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# Young people's citizenship activity in times of war threat: Case of Ukraine

## ABSTRACT

*This article explores passive, semi-active and active citizenship among young Ukrainians, empirically revealed using the Citizenship Behavior Questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered to 371 pupils aged 11, 14, and 17–18 years. This empirical study is introduced through a socio-political and educational description of the current situation in Ukraine, as well as some historical background. Citizenship education in Ukraine is taught through all subjects and takes the form of national-patriotic education, which is justified by the prevalent political conditions: namely, annexation of Crimea and war in the east of Ukraine. The peculiarities of higher education in Ukraine are reviewed as well as the results of studies concerning patriotism, citizenship and political participation among Ukrainian youth. For our empirical study we have chosen passive, semi-active and active citizenship as dimensions, and the following sub-dimensions for analysis: national identity, patriotism, loyalty, civic virtues, social activity, political activity, personal activity, and action for change. Boys and girls do not differ significantly in terms of citizenship*

## KEYWORDS

citizenship behaviour  
citizenship education  
young Ukrainians  
war in the East  
corruption  
education system

*behaviour in Ukraine. At the same time there are significant differences in some citizenship dimensions and sub-dimensions on the basis of place of residence and age. In general, Ukrainian youth reveal high passive and semi-active citizenship behaviour, but low active citizenship, indicating to us the presence of potential but unwillingness to participate in protest actions for change. Some of the means by which the level of citizenship activity can be enhanced are increasing one's interest in political media and media literacy and preventing destructive media effects. These means can be implemented through media education with special attention to citizenship.*

## **UKRAINE: BASIC CHARACTERISTICS AND CURRENT ISSUES**

Ukraine is the largest European country. Ukraine as a single country was established in 1991. Until then, the country had been divided and had been ruled by Poland, Russia, the Czech Republic, Lithuania and Romania (Polonska-Vasylenko et al. 1992). Since 2014 a part of the territory within the constitutional structure of the country has not been controlled by de facto authorities. The population of the country consists of 48,240,902 permanent residents according to the 2001 census. However, the state statistics service identified that on 1 October 2016 the population consisted of 42,465,460 permanent residents. There was an artefact in the history of Ukrainian independence between 1917 and 1921. During this period, on Ukrainian territory several independent states, such as the UNR, the WUNR, the Hetmanate by P. Skoropadsky, etc., were proclaimed. However, Ukraine had already become a part of the USSR as a Republic in 1921 (Radchenko 1996).

Here we present an analysis of the formation of a Ukrainian national identity while the country had been a part of the USSR. First, during 1920–1929 a policy of Ukrainization was introduced, with simultaneous repression of cultural figures (Kabuzan 2006). In historical and philosophical publications, this phenomenon is called the ‘executed Renaissance’ (Litvin 2005).

Second, 1930–1940 was the period of industrialization, introduced by the Soviet government alongside mass denunciations of ‘enemies of the nation’ and repression of otherness thoughts (Parsadanova 1989). A tragic milestone in Ukrainian history is the Holodomor (1932–33). According to various reports it killed about 3 million people during this period (Kabuzan 2006).

Third, during 1941–45 (World War II), the whole of Ukraine was occupied. The territories of Belarus and Ukraine suffered the greatest loss of life and inflicted cruelty from German occupation. During the occupation and World War II, approximately eleven million Ukrainians were killed (Koval 1994). In addition, many residents of Ukraine were sent as ‘gastarbeiters’ to work in Nazi Germany. The Soviet government after the war sent these ‘gastarbeiters’ to prisons (Kornienko et al. 2007).

Fourth, 1950–80 was a period of economic and industrial growth for Ukraine (Zavalnuk and Rybak 2004). Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukraine had powerful industrial, military-industrial and agricultural sectors. Thus, the Soviet period formed certain curved features of national identity.

In reality, the history of independent Ukraine dates to 1991. The 1990s was the period of mass privatization of state enterprises and their bankruptcies, devaluation and default of national currency, and division of society into ‘rich business class’ and ‘impoverished class of state subsidiary sphere’ (Kornienko

et al. 2007). It was the period of mass strikes, racketeering, bribery and transition to market relations (Petrovsky et al. 2007). The youth of the 1990s veered towards joining the ranks of gangs or businessmen. The beginning of the 2000s was a period of political and economic crises as well as a decline for Ukraine. Therefore, the Orange revolution of 2004 created a massive upsurge of patriotism in the country (Kulchytsky 2005). However, these events sharpened differing views on European integration of Ukraine among residents of the East and the West (Kresina 2005). The global economic crisis of 2008 offset the rise of patriotism in the country. The most affected was the middle class, which was economically tied to foreign currency loans. The phenomenon led to the intensification of the 'shadow economy' and corruption (Matsievsky 2010).

In 2014, mass protests, connected to the process of European integration, caused Euromaidan. In Ukrainian language 'maidan' means square. In Ukraine, 'maidan' also implies mass protests because people gather on squares to express their negative reaction to the actions of authorities. Euromaidan combines pro-European perspectives with protests against the pro-Russian policy of V. F. Yanukovich. It is important to underline that not all people who went to these demonstrations were pro-European, but all of them were ready to risk their lives for resisting human rights violation by the V. F. Yanukovich regime. Today, the Ukrainian government does not control the territory of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea that was annexed by the Russian Federation. In addition, in Donetsk and Lugansk, the war continues with the army of the self-proclaimed DPR (Donetsk People's Republic) and LPR (Luhansk People's Republic) supported by the Russian Federation.

Ukraine has a long history of fighting for independence, which is still going on. Taking into account the brutality of this struggle and its long history, as well as the current state of war in the East of Ukraine, it is clear that national identity cannot avoid containing nationalistic features pertaining to defence.

## **CURRENT ISSUES OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN UKRAINE**

### ***Challenges in education faced by young Ukrainians***

The system of higher education in Ukraine is in the process of reformation. Nikolaev and Dlugopolsky (2016) in their analysis of higher education in Ukraine point out the following problems due to implementation of the new edition of the law 'Law of Ukraine About Higher Education' (2014):

- Ineffective financing in the higher education sector;
- Poor quality of higher education; outdated and ineffective routes of delivery and control of higher education; inconsistency between educational programmes and market demands;
- Scarce academic autonomy of higher education establishments;
- Unequal access to higher education; inaccessibility of higher education for those who need it; and
- Weak integration of Ukrainian education into European and international educational and scientific space; its low competitiveness.

Another important document directing the reformation of education in Ukraine is 'Ukraine – 2020', enforcing the strategy of constant development. According to this document, educational reforms will be realized through two indicators in secondary education:

- 75 per cent of school graduates will speak at least two foreign languages, and will hold international certificates; and
- Ukraine will take part in the international study of education quality (PISA) and will be one of the 50 best state participants in this study.

The results of the all-Ukrainian survey of students conducted in March 2015 by the 'Democratic Initiatives' fund named after I. Kucherov and the 'Ukrainian Sociology Service' are worthy of mention. A total of 1001 students participated in the mass survey, which excluded annexed Crimea, Donetsk and Luhansk regions, which are not controlled by the Ukrainian government.

An absolute majority of students (87%) considered the inadequacies in higher education to be a major problem. In general, a majority of students evaluated the quality of higher education in Ukraine as being lower than average. At the same time 69% of students wanted to study abroad; lack of adequate funds was pointed out as the main obstacle for realization of that purpose by 71%. The most serious problems in higher education in Ukraine as cited by students were the following: absence of global recognition of diplomas from most Ukrainian universities (51%); disparity between teaching and market demands (41%); corruption in universities (39%); and low level of education quality in Ukraine compared to the global standard (32%). Students regarded the following actions to be the most important to improve the quality of higher education: fight against corruption and dishonesty in universities (44%); collaboration with the best universities in the world (43%); enhancement of teachers' salaries (43%); stimulation of scientific activity (41%); correlation of teaching with the requirements of future profession (36%); reduction in the number of universities (31%).

Three factors that worried students the most were lack of money for survival (41%), possibility of working in free time (35.5%), and corruption (26%). An overall 37% of interviewed students worked but only 11% worked in the sphere connected to their future profession; 37% did not work because they could not find work and 26% did not work because they did not need to work.

With regard to reduction in government financing for scholarships, 54% of students are of the opinion that only those who study well should be granted scholarships. At present, almost half of the students obtain scholarships. However, the scholarship covers all of the needs of only 3% of students, for 7% the scholarship covers travel, food and hostel, for 38% it covers travel and food, for 30% it covers only food, and for 22% it is not enough even for food. Only 11% of students live only for scholarships.

Corruption in Ukrainian universities is another serious issue: 34% of students encountered corruption at their university and 26% had heard about it from others; 40% of students did not encounter corruption at their university at all. Students' level of academic success is an influential factor: the higher the academic success, the lower the involvement in corruption. Among those whose average grade was 'satisfactory', 43% encountered corruption, compared with 32% among those whose average grade was 'good' and 29% among those whose average grade was 'excellent'.

The most important factor for the increase in corruption in university students was believed to be laziness of students (47%), devaluation of higher education as students need only diplomas (44%), and insufficient salaries of teachers (32%). An overall 20% of students pointed to pressure from teachers as the reason for giving a bribe. An absolute majority of students believed that corruption at universities should be abolished; 56% of students are sure that

corruption destroys education. According to the students named the Ministry of Education and Science (45%), the rectorate and deanery (38%) and law enforcement authorities (38%) as the institutions that should fight against corruption.

Egorchenko (2015) considers absence of trust in higher education to be one of the main problems plaguing the education sector. Regaining trust will involve independent control over the quality of education at all stages, establishment of standards, academic honesty, procedures of control and sanctions for norm violations. All those involved in education should value their reputation, understanding that it will be lost in case of academic dishonesty, plagiarism and violation of ethical principles, leading to strict sanctions.

### ***Citizenship position of young Ukrainians***

Taking into account the current situation in Ukraine regarding war in the East and annexation of Crimea, it is worth considering the attitudes towards issues connected to patriotism and national identity among the Ukrainian youth. Rasumkov's Center conducted an all-Ukrainian survey in November 2016 covering these issues. One of the age groups in the survey was 18–29 years. Here we list some of the results.

The question 'What is the meaning of being a citizen of Ukraine for you personally?' elicited the following answers: 48.4% of respondents replied that it meant having Ukrainian citizenship and a Ukrainian passport; for 47% being a citizen of Ukraine meant living in the Motherland; for 37.1%, citizenship meant security and welfare provided by the government; 31.6% of respondents connected citizenship to a feeling of being a part of the Ukrainian nation with its culture and traditions; for 26% citizenship meant being able to choose the president of Ukraine, the Parliament members, local councils, and being able to participate in referendums; for 27.7% citizenship instilled in them a sense of pride in the country's and country representatives' achievements in different spheres; 22.3% felt confident of the power of the Ukrainian government in providing protection if a citizen got into trouble abroad; only 3.4% said that citizenship set them apart from representatives of other countries.

To the question 'Do you have a feeling of patriotism/love towards the Ukraine?', 42.7% of young people replied 'yes' and 35.2% replied 'rather yes'. Several factors were found to have an effect on patriotism: 74% of young people believed that heroic performance of the Ukrainian military and volunteers in the struggle against the Russian aggression and separatist's movements increased patriotism, whereas 12.1% believed that it did not affect patriotism; 58% of respondents believed that patriotism was increased by Russian aggression: Crimea annexation, military support of separatists in Donbass, which led to a huge loss of lives and economic loss; 12.8% believed that Russian aggression reduced patriotism, whereas 17.2% thought it had no effect; 53.9% considered Maidan (the 2014 Revolution of Dignity) as increasing patriotism, 14.3% felt it decreased patriotism, and 22.3% felt it had no effect. It is worthy of note that government actions towards reformation were considered by 34.7% as decreasing patriotism; 35.9% evaluated it as having no effect, and only 14% of respondents believed that government actions for the sake of reformation implementation increased patriotism.

Young people identified the following factors as being necessary for instilling pride in the state: political stability, economic development and improved

conditions of living (identified by 69.7%); a strong defence force and a political situation that is unaffected by external forces (19.9%); being authoritative and respected internationally (8%).

With regard to the importance of the Ukrainian language it was revealed that 75.2% of young respondents believed that communication in state language was a sign of respect towards citizenship and towards Ukraine itself.

The participants were asked about the economic difficulties they were facing in the light of the prevalent economic conditions, with high inflation and low income among the majority of the population: 27.8% of respondents agreed that they were willing to accept a temporary lower level of quality of life for the sake of further economic reforms and improved national defence, whereas 55.7% were not willing to accept such a situation.

## **CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN UKRAINE**

The current citizenship education in Ukraine is strongly affected by the recent Revolution of Dignity and war threat from Russia. The Crimean Autonomous Republic, which is a part of Ukraine, has been annexed by Russia, and another part on the East of Ukraine is not controlled by the Ukrainian government but rather by local terrorist groups and the Russian military. Specific citizenship education is required for the rest of the territory of Ukraine. Such citizenship education is largely focused on patriotism and distinguishing Ukrainian culture from the Russian one. Annexation of Crimea has vividly shown the consequences of the absence of proper citizenship education.

At present, in Ukraine, citizenship education indicates national patriotic upbringing. On 16 June 2015 the Minister of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, S. M. Kvit, signed Decree No. 641 about the concept of national patriotic upbringing of children and youth, events on its realization, and methodological recommendations in general education institutions. Previous concepts developed in 1996, 2009 and 2012 are considered ambiguous and not thoroughly implemented due to changes in the state development directions:

The concept is based on the idea of uniting different nations, national and ethnic groups living on the territory of Ukraine, around the idea of Ukrainian statehood, Ukrainian citizenship which supplies social and cultural development. Ukraine denies any form of discrimination, supporting all languages and cultures which experienced such discrimination in times of colonial dependence of Ukraine.

(Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine 2015)

In conditions of war when there is threat to state independence it is important to strengthen the patriotic upbringing of children and youth based on national and European values:

[...] respect to national symbols (emblem, flag, anthem of Ukraine); participation in political life of the state; respect to human rights; rule of law; tolerant attitude towards values and beliefs of different cultures representatives as well as towards regional and language peculiarities; equality of everybody in front of the law; readiness to defend sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine.

(Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine 2015)

In times of war threat the priority of patriotic education is military patriotic education, which is aimed at improving the readiness of defence of Ukraine. The content of such education is defined by the national interests of Ukraine and is aimed at increasing the active participation of citizens in the country's security from external threat. Military patriotic upbringing of youth should be provided by governmental bodies, educational institutions, family, NGOs, military forces and other law enforcement institutions.

Methodological recommendations for national patriotic upbringing of children and youth include general recommendations, recommendations towards its implementation in primary school, and detailed recommendations regarding the following subjects: Ukrainian language and literature, foreign literature, foreign languages, languages and literature of minorities, history, mathematics, computer science, geography, physics, biology, ecology, chemistry, natural science, physical education and work training.

That is to say, in Ukraine, citizenship education is imparted through different subjects rather than being a separate subject in itself. Such an approach has its pros and cons, but taking into account the current situation in Ukraine such an approach is justified.

Methodological recommendations on national patriotic upbringing in general education institutions point out that Maidan is an important part of national patriotic upbringing as it is evidence of sacrifice for human rights and respect to human dignity, putting aside personal gain for the sake of the common good, being multi-linguistic and multi-religious.

National patriotic education also includes collecting and disseminating information about heroic actions of the Ukrainian military, of volunteer fighters in the Russian–Ukrainian war, of volunteers and other citizens who strengthen the defence of Ukraine. That is why renewal of school museums regarding information about combatants and volunteers is required.

In national patriotic education crucial attention is drawn to the importance of adopting the Ukrainian language in all subjects. This approach is in line with the national language policy. As the Russian language is widely spread in Ukraine because of the war with Russia, support for the Ukrainian language as a national language at all levels is perceived as a part of the national security policy. In addition, during the USSR period the Ukrainian language experienced heavy persecution, being replaced by the Russian language, and hence the Ukrainian language as well as the country's culture and history has to be restored. Language issues are connected to national identity issues and are widely used in political rhetoric.

Another important direction of national patriotic upbringing is promoting respect towards the Constitution of Ukraine, the Ukrainian legislation and its national symbols – its emblem, flag and anthem.

Educational institutions are also advised to work with parents. The direction of such work is aimed at the promotion of tolerance, as well as respect towards the culture, history, language and traditions of Ukraine and to representatives of other nations. Teachers, through cooperation with parents and pupil councils, should develop skills in the youth to enable them to live in the society as successful citizens.

The NGO Center of Society Research conducted the study 'Research of citizenship education discourse and its influence on youth's political culture' in 2012 (Sovsun 2012). Its report concluded that in most textbooks issues are formulated in a way that assumes only one correct response. This approach suits indoctrination rather than development of critical thinking. The authors

underline that it is important to direct citizenship education towards questioning ideas and values rather than enforcing them on students. At the same time, models of foreign citizenship education might not work in Ukrainian conditions, which are largely different from those in the rest of Europe. While some values of Ukrainian society do not correspond to values necessary for democracy, new approaches need to be applied to make pupils critically analyse the surrounding reality acquiring new values at the same time. Gender equality in citizenship education is seen as a crucial issue, though textbook analyses have shown that most textbooks impose traditional gender roles and values that contradict the realities of modern society.

In another analytical report, *Current State of Citizenship Education in Ukraine*, published by the NGO Union Agency of Educational Policy Development, Ivanyuk et al. (2013) mention that pupils have very low interest in politics and are quite disappointed with politicians, tending to describe politicians and political parties in a negative manner. Results of focus groups showed that pupils are more interested in the local problems of their communities rather than in all-Ukrainian ones. Pupils are not very interested in having citizenship education as a separate subject because they do not need it for entering a university. Although current teaching methods in Ukraine do not promote personal initiative, independence, and ability to make their own choice, pupils valued opportunities to express their opinion on lessons and participate in discussions. Pupils recognized a tendency on the part of teachers to perceive differences in opinions with students as a threat to the teacher's authority.

Ivanyuk et al. (2013) also point out that, despite the democratic priorities of school education, teachers try to bring up obedient pupil-citizens who respect power and school administration. The majority think that only after a certain age can a person participate in the socio-political life of the country. Pupils are more positive towards citizenship education in schools with a more democratic culture that encourages pupil participation in school activities, discussion clubs and research projects. Sometimes participation in such activities is in line with interest towards news media.

During group interviews pupils spoke about the necessity to increase the number of leisure activities in schools as well as the use of films and multimedia (e.g. Internet) for educational purposes. They also desired the inclusion of more factual and interesting materials connected to socio-political life. This proposal implies pupils' interest and concern in social and ecological problems of the region where they live and relatively high awareness of national and international affairs. Many of the pupils who participated in the research did not understand how experience gained during citizenship education can be implemented in practice. While teachers perceived pupils as future citizens who are not yet able to make decisions and think rationally, pupils on the contrary revealed an ability to think critically and independently, expressed a desire to understand socio-political problems and be able to express their opinion about their own learning (Ivanyuk et al. 2013).

## **RESEARCH METHOD AND QUESTIONS**

The main aim of the study was to explore citizenship participation of Ukrainian adolescents who were born after 1991. On the one hand they are able to enjoy the benefits accruing from the country's independence, which could foster patriotism and national identity. On the other hand, they are



affected by economic, political and social changes that make their everyday lives turbulent:

- To what extent are young Ukrainians ready to become involved in citizenship activities and what are the patterns of their citizenship activity?
- Is citizenship activity related to the age, gender or place of residence of young Ukrainians?

This study was conducted in Kriviy Rih (a city with 643,618 inhabitants) and Sofiivka (a town with 8243 inhabitants). A total of 371 pupils participated in the study; among them 185 were from Kriviy Rih and 186 from Sofiivka; of the participants, 183 were girls and 188 were boys aged 11 (121 pupils), 14 (128 pupils) and 17–18 (122 pupils) years. Data were collected in 2016.

Respondents were given a Citizenship Behavior Questionnaire containing 34 items indicating their engagement in eight types of citizenship behaviour, which were grouped into three more general forms of citizenship (a general level of citizenship was also calculated):

1. *Passive*, which included *National identity* (a sense of belonging to the state/nation; knowing the values and history of the country, appreciation of national symbols such as the flag, the emblem and the anthem) and *Patriotism* (being ready to defend the country from external threats).
2. *Semi-active*, which included *Civic virtues* (readiness to vote, interest in public matters, working for the common good) and *Loyalty* (honest work, respecting state officials, laws and rules).
3. *Active*, which included *Social* (incidental engagement in actions or organizations that work for the community; participating in actions aimed at maintaining local identity or community), *Political* (intention to become a member of a political party or to run for office in the future), *Change-oriented* (engaging in legal or illegal actions for political and/or social changes; protesting against or aiming to control authorities) and *Personal activity* (working towards individual independence, taking responsibility for one's own life and health, aiming to be in charge of development and education, striving for financial independence) (see also: Zalewska and Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz 2011; Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz and Zalewska 2015, as well as citizenship model presented in Article 1).

First we compared the three citizenship dimensions (passive, semi-active and active) and then we analysed the sub-dimensions (national identity, patriotism, loyalty, civic virtues, political, social, personal activity, action for change). The answers for each question were graded from 1 to 4 (definitely not, rather not, rather yes, definitely yes).

## **YOUNG UKRAINIANS' CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITY – RESEARCH RESULTS**

### ***Citizenship engagement of young Ukrainians***

The strongest citizenship activity sub-dimensions in Ukraine are national identity ( $M=3.45$ ,  $SD=0.46$ ), loyalty ( $M=3.38$ ,  $SD=0.51$ ), civic virtues ( $M=3.28$ ,  $SD=0.56$ ) and personal activity ( $M=3.30$ ,  $SD=0.48$ ) (illustrated in Figure 1).

Very high scores on national identity among the youth of Ukraine can be the result of recent political events, national patriotic education and war in the East of Ukraine. It is worthy of note that the question that elicited the lowest

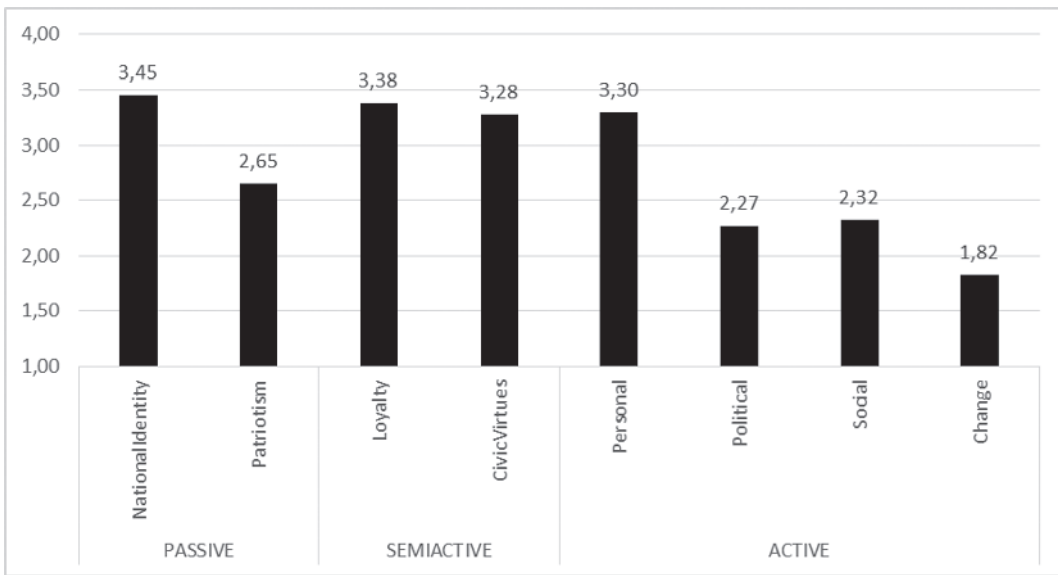


Figure 1: Levels of citizenship activity dimensions among young Ukrainians ( $n = 371$ ).

score was about history. Exclusion of this question increased the Cronbach's  $\alpha$  value. This indicated that nationalism in Ukraine is not greatly connected to an interest in history. All in all passive citizenship is quite high ( $M=3.15$ ,  $SD=0.45$ ).

Although semi-active citizenship is relatively high ( $M=3.33$ ,  $SD=0.43$ ), the question about future voting included into the semi-active citizenship scale shows that young Ukrainians are more likely to vote than not. The importance given to voting is not very high and issues regarding voting should be included in citizenship education. Loyalty is quite high among young people ( $M=3.38$ ,  $SD=0.51$ ), who demonstrate a positive attitude towards respecting state institutions, laws and norms. The scores for the sub-dimension civic virtues are also quite high ( $M=3.28$ ,  $SD=0.56$ ), pointing at commitment to learning, developing skills, desire to contribute to improvement of the world, and future voting intentions.

With regard to active citizenship we observed that young people had a low interest in political activity ( $M=2.27$ ,  $SD=0.86$ ), like joining a political party or participating in elections. At the same time we saw that their personal activity was quite high ( $M=3.30$ ,  $SD=0.48$ ), demonstrating high interest in personal health, talents, independence in problem-solving, and striving for financial independence. The social activity level among the youth was relatively low ( $M=2.31$ ,  $SD=0.64$ ) – they were not very interested in activities related to developing the society, like contributing to the school community or social welfare. The lowest results were for the scale action for change ( $M=1.82$ ,  $SD=0.59$ ), which revealed that pupils were unaware about being able to participate in protest actions for the sake of changes.

In general we see high passive and semi-active citizenship but low active citizenship, indicating the presence of potential but a general reluctance to participate in active change.

None of the citizenship activity dimensions (Passive  $F(1,370)=0.57$  ns; Semi-active  $F(1,370)=2.45$  ns; Active  $F(1,370)=0.19$  ns) correlated with

Citizenship activity dimensions and sub-dimensions	City (N=185)		Town (N=186)		Total (N=371)		F (1,371)	P
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
	Passive	3.15	0.39	3.15	0.50	3.15		
Semi-active	3.23	0.42	3.43	0.41	3.33	0.43	21.73	.000
Active	2.46	0.42	2.40	0.39	2.43	0.40	1.79	.181
National ID	3.44	0.41	3.47	0.51	3.45	0.46	0.20	.658
Patriotism	2.67	0.60	2.62	0.70	2.64	0.64	0.53	.467
Loyalty	3.34	0.49	3.42	0.53	3.39	0.51	2.20	.139
Civic virtues	3.12	0.57	3.34	0.50	3.28	0.56	33.76	.000
Social	2.43	0.68	2.20	0.57	2.31	0.64	12.54	.000
Political	2.29	0.81	2.26	0.90	2.27	0.86	0.10	.750
Change	1.73	0.49	1.91	0.66	1.82	0.59	9.10	.003
Personal	3.30	0.50	3.30	0.46	3.30	0.48	0.00	.974

Table 1: Dimensions of citizenship activity in different place of living (ANOVA).

gender; that is, boys and girls did not differ much in terms of citizenship activity in Ukraine. At the same time there are correlations between citizenship activity and place of residence and age, which will be discussed in further sections of the paper.

### **Relationship between citizenship engagement and place of living**

Statistical method, ANOVA, revealed some differences in citizenship activity between young Ukrainians from the big city and those from the small town (see Table 1). We observed that pupils from the small town had higher semi-active citizenship compared with those in the city. It means that in small towns pupils are more inclined to follow citizenship norms than those in big cities. At the same time there were no differences in passive citizenship dimension between young people from the big city and those from the small town, neither in national identity nor in patriotism.

Statistically significant differences between young people living in the small town and those living in the big city were seen in the citizenship activity sub-dimensions civic virtues, social activity and action for change.

Pupils in the city showed higher social activity, including contribution to the school community and to others' well-being, compared with pupils in the small town, although in both places scores did not reach the level of 'rather yes'; hence, we can say that, in general, young people are not very socially active.

Compared with pupils in the city, pupils in the small town were more open to learning and developing civic virtues. They showed a desire to contribute to improvement of the world and had future voting intentions. In both places scores were higher than 'rather yes' on this sub-dimension. Also, the youth in small towns were more ready to participate in protests for the sake of change, but in both places answer scores were between 'definitely not' and 'rather not', showing that protest readiness among young people is quite low.

## Relationship between citizenship engagement and age

There are several statistically significant differences in citizenship activity depending on age among Ukrainian youth. Among them one citizenship dimension and only two sub-dimensions showed statistically significant differences depending on age. Passive citizenship is the highest at the age of 11, decreasing at the age of 14 and increasing again at the age of 18, and is quite high in all age groups. Patriotism is the highest at the age of 11; it decreases at the age of 14 and increases again at the age of 18. Still, throughout all ages patriotism does not reach the level of 'rather yes'. Loyalty is the highest at the age of 11; it decreases at the age of 14 and increases again at the age of 18, being quite high in all age groups.

The analysis of the data collected helped us to identify the profiles of young Ukrainians' citizenship activity. We used *k*-means clustering analysis for passive and semi-active citizenship as well as social, personal, political activity and action for change. We found three groups (profiles) that were internally homogeneous and at the same time different from each other (Figure 2). The smallest difference between initial cluster centres was 4.099. We labelled the identified profiles; these labels are generic and perhaps overtly simple but they express the nature of the profile:

- *Rabbles*: Such people present a relatively low level of patriotism and national identity. They have a low level of personal development, respect for rules and national authorities and do not want to participate in politics. But they want to act for change and join protests. They represent 37 per cent of the sample.
- *Activists*: The youth who fall under this category have average level of patriotism and national identity as well as civic virtues and loyalty. But

Citizenship activity dimensions and sub-dimensions	11 y.o. (N=121)		14 y.o. (N=128)		18 y.o. (N=122)		Total (N=371)		F(2,371)	P
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		
Passive	3.26***14	0.32	3.04***11	0.51	3.16	0.45	3.15	0.45	7.36	.001
Semi-active	3.38	0.40	3.28	0.43	3.33	0.44	3.33	0.43	1.65	.194
Active	2.47	0.38	2.39	0.46	2.43	0.37	2.43	0.40	1.38	.254
National ID	3.50	0.36	3.41	0.56	3.46	0.43	3.46	0.46	1.18	.309
Patriotism	2.85***14	0.52	2.43***11	0.62	2.68	0.70	2.65	0.64	14.21	.000
Loyalty	3.47**14	0.46	3.31**11	0.44	3.36	0.62	3.38	0.51	3.20	.042
Civic virtues	3.28	0.53	3.24	0.58	3.30	0.57	3.28	0.56	0.32	.721
Social	2.39	0.57	2.31	0.73	2.26	0.60	2.32	0.64	1.29	.276
Political	2.94	0.94	2.19	0.84	2.40	0.78	2.27	0.86	2.03	.916
Change	1.87	0.51	1.74	0.62	1.86	0.61	1.83	0.59	2.06	.130
Personal	3.33	0.45	3.26	0.42	3.31	0.56	3.30	0.48	0.70	.400

Key: P – one-way test statistics with degrees of freedom (2, 371). Age groups that differ significantly at \* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.001$  were marked with the corresponding numbers: 11 – 11-year-olds, 14 – 14-year-olds, 18 – 18-year-olds.

Table 2: Dimensions of citizenship activity across age groups (ANOVA).

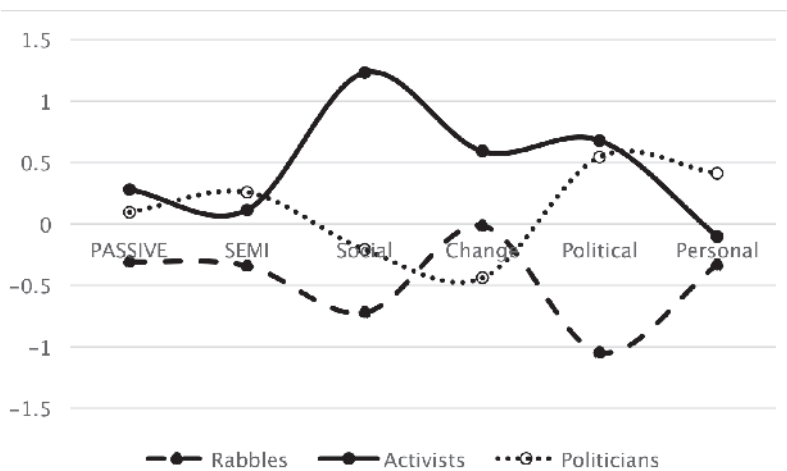


Figure 2: Citizenship profiles – K-means cluster analysis (standardized data).

they want to engage in public life: in social actions, politics and protests. They are less interested in personal development and independence. They represent 27 per cent of the sample.

- *Politicians (legal)*: They present average level of passive and semi-active citizenship and are not largely interested in taking action for societal and community development. They also do not want to protest, but are interested in personal development and participation in politics. They represent 36 per cent of the sample.

The sample distribution among profiles indicates that only 36% of respondents falling in the category of politician do not want to participate in protests but rather are interested in personal development. The 27% of youth falling in the profile of activists constitute a promising number because they can lead rabbles, who constitute 37%.

We found significant interdependence between place of residence and citizenship profiles ( $[\chi^2(2, 371)=9.81 p=0.007]$ ). The number of rabbles (city=47% and town=53%) and politicians (city=53% and town=47%) is relatively similar in both locations. But the number of activists is almost twice in cities (63%) than in towns (37%). As the most influential mass protests take place in cities where regional authorities are situated, distribution of activists between cities and towns is justified for Ukraine. All in all mass protests in towns are provoked by extraordinary incidents such as extreme cruelty inflicted by representatives of authorities, absence of minimal necessary living conditions, and extreme pollution. Otherwise people in towns try to adapt to the situation without compounding the existing problems, though when mass protests start it is very difficult to stop.

At the same time development of a socially active community in a town should be the target, starting from school level. Being inactive and fearing protests citizens can provoke inappropriate behaviour by authorities due to absence of civil control. That is why development of skills that enable one to be an active citizen who can resist the detrimental actions of those in power should be a part of town curricula as much as it is in cities.

## CONCLUSIONS

Empirical results show that young Ukrainians have high passive and semi-active citizenship levels but low active citizenship; there were no statistically significant differences between boys and girls. Changing this situation should be one of the goals of citizenship education. Some of the means of enhancing citizenship activity is through enhancement of interest in political media, media literacy and prevention of destructive media effects. These means can be implemented through media education with special attention to citizenship.

The results of our research go in line with another research in Ukraine, though in a slightly older age group. Karkovska (2007) conducted an empirical study that revealed interesting information about citizenship and political position, connection between the need for power and political consciousness, as well as the effect of the need for power on citizenship and attitude towards politics. The study was conducted in Lviv among 236 students aged 17–22 years, both girls and boys, who were divided into members of civil organizations and non-members. The results of the study showed that 49% of respondents perceived power, state, nation, citizen and oneself as not interconnected. With regard to attitude towards power, the study found that 43% of students were neutral towards power, 16% perceived power positively, and 27% perceived it negatively. The majority of those who perceived power negatively perceived themselves as not connected with power. Honesty, responsibility and competence were named as the most important attributes necessary for being in a position of power. Low level of interest and negative attitude towards politics and people who are involved in politics were seen among 50% of respondents. Almost one third of students intended to be involved in politics in the future and believed they had the attributes necessary for successful political activity; 29% of students believed that they could become famous and successful politicians.

Deeper psychological analysis in the same study (Karkovska 2007) showed that people with significant need for subordination and dependence tended towards a left ideology because the ideas and beliefs of left ideology are based on values of collectivism, and assume state regulation in almost all spheres of social life, which gives a feeling of stability and satisfies the need for security. Right political views based on individualism assume a high level of independence and activity, which is ideal for young people with a dominant and selfish attitude.

Participation in political organizations was analysed from a psychological point of view by Karkovska (2007). She revealed empirically that it is one of the ways to satisfy a personal need for belonging, as it makes one feel that he or she is a part of the community whose goals and values he/she shares. Citizenship activity of young people is connected first of all to such psychological characteristics as need for belonging and low levels of hostility. Politically active young people are more interested in politics and have a more positive attitude towards politics. They have a higher level of citizenship development and prefer democratic values.

It is worth mentioning that the history of Ukraine has been taught through the prism of pro-Russian political goals. As a result we see that interest in history is not largely associated with national identity. Citizenship education in Ukraine should focus on historical literacy, giving pupils more facts that will help them resist pro-Russian propaganda.

All in all because of the current situation in Ukraine – being at war in the East and having a part of the territory annexed – justifies the emphasis of national patriotic education for citizenship education, but for further development of a democratic society human rights issues regardless of ethnic background should be focused upon.

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