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## DYNAMICS OF CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL IDENTITY OF UKRAINIANS AS A RESULT OF THE WAR WITH RUSSIA

## DYNAMIKA ZMIAN TOŻSAMOŚCI POLITYCZNEJ UKRAIŃCÓW W WYNIKU WOJNY Z ROSJĄ

*Abstract:* Russia's military invasion of Ukraine provided the impetus that radically contributed to the consolidation of Ukrainian society and the formation of new valuable identity structures for citizens. The massive transformation in the social consciousness of Ukrainian society caused by the military aggression is still ongoing. The results of sociological research indicate that significant value transformations have been recorded in the social consciousness, the content of which gives grounds to conclude that a process of formation of new socio-cultural identity structures is taking place. Therefore, there is a need to study the dynamics of political changes and value attitudes of social consciousness under the conditions of resistance to the military aggression of the Russian Federation. The research task is to determine the direction of the formation of new identity components under conditions of military aggression. Also, there is an urgent need to investigate the conceptual basis for the formation of a renewed identity in the post-war period, which will aim to restore the economic and social foundations of society. Therefore, attention should be paid to identifying the strategic directions of identity politics in the post-war period. The conclusions obtained will be useful in the formation of state identity policy, which is relevant for Ukrainian society in the context of the implementation of the state's integration with the EU.

*Zarys treści:* Wojskowa inwazja Rosji na Ukrainę stała się impulsem, który radykalnie przyczynił się do konsolidacji społeczeństwa ukraińskiego i ukształtowania nowych wartościowych struktur tożsamości obywateli. Wciąż trwają ogromne przemiany w świadomości społecznej ukraińskiego społeczeństwa, spowodowane agresją wojskową. Wyniki badań socjologicznych wskazują, że w świadomości społecznej odnotowano istotne przemiany wartości, których treść daje podstawy do stwierdzenia, że zachodzi proces kształtowania się nowych struktur tożsamości społeczno-kulturowej. Istnieje zatem potrzeba zbadania dynamiki zmian politycznych i wartościowych postaw świadomości społecznej w warunkach oporu wobec agresji wojskowej Federacji Rosyjskiej. Zadaniem

badawczym jest określenie kierunku kształtowania się nowych komponentów tożsamości w warunkach agresji wojskowej. Również istnieje pilna potrzeba zbadania koncepcyjnych podstaw kształtowania się odnowionej tożsamości w okresie powojennym, która będzie miała na celu przywrócenie ekonomicznych i społecznych podstaw społeczeństwa. Dlatego należy zwrócić uwagę na określenie strategicznych kierunków polityki tożsamościowej w okresie powojennym. Uzyskane wnioski będą przydatne w kształtowaniu państwowej polityki tożsamościowej, która jest istotna dla społeczeństwa ukraińskiego w kontekście realizacji państwowego kursu integracyjnego z UE.

**Keywords:** Russian-Ukrainian war, Ukrainian identity, identity politics in Ukraine

**Słowa kluczowe:** wojna rosyjsko-ukraińska, tożsamość ukraińska, polityka tożsamościowa na Ukrainie

### **Methodology and empirical data**

In this article the concept of “national identity” is used as a dynamic set of indicators of values and meanings through which the individual and society define themselves in the context of a political, cultural and historical process. The concepts of “personal identity” and “social identity” indicate how an entity (personality or social group) relates to more general social entities by means of certain values and meanings.

National identity denotes a specific system of political, cultural and social patterns of action and values created by the state, public institutions and national elites. The national identity is the basis for the formation of the cultural-historical and political space in the context of which individuals and social groups correlate (identify themselves) with society and the state.

A significant component of national identity is also the set of perceptions of individuals and social groups regarding the historical past and models of future social development. National identity settings determine the goal-setting vectors that determine the economic, security and social policies of the state.

The state and social institutions implement identity politics, which is a set of historical, linguistic, ethnic and cultural policies for the construction of the nation. In this respect, the concept of “identity politics” is used as a system of mobilisation activities on the part of the state and social institutions to shape certain value attitudes and models of action that form the basis of identity. Identity politics aims to consolidate different social groups in order to achieve socially meaningful goals.

The importance of national identity for the preservation of the state is pointed out by the famous ideologist of modern liberalism, F. Fukuyama. He sees in Ukraine’s struggle against the aggression of the Russian Federation an example of combining attitudes of national identity with the foundations of the liberal state system, which have a universal supranational character. Fukuyama notes that the initiators of the aggression believed that Ukraine had no identity of its own, separate from

Russia, and that the Ukrainian state would cease to exist as soon as the invasion began. Instead, the stable national identity of the Ukrainian people and their loyalty to the liberal-democratic system formed the basis of resistance to external military aggression. Fukuyama assumes that if the war succeeds in undermining Ukrainian independence and democracy, the world will return to an era of aggressive nationalism reminiscent of the early 20th century. However, if the aggression is defeated and “Putin leads Russia to military and economic defeat, then there will be a chance to re-learn the liberal lesson that power unrestricted by law leads to national catastrophe and to revive the ideals of a free and democratic world.”<sup>1</sup>

The empirical basis of our research was the use of data from representative sociological opinion polls to determine the dynamics of changes in the socio-political views of Ukrainian citizens, which allowed us to draw conclusions about the transformation of their socio-cultural identity.

### **Dynamics of change in the identity structure of Ukrainians**

Throughout the years of state independence, from 1991 onwards, the consciousness of Ukrainian society comprehended the enormous social, economic and political changes brought about by the destruction of the Soviet system. The process of the formation of the socio-cultural identity of Ukrainians was complex and full of contradictions. Many layers of the population had to abandon their usual values inherited from the Soviet era.

Resistance to Russia’s military aggression contributed to the consolidation of society and the strengthening of identity values. This is especially true in the regions of southern and eastern Ukraine. In these dramatic times, Ukrainians have shown unprecedented examples of consolidation.

In support of this, we cite the results of a survey conducted by the RATING Sociology Group, which showed a significant increase in consolidation attitudes in the public mind. If, prior to the start of the armed invasion in August 2021, 34% of respondents indicated that they felt proud of the state, according to the survey conducted after the start of the war, in April 2022, there was an overwhelming 80% majority for such a view. The conducted survey showed that such a feeling dominates the minds of respondents, regardless of age or region of residence. The aforementioned survey showed that the number of citizens who identify themselves as citizens of Ukraine increased from 75% in August 2021 to 98% in April 2022, and as Europeans from 27% to 57% respectively. At the same time, the level of self-identification of respondents within the “Soviet person” matrix decreased significantly from 21% in August 2021 to 7% in April 2022. The indicated trends dominate across all age,

<sup>1</sup> Fukuyama, F., *A Country of Their Own. Liberalism Needs the Nation. Foreign Affairs*, May/ June 2022, [https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2022-04-01/francis-fukuyama-liberalism-country?check\\_logged\\_in=1&utm\\_medium=promo\\_email&utm\\_source=lo\\_flows&utm\\_campaign=registered\\_user\\_welcome&utm\\_term=email\\_1&utm\\_content=20220505](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2022-04-01/francis-fukuyama-liberalism-country?check_logged_in=1&utm_medium=promo_email&utm_source=lo_flows&utm_campaign=registered_user_welcome&utm_term=email_1&utm_content=20220505), [accessed: 22.08.2022].

and regional groups. The survey also showed that the population does not support the narrative that “Russians and Ukrainians are one nation.” The vast majority of respondents (91%) disagree.<sup>2</sup>

The Russian-Ukrainian war has provided the public consciousness with an impetus to reassess the importance of Ukraine’s European integration course. All the arguments of the proponents of the notorious Eurasian vector disappeared. Broad layers of the population clearly realised the urgent need for Ukraine’s European integration. According to the results of opinion polls, the number of supporters of Ukraine’s accession to the EU increased significantly during the period of armed aggression. As of January 2023, 87% of respondents supported Ukraine’s accession to the EU and 86% to NATO. It should be noted that support for EU and NATO accession is virtually unanimous among citizens by region, age and wealth. This is an unprecedented level of support for the entire period of the sociological survey. Ukrainians are also positive about Ukraine’s possible participation in military-political alliances outside NATO. Thus, 85% of those surveyed support the idea of creating a military-political union consisting of Ukraine, Poland and the UK. 80% have a positive attitude towards the idea of creating a military-political union composed of Ukraine, Poland and Lithuania.<sup>3</sup>

The trends recorded indicate that a critical majority of supporters of Ukraine’s European integration course has formed in society. It can be argued that, in general, there has been a historic choice by citizens in favour of a pluralistic society, solidarity-based social relations and the rule of law, i.e. those social and state values with which the European community is identified.

Nevertheless, there are many gaps in Ukrainians’ understanding of the specific problems we will have to deal with along the way. Thus, according to the Kiev International Institute of Sociology, 62% of respondents are convinced that Ukraine should defend its interests and disagree with the demands made during European integration. At the same time, 31% of respondents agree that Ukraine should approve all necessary laws and meet all EU requirements in order to join the EU as soon as possible.<sup>4</sup>

Signs of significant changes in public awareness include, in particular, changes in Ukrainians’ attitudes towards the Soviet past. The results of the opinion poll show a drastic decrease in the number of respondents with nostalgia for the Soviet past – from 46% in 2010 to 11% in 2022. The vast majority of respondents, 87%, do not regret the past USSR. As is well known, the values inherited from the Soviet era have had a long-term impact on the behavioural attitudes of the Ukrainian

<sup>2</sup> Eighth national survey: Ukraine in war conditions (April 6, 2022). Sociological group “Rating”, [https://ratinggroup.ua/research/ukraine/vosmoy\\_obschenatsionalnyy\\_opros\\_ukraina\\_v\\_usloviyah\\_voyny\\_6\\_aprelya\\_2022.html](https://ratinggroup.ua/research/ukraine/vosmoy_obschenatsionalnyy_opros_ukraina_v_usloviyah_voyny_6_aprelya_2022.html), [accessed: 22.08.2022].

<sup>3</sup> Twentieth national survey: foreign policy attitudes of the population (January 14-16, 2023), Sociological group “Rating”, [https://ratinggroup.ua/research/ukraine/dvadcyate\\_zagalnonac\\_onalne\\_opituvannya\\_zovni\\_shnopol\\_tichn\\_nastro\\_naselennya\\_14-16\\_s\\_chnya\\_2023.html](https://ratinggroup.ua/research/ukraine/dvadcyate_zagalnonac_onalne_opituvannya_zovni_shnopol_tichn_nastro_naselennya_14-16_s_chnya_2023.html), [accessed: 22.08.2022].

<sup>4</sup> Should Ukraine fulfill all the requirements of the EU in order to join as soon as possible? Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, July 2022, <https://kiis.com.ua/?lang=ukr&cat=reports&id=1126&page=4>, [accessed: 01.09.2022].

population, giving rise to all sorts of propaganda speculation about a “shared” historical past. As can be seen, this valuable and significant legacy has indeed been overcome.<sup>5</sup>

Countering Russian military aggression has contributed to the political consolidation of society. As the results of opinion polls show, the alienation of power and society has significantly decreased. As is well known, this problem has long been a feature of political discourse and has often negatively affected the effectiveness of state policy. As the poll results show, during the period of armed aggression, 80% of respondents believe that things in Ukraine are moving in the right direction. Only 10% have the opposite opinion. The perception of the state of affairs as correct is dominant in all regions and age groups.<sup>6</sup> The data obtained can obviously be seen as evidence of the high degree of consolidation of society.

A sign of consolidation is also the high level of citizens’ support for the government’s actions. Thus, prior to the start of military action in November 2021, when assessing the efficiency of the state, 44% of citizens noted that the central authorities were struggling to fulfil their duties. In contrast, in December 2022, only 9.3% of people were reported to have negatively assessed the work of the authorities. In November 2021, the statement that “central authorities cope with almost all their duties” was agreed with by 5.2% of respondents. In December 2022, this figure was 41%.<sup>7</sup>

The military aggression contributed to the strengthening of mutual assistance among Ukrainians. Thus, 95% of respondents stated that during the war they did not have enough material resources to live comfortably. At the same time, 81% of respondents indicated that they made monetary donations to the Ukrainian army, 63% donated money or other items to internally displaced persons, and 60% donated to humanitarian needs.<sup>8</sup>

One sign of political consolidation is the unprecedented level of support for Ukraine’s democratic path. According to the results of a survey conducted in May 2022, 95% of respondents said it was important or very important to them for Ukraine to become a democratic society. This compares to 76% before the war began in December 2021. Freedom of speech, fair justice, and free and fair elections were named by respondents as the most important features of democracy.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Tenth National Survey: Ideological Markers of War. April 27, 2022. Sociological group “Rating”, Adres URL: [https://ratinggroup.ua/research/ukraine/desyatyy\\_obschenacionalnyy\\_opros\\_ideologicheskie\\_markery\\_voyny\\_27\\_aprelya\\_2022.html](https://ratinggroup.ua/research/ukraine/desyatyy_obschenacionalnyy_opros_ideologicheskie_markery_voyny_27_aprelya_2022.html), [accessed: 22.08.2022].

<sup>6</sup> Ninth National Survey: Assessments of International Partnerships. Sociological group “Rating”, April 26, 2022. URL, [https://ratinggroup.ua/research/ukraine/devyatyy\\_obschenacionalnyy\\_opros\\_ocenki\\_mezhdunarodnogo\\_partnerstva\\_26\\_aprelya\\_2022.html](https://ratinggroup.ua/research/ukraine/devyatyy_obschenacionalnyy_opros_ocenki_mezhdunarodnogo_partnerstva_26_aprelya_2022.html), [accessed: 22.08.2022].

<sup>7</sup> Public opinion in Ukraine after 10 months of war. Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, 15.01.2023, Adres URL: <https://kiis.com.ua/?lang=ukr&cat=reports&id=1175&page=1>, [accessed: 22.08.2022].

<sup>8</sup> Opportunities and obstacles on the path of democratic transition of Ukraine, Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, 20.09.2022, [https://kiis.com.ua/materials/pr/20220920\\_o/August%202022\\_wartime%20survey%20Public%20fin%20UKR.pdf](https://kiis.com.ua/materials/pr/20220920_o/August%202022_wartime%20survey%20Public%20fin%20UKR.pdf), [accessed: 22.08.2022].

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*.

There are significant changes in identity based on linguistic features. The position of the Ukrainian language in society is strengthening, especially in the sphere of interpersonal communication. According to the results of a study by the sociological group RATING in 2022, 51% of respondents said that they speak Ukrainian at home (compared to 37% in 2012). There was also a significant decline in the level of consumption of Russian news content. For example, 46% of respondents said they had stopped watching Russian TV series and 43% had stopped listening to Russian music artists.<sup>10</sup>

Finally, it is important to note that despite the huge losses and destruction caused by the war with Russia, 95.7% of Ukrainians express a firm belief in victory.

### **Cultural and educational policies in identity formation**

The Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine has initiated a review of educational curricula in the general secondary education system to counteract the influence of the “Russian peace” ideology that accompanied armed aggression. In particular, significant revisions have been made to history curricula aimed at students’ understanding of contemporary events. For example, the updated curricula present the USSR as an imperial-type state. Recent history curricula have undergone significant changes. In particular, innovations have been made that point to the genocidal actions of Russia’s political leadership and the Russian army against Ukrainians, national resistance to aggression and international support for Ukraine. In addition, updated educational programmes for fiction will study the works of classics of world literature instead of Russian.<sup>11</sup>

As part of the decommunisation and Russification policy, in 2015-2016, more than 51,000 toponymic objects (streets, squares and plazas) and 991 settlements were renamed, and about 2,500 monuments were demolished. Since the beginning of the war, approximately 2,200 toponyms in 33 cities have been renamed on a large scale.<sup>12</sup>

In the area of cultural policy, let us identify a few initiatives that were aimed at developing socio-cultural identity.

After the start of the war some Ukrainian creative collectives and cultural institutions abandoned names containing the word “Russian”, the names of Russians in the names of these institutions, as well as repertoire of Russian origin. According to the Ministry of Culture and Information of Ukraine, in 2022, more than 2,500

<sup>10</sup> Seventeenth nationwide survey: identity, patriotism, values Sociologicalgroup &quot;Rating&quot;; (August 17-18, 2022), [https://ratinggroup.ua/researchukraine/s\\_mnadcyate\\_zagalno-nac\\_onalne\\_opituvannya\\_dentichn\\_st\\_patr\\_otizm\\_c\\_n\\_nost\\_17-18\\_serpnnya\\_2022.html](https://ratinggroup.ua/researchukraine/s_mnadcyate_zagalno-nac_onalne_opituvannya_dentichn_st_patr_otizm_c_n_nost_17-18_serpnnya_2022.html), [accessed: 22.08.2022].

<sup>11</sup> The content of general secondary education curricula has been updated. Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, August 16, 2022, <https://mon.gov.ua/ua/news/onovleno-zmist-navchalnih-program-zso>, [accessed: 22.08.2022].

<sup>12</sup> Onyshchenko, V., *De-Russification and decommunization of names: how Ukrainian cities are changing*, <https://transparentcities.in.ua/articles/derusyfikatsiia-ta-dekomunizatsiia-nazv-yak-zminiuiutsia-ukrainski-mista>, [accessed: 22.08.2022].

artistic actions and projects in support of Ukraine were realised abroad, and more than 500 concerts of national artistic groups and theatres were held abroad. There are more than 20 different cultural studies projects on the United Digital Platform of Culture and Media, created by the Ministry of Culture together with partners and volunteers. More than 120 tonnes of humanitarian aid were delivered to more than 230 museums and libraries in Ukraine through the Heritage Rescue Headquarters. The Cultural Heritage Restoration Fund became operational. In 2023, projects such as “Ukrainian Youth is a European Book!” on the restoration of library funds of cultural and educational institutions, and “Tales of EUkraine” printing of more than 300,000 children’s books by Ukrainian authors abroad and distribution of these books in schools and kindergartens abroad are planned.<sup>13</sup>

It should be noted that the given list of projects and activities aimed at using educational and cultural means in the formation of socio-cultural identity is not complete.

### **The importance of identity politics**

The elimination of various forms of alienation between citizens and the state during the dramatic trials of armed aggression, the significant changes in foreign policy directions, the re-evaluation of the historical past, in particular the destruction of the value matrix of the “Soviet (soviet) man”, as well as the support for the course of European integration point to significant changes in social consciousness and, consequently, to the formation of a renewed identity of Ukrainian citizens.

The high level of consolidation around certain value attitudes, which is determined by both regional and age characteristics, is indicative of the generally historical choice of Ukrainian citizens in favour of a democratic social system. There are no grounds for seeing Ukraine as a “failed state” or a “torn state”. Regional, linguistic and political differences have proven to be secondary to the threat of military aggression. Consolidating structures prevailed. Values of solidarity, a sense of common destiny and common culture prevailed. At the same time, attempts to “denazify” society, to discredit the cultural values and historical meanings of Ukrainian society, as sought by the Russian political leadership at the beginning of the military aggression, were defeated.

Attention was drawn to the factor of consolidated support for the values of democracy and the course of European integration, as evidenced by sociological research. This means that the image of the future Ukrainian society, associated with a set of European values and forms of organisation of public life and the state, has become consolidated in the consciousness of broad sections of society, regardless of region of residence and age.

As is well known, before the Russian invasion, Ukrainian society was characterised by the fact that large social strata of the population sometimes adhered to opposing

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<sup>13</sup> Ministry of Culture and Information Policy: 2022 victories and plans for 2023, <https://mkip.gov.ua/news/8390.html>, [accessed: 22.09.2022].

values, and political and ideological stances. It is natural for any society to have a variety of political attitudes and ideological preferences in the social consciousness. However, the conditions of pre-war Ukraine were characterised by the fact that political forces, in order to secure electoral support, in some places deliberately fuelled these differences and artificially created confrontations on ideological grounds. This was particularly evident in the confrontation between the East-South and Mid-West regions. In reality, the political process took place as a long-term rivalry between the parties controlling the electorate of the south-eastern and mid-western regions. Many times this rivalry went beyond electoral contests and threatened destructive conflicts. This, in turn, led to political authorities and institutions operating under conditions of low trust of the population in them, which in many respects made social and economic reforms impossible. Under these conditions, the phenomenon of so-called “negative consolidation” gradually took shape in the public consciousness, when citizens were united by a negative attitude towards the activities of state bodies, political parties or individual politicians.

The aforementioned contradictions of the pre-war period appeared to have been offset by military aggression. Particular attention has therefore been paid to factors that indicate the consolidation of Ukrainian society with regard to democratic values and the course of European integration. Before the military aggression, such a high degree of consolidation simply did not exist.

However, it cannot be stated unequivocally that these value transformations have become irreversible. You can agree that there is a “high probability of new socio-political divisions associated with numerous human losses, migrations, mass impoverishment, etc. Therefore, it is of utmost importance that Ukraine prepares the necessary safeguards in advance in order not to fall back into identity conflicts, now on the basis of new demarcation lines.”<sup>14</sup> The war is not over yet, there is a difficult post-war period ahead with the need to overcome social and psychological trauma. Thus, the examination of social consolidation is not yet over. The social and state stability achieved should become the basis for both overcoming aggression and rebuilding the economy, social relations and cultural development.

It can be argued that the high degree of consolidation around the state policy of resistance and the course of European integration are signs of the transition of Ukrainian society to a qualitatively new level of development. It is clear that this transition requires Ukraine’s political class to create an institutional basis for social, political and economic relations aimed at reinforcing the changes registered by sociological research. The complexity of these tasks actually creates the importance of identity politics.

Ukraine’s political class is taking the first steps in this direction. In particular, attention should be paid to the Law of Ukraine on the Basic Principles of State Policy on the Formation of Ukrainian National and Civic Identity, adopted in December

<sup>14</sup> Zelenko, G., Kononenko, N., *How Russian military aggression changed the political identity of Ukrainians*, National Security and Defence, no. 3–4, 2022.

2022.<sup>15</sup> This law defines the mechanisms for the implementation of identity policy and the key indicators of its effectiveness, and the powers and directions of action of state and local government bodies in the implementation of identity policy.

In the context of the issues addressed in this article, it is worth noting that the law states that “The aim of the state policy on the formation of Ukrainian national and civic identity is to achieve the unity of Ukrainian society by overcoming social contradictions of a cultural, linguistic, regional nature on the basis of the European and Euro-Atlantic course, ensuring compliance with the constitutional guarantees of human and civil rights and freedoms.”

Identity politics is thus related to the need to strengthen the consolidation of society by overcoming various contradictions in society on the basis of the European integration course. This, in turn, means mastering the complex of values and social practices that are associated with the concept of “European identity”.

## Conclusions

1. Public opinion polls conducted after the start of Russia’s military aggression against Ukraine show the destruction of established identity markers of Ukrainians inherited from the post-Soviet era. At the same time, there was unprecedented support for attitudes indicating support for inclusive, pro-Western, vectors of social development.

This finding is important in the sense that Ukrainian society has long suffered from various regional, linguistic and political contradictions and divisions. This, in turn, has led to political authorities and institutions operating under conditions of low trust of the population in them, which in many respects has prevented social and economic reforms. As a result, a phenomenon of so-called “negative consolidation” arose in society, which was based not so much on support for certain perceived social goals and values, but on negative perceptions of political actors. This “negative consolidation” has been largely fuelled by certain political factions for decades, hindering the implementation of effective social and economic policies.

2. Russia’s military invasion was the impetus behind the consolidation of Ukrainian society and the creation of new identity value structures for Ukrainian citizens. Many layers of the population had to abandon familiar values inherited from the Soviet era. In particular, the so-called Eurasian vector of integration, on which pro-Russian political parties speculated, eventually lost supporters. The results of current sociological research convincingly point to the destruction of the myths of the post-Soviet past. Regional differences in support for the basic foundations of state policy, in particular the construction of a democratic system and the state-led course of European integration, have also blurred.

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<sup>15</sup> The Law of Ukraine “On the Basic Principles of State Policy in the Field of Affirming Ukrainian National and Civil Identity”, <https://itd.rada.gov.ua/billInfo/Bills/pubFile/1585134>, [accessed: 22.08.2022].

3. The turnaround in the formation of a renewed identity for Ukrainians that took place in a short period of time was in many ways caused by destructive Russian propaganda, justifying armed aggression with efforts to impose a “Russian peace”, as well as a policy of genocide in the occupied territory. Millions of Ukrainians clearly faced the threat of losing their own state and identity.

At the same time, it is important to note that the rationale for the formation of a renewed identity has evolved throughout the years of the country’s independence, starting in 1991. This rationale was the result of years of efforts by advocates of the European vector of development among political forces and civil society institutions.

4. Although the transformation of values in social consciousness registered by sociological studies indicates the destruction of many ideologies inherited from the post-Soviet past, it cannot be stated unequivocally that the values and norms on which the European community is based, in particular the rule of law and respect for human rights, have become irreversible. Since the factors contributing to the destruction of the socio-cultural identity have not disappeared, in particular the psychological traumas caused by military aggression, the destruction of the economy, mass migration and the spread of poverty etc., it is not possible to say that the European community has become irreversible. Thus, the examination of social consolidation is not yet over. Therefore, there is a need for state humanitarian and cultural work aimed at fostering new trends in the formation of the identity of Ukrainian citizens.

5. Despite the support of the State course of European integration, in the public consciousness there remains a deficit of understanding of the content of many norms on which the European community was founded (human rights, rule of law, etc.). So on the agenda is the task of shaping identity politics, one of whose priorities should be the mastery of pan-European values and social practices.

The Ukrainian political class and leadership establishment face the task of creating a model of post-war social development, a new strategic project of state policy, preserving the consolidation potential and strengthening the identity value structures of Ukrainian society.

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