the processes and phenomena that are affected within implementing identity policy are characterised by considerable inertia and increased social sensitivity. The loss of collective identity or the emergence of doubts about its justification, relevance, and adequacy leads to an individual's moral frustration, their ideological uncertainty, and also devalues the value-normative basis of social life. Therefore, in this area, both the passivity of the state and the excessive haste and inconsistency of the proposed decisions and actions are unacceptable. The optimal way here is to search for consensus solutions.

In modern Ukraine, there is a process of combining elements of various political subcultures into a single polystructural unit – the political culture of the Ukrainian people, which should be characterised as a civil political culture, because it will ensure the stable development of Ukrainian society on the way to the establishment of democracy and the creation of a legal social state with a developed civil society. The modern issues of state development in Ukraine directly depend on the political culture of various population segments, society in general. The development of a political consciousness based on scientific knowledge, the acquisition of political behaviour and political participation, political socialisation based on democratic values will lead to a gradual overcoming of the fragmented political consciousness and political culture and will allow eliminating negative elements of the patriarchal and subordinate types of political culture.

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