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# Regional Identity in Ukraine: Formation Factors and Functions

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## Abstract

The main approaches to determining the regional division of Ukraine are analyzed. It is shown that regional identity in Ukraine is determined by a unique combination of the historical heritage of the region, features of the ethno-confessional composition of its population, socio-economic status, and specifics of lifestyle, traditions and culture. The functional analysis of regional identity justifies that, being considered one of the basic construction elements of a definition “region”, it plays an important role in the preservation and functioning of a regional socio-political space. Subjective factors influence the formation of regional identity models: interests of regional elites, geopolitical factors, current political processes, political parties and public organizations, the position and influence of the mainstream media. The politicization of regional differences in modern Ukraine has led to increase in the regionalization of electoral political sympathies, the aggravation of social differences around geopolitical and ethno-cultural values.

Ethnocultural regionalism creates additional difficulties in the formation of national identity, consolidation of the Ukrainian society according to the strategic social development goals: its democratization and modernization. Therefore, the formation at the state level, the policy of identity based on public consensus and democratic values, taking into account the ethnic, cultural, confessional and linguistic features of the Ukrainian regions, is acquiring particular relevance in modern Ukraine.

**Keywords:** region, identity, regional identity, ethnocultural features.

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## Introduction

The issue of consolidated political identity is one of the most difficult in the period of independence of the Ukrainian state. This is due to the fact that the strengthening of the political nation, the solution of the tasks of democratic transformation is possible only on the basis of the common identifying guides of the majority of the population. At the same time, this process cannot be considered complete. The danger of the emergence and deepening of conflicts in society on the basis of noticeable discrepancies between residents of different regions related to the most important areas of internal and external development<sup>1</sup> remains.

On this basis, the priority direction of modern Ukrainian science is the search for effective principles for the development of identity, new forms and tools for consolidating citizens by forming a “project” identity and a corresponding public request for it. The main task of identity politics during this period is the formation of such a nationwide identity, which manifested itself not only in collective positioning relative to other nation-states as a basis for the integrity of a nation, but also as a matter of agreement on how such a community represents social goals and principles. It is in this sense that political identity serves as the basis and mechanism of social transformations.

Today, it is obvious that the Ukrainian path to democracy turned out to be non-linear and much more complicated than it seemed at the beginning of social reforms. It is accompanied by a deep systemic break in society and a crisis of the political identity of Ukrainian citizens. This eliminates the uniqueness and simplicity of scientific assessments of the consolidation of Ukrainian society, complicates the task of developing projects and models of its association.

Today the scientific discourse on the need to study the genesis of the specifics of the development of Ukrainian regions, taking into account the historical, socio-economic, civilizational, cultural, spiritual and political features of regional identity in the further development of the country is acquiring special importance. The number of scientific publications on the problems of regionalism in Ukraine, written in recent years, suggests that political regionalism at the turn of the XX - XXI centuries. It became a separate scientific direction of political science.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Oleksandr Razumkov Ukrainian Center for Economic and Political Studies, “Identity of Ukrainian Citizens: Changes, Trends, Regional Peculiarities,” *Natsionalna bezpeka i oborona*, no. 3-4 (2016): 112.

<sup>2</sup> Oleksandr Razumkov Ukrainian Center for Economic and Political Studies, “The common identity of Ukrainian citizens: the peculiarities and problems of becoming,” *Natsionalna bezpeka i oborona*, no. 7 (2016): 56; Larysa Panasivna Nahorna, *Rehionalna identychnist: ukrainskyi kontekst* [Regional identity: Ukrainian context] (Kyiv, Ukraine:

The “main regionalist” was history, which determined the differences and peculiarities in the rhythms of the socio-economic and national life of the South-East, Western Ukraine and Dnieper region. The main factors of the “regionality” of the South-East and the West of Ukraine, in our opinion, are: firstly, different rates and means of assimilation, determined some features of these regions, the preference of those or other confessions, neighbouring cultures, differences in ideas about property and other; secondly, the “dissolution” of the Ukrainian of a number of regions by the foreign ethnic population of Russia, which was unswervingly carried out by the imperial power at the end of the XVIII - II half of the XIX century. In the process of industrialization of Donbas, as well as the Bolsheviks in the Soviet period, especially after 1939.

A consequence of the long and complex process of the formation of the ethnopolitical specificity of the regions of modern Ukraine, under the influence of various political, historical, socio-economic factors, was the formation of regional features of self-identification of citizens of Ukraine. As a result, today, Ukrainian citizens from different regions prefer a multi-vector political and

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I.F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2008), 405; Larysa Panasivna Nahorna, *Sotsiokulturna identychnist: pastky tsinnisnykh rozmezhuvan* [Socio-cultural identity: traces of value differences] (Kyiv, Ukraine: I.F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2011), 272; Olha Mykolaivna Andrieieva, “Kryza ‘lokalnoho’ ta ‘universalnoho’ vymiriv ukrainskoi natsionalnoi identychnosti postradianskoho period” [“The crisis of ‘local’ and ‘universal’ dimensions of the Ukrainian national identity of the post-Soviet period”], *Bulletin of the National Technical University of Ukraine “Kyiv Polytechnic Institute”*. Series: Philosophy, Psychology, Pedagogy, no. 3 (2009): 7-14; Mai Panchuk, Volodymyr Yevtukh, Viktor Voinalovych et al., *Etnopolitychni protsesy v Ukraini: rehionalni osoblyvosti* [Ethnopolitical processes in Ukraine: regional peculiarities] (Kyiv, Ukraine: I.F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2011), 396; Viktor Kotyhorenko, Oleh Kalakura, Lesia Kovach et al. *Donbas v etnopolitychnomu vymiri* [Donbas in the ethnopolitical dimension] (Kyiv, Ukraine: I.F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2013), 584; Olena Vitaliivna Kryvytska, *Demarkatsiini linii v etnopolitychnomu prostori Ukrainy* [Demarcation lines in the ethnopolitical space of Ukraine] (Kyiv, Ukraine: IPIEND I.F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2015), 328; Oleh Rafalskyi, Viktor Voinalovych, Larysa Nahorna et al., *Etnopolitychnyi kontekst sotsiokulturnykh transformatsii u suchasni Ukraini* [Ethnopolitical Context of Socio-Cultural Transformations in Contemporary Ukraine] (Kyiv, Ukraine: IPIEND named after I.F. Kuras NAS of Ukraine, 2017), 512; Brent Carmin Smith, “If You Promise to Build It, Will They Come? The Interaction between Local Economic Development Policy and the Real Estate Market: Evidence from Tax Increment Finance Districts,” *Real Estate Economics*, 37 (2), 2009, 209–234, doi: 10.1111/j.1540-6229.2009.00240.x; Lorenz Blume, “Local Economic Policies as Determinants of Local Business Climate: Empirical Results from a Cross-section Analysis among East German Municipalities,” *Regional Studies*, 40 (4), 2006, 321–333. doi: 10.1080/00343400600725178.



geopolitical direction, understand the past differently and see the future development of the country.<sup>3</sup> All this complicates the political process and political relations in modern Ukraine.

The fact that in “split” societies, which contain several ethnic, religious or linguistic groups, the processes of consolidation and democratization are more painful and less successful, warn such famous authors as T. Carothers, R. Dahrendorf, A. Leiphart, S. Khantington et al.<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, an analysis of the formation of political identity in Ukraine showed that there are features, and for some problems, significant differences between the regions of Ukraine in many issues of social development. Most clearly, especially comparing the West and the East of Ukraine, they are manifested in electoral preferences, geopolitical orientations, in assessments of the historical past, in language problems, etc.<sup>5</sup> Ethnocultural regionalism creates additional difficulties in the formation of national identity, consolidation of the Ukrainian society according to the strategic social development goals: its democratization and modernization.

## Research Methodology

This work is based on the generalization of the official methodological information in Ukraine on the process of regional political identity, drawing attention to its imperfection. The methodology is based on three levels of knowledge: a general philosophical level (set of common views and knowledge about phenomena related to regional political identity); general scientific level (understanding of common approaches, principles of regional political identity) and specific methodology of sciences (aggregate knowledge of the regional political identity). The methodological basis of political identity is the systemic and situational approaches. According to the system approach, political identity should be regarded as a system consisting of certain interrelated elements that ensure its life activity, and elements of a larger system those functioning and development is determined by regularities and patterns characteristic.

<sup>3</sup> Razumkov Center, “Identity of Ukrainian Citizens,” 112.

<sup>4</sup> Tomas Karozers, *Oshibka teorii “poetapnoy demokratizatsii”* [E-book], 2007, Accessed 09, January, 2019, [http://uisrussia.msu.ru/docs/nov/pec/2007/1/ProEtContra\\_2007\\_1\\_08.pdf](http://uisrussia.msu.ru/docs/nov/pec/2007/1/ProEtContra_2007_1_08.pdf); Ralf Dahrendorf, “Doroga k svobode: demokratizatsiya i eye problemy v Vostochnoy Evrope” [“The road to freedom: democratization and more problems in Eastern Europe”], *Voprosy filosofii* 9, 1990, 69-75; Arend Leypkhart, “Konstitutsionny dizayn dlya raskolotykh obshchestv” [“Constitutional design for split societies”] (Kharkiv, Ukraine: Publishing house “Oykumena”, 2009), 165-179; Samuel Khantington, *Kto my? Vyzovy amerikanskoj natsionalnoy identichnosti* [Who are we? Challenges of American National Identity] (Moscow: Izdatelstvo AST, ‘Tranzitkniga’, 2003), 635.

<sup>5</sup> Razumkov Center, “Identity of Ukrainian Citizens,” 115.

According to the situational approach, political identity is a complex of socio systems, characterized by a number of their unique features. Also, the research is based on methods of comparison and analysis (in the context of practical experience in the political identity), is based on scientific and practical research of leading scientists.<sup>6</sup>

## Results

Political practice shows that regional polarity is actualized in an era of crises and changes, when it is necessary to unite and mobilize society to solve socially significant tasks, it becomes an object of purposeful influence of the state, political elites and interest groups. Ethnic and regional identity in this period become the dominant processes of formation of political identity. An example of the use of regional differences for political purposes is the election campaigns of the 21st century. and the tragic events in the South-East of Ukraine, which began in 2014 over a decade and a half in Ukraine, the basis of the political struggle was not conceptual competition, but conflict technologies based on modelling the “enemy image”, dividing Ukraine into regional segments, the use of political managers of the “two Ukraine ‘constructs’.” In the conditions of the aggravation of the crisis in the economic and social sphere, such ideas gain particularly fertile ground and become a significant factor in the formation of ethnoregional political identity.<sup>7</sup> Regional identification models are gaining strength and are actively being approved, including with the help of the political elite, and the emphasis of local socio-cultural differences and social class opposition is increasing.

The origin of the concept of “identity” is associated with the Latin word “identitas”, which means “authenticity”. From English (identity), French (identité) and German (dentitat) languages is translated as “identity”, “authenticity”, “personality”, “individuality”. Thus, the category of ‘identity’ is closely connected not only with the concept of “identity”, but also with the emergence of the concept of “individual” in various disciplinary contexts, as

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<sup>6</sup> Zygmunt Bauman, *The Individualized Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 272; Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity* (London: Global Modernities, 1995), 25-44; Petro Ivanovych Nadolishnii, Etnonatsionalnyi faktor administrativnoi reformy v Ukraini: problemy teorii, metodolohii, praktyky [Ethnonational factor of administrative reform in Ukraine: problems of theory, methodology, practice] (Kyiv, Ukraine: Publishing house “UADU”, 1998), 264; Myhailo Nichoha, “Zitknennia tsyvilizatsii posered Ukrainy” [Clash of civilizations in the middle of Ukraine], Pradva magazine, June 11, 2010, <http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2010/06/11/5126765/>; Elizabeth Noel-Neumann, *Obschestvennoe mnenye. Otkrytiye spirali molchaniya* [Public opinion. Opening the spiral of silence], trans. Mykhayl Nazarov (Moscow: Publishing house “Progress-Akademiya”, 1996), 427.

<sup>7</sup> Panchuk, Yevtukh, Voinalovych et al., *Etnopolitychni protsesy v Ukraini*, 396.

well as with the establishment in the European tradition of discourses “distinction”, “otherness”, “authenticity”, etc.<sup>8</sup>

In the social sciences, identity is defined as a multidimensional, variable category, constructed by sociocultural, historical, political, and other factors and subjects.

At the present stage of development of society, the mutual influence of global and local changes at different levels (the so-called glocalization) determines the process of closely intertwining universalistic and particularistic bases for studying the concept of identity and the need to apply a number of methodological approaches. For example, the Belarusian researcher G. Minenkov defines three main methodological approaches: primordialism, essentialism and constructivism.<sup>9</sup>

In the study of regional identity, primordialism and constructivism play a special role. In the framework of primordialism, emphasis is placed on group actions of a symbolic or ritual nature, as well as on the emotional significance of group affiliation. Ethnicity in this system of views looks like an intergenerational population of people with fairly stable linguistic and cultural, mental characteristics, their own self-consciousness. The “loss of permanent identity” syndrome is viewed as a personal drama of the individual and as a form of collective depression. The main features of primordialism is a mental construct, the purpose of which is to realize the need for belonging to a particular community and separation from other communities. Most constructivists do not perceive identity as a given, viewing it as a peculiar result of self-presentation — a phantom in reformatting and is not essential, not immanent, but correlative and contextual.<sup>10</sup>

Identity has a social character and is a product of social interaction. The most important forms of identity, according to M. Stepyko, are social: class, ethnic, national, civil, political, and the like. A common thing for them, the scientist believes, is the idea of a person about his belonging to a group, a community of “his own”, to “ours”, to those that arise in his consciousness as “we”. This positive side of the awareness of their belonging to a particular community at the same time implies distancing and affirming their ‘differentness’ in relation to other communities.<sup>11</sup>

The most common and popular in the social sciences is the interpretation of Yu. Kachanov, who defines identity as an active process, which shows the

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<sup>8</sup> Nichoha, “Zitknennia .”

<sup>9</sup> Hryhorii Minenkov, “Kontsept identichnosti: perspektivy opredeleniya” [The concept of ideality: the prospects for determining], *Live Journal*, January 11, 2015, <https://guralyuk.livejournal.com/547306.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Nahorna, *Rehionalna identychnist*, 405.

<sup>11</sup> Mykhailo Tymofiiiovych Stepyko, “Ukrainian identity in terms of socio-political transformations,” *Strategic priorities*, no. 4 (25) (December 2012): 5-12.

subject's idea of himself and is accompanied by a sense of his own continuity, "which allows him to perceive his life as an experience of the duration and unity of consciousness and makes it possible to act consistently."<sup>12</sup> Identity in this case is a sign of the "entry" of the individual into a social position.

The main role in the formation of identity, according to many researchers, is played by cultural factors. In particular, M. Castells defines identity as "the process of constructing individual meaning (meaning) on the basis of a certain cultural trait or a related set of cultural traits that are preferred over other sources of individual meaning."<sup>13</sup>

The value of the cultural factor in the definition of identity is also emphasized by the well-known researcher in the field of Ukrainian regional studies L. Nahorna. The scientist refers to the term 'identity' cultural norm, reflects the emotional reactions of communities and individuals. In psychology, human identity is defined as a stable "I", an inner awareness of oneself as a member of a certain community. In the social sense, identity has the appearance of the most significant political, cultural, religious, and other orientations, which determine a network of human relations with groups, institutions, ideas, etc.<sup>14</sup>

Identity is based on the mechanisms of distinction and identification. Identity arises from the comparison of "I" and "Other", while the "Other" can be defined as the Enemy, as well as the Friend. Identity is the result of an identification process that performs the functions of self-description and self-determination. Thus, identity can be viewed as the result of the identification process, which shows the psychological and social mechanisms of identity formation, and in a broad sense can be defined as the process of formation, functioning and development of the subject's identity. The peculiarity of this subjectivity lies in the fact that it has a subjective-role, functional, constructed character.

The deep social shifts occurring during the modernization of modern societies, the processes of globalization and the development of the information society have led to the emergence of complex societies with a "hybrid", multiple, mixed identity of their citizens, that is, before the pluralization of identity.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, identity in modern society is no longer self-evident and

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<sup>12</sup> Yurii Kachanov, *Opyty o pole politiki* [Field policy experiences] (Moscow: Institute of experimental sociology, 1994), 159.

<sup>13</sup> Volodymyr Yhorevych Pantin, Yryna Stanslavovna Semenenko, "Problemy identichnosti i rossiyskaya modernizatsiya" [Eidentity issues and Russian modernization] in the *The search for national-civilizational identity and the concept of the "special way" in the Russian mass consciousness in the context of modernization*, ed. Viktor Lapkin (Moscow: E.M. Primakov National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2004), 34-39.

<sup>14</sup> Nahorna, *Rehionalna identychnist*, 405.

<sup>15</sup> Anthony Giddens, *Sotsiologiya* [Sociology], trans. Korry Berdsoul (Moscow: Publishing house "Editorial", 2005), 303; Viktor Serheevich Martianov, *Konflikt identychnostey v politicheskoy proyekte "Moderna": multikulturalizm ili assilyatsiya* [Conflict of

predictable and may have a vague and sometimes even conflicting nature. Describing the state of identity in modern society, we can state the explosion of new identities that fragment society, emphasizing private and special interests as opposed to general interest. Identity as a multi-level, open, mobile system incorporates various types of identity.

Researchers identify three levels of identity. At the first level is the so-called basic identity – personal self-determination. The second contains a cluster of sociocultural identities – age, professional, territorial, gender, ethnic, religious, etc. The third is the national-civic identity that is fundamental for every society, as well as civilizational, transnational, global identity.<sup>16</sup>

Different types of social regional identity (ethnic, religious, demographic, professional, etc.) can be politicized under certain conditions and used by political actors (government, parties, political elites and leaders, as well as foreign agents of influence) as a political resource.

Political identity can be considered as a special case of social identity. By its nature, it is rational and reflexive at the same time. By taking a certain status position, a person relates his position, the system of political views and values with other individuals and political objects, namely, the state, parties, interest groups, mass movements, etc.

On the basis of summarizing various approaches to the definition of political identity, a general conclusion could be drawn that political identity is affirmed in the process of relating a person to other individuals and political institutions on the basis of his ideological and political values and sympathies. The most significant political positions and orientations for a person largely determine its electoral choice and other forms of political behaviour.

Formation of identity in a postmodern society is a more complex and pluralistic process, not only in comparison with a traditional society, but also with a disciplinary modernist society, in which the state and ideology played a special role in the construction of identity. Today in postmodern society, which is a network structure, ideology and the state are losing their former value, and the state-national identity is being eroded. Another characteristic tendency is to increase the national and cultural identity of ethnic and confessional minorities, subcultures, which increases the fragmentation of national-state communities. The coexistence of multiple identities within a single political system increases the risks of conflict between social groups, despite the attempt of modern states using different models of politics (for example, a “melting pot” or “multiculturalism”) to level out the opposition of social identities.

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identities in the political project “Moderna”: multiculturalism or assimilation] (Moscow: E.M. Primakov National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2011), 36-42; Nikolas Vegas, *Geopolitics in the names* (Uzhgorod, Ukraine: Publishing House “Hoverla”, 2011), 216.

<sup>16</sup> Nahorna, *Sotsiokulturna identychnist*, 272.

Therefore, the task of modern postmodern states is to construct such a universal model of political identity that would consolidate society on the basis of norms and values that are perceived by all members of society and would be the basis for collective self-identification of a national or supranational community. At the same time, the main mechanism for the formation of any model of identity is reliance on the cultural, civilizational and social priorities and practices that exist in society.

Regional identity refers to a collective type of political identity and is one of the basic elements of constructing a “region” as a specific socio-political space. Regional identity is constructed through the understanding of the connection between the community and the space in a historical and cultural political context.

In the Ukrainian scientific discourse, there are many approaches to the definition of a region. In general, the majority of scientists agree that declaring the totality of territories as a “region” is possible only if there are certain signs: common historical fate, only cultural characteristics of the group (material and spiritual), geographical unity of the territory, some general type of economy. This concept is quite multifaceted disclosed in the international legal practice of interstate relations. In particular, the Charter of Regionalism of the European Parliament (in 1998) treats the region as a homogeneous space, characterized by a physical-geographical, ethnic, cultural community, as well as a common economic structure and historical fate.<sup>17</sup>

According to various criteria in modern Ukraine there are from 3 to 11 regional entities. Exploring the regional features of the ethnopolitical processes in Ukraine, the team of authors (M. Panchuk (leader), V. Evtukh, V. Voynalovich, V. Kotigorenko, A. Kalakura, N. Kochan, N. Makarenko, T. Gorban, A. Lyashenko, L. Kovach) of the I.F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in the monograph “Ethnopolitical Processes in Ukraine: Regional Peculiarities”<sup>18</sup> highlighted the following four macroregions in the domestic public space: Western, Central, Southern and Eastern. Scientists attributed the eight most western regions to the Western macroregion – Volyn, Rivne, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Khmelnytsky, Zakarpattia and Chernivtsi (these are 23.2% of the population according to the 2001 census). The central macroregion consists of Zhytomyr, Vinnytsia, Kirovograd, Cherkasy, Poltava, Sumy, Chernihiv, Kiev regions and the city of Kiev (30% of the population). The southern macroregion is comprised of Dnipropetrovsk, Odessa, Nikolaev,

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<sup>17</sup> Iryna Markivna Busygina, “Kontseptualnyye osnovy evropeyskogo regionalizma” [Conceptual foundations of European regionalism] in *Regions and regionalism in the countries of the West and Russia*, ed. Viktor Schukyn (Moscow: Institute of World History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2001), 10-15.

<sup>18</sup> Panchuk, Yevtukh, Voinalovych et al., *Etnopolitychni protsesy v Ukraini*, 274.

Kherson, Zaporizhzhia regions and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (27% of the population). To the Eastern macro-region, scientists attributed the three most eastern regions – Kharkiv, Donetsk and Luhansk (21% of the population).

The authors also appeal to the experience of sociocultural regions in Ukraine: Transcarpathian Ukraine, Eastern Galicia, Volyn, Dnieper, Podilia, Slobozhanshchyna, Donbas, Crimea, and the Northern Black Sea Region.<sup>19</sup>

Researchers at the Oleksandr Razumkov Ukrainian Center for Economic and Political Studies in the study “Identity of Ukrainian citizens: changes, trends, regional characteristics” in 2015<sup>20</sup> used the following division of Ukraine into regions: *West*: Volyn, Zakarpattia, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Rovno, Ternopil, Chernivtsi regions; *Center*: the city of Kiev, Vinnitsa, Zhytomyr, Kiev, Kirovograd, Poltava, Sumy, Khmelnytsky, Cherkasy, Chernihiv regions; *South*: Nikolaev, Odessa, Kherson regions; *East*: Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhia, Kharkiv regions; *Donbas*: Donetsk, Luhansk regions.<sup>21</sup>

Differences in the historical experience of different regions of Ukraine affected the socio-cultural and linguistic structure of their inhabitants. As shown by the results of the interregional sociological research of 2014-2015. Linguistic and cultural differentiation is indeed close to regional and political differentiation. In this regard, the authors of the national report “Ukraine: the path to the consolidation of society” distinguish the following historical and cultural regions of Ukraine.<sup>22</sup>

- Galicia and Volyn – with the dominance of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian-European (to a lesser extent in Volyn) cultural identity;
- Central and Northern Ukraine (Kiev, Chernihiv, Podilia, the turn, the Center and, to a lesser extent, Transcarpathia and Bukovina) – with a predominance of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian-European cultural identity;
- Southern and South-Eastern Ukraine – with a predominance of the Russian language and Slavic-Soviet cultural identity;
- Donbas – with the dominance of the Russian language and Slavic-Soviet cultural identity;
- The capital (Kiev) – with a predominance of Russian-Ukrainian bilingualism, but a European-Ukrainian cultural identity, with the result that it does not belong to one of the types in a cultural sense.

Politically and culturally, political scientists and sociologists usually single out the Western Ukrainian, Central Ukrainian, and South-Eastern or

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 152.

<sup>20</sup> Razumkov Center, “Identity of Ukrainian Citizens,” 100.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 103.

<sup>22</sup> Serhii Ivanovych Pirozhkov, Yuri Petrovych Bogutskiy, Ella Marlenivna Libanova et al., *Ukraine: the path to consolidation companies* (Kyiv, Ukraine: National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2017), 336.

Northeast regions of Ukraine.<sup>23</sup> According to L. Uhryn, apart from Western and Eastern Ukraine, it is impossible not to take into account the existence of two more large regions – the Center and the South, characterized by both common and distinctive features with the West and the East, and the Center has a huge potential to consolidate and synthesize the regional diversity of Ukraine. In addition, both the East and the West are also regionally differentiated, for example, in the West there are four more subregions – Galicia, Volyn, Transcarpathia and Bukovina. Nevertheless, the regional identities of Western and Eastern Ukraine are the most accented, emblematic in mass consciousness, the media, political discourse, scientific literature, and the most influenced and influence the socio-political processes in modern Ukraine.<sup>24</sup>

Interesting the P. Nadolishny approach. The author applies the concept of ‘ethnoregions’ and defines it as a corresponding territory, which, by the totality of interrelated ethnic elements, differs from other territories in the nature and intensity of ethnic processes and can act as a separate (independent) object of state ethnonational politics. Such, according to P. Nadolishny, are:

- a group of Central and Northern regions;
- Western regions (with the exception of the Transcarpathian and Chernivtsi regions);
- Eastern and Southern regions (with the exception of the Odessa region);
- Transcarpathian, Odessa and Chernivtsi regions;
- Autonomous Republic of Crimea and Sevastopol.<sup>25</sup>

However, as a rule, two important regional centers – Donbas and Galicia – personify the East and West of Ukraine. Each of these regions is characterized by a peculiar geopolitical location, special historical and political experience, and sociocultural originality. They actually personify the characteristic regional political cultures of our state. As N. Makarenko stresses, the “historically conditioned’ nationalization” of the West and the “internationalization” of the East are the most influential and equally diverse trends that have shaped the peculiarities of the national mentality among the Ukrainian population, increased differentiation within a single geographical space’.<sup>26</sup>

The experience gained by the inhabitants of these regions in the process of

<sup>23</sup> Valerii Bortnykov, “Rozmezhuвання” v Ukraini v konteksti tsinnisnoi identyfikatsii naselennia” [“Restriction” in Ukraine in the context of value identification of the population], *Politychnyi menedzhment*, no. 1 (February 2007): 37-47.

<sup>24</sup> Lesiia Yaroslavivna Uhryn, “Vplyv rehionalnykh identychnosti na politychnyi protses v Ukraini” [Influence of regional identities on the political process in Ukraine], *WestUkr Journal*, March 2007, [http://westukr.itgo.com/ugryn\\_cpd\\_conf\\_0701.html](http://westukr.itgo.com/ugryn_cpd_conf_0701.html).

<sup>25</sup> Nadolishnii, *Etnonatsionalnyi faktor*, 220.

<sup>26</sup> Nataliia Makarenko, “Natsionalna identychnist: osoblyvosti rehionalnoho vymiru” [National identity: features of regional dimension], *Scientific Notes of the I.F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine*, no. 2 (46) (April 2010): 100-16.



historical development was characterized by significant periods of lack of statehood and being in various states and empires.<sup>27</sup> For almost a thousand years of history, with the exception of the era of Kievan Rus, the short-term existence of the state of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the UPR, the Ukrainian community, its segments geographically in different periods were part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and finally the Soviet Union (de facto was the next model of the Russian Empire).

As the researcher T. Gorban notes:

“the processes that took place during the Soviet era on the territory of Southern, Eastern and Central Ukraine, completed the formation of ethno-political peculiarities with which the regions were named entered in 1991. In the period of independence of the Ukrainian state. And although the factors that determined these peculiarities caused by the statelessness of the Ukrainian lands became historical past, it is obvious that their consequences for a long time have a significant impact on the course of socio-political processes both in individual regions and in the state as a whole”.<sup>28</sup>

The religious factor also plays an influential role in the social and political life of the Ukrainian regions.<sup>29</sup>

There are the following “religious and geographical regions”:

- Volynsky (Volyn, Rivne, north of the Ternopil region), dominated by Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow and Kyiv Patriarchate;
- Galitsky (Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, part of the Ternopil region), for which “complete predominance of Catholicism, especially Greek Catholicism”<sup>30</sup> is characteristic, and among Orthodox churches, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kyiv Patriarchate have the greatest influence;
- Transcarpathian (Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate, Roman Catholic Church, Jehovah's Witnesses, reformers);
- Podolsko-Bukovinsky (Khmelnitsky, Vinnitsa and Chernovtsy regions), dominated by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow and Kyiv Patriarchate;
- Central (Kiev, Zhytomyr, Chernihiv, Sumy, Poltava, Cherkasy, Kirovograd regions), which is also dominated by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow and Kyiv Patriarchate;
- South-East (Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhia, Donetsk, Luhansk regions), which is dominated by the Ukrainian Orthodox

<sup>27</sup> Uhryn, “Vplyv rehionalnykh identychnosti”.

<sup>28</sup> Panchuk, Yevtukh, Voinalovych et al., *Etnopolitychni protsesy v Ukraini*, 160.

<sup>29</sup> Mariia Karmazina, *Contradictions of identities in modern Ukraine: grounds, manifestations, risks* (Kyiv, Ukraine: I.F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2015), 160.

<sup>30</sup> Kotyhorenko, Kalakura, Kovach et al. *Donbas v etnopolitychnomu vymiri*, 456-57.

Church of Moscow Patriarchate;

- Southern (Odessa, Kherson, Nikolaev regions and Crimea), where the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate predominates.

But, the level of religiosity and the degree of importance of religion for the population of the regions is different. So, in the east of the country at the beginning of 2013, 59% declared themselves believers (versus 66% in 2010), whereas in the West, respectively, 86% (in 2010 – 89%).<sup>31</sup> Empirical evidence confirms that the readiness to support the geopolitical orientation of their country largely depends on the confessional identity of the citizens of Ukraine.<sup>32</sup>

A number of factors of geographical, historical, socio-economic, political and cultural importance influencing the formation of regional identity in Ukraine are distinguished by L. Nahorna:

- 1) natural and climatic features caused by the terrain, resource endowment, specificity of the settlement culture;
- 2) geopolitical influences - wars and related migration processes, divisions and redistribution of the territory;
- 3) targeted political measures of metropolitan states aimed at the integration of the territory and the assimilation of the population, as well as the introduction of their own management schemes and identification models;
- 4) the specificity of social stratification, including due to religious and interfaith confrontation, according to the state of the educational system;
- 5) traditional or assimilated in the process of colonization legal ideas and ways of self-organization;
- 6) the political interests of local elites.<sup>33</sup>

The researcher believes that Ukraine can be a typical example of how painful and uneasy the process of development of local, local identities that have developed in the absence of statehood and dismemberment, into a national identity, and how, after independence, has become irreversible dynamics in the opposite direction - design regional identity. The search for identification models turned out to be difficult and still unfinished. The natural desire of the regions to ensure their own self-sufficiency, not to mention possible federalist and even separatist tendencies on the ground, to stimulate the growth of regional self-awareness and crystallization of territorial interests.<sup>34</sup>

The main focus of L. Nahorna is on understanding the risks and threats generated by a traumatized historical memory, the antonymic of political orientations and the diversification of public consciousness that has developed

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Mykola Olenksandrovy`ch Shulha, *Heopolitychni oriientatsii naseleennia i bezpeka Ukrainy. Za danymy sotsiologiv* [Geopolitical orientations of the population and the security of Ukraine. According to sociologists] (Kyiv, Ukraine: Publishing house "Business-polihraf", 2019), 80.

<sup>33</sup> Nahorna, *Rehionalna identychnist*, 405.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

on this basis. She emphasizes that ‘without developing an integral system of basic values and fundamental principles capable of cementing society, Ukraine will continue to be doomed to orientation bifurcation, confrontation in political thinking and behaviour, a “crisis of ideals.”<sup>35</sup> Today, the author believes, it is necessary to realize that the future of Ukraine as an independent state depends on which principles, national civil or local ethnic, to shape the framework of identification practices.<sup>36</sup>

Thus, the factors of regional identification are: territorial relations arising on the basis of common or neighbouring residence of members of social groups of different scale and cultural identification, symbols, images, narratives, myths about borders and the uniqueness of a region and prospects for regional development. These grounds for the consolidation of the regional community are actively supported by regional elites and the media, becoming an essential aspect of regional policy.

The main mechanisms for constructing political identity through the media is the introduction of certain attitudes, stereotypes, sewage of certain public moods and modelling of public opinion into the public consciousness. Unfortunately, regional media do not always adhere to the policy of consolidation, political consensus and tolerance during election campaigns, highlighting events occurring in the state, contributes to an even greater polarization of Ukrainian society. For example, research discourse analysis of the national press 2004-2005. Around the content and forms of the national idea in Ukraine, they demonstrated that “the mass media, with the exception of the liberal ones, during the difficult times of the escalation of the confrontations did not reveal sufficient consolidation. Remaining overwhelmingly the mouthpiece of the moods that dominated in each of the regions, they voluntarily or involuntarily fuelled confrontation.”<sup>37</sup>

Extreme threat in this sense is the spread of all sorts of phobias in the spheres of ethnopolitics, based on the distortion of historical facts and events of our time. Particularly common confrontation of stakeholders in the field of mass media discourse usually occurs in the border regions in discourses on interethnic, inter-ethnic conflicts, the formation of the settlement structure of the population of multi-ethnic regions and regional identity. Moreover, the media not only covers certain events, but also acts as a means of ensuring their offensive and development in the desired course for political leadership.<sup>38</sup> With

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<sup>35</sup> Nahorna, *Sotsiokulturna identychnist*, 268-69.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 270.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Valerii Tishkov, “Etnicheskiy konflikt v kontekste obshchestvovedcheskikh teoriy” [Ethnic conflict in contexts of social science theories], *Social conflicts: expertise, forecasting, technology*, no. 1 (January 1992): 35-6; Kotyhorenko, Kalakura, Kovach et al. *Donbas v etnopolitychnomu vymiri*, 510-11.

the rapid spread of the latest means of transmitting information based on the use of computer equipment and the Internet, the regional media increasingly see the role of one of the means of promoting certain authorities of certain financial and industrial groups in power.<sup>39</sup>

In the context of the subject of the research, it is necessary to mention the scientific discourse that is popular today on the problem of the limitritic (border, peripheral) location of Ukraine, which also took shape historically. In particular, S. Troyan believes that “on the one hand, the eastern borders of Ukraine are the line of demarcation between Europe and Russia as a separate Russian-Eurasian civilization, on the other, Russia considers the western borders of Ukraine to be the line of demarcation between NATO and the CIS space, which considers zone of their special interests.”<sup>40</sup> The author believes that:

“Ukraine is a Limitro in three dimensions. In geopolitical, it was between NATO and Russia. In economic terms, between countries with a predominantly market economy, a Western economy, and a state-monopoly economy under the control of the new ruling class economy of Russia. In the spiritual and moral - between the totalitarian mono ideological past and the largely uncertain future in the form of actually only the idea of a legal, democratic, socially oriented state.”<sup>41</sup>

Limitrophic position S. Troyan defines as an intermediate: “If the people of the “limitrofa” do not take root in the structure of a regional civilization, then their self-affirmation in the form of an independent state remains problematic, as it is problematic to implement and create its consolidated local civilization.”<sup>42</sup>

Based on S. Khantington, who believed that Ukraine is at the crossroads of world civilizations that combine different ethnic and religious subcultures, scientists analyze how “The clashes of civilizations” within Ukraine reflect on the state of Ukrainian society.<sup>43</sup> S. Khantington noted that segments of Ukrainian society, “the repulsive forces split into pieces and attracted them to the civilization magnets of other societies. This formed a feeling in them that they are different nations and belonging to different territories.”<sup>44</sup> For example, M. Nichoga claims that the cause of the crisis of national identity in Ukraine is the civilizational split, which carries in itself first conflict to conflict of cultures, nations and civilizations. The author emphasizes that the conflict that splits

<sup>39</sup> Kotyehorenko, Kalakura, Kovach et al. *Donbas v etnopolitychnomu vymiri*, 512.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Serhii Troyan, “Suchasna Ukraina: vid lokalnoi tsyvilizatsii do konsolidatsii suspilstva” [Modern Ukraine: From Local Civilization to Consolidation of Society] in *20 years of Ukraine's independence: gains, losses and strategies for the future*, ed. Serhii Ivanov (Kyiv, Ukraine: National Academy of Management, 2011), 188-90.

<sup>42</sup> Troyan, “Suchasna Ukraina,” 189.

<sup>43</sup> Khantington, *Kto my*, 636.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

Ukraine is a conflict between Western and Orthodox civilizations.<sup>45</sup> Supports the view of the civilization split in the territory of Ukraine and S. Troyan. The scientist believes that Ukraine

“is at the crossroads of three large and powerful civilization spaces - Western European, Eurasian, Islamic, therefore, in Ukrainian society there are obvious differences and even opposition on cultural and civilizational orientations. The belonging of Ukraine to the peripheral zones of several civilizations makes it possible to determine its belonging to the split civilizations.”<sup>46</sup>

Indeed, in the religious space of Ukraine, Orthodoxy dominates (Eastern Christianity), but at the same time the Western region of the country is under the influence of Greek Catholicism (Christianity). The confessional affiliation of Ukrainian citizens largely, according to sociological research, determines their geopolitical orientations.<sup>47</sup>

Realizing that there are countries that are on the verge of various civilizations and even civilization worlds (for example, France, Japan, Turkey, Mexico), it can be concluded that the position of Ukraine is not unique. Another thing is that in our country today not just a meeting of the Euro-Atlantic and Orthodox (and partly Muslim) civilizations takes place, but the line of collision of the dominant civilizations of the Christian world - the North Atlantic (Protestant) and the Eurasian (Moscow-Orthodox). This leads to the civilizational split of the Ukrainian society, which is manifested by the regional and individual mentality, an indicator of which is the discrepancy between the declarative orientation to the civilizational model of the developed West and the ideas about those practices that are inherent in the chosen civilization contour.<sup>48</sup>

The fact that for many centuries the Ukrainian territory was a “civilization crossroads”, a territory of intersection of many cultures and religions, directly affects our present - both in the internal, Ukrainian, and in the external, common European dimension, T. Gorban considers.<sup>49</sup> According to L. Horizontov, the problem of establishing the macroregional identity of the Ukrainian and, consequently, the place of Ukraine in the modern European space is complicated by the fact that “the historically mobile zone of intersection of European macroregions passes precisely through the territory of Ukraine.”<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Nichoha, “Zitknennia .”

<sup>46</sup> Troyan, “Suchasna Ukraina,” 190.

<sup>47</sup> Shulha, *Heopolitychni orientatsii naseleння i bezpeka Ukrainy*, 81.

<sup>48</sup> Pirozhkov, Bogutskiy, Libanova et al. *Ukraine*, 301.

<sup>49</sup> Panchuk, Yevtukh, Voinalovych et al., *Etnopolitychni protsesy v Ukraini*, 397.

<sup>50</sup> Leonid Yefremovych Horyzontov, “Ukraina v zerkale regionalistiki” [Ukraine in the mirror of regionalism] in *The Regions and Borders of Ukraine in retrospective*

Regional identity today is due not only to objective factors: the history of settlement and formation of the region, economic development, ethnocultural characteristics, etc. A large role is played by factors of the subjective order: goals and activities of the regional elite, administration, political parties and public organizations, position and influence mainstream media.

As S. Rymarenko stresses, regional interests and values play a prominent role in the formation of regional political identity.<sup>51</sup> The presence of regional interests is due to the specific socio-economic, political problems of modern Ukraine:

- interests of various social groups (professional, age, religious, etc.);
- the interests of political groups in the region, at an appropriate level, should represent the interests of groups of the population;
- interests of the regional elite, which controls the power structures and seeks to institutionalize their relations with the Centre;
- interests of the regional leader and his team, which may conflict with the priorities of the population.

Moreover, the author believes that it is possible to speak of regional political regimes, since the regions of Ukraine are divided into spheres of influence of financial-industrial groups with their party superstructures – parties.

A similar position in the Ukrainian sociologist A. Stehni, who shares the factors under the influence of which territorial identities are formed, into long-and short-term ones. The former depends on the characteristics of the settlement network, the degree of economic development of the region, the ethnic composition of the population and its migration experience, historical memory, orientation towards “freedom” or “order”, unitarism or autonomy. The latter are shaped by the situational interests of regional elites, geopolitical factors, and current political processes. On this basis, a ‘regional development pattern’ can emerge – as a historically established type of reproduction of regional identity, a kind of ‘sociocultural code’ that determines the direction of sociocultural dynamics.<sup>52</sup>

Different historical experience of the Ukrainian regions, feelings and experiences enshrined in historical memory, archetypes and myths, led to other parameters of differentiation – mentality, values, attitudes, lifestyle. So, the mentality of Western Ukraine is characterized by the values of individualism, human autonomy, and for Eastern Ukraine, egalitarianism in political and economic relations is dominant.

Peculiarities of world perception by residents of different regions of

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*perspective*, ed. Leonid Horyzontov (Moscow: Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2005), 36-7.

<sup>51</sup> Rafalskyi, Voinalovych, Nahorna et al., *Etnopolitychnyi kontekst sotsiokulturnykh transformatsii u suchasni Ukraini*, 395.

<sup>52</sup> Oleksandr Stehni, “Rehionalnyi chynnyk rozvytku politychnoi kultury naselennia Ukrainy” [Regional factor of development of political culture of the population of Ukraine], *Sociology: theory, methods, marketing*, no. 3 (April 2005): 94-122.

Ukraine significantly influence the values of political culture. Researchers note the existence of regional differences in political culture not only along the East-West axis. In particular, N. Pohorila puts forward a hypothesis about the existence of a “horizontal” (West-East) and a “vertical” (North-South) cultural division of Ukraine. Analyzing political culture as a combination of political competence, trust in politicians and political activity, N. Pohorila notes the absence of a linear connection of elements of political culture with the axis “West-East”. Moreover, in her opinion, the opposition of political cultures of the “civil-alienated” type is most likely characteristic of the Centre and the South.<sup>53</sup>

In modern Ukraine, regional political cultures that accumulate the entire historical experience of the territories have become the main determinants of their political experience. In Ukraine, there are objectively arrays of sustainable imposition of the region on political sympathies.<sup>54</sup>

Political culture as the most important element of the regional policy of any society links together political institutions and processes with political consciousness through patterns of behaviour, values, emotions, attitudes, lifestyle, and world perception. Therefore, the regional mentality influences the heterogeneity of political culture, due to interfaith differences, peculiarities of dogma and religious practices of Orthodoxy and Uniatism. So, the Greek Catholics, mainly concentrated in the West of Ukraine, by their dogmatics to Western European Christianity, associated with Roman law and the concept of private property, to the device of a free personal life. For the Orthodox population of the East of Ukraine are characterized by a collectivist attitude to life problems, the aspiration of a superpersonal goal, mercy, compassion for the needy, condescension to human handicaps, and the like. Orthodox is more subject to discipline under the influence of external circumstances, and the Greek Catholic - internal. In general, according to V. Sychova, one can speak of a greater readiness of the Greek Catholic West of the country, unlike the Orthodox East, for the liberalization of society, privatization of the economy, market competition.<sup>55</sup>

Ukrainian regional identity, according to modern authors, has its own peculiarities, compared to other European countries. So, L. Ugrin believes that

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<sup>53</sup> Nataliia Pohorila, *Rehionalni podily v Ukraini: na prykladi politychnoi kultury* [Regional divisions in Ukraine: an example of political culture] (Kyiv, Ukraine: Publisher “PARAPAN”, 2004), 63-64.

<sup>54</sup> Rafalskyi, Voinalovych, Nahorna et al., *Etnopolitychnyi kontekst sotsiokulturnykh transformatsii u suchasni Ukraini*, 394.

<sup>55</sup> Viktoria Sychova, “Rol partii u formuvanni politychnoi kultury yak chynnyka samorehuliatzii hromadianskoho suspilstva” [The role of the party in shaping political culture as a factor in the self-regulation of civil society] in *Politychni partii v nezalezhnii Ukraini: rol ta mistse u politychnii transformatsii suspilstva* [Political parties in independent Ukraine: the role and place in political transformation of society], ed. Myhailo Hrets (Kharkiv, Ukraine: Publishing house “Atlanta”, 2001), 70-71.

regional differences in Ukraine are deeper than in European countries and acquire features of a civilizational nature. In addition, the author notes that:

- regional identities were formed earlier than the emerged state;
- prevalence (especially in the East and the South) of regional and local identity over national and state identity;
- simplified perception of regional diversity;
- dichotomy of regional identities of the West and the East, especially at the ideological and political levels, elements of alienity into mutual perception;
- interdependence of regional and political identities;
- attempts to construct ethnic differences (Ukrainian and Russian) as the basis of western and eastern identity;
- the influence of external factors on the reproduction and design of regional identities in Ukraine.<sup>56</sup>

The functional analysis of regional identity shows that, being considered one of the basic elements of constructing a “region”, plays a large role in the preservation and functioning of a regional socio-political space. On its basis, a system of knowledge about the region develops, a feeling of a “small homeland”, a kind of “regional patriotism” is formed.

Regional identity provides an appropriate degree of cohesion of the regional community, determines the ways and mechanisms of social interaction between its members.

At the same time, with its help, if necessary (or its imitation), a psychological communicative distance is built up, which separates this community from others according to the principle “We” – “They”.

The psychological component of regional identity is also manifested under the influence of globalization processes. Identity in the course of globalization is changing due to the increasing interaction of cultures, it becomes more pluralistic. The problem of identity in the process of globalization includes the designation of its place in the transnational economic, cultural identity, personal identity and the like. As a result, the “national”, by countries of origin, identity is being eroded, it loses its solid benchmarks. The state has competitors in the form of network communities, transnational corporations, supranational structures.

But globalization does not mean reducing the role of the local. The English sociologist R. Robertson coined the term “globalization”, which means that globalization and localization processes occur simultaneously, that the local is an aspect of globalization, the global creates the local.<sup>57</sup>

Psychological compensation for the influence of the global becomes a local or regional identity associated with a small homeland. The interaction

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<sup>56</sup> Uhryn, “Vplyv rehionalnykh identychnosti”.

<sup>57</sup> Robertson, *Globalization*, 37.



between the global and the local in the modern world is described by the well-known Polish-English sociologist S. Bauman in his book “The Individualized Society”: “Our dependencies are now completely global, and our actions are, however, previously local.”<sup>58</sup>

According to sociological studies conducted in 2005 by the Alexander Razumkov Ukrainian Center for Economic and Political Studies<sup>59</sup> citizens of Ukraine ‘first and foremost’ associated themselves with their place of residence, that is, local (local) identity (44.4% of respondents). Almost a third (31.3%) showed an all-Ukrainian identity; 14.8% – regional. Other measurements indicated insignificant groups of respondents (from 2.9% - the Soviet Union, to 0.8% – Europe).

In December 2015 the same number (40%) of respondents showed that they “first of all” associate themselves with Ukraine and with a specific settlement (city, village) where they live. 11.4% of respondents indicated that they are associating themselves with the region of residence. With other communities, insignificant shares of respondents showed their identity (2.1% with the Soviet Union, 1.5% with Europe, 0.6% with Russia).<sup>60</sup>

At the same time, the process of consolidation of the Ukrainian regions is difficult. The formation of a political nation faces a number of problems that inhibit its formation. This process became even more aggravated in the context of an open military conflict in the Donbas. The fears of the threat of an external enemy attack rose sharply in the population’s consciousness (from 9.5% in 2013 to 52% in 2015), which led to civilian consolidation and an increase in the number of those who identified themselves as citizens of Ukraine. Thus, according to the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the number of those who identify themselves as citizens of Ukraine increased from 2013 to 2015 by 6.5% – from 51% to 57.5%.<sup>61</sup> But a deeper analysis shows that the identification of residents of regions with Ukrainian citizenship is not uniform. If among the residents of the west and center of the country, they identify themselves as citizens of Ukraine, 65% and 64%, respectively, then those among the inhabitants of the South – 45%, and Donbas, only 39% (we are talking about the territories controlled by the Ukrainian authorities).

These examples show two trends. Firstly, the number of citizens identifying themselves with Ukraine is increasing, and secondly, local, local

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<sup>58</sup> Bauman, *The Individualized Society*, 270.

<sup>59</sup> Razumkov Center, “The common identity of Ukrainian citizens”, 5.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Olena Zlobina, Mykola Shulha, Lyubov Bevzenko et al., *Sotsialno-psykholohichni chynnyky intehratsii ukrainskoho sotsiumu* [Socio-psychological factors of integration of Ukrainian society] (Kyiv, Ukraine: Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2016), <http://i-soc.com.ua/assets/files/journal/leshch-socio-psy-factors-a5-16-01-2017.pdf>.

identity retains its value. This is due, in our opinion, not only to the erosion of national identity under the influence of global factors, but, in the particular Ukrainian version, this is also due to the increasing trend of regional divisions (linguistic, cultural, geopolitical, etc.) in Ukraine.<sup>62</sup> On the one hand, the regional split is due to objective factors (history of regional development, ethnocultural differences, peculiarities of the economic structure of regions), on the other hand, this topic is actively stimulated by the political elite and politicians in order to obtain electoral sympathies and other political dividends.

Given the psychological component of political identity, the researchers draw attention to its psychotherapeutic role. According to E. Noel-Neumann, general significance, publicity is such a state when individuals do not want to isolate themselves and lose their face.<sup>63</sup> Meeting the need for recognition, E. Noel-Neumann believes, can play the role of motivating political behaviour, helps to transform needs for action, helps people navigate the political space, and allows them to evaluate what is happening. The emotional component of regional identity creates a sense of belonging to the regional community and, with its help, being protected from the blows of fate. In the same direction, a compensatory function acts, the role of which is decisive in “traumatized” societies. Due to regional identity, certain aspects of the crisis development of the political system are compensated (ensuring an adequate level of political participation of the population and the legitimacy of the government through the popularization of, for example, national identity).

Regional identity is of great instrumental value. It creates mechanisms for securing a positive identity in one's consciousness, a disposition towards the priority of one's own values, and self-esteem education. But it is equally capable of stimulating the curved images of other identities, megalomania and xenophobia.<sup>64</sup>

As social practice shows, complex relations with the centre and infringement (or the presence of mass ideas about such restrictions) of regional political, socio-economic, spiritual interests can become factors of hypertrophic politicization of regional identity. In this case, in the ranking of identities, it is precisely regional identity that comes to the fore, which significantly harms the national one.

The potential of regional identities depends not only on the attractive force of attraction, but also on the strength or weakness of the national-civic identity. These two identities can be complementary, but under certain conditions they can also resist each other. So, in the case of inadequate capacity of state institutions, there is a hypothetical possibility of the development of regionalism according to a destructive scenario. Ethnocultural factors play a special role in conflicts of

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<sup>62</sup> Nataliia Pashyna, “Etnomovnyi chynnyk politychnoi identychnosti v Donbasi” [Ethnological factor of political identity in the Donbas], *Political management*, no. 1 (January 2005): 24-34.

<sup>63</sup> Noel-Neumann, *Obshchestvennoe mnenye*, 325.

<sup>64</sup> Nahorna, *Rehionalna identychnist*, 405.

identities, therefore modern political science is increasingly focusing its attention on the “ethnocultural dimension” of identity politics.

It should be noted that mixed identification is typical for most people. For example, a resident of Mariupol may feel at the same time a resident of the city, the Donbas, a citizen of Ukraine, a member of any party. The ratio of significance of identification objects for an individual depends on the hierarchy of these objects in his political picture of the world, which is formed depending on many subjective and objective factors, in particular on his dispositions in the sociocultural, economic and political space (its *habitus*), as well as on the level of formation objects of identification: state, nation, party, region, etc.

## Conclusions

Thus, the formation of a collective national identity in the conditions of regions of complex ethnic and confessional composition is one of the urgent problems of modern Ukraine. The group national-cultural identity of the regions of Ukraine cannot be explained only by current economic and political processes, it has deep historical roots. Ethnocultural factors play a special role in regional identity. Regional identity, which is based on ethno-cultural factors, translates into political sentiments and orientations of the inhabitants of the region, is actively manifested in elections at the regional and national levels.

Despite the rather large interest of Ukrainian scientists in the problems of regional identity, the topic has not exhausted itself. This is due to the fact that regional identity in each region of Ukraine is determined by a unique combination of the historical heritage of the region, features of the ethnic and religious composition of its population, socio-economic status, specifics of lifestyle, traditions, culture, ethnic groups and many other factors that constitute a specific set of circumstances. In addition, the politicization of regional differences led to the intensification of the regionalization of electoral political sympathies, the aggravation of social differences around geopolitical and ethnocultural values. Therefore, the problem of regional identity has a high identification dynamism and requires constant scientific monitoring from those new perspectives that are actualized by political practice.

A significant role in the process of identification of social subjects and the formation of collective identities is played by the policy of identity, which is carried out by various actors of the political process. The policy of identity in a democratic society does not exclude the presence of a multitude of identities, including political ones, which are in a certain hierarchy of meanings for social subjects. It is aimed at creating a foundation for reconciling different, differentiated interests, the basis of collective self-identification of society. Thus, national identity should be considered as a basis for consolidating

citizens, an important resource for stabilizing the political system and social development.

The experience of the development of modern states shows that the policy of identity can be quite effective, and regional differences are not an absolute obstacle to the formation of a collective national identity. Therefore, long-term planning and software of identity politics at the state level, based on public consensus and democratic values, taking into account the ethno-cultural, confessional and linguistic features of the Ukrainian regions, are of particular relevance in modern Ukraine. The task of the modern Ukrainian state is to develop such a model of regional and socio-cultural policy, in which the poly-ethnicity and multiculturalism of the Ukrainian regions will be considered as non-intrusive value and source of wealth of the Ukrainian society.

The development of an effective strategy for regional interaction and consolidation, forecasting and preventing political risks, involves studying the entire palette of historical and cultural factors in the formation of regional identities and their influence on modern politics.

Studying the specifics of regional identities based on historical, sociocultural, ethnocultural and linguistic features will help to better understand the interrelation of ethnic and political in regional electoral moods, predict the prospects and conditions for regional interaction and consolidation in Ukraine.