



KAPITEL 6 / CHAPTER 6 ⁶

TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE NATIONAL IDENTITY OF UKRAINIAN CITIZENS IN 1991 – 2021

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Introduction

In the modern world, there is a growing interest in the problem of forming a person's identity. The category of «identity», despite the diversity of theoretical and empirical research, is still one of the most complicated. As a rule, identification issues emerge full blown in time of crisis, transitional periods of society's development, when there is a need for a new self-determination of society, as well as the choice of new political-legal, socio-economic and socio-cultural models of development. In this regard, transitional and crisis periods can be viewed as a special turning point in the development of society and the individual, when not only cardinal transformations occur in many areas, but also the search for a new identity begins for large social groups – ethnic groups, nations and countries, which stipulates identity changes also at the individual level. The immediacy of transdisciplinary research on the issue of identities is due to the tremendous importance they have in the lives of new independent countries which emerged in the post-colonial and post-Soviet era.

In the current era of constant change, it is necessary not so much to rely on the past with its value system but to surmise the development tendencies of the civilization. The threats of the modern world are severe, the state of the world order is unstable, and various crises are taking place successively or at the same time. Globalization, informatization, dangers of man-made and natural disasters, political ongoing world reconstruction on economic and geopolitical grounds. Here is an incomplete list of external challenges to national identity in any country, often compounded by rather severe domestic political issues.

Today, many European countries face with serious challenges that are associated with collective security challenges, information wars, the intensification of migration, terrorist acts, dramatic socio-economic and socio-political transformations, as well as threats of the gradual erosion of national cultures and the European civilizational identity. These problems are closely related to the interaction between civilizations, in fact, in the process of development of the modern world can be traced the growing influence of civilization factors determining a sufficiently large part of the changes occurring in the world. Many countries have entered into a new stage of their information civilizational development, where knowledge economy is fully functioning, resource saving and high-end technologies are implemented, and civil society successfully controls government structures.

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At the same time, in many countries of the former USSR radical changes were carried out, which led to huge changes in all spheres of society (economic, political, legal, socio-cultural). Moreover, many of these controversial changes have put most of the citizens of these countries on the brink of survival. Uncritical borrowing someone else's experience and market innovations will undermine stability in any society, if these borrowings are not balanced with the cultural identity of the society, its mentality and civilizational identity. Russian-Ukrainian war makes the observation of national identity issues in Ukraine relevant.

Globalization carries a radical impact on the spiritual sphere of any society, distorting the traditional values and transforming collective identities. Under such conditions, particularly acute is the problem of the formation of a positive national identity of the citizens of post-Soviet states. In this regard, the relevance of the transdisciplinary study of the shaping of national identity (the main forms of which are national-cultural and civil-political identity) citizens of Ukraine in the post-colonial period is not in doubt. Further civilizational development of Ukraine requires not only protection of national independence and state sovereignty, restoration of the state's territorial integrity, but also realization of national interests, achievement of political stability and national unity based on the positive national identity of Ukrainian citizens.

6.1. What is a National Identity

In philosophy, the problem of identity has been developed, starting with separate reflections of Aristotle, and continuing in the works of John Locke, David Hume, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and other thinkers. Their successors explored the relationship between the concepts of «identity», «similarity», «I», «selfness», «identity», structure and criteria of different forms of identity, the nature of the interaction I – Another. For the first time, the term «identity» was used by William James, an American psychologist and philosopher, who emphasized such characteristics of the individual as the struggle of one's own and another's, identity and conformity to oneself and society [13, p. 105]. The first concepts of identity were presented in the works of Sigmund Freud, Erik Homburger Erikson, Henri Tajfel, John Turner, and others. In particular, Sigmund Freud's arguments about the identification of people in the mass, as well as the first use of the term «identification» were recorded in his book «Mass psychology and analysis of the human Self» (1925), which was written in 1921 [25, p. 24–36].

The French philosopher Paul Ricoeur and one of the founders of interactionism, George Herbert Mead, explain the concept of identity in their research through the category of «selfness» [17; 19]. American psychologist Erik Homburger Erikson introduced the concept of «identity» in a broad scientific context and significantly



popularized it. As early as the 1940s and 1950s, he began to study ethnic identity, drawing attention to the historical conditionality of the formation and evolution of any identity [29, p. 52]. The scientist identified three main types of identity: positive, negative and mixed.

British researcher of identity, Nations and nationalism Anthony David Smith proved in his works the existence of continuity between modern nations and ethnic communities that existed since ancient times. The author emphasized that modern nations arose when fully formed ethnic groups accepted the idea of political sovereignty [38, p. 175; 37, p. 55–76]. French researcher Serzh Moskovichi (Serge Moscovici) introduced the concept of «identification matrix». He states that a certain set of identities of an individual is placed in the «cells» of his identity matrix. This matrix has basic and peripheral identities [18, p. 3]. Today, belonging to a particular ethnic community is studied, as a rule, from the positions of two concepts: the theory of social identity of Henri Tajfel, John Turner and the model of two dimensions of identity of John Widdup Berry [40, p. 7–24; 27, p. 139-140].

The identification problem was actualized in the XX century. Different aspects of this problem were studied within the framework of psychology, sociology, philosophy, history, political science, anthropology, ethnology, pedagogy, etc. New approaches to the study of identity from various theoretical and methodological positions were represented by Jan Assman [3], Martyin Barrett [4], Marco Cinnirella [28, p. 227–248], Anthony Smith [23], Samuel Huntington [26], etc. Well-known Russian and Ukrainian scientists (Stefanyia Andrusiv [2], Petr Hnatenko and Valentyna Pavlenko [10], Ola Hnatiuk [11], Jaroslav Hrytsak [12, p. 188–197], Kostiantyn Kysliuk [14, p. 48–65], Mykola Kozlovets [16, p. 3–11], Taras Kuzio [33], Mykola Riabchuk [21], Svetlana Ryzhakova [20, p. 76–88], Tatiana Riazanova [4], Mykhailo Stepyko [24], Margarita Volovikova [4] and others) studied ethnic, religious, regional, civic and national identity, ethnic and national self-consciousness.

The phenomenon of *collective identity* was one of the first to be studied by Italian scientists Alberto Melucci [34; 35, p. 329–348] and Alessandro Pizzorno [36, p. 355–373], later – Peter Berger, Thomas Lukman [6], Jan Assman [3] and other scientists. The concept of «collective identity» covers a certain collective «We» of a specific community or a specific group (regional, religious, ethnic, national, civilizational etc.), on this basis, formed different forms of collective identity (regional, religious, ethnic, national, civilization etc.) are identified. Since most modern researchers believe that identity is a result of the identification process (which is considered a process of assimilation, self-identification or own reference to the group with someone or something), this phenomenon must be considered a dynamic structure that develops throughout human life, its development being nonlinear and uneven, can unfold in both progressive and regressive directions, passing stages of overcoming identity crises. The main function of identity consists of providing adaptation to a new social setting, preserving determinacy and integrity of



personality.

So, national identity is the condition of preservation of its own sovereignty and territories of the state; it can also be one of the conditions for the country's economic prosperity. National identity increases the trust between citizens, maintaining consolidation, dialogue and consensus and reducing the likelihood of a constant struggle for resources and power among different groups of citizens. National identity is a factor for the existence of a stable state, and in crisis and war, it is a condition for maintaining statehood. According to Francis Fukuyama (2018), the absence of development of national identity can lead to the division or destruction of the state [30].

6.2. Research Methodology

In a globalized world, identity becomes a dominant discourse of science and everyday life, because identity, according to Bauman, is as a kind of «a prism», which many important features of modern life are evaluated and studied through [5, p. 185].

The most scientists believe that identification is a fundamental process of individual self-determination, and identity is the result of this process. The concept of «identity» is integrative; it integrates individual and social principles. Identity is a phenomenon that is based on the dialectical interconnection of society and the individual and characterizes the quality of that interconnection. After all, the individual becomes involved in many social bonds and performs many social roles that are reflected in individual and collective identity. All forms of social identity are related to the individual's ability to answer the question «Who Am I?» in relation to various groups and communities. Since an individual is simultaneously a member of many groups, a system of identities is formed, that correspond to various spheres of his experience and activity (age, gender, family, territorial, ethnic, national, religious, professional, subcultural, continental etc.). All these identities are arranged in a certain system hierarchy. Identity is not a static, but a dynamic entity. The identity system of an individual is formed when its various components begin to function as a single mechanism.

Each form of identity must be studied separately, then you can compare the levels of development of various forms of identity, as well as the identities that are dominant within the system hierarchy. Collective identity is associated with the processes of individual acceptance of certain group ideas, norms and values, with his readiness to such a way of thinking as an expression of common feelings, to collective actions for the sake of realizing common interests.

As a methodological basis, most researchers use Henri Tajfel's social identity theory [39, p. 1–39] and John Turner's theory of self-categorization [41, p. 6–34],



and also refer to the ideas of these theories about the key role of in-group support of positive self-esteem and level of objective well-being (Catherine Haslam et al. [31, p. 671–691]; Aarti Iyer and Jolanda Jetten [32, p. 94–108]).

To research identity (as a systemic, multi-component and multi-level education) integrative approach is most appropriate allowing to study various types of identity in their systematic integrity. The integrative approach helps to find methods that are adequate to the phenomenon under study, taking into account all the features and levels of its development. Integration is considered not as a mechanical connection of parts or components of the system, but as their organic interaction and interpenetration, which contributes to the formation of a qualitatively new integral formation.

Modern American philosopher and writer Ken Wilber, by developing the ideas of Immanuel Kant, Franz Brentano, Wilhelm Dilthey and Carl Jung, was the founder of the integral meta-theory, designed to combine into one dialectical whole the science of the world and of a human, the traditions of Eastern mysticism and Western rationalism, external experience and internal mental states. The integral approach (integral theory) is an approach to a person, society, and science that affects all areas of human activity. The concept of «integral» means combining methods and theories into a single complex model that have proven to be correct in certain contexts, rejecting reductionism [49, p. 71–92; 50, p. 2–38].

Ken Wilber's ideas are being developed by scientists from many countries. In particular, Lariya Kiiashchenko and Viacheslav Moiseiev justify the philosophy of transdisciplinarity, based on the Wilber's integral approach [15].

It is necessary to clearly distinguish *different levels of integrity*: 1) *complex* (represents the integrative processes of the lower level); 2) *synthesis* (represents the integrative processes of the middle level); 3) *integration* (represents integrative processes of a higher level, involving the close interaction of several sciences (or scientific branches), which comprehensively and simultaneously study the same subject or object), which *correlate with polydisciplinary, interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary* methodological strategies). For example, research is considered *polydisciplinary* when a given object is versatily studied by several scientific disciplines at the same time; while each of these disciplines can use their own methodological principles, contributing to the «general treasure» of knowledge about the object studied (Elena Knyazeva). The research is considered *interdisciplinary* if it is conducted using not only common categories, but also by cooperation of various scientific disciplines. For *transdisciplinary* research, a scientific search is directed «through» and «across» the boundaries of several scientific disciplines beyond their boundaries to a higher, metadisciplinary, level. Exactly these studies are characterized by *a holistic vision* of the research subject. Transdisciplinary research can not only cross disciplinary boundaries, but also «transfer» scientific schemes, categories, strategies and practices from one disciplinary area to another (Elena



Knyazeva).

So, transdisciplinary research strategies can integrate new facts, knowledge and results of theoretical and empirical research into a coherent system that contributes to a deeper study of various objects and phenomena.

The conceptual methodological core of the research is the integrative analysis of the collective identity as **complex, multi-level and multi-component system**. The study is based on a conceptual position: any form of collective identity is a system, which consists of separate parts, linked by certain relations; this system is in the process of continuous development and interaction with the environment. Identification processes are inextricably linked with cognitive, emotional, value-semantic and conative spheres of a personality, due to its needs, motives, goals and attitudes, induced by normative, landmark, symbolic, figurative, axiological systems of culture. For example, national identity is a dynamic structure that develops non-linearly and unevenly in the process of human socialization, and resides in identifying oneself with a specific national community. For a full-fledged formation of national identity, **semantic connections** are needed (specific dynamic formations) that not only «sew» together the personality and its national community, combining the value-semantic sphere of the personality and the value-semantic universe of the national culture, but also act as a bridge between the social and cultural and fundamental spiritual and ideological basis for the formation of any collective identity. So, for the formation of national identity, the **semantic links** between the individual and his national community, as well as a clearly structured **semantic field** of Ukrainian identity, are extremely necessary [1, p. 47–51; 8, p. 12–17; 42, p. 23–26; 43; 44; 45; 46; 47; 48].

6.3. Theoretical and empirical research of the Transformations of the National Identity of Ukrainian Citizens in 1991 – 2021

The purpose of this study is a theoretical and empirical analysis of the transformations of the national identity of the citizens of Ukraine in 1991 – 2021 based on an integrative approach.

1. Based on the theory of social identity of Henri Tajfel and John Turner (who were among the first to study a group identity), taking into account the concept of the identification matrix of Serge Moscovici (who, in justifying the theory of social representations, proposed the idea of an identification matrix based on various group identities), as well as the studies of John W. Berry (who distinguished four types of ethnic identity: monoethnic identity, biethnic identity, altered and marginal identity), we distinguished **different levels of the collective identity development: high, medium and low**. Our theoretical and empirical studies have shown that using the adapted questionnaire of collective identity (developed by Riia Luhtanen and Jennifer



Crocker) high, medium and low levels of various forms of collective identity of citizens of Ukraine can be distinguished.

2. The process of formation of the collective identity of Ukrainian citizens was investigated by us in 1991 – 2021 years in several international research projects of the Center for Ukrainian Studies of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv («Ukrainian national idea: theoretical and empirical aspects», «Socio-psychological and regional aspects of formation of national consciousness of Ukrainian citizens as a factor of state-building»; «The transformation of national identity: historiosophic, culturological and socio-psychological aspects», etc.), which were supported by the «Renaissance» Foundation, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the State Foundation for Basic Research, as well as the Association of Ukrainian Banks. In these projects were studied religious, ethnic, meta-ethnic, local, regional, national, European, planetary, post-Soviet and other types of identity of Ukrainian citizens, living in different regions of the country. A total of 60100 respondents were studied from 18 to 89 years (of whom 48,5% were men, and 51,5% – women).

3. In order to study different types of identity transformation, we used the «Who am I?» method of Manfred Kuhn and Thomas McPartland, an adapted technique of «Identity Measurement Scale» by Marco Cinnirella, an adapted questionnaire of collective identity (developed by Riia Luhtanen and Jennifer Crocker) and other methods. To study axiological peculiarities of formation the collective identity of Ukrainian citizens, we used the theoretical and empirical approach by Shalom H. Schwartz, who in the 80s – 90s of twentieth century conducted a cross-cultural study of basic values in 46 countries [9, p. 96–144] (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Poland, Estonia, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Russia, Georgia, and others).

4. Surveys were conducted in all regions of Ukraine (in the period from 2014 to 2021 in the occupied territories of Ukraine no research was conducted) by the method of personal interviews (face-to-face) at the place of residence. The sample is represented by the main social and demographic indicators. The reliability of the results of the research was based on the methodological substantiation of its initial positions; using a set of diagnostic techniques that are adequate to the purpose and objectives of the study; combining quantitative and qualitative analysis of empirical data; using methods of mathematical statistics with the use of modern data processing programs, representativeness of the sample. The margin of error does not exceed 2.0%. Data processing was carried out with the help of IBM SPSS Statistics 21.0 application. The method of factor analysis, correlation analysis, scales congruence calculation, indicators of descriptive statistics were used for the analysis.

The dynamics of the formation and development of the national (civic-political) identity of respondents is reflected in Table No.1.

Table 1

Dynamics of transformation of national (civic-political) identity of respondents in 1991 – 2021

Levels of identity development	The year of the survey									
	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
High level	26%	24%	20%	21%	23%	24%	24%	22%	25%	26%
Average	56%	47%	42%	44%	38%	45%	49%	41%	46%	49%
Low level	18%	29%	38%	35%	39%	31%	27%	37%	29%	25%

Levels of identity development	The year of the survey									
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
High level	25%	23%	20%	23%	28%	22%	26%	24%	24%	23%
Average	48%	43%	42%	45%	50%	47%	49%	49%	46%	41%
Low level	27%	34%	38%	32%	22%	31%	25%	27%	30%	36%

Levels of identity development	The year of the survey										
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
High level	21%	26%	28%	36%	44%	48%	46%	49%	44%	48%	48%
Average	40%	46%	49%	52%	42%	39%	38%	34%	35%	32%	29%
Low level	39%	28%	23%	12%	14%	13%	16%	17%	21%	20%	23%

The conducted research showed that: a) the transformation of collective identity is influenced by many factors (one of the most important factors is the mass media, which can, with the help of an information war, to destroy any form of collective identity); b) Ukrainian national-cultural identity gradually extends to the East and South (2014 – 2021); c) the dynamics of civic-political identity growth relative to the regional one was higher in 2014 – 2018; d) respondents are sincerely proud of the achievements of Ukrainian citizens in sports and art, considering this as the affirmation of Ukraine; e) the value (and not instrumental) attitude of respondents towards Ukraine and self esteem of Ukrainian citizens to themselves are gradually increasing.

Main results:

1) in 1991 – 1994, the post-Soviet identity was at the first place (from 1st to 5th), but its gap from other forms of collective identity has been steadily decreasing;

2) during 1994 – 2004, the significance of the post-Soviet identity was rapidly decreasing (although in the group of ethnic Russians and Russian-speaking Ukrainians living in the South and East of Ukraine, the post-Soviet identity still holds rather high positions, although it does not predominate);

3) ethnic identity was gradually increasing in all groups (its most active growth



was observed in groups of Russians, Ukrainians, Crimean Tatars, Jews);

4) religious identity began to grow rapidly in the second half of 2001 (after the visit of Pope John Paul II to Ukraine), as well as at the end of 2018 – early 2019 in connection with the formation of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine, and starting from 2004 to 2005, respondents began to use the «Christian» and «Christian» as identification;

5) planetary (common human) identity for these years practically did not change;

6) European Continental identity originally occupied a almost the last place in the ratings of identities, but, from 1998 to 1999, its significance began to increase (especially in a group of ethnic Ukrainians, Poles, Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians, Crimean Tatars);

7) European civilizational identity is the most rapidly growing one among the inhabitants of large cities;

8) national (or civic-political) identity was retained during 1991 – 1993 in all groups, but in 1994 – 1995 it began to fall in a group of ethnic Russians, Belarusians, Jews; the gradual growth of this form of identity in the group of ethnic Ukrainians and in some groups of national minorities (especially in the group of ethnic Poles, Georgians and Crimean Tatars) is traced in 1997 – 1999 and in 2004 – 2005;

9) the prestige of the national (or civic-political) identity is growing more slowly in the East and South of Ukraine, as opposed to the North, Center and West of Ukraine;

10) the most notable transformations are typical for ethnic and national (or civil-political) identity, but the gap between these forms of identity in the East and South is much greater than in the North, West and Center of Ukraine;

11) by 2010, ethnic Ukrainians in the South and East of Ukraine experienced a tendency to increase European and national identity (in 2010 – 2013 this process was stopped);

12) ethnic Ukrainians, Armenians and Moldovans living in the East and South of Ukraine have a more pronounced nostalgic mood towards the USSR, but the same ethnic groups living in the North, Center and West Ukraine, want to feel as they are Europeans;

13) in 2004 – 2008, the empirical indicators of ethnic identity (both in the group of ethnic Ukrainians and in the group of national minorities) stabilized;

14) in 2006 – 2007 in the group of national minorities the importance of regional identity increased (in case of competent regional policy, this type of identity could be the basis for strengthening the national identity, since in developed countries the regional identity is considered to be subnational);

15) there was a tendency to increase the indicators of European civilizational identity (both in the group of ethnic Ukrainians and in the group of national minorities); European identity until 2021 did not lose its significance to Ukrainian



citizens because the demand for Europeanism is very strong in Ukrainian society.

Our previous research has revealed anti-colonial and anti-imperialist mobilization of Ukrainian citizens, which was observed during three revolutions in Ukraine (the Student revolution on granite, the Orange revolution and the Revolution of Dignity) [7, p. 86–90; 9, p. 96–144; 22, p. 24–53; 42, p. 23–26]. In 2010 – 2012, our research recorded a «drift» of European and Ukrainian national identity from the West to the East [43, p. 207–214], but this process accelerated significantly after 2014. In 2002–2014, the regional identity of residents of the South and East of Ukraine was formed not as Ukrainian, but as non-Ukrainian, as a result of the negative information and psychological impact of local media and local authorities, the regional identity of residents of these regions became not subnational, but supranational.

In 2014 – 2021, under the influence of Russian aggression, there was a rethinking and reformatting of national identity (national-cultural and civic-political) of Ukrainian citizens. The voluntary and volunteer movements also significantly influenced the process of transformation of the national identity.

It is known that *at the beginning of the 21st century the most important collective identities are regional, ethnic, national and civilizational*. For Ukraine, the formation of the European (both continental and civilizational) identity of citizens is particularly important. European identity is the result of subjects' self-identification (both individual and collective) with Europe and European civilization, the representatives of which these subjects consider themselves to be. Of course, continental as well as civilizational identity is practically not recognized by people in their daily lives. It is actualized mainly when the subject meets with representatives of other continents and other civilizations, or in those cases when it becomes necessary to understand the civilizational role and mission of its own country.

Self-Identification «I am a European», «I am a representative of European civilization», «we are Europeans» and others like them have a great consolidation potential, since they combine not only the aspirations, dreams and ideals of respondents, but also become value-semantic the basis of joint activities of both ethnic and political Ukrainians and representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora. European civilization identity, which unites not only Ukrainian citizens but all of Ukrainianness, is able to accelerate the consolidation processes in the modern Ukrainian society, which has been living for more than 6 years in the conditions of the Russian-Ukrainian war. This is manifested in the activities of volunteers, community activists and organizations. But to consolidate the overwhelming majority of Ukrainian society in order to identify the urgent challenges facing Ukraine today, it is necessary to intensify the processes of de-oligarchization, demonopolization and decolonization of Ukraine.

So, the establishment of a national and European civilization identity in Ukrainian society is one of the most important axiological and ideological tasks



necessary for the further survival and development of Ukraine as an independent state. Among the factors that impede the leveling of the European civilization identity of the Ukrainian people, the most important are the national culture and collective memory. After all, a globalized world not only does not push collective memory to the margins of the historical process, but, on the contrary, revives, as Anthony David Smith emphasizes, ethno-national myths, historical memory and old traditions [37; 38]. In many ways, the explosion of interest in the past, as well as the revival of ethnonational myths and traditions can be viewed as a kind of response of national communities to the unifying and leveling challenges posed by the globalized world.

Conclusions

Activation of globalization processes in the world leads to an acceleration of internal transformations in the post-colonial states and actualizing the problem of formation of different forms of collective identity in the new socio-cultural coordinates. In this regard, the relevance of the integrative study of the shaping of the collective identity of citizens of Ukraine is not in doubt. It is known that the phenomenon of collective identity has long attracted the attention of many researchers and actively discussed in the diverse social and humanitarian discourses. The foreign science studies this phenomenon mainly in line with the socio-cultural anthropology, sociology and psychology from different theoretical and methodological positions.

In connection with this, in the state policy of identity in Ukraine, an interest in the development of various projects for the formation of a common identity as a basis for strengthening the unity of the Ukrainian people is actualized. The data of the sociological research prove that the identity issues are still among the key problems of the post-colonial Ukrainian society.

The integrative approach allows us to consider various forms of collective identity (religious, regional, ethnic, national, civilizational, etc.) in their systemic unity as *an integral configuration*. Identity is not an innate characteristic of an individual, it is formed and maintained throughout a person's life and depends on many factors.

The conducted theoretical and empirical study has shown that in the identification matrix of Ukrainian citizens for many years various forms of collective identity have been formed. The factors that had the greatest influence on the activation of these forms of collective identity were: the Orange Revolution of 2004, the Eurovision final held in Ukraine in 2005, the European Football Championship final held in Ukraine in 2012, the government's rejection of the scheduled for the end of November 2013 signing of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU, the events of Euromaidan and the Revolution of Dignity, as well as the Russian-



Ukrainian inter-state armed conflict.

Today, many modern theoretical and empirical studies (philosophical, historical, politological, cultural, sociological, psychological, anthropological, etc.) prove undoubted cultural and civilizational kinship Ukrainians with the Europeans. In particular, the majority of scientists are convinced that Ukraine has always belonged to the European civilization and attempts to tear her away from this «mother's womb» have never been successful.

We consider the nation-building process as one of the manifestations of the general civilizational progress of mankind. So, organization of national life has become a political choice and orientation in modern civilization. The formation of Ukrainian national identity is a continuous process that occurs both spontaneously and due to the conscious efforts of the leaders of the national elite. A unified system of rituals, traditions, heroes, symbols, and values was used to enabling people to develop a sense of belonging to certain ethnic or national community. In Ukraine, national-cultural and civic-political identities do not oppose each other and are harmoniously combined.

In the conditions of the modern challenges of globalization, the national culture and the collective historical memory, as the historical pillar of the Ukrainian national identity, are seriously endangered. An identity crisis often appears in situations conflicts, social upheavals, wars, revolutions, transitional societies, etc. Identity crises arise when the basics of national identity – the language, the culture, the historical memory, the mentality, the national character, the national ideal and the values – are in danger of losing their independence and subjectivity. The crisis of identity manifests itself in transitional situations when an nation goes through transformative stages development of Ukraine. Identity crises expressed in the process of formation of both individual and collective identity.

Ukrainians have experienced various stages in national identity crises from XVI century to XXI century, which have arisen in critical times when foreign culture has taken precedence and the danger of assimilation appeared. Transformational processes are taking place both in the Ukrainian society, as a result of which the old identities are being reinterpreted, becoming the basis for the formation of new identities. In February 2014 the crisis stage of the development of Ukrainian national identity began in Ukraine. Our research shows that on February 24, 2022, after the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, the strong military resistance of Ukrainians to Russian aggression and the unconquered spirit of the Ukrainian army are helping to shape a renewed national identity. Ukraine's membership in the EU will enhance the attractiveness of Ukrainian national identity.

Thus, today, the European orientation should become not only one of the directions of Ukraine's foreign policy, but also a strategic vector of the internal transformation of Ukrainian society. The European choice, the Europeanization of Ukraine, dedication to European values, introduction of European standards in real



life should become important geopolitical, economic and socio-cultural strategies for our state. Consequently, a fundamental rethinking of the policy of identity in Ukraine is needed. Adoption of the national-cultural, civic-political and European civilizational identity of the citizens of Ukraine is one of the most important axiological and ideological tasks necessary for the further survival and development of Ukraine as an independent state.