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**Civic Identity of Ukrainians: Age, Gender, Political Dimensions**

**Громадянська ідентичність українців: вікові, статеві, політичні виміри**

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**Abstract**
This article *aims* to determine and analyze the peculiarities of the civic identity of Ukrainian citizens of different ages, genders, and political orientations. **Methods:** survey, testing (“Diagnostics of Maturity and Type of Civic Identity” (Petrovska, 2021), “Political Orientation” (Karkovska, 2011)), descriptive statistics, frequency analysis, comparative analysis (t-test, ANOVA, Scheffé test). **Results.** Statistically significant differences in persons of different age groups were revealed by such characteristics as representation, conceptuality, subjectness orientation, and integral indicator of civic identity maturity. Citizens of middle adulthood have higher values of representation and conceptuality of civic identity; citizens of early adulthood have higher values of the subjectness orientation of civic identity; citizens of young age have lower...
values of the integral indicator of civic identity maturity. Statistically significant differences between men and women were determined for such characteristics as representation, subjectness orientation, conceptuality, and integral indicator of civic identity maturity. They are higher in men than in women. Statistically significant differences were found between citizens with right-wing and left-wing political orientations by such characteristics as subjectness orientation and stability. Citizens who share right-wing political views have higher values of subjectness orientation but lower values of stability of civic identity. Statistically significant differences were detected between supporters of democracy and authoritarianism by such characteristics as conceptuality, representation, and the maturity of civic identity. Among citizens who support democracy (recognition and implementation of democracy) and share democratic values, these indicators are higher than among supporters of authoritarianism.

**Conclusion.** It was empirically proven that there are differences in indicators of the maturity of civic identity in men and women, representatives of different age groups, and political orientations. The prospect of further research is the development of programs to stimulate the formation of a mature civic identity, considering the clarified age, gender, and political features of the civic identity of Ukrainians.

**Keywords:** identity, citizen, maturity, responsibility, subjectness, responsibility, conceptuality, political views, age group, gender stereotypes.

**Introduction**

The unprecedented armed aggression of the Russian federation against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, among other things, actualized the problem of the formedness/unformedness of the civic identity of our compatriots. The threat to the existence of the state usually strengthens the civic identity and makes it more conscious (Kaldor, 2013; Sasse & Lackner, 2018), and many Ukrainian citizens really actualized state and civic values, personal responsibility for the state and fellow citizens, and rethought the social role of the citizen. At the same time, there are still citizens who are indifferent to the fate of the state and fellow citizens, are not ready to protect the state from the enemy and invest their resources for its reconstruction, demonstrate psychological tolerance for the occupation and/or annexation of part of the territory of Ukraine, express a desire to change their citizenship, etc. Therefore, the problem of defining the maturity of civic identity in Ukraine remains acute.

**Vступ**

Безпрецедентна збройна агресія РФ проти суверенітету і територіальної цілісності України, серед іншого, актуалізувала проблему сформованості/несформованості громадянської ідентичності наших співвітчизників. Загроза існуванню держави зазвичай підсилює громадянську ідентичність і робить її більш усвідомленою (Kaldor, 2013; Sasse, Lackner, 2018), і в частині українських громадян справді актуалізувалися державницькі та громадянські цінності, особиста відповідальності за державу і співгromadянin, відбулося переосмислення соціальної ролі громадянина.
the citizen’s perceived belonging to the state does not yet mean a formed civic identity and requires a deep insight into the investigated problem.

Civic identity is considered a value-meaning experience of oneself as a citizen of the state (Petrovska, 2021). It can be normal (mature according to the level of personal maturity, organically integrated into the personality structure), deformed (based on the devaluation of the state or its exalted sacralization, etc.), and deficient (underdeveloped).

The deformation of the civic identity often occurs in totalitarian states, in conditions of severe ideological pressure regarding the feelings and attitudes a citizen should have towards the state. This is due to various forms of distortion of patriotism. The state is sacralized; its criticism is unacceptable. In democratic societies, on the contrary, criticism of the state, contestation of the state’s actions in courts, and public dialogue regarding state administration practices are widespread (Koc-Michalska et al., 2024). At the same time, there is respect for the very idea of statehood, for the state (even with recognition of its shortcomings), and recognition of its potential role in the organization of society. In totalitarian states, it is the opposite: the idea of statehood is not discussed, and the existing situation is sacralized (together with the ruling system). Therefore, the sacralization of the state is not true patriotism: it interferes with its normal development, as it prevents the average citizen from declaring the inadequacy of the existing state-organization to their interests and needs. Moreover, as noted by Wilhelm Reich (1946), the passionate, exalted love for the state, declared in totalitarian societies, is distorted and based on repressed fear (Reich, 1946).

The deficient civic identity is manifested in the lack of its formation in an adult, mentally normal person. An underdeveloped civic identity is a manifestation of alienation from the state: officially being a citizen, a person refuses self-determination and psychologically distances themself from their citizenship as an unnecessary formality.

The causes of deficient civic identity partly lie in the sphere of civic mentality. In our opinion, this situation is based on the defects of the social
perception of the state, the image of the state, and expectations regarding it, which are typical for most post-Soviet societies. The problem of these societies in the relationship between the individual and the state is that the citizens were dealing with the metropolitan state (the occupying state) and not their own national state. Therefore, a significant number of citizens with a deficient civic identity is explained by the relatively short experience of the independent existence of the Ukrainian state and the absence of its own full-fledged state elite (the elite that took place in Ukraine was always either not ours, or if ours, then usually not independent, passive, corrupt). Civic passivity and conformity, learned helplessness, and distancing from the state and its problems (passed down from generation to generation) were partly formed in historical conditions when Ukraine was constantly under foreign rule and was a part of other empire states.

Immature (deficient) civic identity is characterized by instability (the civic position of the individual or the object of identification (the state, fellow citizens) is easily changed: without rethinking, without internal conflict); schematism and a low level of reflection regarding one’s own civic identity (immature civic identity is mostly not authentic, so its content can be simplified: a person does not ask themselves questions and avoids self-determination); social desirability (a person is afraid of condemnation and therefore demonstrates socially approved dispositions towards the state); distancing and alienation from the state and politics (unwillingness to take responsibility for the situation in the state). Indicators of a person’s mature civic identity are its conceptuality (integrity, meaningfulness, detailedness, and logic of attitudes regarding various aspects of the life of the state and citizens), subjectness orientation (readiness of the individual to be a source of activity in relation with the state, responsibility for oneself as a citizen and for one’s contribution to the life of the state, experiencing oneself as a subject), stability (content constancy; the ability to preserve civic identity in conditions of negative external influences (e.g., during the occupation), reluctance to change the state of citizenship without a significant revaluation of values and a change in ego-identity), as well i ґрунтується на витісненому страхові (Reich, 1946).

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as representation of the civic identity among other identities of the individual (its inclusion in the system of social identities of the individual, its presence in the subjective hierarchy of other identities) (Petrovska, 2022).

Overcoming security, socio-economic, demographic, and other challenges and threats in Ukraine (especially as a result of the armed aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine) is possible only thanks to the consolidated and coordinated actions of all citizens (Gilmartin, 2023; Hassler et al., 2021; Verbena et al., 2023), their awareness of their role as a citizen, a mature civic identity. According to the nationwide survey conducted by the Sociological Group “Rating” on August 17–18, 2022, the absolute majority (94.00%) of the respondents identify themselves as citizens of Ukraine. However, in our opinion, the declaration of belonging to the state as its citizen does not yet mean a mature civic identity. Therefore, there is no doubt about the expediency and relevance of researching the characteristics of the maturity of the civic identity of Ukrainians, identifying the age, gender, and political features of the civic identity of our fellow citizens.

**Hypothesis:** we assume that there are differences in indicators of maturity of civic identity among women and men, representatives of different age groups, and political orientations.

**The aim** of the research is determination and analysis of the peculiarities of the civic identity of Ukraine citizens of different ages, genders, and political orientations.

**Methods**

**Participants.** 965 citizens from different regions of Ukraine took part in the study. A description of the distribution of participants by age, gender, education, and place of residence is given in Table 1.

**Procedures and instruments.** The research was conducted in the form of an online survey through Google Forms. The survey was voluntary and anonymous. The average time to fill out the questionnaire was about 25 minutes.

The author’s questionnaire “Diagnostics of Maturity and Type of Civic Identity” (Petrovska, 2021) was used in the research, which contains two parts (the first is aimed at determining the level of maturity of civic identity; the second is aimed at identifying the type of civic identity). The questionnaire includes two parts (the first is aimed at determining the level of maturity of civic identity; the second is aimed at identifying the type of civic identity).

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of maturity of civic identity, the second – the type of civic identity), seven main scales and six subscales. The questionnaire was tested for psychometric characteristics (content, convergent, and construct validity, internal consistency of scales, and retest reliability), as well as a standardization procedure to establish ranges of low, medium, and high levels of maturity of civic identity (and its indicators) (Petrovska, 2021).

Only the first part of the questionnaire was used in the empirical research of the civic identity of people of different ages, genders, and political orientations. The main ones for identifying the level of maturity of civic identity are four scales: "Representation", "Stability", "Subjectness orientation", and "Conceptuality". The representation of the civic identity was determined by its presence among other

Table 1. Sociodemographic Characteristics of Participants (n=965)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Descriptive variable</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age (M = 33.56, SD =15.34) Вік (M = 33.56, SD =15.34)</td>
<td>16–20</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21–40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41–60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Стать</td>
<td></td>
<td>Female Жінка</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male Чоловік</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locality Місцевість</td>
<td></td>
<td>Western Ukraine Західна Україна</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>North-Central Ukraine Північно-Центральна Україна</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>South-Eastern Ukraine Південно-Східна Україна</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational level Рівень освіти</td>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary Середня</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vocational Професійна/фахова передвіща</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Higher Вища</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Meta: з'ясування та аналізування особливостей громадянської ідентичності громадян України різного віку, статі та політичних орієнтацій.

Методи
Участики. У дослідженні взяло участь 965 громадян із різних регіонів України. Опис розподілу учасників дослідження за віком, статтю, освітою та місцем проживання подано у табл. 1.

Процедура та інструменти. Дослідження проходило у формі онлайн-опитування через Google Forms. Опитування було добровільним та анонімним. Середній час заповнення анкети становив близько 25 хвилин.

У дослідженні було використано авторський опитувальник "Діагностика зрілості і типу громадянської ідентичності" (Петровська, 2021), який містить дві частини (перша – призначена для встановлення рівня зрілості громадянської ідентичності, друга – типу громадянської ідентичності), сім основних шкал і шість субшкал. Опитувальник пройшов перевірку психометричних характеристик (змістової, конвергентної та конструктивної валідності, внутрішньої узгодженості шкал та ретестової надійності), а також процедуру стандартизації для встановлення діапазонів низького, середнього та високого рівнів зрілості громадянської ідентичності (та її показників) (Петровська, 2021).

В емпиричному дослідженні громадянської ідентичності осіб різного віку, статі та політичних орієнтацій було використано лише першу частину опитувальника. Головними для встановлення рівня зрілості громадянської ідентичності є чотири шкали: "Репрезентованість", "Стійкість", "Суб’єктна орієнтація", "Концептуальність". Репрезентованість громадянської ідентичності визначалася за тим, чи була вона присутня серед інших ідентичностей особистості, важливих для її Я-концепції, та яке ієрархічне положення вона займає в структурі інших ідентичностей. Стійкість громадянської ідентичності оцінювалася за тим, який спосіб розв’язання життєвої проблеми пропонував респондент головному персонажу, що опинився в ситуації вибору. Для
identities of the individual, essential for their self-concept, and what hierarchical position it occupies in the structure of other identities. The stability of the civic identity was evaluated based on the method of solving a life problem offered by the respondent to the main character who found himself in a choice situation. To measure subjectness orientation and conceptuality of civic identity, statements, and different answer options were developed, among which the respondent chose the answer that best corresponds to his/her civic views/positions.

The questionnaire “Political Orientation” (Karkovska, 2011) was used to determine the dominant political orientation of the respondents.

Statistical analysis. Mathematical and statistical analysis methods were used to identify the features of the civic identity of Ukrainian citizens of different ages, genders, and political orientations, namely descriptive statistics, frequency analysis, and comparative analysis (t-test, ANOVA, Scheffé test). Statistical data processing was carried out via the statistical package STATISTICA 10.0.

Results
According to the results of the empirical research, the civic identity of the respondents has different degrees of maturity (Figs. 1, 2).

Fig. 1. Percentage distribution of civic identity maturity levels
Рис. 1. Відсотковий розподіл рівнів зрілості громадянської ідентичності

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Рис. 1. Відсотковий розподіл рівнів зрілості громадянської ідентичності

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Fig. 2. Percentage distribution of civic identity maturity indicators

Рис. 2. Відсотковий розподіл показників зрілості громадянської ідентичності

Table 2. Age Groups Analysis: Means, Standard Deviation, and ANOVA Results

Таблиця 2. Аналіз вікових груп: середні значення, стандартне відхилення та результати ANOVA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators Показники</th>
<th>16–20</th>
<th>21–40</th>
<th>41–60</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>η²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stability Стійкість</td>
<td>2.87</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>2.19</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representation Репрезентованість</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>11.06***</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjectness orientation Суб'єктна орієнтація</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>12.99***</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptuality Концептуальність</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>26.89***</td>
<td>.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maturity of civic identity Зрілість громадянської ідентичності</td>
<td>10.91</td>
<td>12.70</td>
<td>13.57</td>
<td>11.29***</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ***p < .001.
Примітка: ***p < .001.

Table 3. Age Groups Analysis by Representation of Civic Identity: Scheffé test Results

Таблиця 3. Аналіз вікових груп за репрезентованістю громадянської ідентичності: результати тесту Шеффе

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group Вікова група</th>
<th>16–20</th>
<th>21–40</th>
<th>41–60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16–20</td>
<td>M=2.47</td>
<td>.802227</td>
<td>.000030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21–40</td>
<td>M=2.27</td>
<td>.002227</td>
<td>.000798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41–60</td>
<td>M=3.76</td>
<td>.000030</td>
<td>.000798</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Age Groups Analysis by Subjectness orientation of Civic Identity: Scheffé test Results

Таблиця 4. Аналіз вікових груп за суб'єктною орієнтацією громадянської ідентичності: результати тесту Шеффе

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group Вікова група</th>
<th>16–20</th>
<th>21–40</th>
<th>41–60</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16–20</td>
<td>M=2.92</td>
<td>.000051</td>
<td>.111433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21–40</td>
<td>M=3.67</td>
<td>.000008</td>
<td>.000008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41–60</td>
<td>M=2.59</td>
<td>.111433</td>
<td>.000008</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Civic Identity of Ukrainians: Age, Gender, Political Dimensions
100.00% representation of the civic identity among other identities was observed in persons who have a mature civic identity. On the other hand, the presence of civic identity in the hierarchical structure of identities was discovered only in 54.00% of respondents with an average level of maturity and in 17.00% of those who have a low level of maturity of civic identity.

A comparative analysis (by one-way ANOVA and Scheffé's test) of civic identity maturity indicators in persons of youth (n=337), early adulthood (n=358), and middle adulthood (n=270) revealed statistically significant differences by representation, subjectness orientation, conceptuality, and an integral indicator of the maturity of civic identity (Tabl. 2–6, Fig. 3).

Statistically significant differences in indicators of the maturity of civic identity in men (n=377) and women (n=588) were found using comparative analysis (T-test) (Tabl. 7).

За результатами анкети "Політична орієнтація" (Карковська, 2011) встановлено, що 546 (57.00%) громадян мають праву політичну орієнтацію (підтримують цінності правої ідеології), 419 (43.00%) – ліву політичну орієнтацію (підтримують цінності лівої ідеології). Щодо уявлення громадян про спосіб здійснення влади, то 630 (65.00%) осіб підтримують демократизм (визнання і здійснення демократії), 335 (35.00%) – авторитаризм.

Встановлено статистично значущі відмінності показників зрілості громадянської ідентичності серед прихильників демократії та авторитаризму (табл. 8).
According to the results of the "Political Orientation" questionnaire (Karkovska, 2011), it was established that 546 (57.00%) citizens have a right-wing political orientation (support the values of right-wing ideology), 419 (43.00%) have a left-wing political orientation (support the values of left-wing ideology). Regarding citizens’ ideas about the ways of exercising power, 630 (65.00%) respondents support democracy (recognition and implementation of democracy), and 335 (35.00%) support authoritarianism.

Statistically significant differences in indicators of civic identity maturity of respondents with different political orientations were established (Tabl. 8). Comparative analysis (t-test) revealed statistically significant differences in indicators of the maturity of civic identity among supporters of democracy and authoritarianism (Tabl. 9).

**Table 7. Gender Groups Analysis: Means, Standard Deviation, and T-test Results**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators Показники</th>
<th>Female Жінка</th>
<th>Male Чоловік</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stability Стійкість</td>
<td>2.83 1.17</td>
<td>2.53 .81</td>
<td>5.62</td>
<td>.2071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representation Репрезентація</td>
<td>2.39 2.25</td>
<td>4.64 .229</td>
<td>-8.40</td>
<td>.0003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjectness orientation Суб’єктна орієнтація</td>
<td>2.88 1.31</td>
<td>3.84 .91</td>
<td>-5.72</td>
<td>.0014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptuality Концептуальність</td>
<td>2.21 1.47</td>
<td>3.68 .46</td>
<td>-13.37</td>
<td>.0007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maturity of civic identity Зрілість громадянської ідентичності</td>
<td>9.68 4.51</td>
<td>14.25 4.44</td>
<td>-12.96</td>
<td>.0005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 8. Results of comparative analysis (T-tests) of civic identity maturity indicators of persons with left-wing political orientation (n=419) and right-wing political orientation (n=546)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators Показники</th>
<th>Left-wing political orientation Ліва політична орієнтація</th>
<th>Right-wing political orientation Права політична орієнтація</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stability Стійкість</td>
<td>1.90 .73</td>
<td>1.15 .46</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>.0249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representation Репрезентація</td>
<td>2.90 1.97</td>
<td>2.84 2.44</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.9552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjectness orientation Суб’єктна орієнтація</td>
<td>2.60 1.78</td>
<td>3.15 1.34</td>
<td>-1.85</td>
<td>.0335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptuality Концептуальність</td>
<td>2.00 1.56</td>
<td>2.23 1.59</td>
<td>-.35</td>
<td>.7316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maturity of civic identity Зрілість громадянської ідентичності</td>
<td>9.40 4.67</td>
<td>9.38 5.04</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.9941</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**Дискусія**

За результатами проведеного емпіричного дослідження встановлено, що 61.00% українців, які взяли участь у дослідженні, мають середній рівень зрілості громадянської ідентичності. У 18.00% респондентів виявлена здатність громадянську ідентичність. Водночас у 21.00% наявна злиття низьких рівнів стійкості, репрезентованості, суб’єктних властивостей і концептуальних громадянської ідентичності, що свідчить про зору громадянську ідентичність. 18.00% респондентів мають високий рівень стійкості, який усвідомлення своєї громадянської належності. 37.00% респондентів мають високий рівень стійкості громадянської ідентичності. Це означає, що вони не готові раптово, під впливом...
Discussion

According to the results of our empirical research, it was established that 61.00% of Ukrainians who took part in the research have an average level of maturity of civic identity. 18.00% of respondents have a mature civic identity. At the same time, 21.00% have a combination of low levels of stability, representation, subjectness orientation, and conceptuality of civic identity, which indicates that their identity has not reached maturity despite their awareness of their civic belonging. 37.00% of respondents have a high level of stability of civic identity. This means that they are not ready to change this identity suddenly, under the influence of circumstances and without a reassessment of values. A low level of stability is observed in 21.00% of respondents. 29.00% of respondents have a high level of conceptualization of civic identity, but 34.00% have a low level, which indicates insufficient awareness and self-reflectiveness of this formation among citizens. Finally, a high level of subjectness orientation of civic identity is characteristic of the smallest number of respondents – 26.00%, while a low one – 33.00%. Respectively, the formation of these features of maturity (conceptuality and subjectness orientation) of civic identity is the most challenging and problematic.

According to the results of the research, statistically significant differences were found in individuals of different age groups by such obstacles and without the reassessment of values to change their identity suddenly, under the influence of circumstances and without a reassessment of values. A low level of stability is observed in 21.00% of respondents. 29.00% of respondents have a high level of conceptualization of civic identity, but 34.00% have a low level, which indicates insufficient awareness and self-reflectiveness of this formation among citizens. Finally, a high level of subjectness orientation of civic identity is characteristic of the smallest number of respondents – 26.00%, while a low one – 33.00%. Respectively, the formation of these features of maturity (conceptuality and subjectness orientation) of civic identity is the most challenging and problematic.

According to the results of the research, statistically significant differences were found in individuals of different age groups by such...
indicators as representation, conceptuality, subjectness orientation, and an integral indicator of the maturity of civic identity. Citizens of middle adulthood have higher values of representation and conceptuality of civic identity; citizens of early adulthood have higher values of the subjectness orientation of civic identity; young citizens have lower values of the integral indicator of the maturity of civic identity. It should be noted that statistically significant differences in the integral indicator of the maturity of civic identity were not found among the citizens of early and middle adulthood, which indicates the absence of a direct dependence of the maturity of civic identity on the age of citizens.

The revealed higher values of the conceptuality and representation of the civic identity among other identities in middle-aged persons can be explained by the fact that older people have a broader experience of involvement in the organizational environment (hierarchical, regulatory, and legal) of the state and value-meaning exchange with fellow citizens (Lep & Zupančič, 2023) than young people who are mainly studying (which implies much narrower involvement in the organizational environment of the state) (Mitasova et al., 2021) or are just starting a career, business, and family life. This experience causes a quantitative difference in the material for comprehension and understanding (life events related to interaction with the state, the need to accept and internalize them, as well as various kinds of narratives and actualized problems) (Enright & Toledo, 2023; Martínez et al., 2023) and higher motivation (which is created by that part of the mentioned experience that contains negative experiences, causes dissatisfaction and prompts an explanation, interpretation) (Toledo & Enright, 2022; Martínez et al., 2023). Instead, the higher civic identity subjectness orientation of persons in early adulthood is explained by the peculiarities of this age period. At this stage, an individual is included in all types of social activity (Pomylyuk, 2016) and actively fulfills their potential in various spheres of life, in particular, in socio-political and public spheres (Rubin, 2007; Yates & Youniss, 1998; Fish et al., 2021). The key experience of the social situation of the development of early adulthood is the personal responsibility for their life and the life of their close, readiness to take this responsibility (Pomylyuk, 2016; Idrus et al., 2020), as well as the willingness to be a source of activity, in particular, in relation to the state.

The revealed higher values of representation and conceptuality of civic identity among other identities in middle-aged persons can be explained by the fact that older people have a broader experience of involvement in the organizational environment (hierarchical, regulatory, and legal) of the state and value-meaning exchange with fellow citizens (Lep & Zupančič, 2023) than young people who are mainly studying (which implies much narrower involvement in the organizational environment of the state) (Mitasova et al., 2021) or are just starting a career, business, and family life. This experience causes a quantitative difference in the material for comprehension and understanding (life events related to interaction with the state, the need to accept and internalize them, as well as various kinds of narratives and actualized problems) (Enright & Toledo, 2023; Martínez et al., 2023) and higher motivation (which is created by that part of the mentioned experience that contains negative experiences, causes dissatisfaction and prompts an explanation, interpretation) (Toledo & Enright, 2022; Martínez et al., 2023). Instead, the higher civic identity subjectness orientation of persons in early adulthood is explained by the peculiarities of this age period. At this stage, an individual is included in all types of social activity (Pomylyuk, 2016) and actively fulfills their potential in various spheres of life, in particular, in socio-political and public spheres (Rubin, 2007; Yates & Youniss, 1998; Fish et al., 2021). The key experience of the social situation of the development of early adulthood is the personal responsibility for their life and the life of their close, readiness to take this responsibility (Pomylyuk, 2016; Idrus et al., 2020), as well as the willingness to be a source of activity, in particular, in relation to the state.
the realization of personal responsibility for one’s life and the lives of loved ones, the readiness to accept this responsibility (Pomylyuko, 2016; Idrus et al., 2020), as well as the desire for independence, subjectivity, and readiness to be a source activity, particularly, in relations with the state.

According to the results of the study, statistically significant differences between men and women were found in such characteristics as representation, subjectness orientation, conceptuality, and integral indicator of civic identity maturity. They are higher in men than in women. The higher values of the maturity of civic identity and its indicators in men are explained by gender-role peculiarities. In our culture, which is still not devoid of signs of patriarchy, it is men who are responsible for the political and civic position of the family. As for women, on the contrary, their non-political nature, the presence of a “generalized” civic position without details is traditionally more accepted. This is explained by the traditional role of a woman, which from time immemorial provided for “narrow specialization” in raising children and serving the family (St Watson, 2023). Men are more focused on performing an instrumental role, which requires determination, independence, initiative, rationality, competitiveness, and endurance (Suprun et al., 2022). Men are credited with higher social activity, responsibility for the material support of the family, and maintenance of family ties with the external social environment, which implies greater involvement in the organizational environment of the state. Although today the biological determinism of gender roles is subject to criticism (men are no longer the sole breadwinners in the family, a significant number of women are successful and fulfilled both in careers (Nagpal et al., 2023), and in motherhood, some women do not deliberately give birth to children), traditional gender stereotypes and roles continue to be reproduced, causing negative consequences and limitations (Dingler & Kroeber, 2023; Oksamytna, 2004). As S. Oksamytna (2004) notes, women are practically not involved in the formation of state policy and mainly play the role of passive observers and executors, as well as recipients of social assistance (Oksamytna, 2004: 177). At the same time, the realization of conceptual plantation, integrational показник зрілості громадянської ідентичності. У чоловіків вони вищі, ніж у жінок. Вищі значення зрілості громадянської ідентичності та її показників у чоловіків пояснюються статево-рольовими особливістями. У нашій культурі, ще не позбавлений ознак патріархальності, саме на чоловіків покладається відповідальність за політичну і громадянську позицію сім’ї. Щодо жінок, навпаки, традиційно більше акцептується їх позаполітичність, наявність “узагальненої” громадянської позиції без деталізації. Це пов’язано з традиційною роллю жінки, яка споконвіку передбачала “вузьку спеціалізацію” на вихованні дітей та обслуговуванні сім’ї (St Watson, 2023). Чоловіки більше орієнтовані на виконання інструментальної ролі, яка вимагає рішучості, самостійності, ініціативності, рациональності, змагальності, витривалості (Suprun et al., 2022). Чоловікам приписують вищу громадську активність, відповідальність за матеріальне забезпечення сім’ї та підтримання зв’язків родини із зовнішнім соціальним середовищем, що передбачає більшу залученість в організаційне середовище держави. І хоча сьогодені біологічна детермінованість гендерних ролей піддається критиці (чоловіки вже давно не є єдиними годувальниками в сім’ї, значна частина жінок є успішними та реалізованими як у кар’єрі (Nagpal et al., 2023), так і в материнстві, деякі жінки свідомо не народжують дітей), однак традиційні гендерні стереотипи та ролі продовжують відтворюватися, що зумовлює негативні наслідки та обмеження (Dingler, Kroeber, 2023; Oksamytna, 2004). Як зазначає С. Оksamятна (2004), жінки практично не залучені до формування державної політики і відіграють роль здебільшого пасивних спостерігачів та виконавців, а також отримуючих соціальної допомоги (Oksamytina, 2004: 177). Водночас реалізація громадянських прав і свобод передбачає повноцінну участь як чоловіків, так і жінок на всіх рівнях соціальних інститутів, включаючи рівний доступ до всіх посад в інституційній структурі суспільства (Dingler, Kroeber, 2023; Ohmura, Bailer, 2023). Державна політика, основні напрями та принципи якої формуються переважно представниками однієї статі,
of civil rights and freedoms presupposes the full participation of both men and women at all levels of social institutions, including equal access to all positions in the institutional structure of society (Dingler & Kroeber, 2023; Ohmura & Bailer, 2023). State policy, the main directions and principles of which are formed mainly by representatives of a single gender, cannot satisfy the needs of all citizens.

Statistically significant differences between the studied citizens with right-wing and left-wing political orientations by such indicators of civic identity maturity as subjectness orientation and stability were revealed. Citizens who share right-wing political views have higher values of subjectness orientation but lower values of stability of civic identity. Therefore, those citizens who share right-wing political views demonstrate a higher readiness to be a source of activity in relations with the state and to bear responsibility for themselves and their contribution to the life of the state. Such citizens support the idea of a minimal state, which should ensure law and order without limiting the economic freedom of the individual (“I prefer the state to care less about me than limit me”) (Burychko, 2014), need for control over the state by civil society, the priority of individualism within social obligations (Winter et al., 2023). They tend to believe that human society should be organized into a hierarchy of competence, at the top of which should be the most capable (“incomes of citizens should vary significantly, as their activities and abilities differ”, “it is better to live under market conditions”). At the same time, supporters of right-wing political views are characterized by a lower stability of their civic identity, which indicates a greater willingness to change the state of citizenship under certain conditions, particularly in the case of the impossibility of self-realization in the native state. On the other hand, citizens who share left-wing political views (the idea that the state should provide economic and social guarantees to citizens (Jankowski et al., 2023) and clearly define the permissible limits of their activity regarding the smallest possible inequality of citizens and the duty of all non-disabled citizens to work, the priority of group interests over the individual) are more prone to
paternalism and experience themselves as a "small cog in a big mechanism", while demonstrating a higher ability to preserve their civic identity in the face of negative external influences.

Statistically significant differences were found between supporters of democracy and authoritarianism by such indicators as conceptuality, representation, and maturity of civic identity. In citizens who support democracy (recognition and implementation of democracy) share democratic values, they are higher than in those who support authoritarianism. S. Tolochko (2023) emphasizes that the concept of democracy is inextricably linked with the concept of “civic identity”, since, according to the scientist, democratic processes in the state depend on “the informed and active civic position of its citizens” (Tolochko, 2023: 181). Civic identity is formed in civic practices in which citizens actively use their democratic rights to participate and communicate (Koc-Michalska et al., 2024; Habermas, 1994; Bevz, 2014). Citizens with a mature civic identity usually participate in public hearings, demonstrate a favorable attitude to referendums, make socio-political decisions by finding a compromise between the interests of different social groups, and are also convinced that under no circumstances should all power be concentrated in the hands of one person. Further democratization of society, according to T. Bevz (2014), requires the involvement of citizens in the goals and interests of the development of Ukraine, the formation of the needs and skills of citizens’ participation in the life of society and the state (Bevz, 2014).

**Conclusion**

Civic identity is considered a value-meaning experience of oneself as a citizen of the state, ensures the integrity and durability of ideas about oneself as a citizen even when civic values/orientations change, and acts as a psychological regulator of civic behavior. Indicators of the maturity of civic identity are its conceptuality, subjectness orientation, stability, and representation among other personal identities.

The conducted empirical research confirmed the hypothesis that there are differences in indicators of civic identity maturity in women,

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**Висновки**

Громадянська ідентичність розглядається як ціннісно-смислове переживання особистістю, що зберігає свої цінності навіть при зміні громадянських цінностей/орієнтацій і виступає психологічним регулятором громадянської поведінки. Показниками зрілості громадянської ідентичності є її концептуальність, суб'єктність, стабільність та репрезентація серед інших ідентичностей особистості.

Проведене еміпірічне дослідження дозволило підтвердити гіпотезу про те, що сінують
Civic Identity of Ukrainians: Age, Gender, Political Dimensions

It was discovered that compared to men, women demonstrate statistically significantly lower values of the integral indicator of civic identity maturity, as well as representation, subjectness orientation, and conceptuality of civic identity. Citizens of middle adulthood have statistically significantly higher values of conceptuality and representation of civic identity than individuals of young age, while citizens of early adulthood demonstrate statistically significantly higher values of subjectness orientation of civic identity compared to citizens of youth and middle adulthood. Adherents of right-wing political views have statistically significantly higher values of subjectness orientation and lower values of stability of their civic identity compared to those who share left-wing political views. Citizens who support democracy (recognition and implementation of democracy) have statistically significantly higher values of the integral indicator of civic identity maturity and its conceptuality and representation than those who support authoritarianism.

The prospect of further research is the development of programs to stimulate the formation of a mature civic identity, considering the clarified age, gender, and political features of the civic identity of Ukrainians.

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