Citizenship patriotism as a new model of patriotism: theoretical and methodological basis

Abstract: Political transit determines two main prerequisites for a successful transition to democracy: the presence of an appropriate level of national unity, political will for a democratic transition and a real struggle for democracy. Based on a massive sociological survey conducted within the framework of the Swiss-Ukrainian project, the article analyses the state of citizenship of Ukrainians through the prism of developing their patriotic attitudes. The authors make a theoretical attempt to combine the notions of “citizenship” and “patriotism” with a view to their mutual informative reinforcement in the new model of citizenship patriotism. It is determined that the most integrative potential for the successful completion of democratic transit in Ukraine is a model of citizenship patriotism, based on a high level of citizenship competence of individuals (which implies a well-grounded positive assessment of the national realities, the attitude of conscious fulfillment of civil duties and active position of citizens in the field of protection of public interest).

Keywords: patriotism, citizenship, citizenship competences, citizenship patriotism.

Role of patriotism for successful completion of democratic transit in Ukraine

Political transit determines two main prerequisites for a successful transition to democracy: the presence of an appropriate level of national unity, political will for a democratic transition and a real struggle for democracy (Gorbatenko, 2004:667). The rethinking of various ways of solving the problem of ensuring national unity after the civil protest actions in Ukraine entitled


Oleksandr Mykhailych, PhD in Sociological Sciences, Associate Professor of the Department of Sociology, National Aviation University, Kyiv, Ukraine. ORCID: 0000-0003-0353-7391. ResearcherID: G-5984-2019.

Natalia Protasova, Doctor of Pedagogical Science, Professor, Head of Swiss-Project Development of Citizenship Competences in Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine. ORCID: 0000-0001-5321-9709.

Valentyna Poltorak, Operative Manager of Swiss-Ukrainian Project Development of Citizenship Competences in Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine. ORCID: 0000-0002-2498-6105.

The paper will be published in Crossref, ICI Copernicus, J-Gate, International Scientific Indexing (ISI), Academic Resource Index ResearchBib, eLibrary, Ukrainian National Library, and Internet Archive, databases.

DOI: 10.47451/pol2022-04-01
“Revolution of Dignity” was reflected in many scientific publications and public discourses. At the stage of the surge in civil activity from the first half of 2014 and so far, scholars have increasingly begun to call patriotism a factor that can ensure sustainable civil participation, as well as effective work of the state apparatus in the context of the problems of political development (annexation of the Crimea, the beginning of military aggression on the East of Ukraine). This was reflected even in the fact that in the first version of the draft Law of Ukraine “On Civil Service” among the list of principles of civil service “patriotism” was put in the first place. After about two years of public discussion, in the final version of the Law of Ukraine “On Civil Service”, adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on December 10, 2015, patriotism (defined as “devotion and faithful service to the Ukrainian people”) was placed on the fourth position in the above-mentioned list (article 4, paragraph 1, subparagraph 4). In the previous Law “On Civil Service” dated December 16, 1993 (On Civil Service), the notion of “patriotism” was not mentioned at all. Of course, in a situation of cases of treason by certain public officials of Ukraine’s national interests in the Crimea and in some territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, the relevance of patriotism sounded in a new way. On the other hand, it was a natural reaction of the Ukrainian state to the rapid development of civil society (Table 1) and the public demand for publicity, transparency, openness, collegiality of state governance and professionalism, and the political impartiality of the civil service.

If one proceeds from the approach of the three phases of democratic transit [1], Ukraine is currently (for the second time, the first one was after the Orange Revolution of 2004) on the transition from the second to the third phase. According to D. Rustow, for their existence, stable democracies require not only a healthy economy, but also a consensus about certain social values and beliefs on the basis of which political unity can be achieved. Therefore, post-communist democratization affects not only the sphere of politics, but also the cultural composition of the minds of citizens.

In order to solve internal problems, Ukrainian society, having its own intellectual reserves, has long been forced to import someone else’s experience. It was a situation of manifestation of the archetype of “distortive experience” (Donchenko & Romanenko, 2001) and in some way influenced the fact that the political culture of Ukrainians is controversial, eclectic, marked by the lack of a clear orientation of political development and the priorities of domestic politics, the growth of social pessimism and the presence of a syndrome of wonder, weakening political will of a person. However, during the last 4 years, cordocentrism that is mentally peculiar to Ukrainians has become more or less transformed – Ukrainian society is beginning to lessen trust in promises of politicians, loses its illusion, begins to think more and more rationally, is aware of the need to mobilize domestic resources to win over the aggressor.

In modern Ukraine, the government is still unable to offer a non-contradictory unifying idea for a long-term perspective. Given this, and taking into account that Ukrainians have historically almost never had a sufficiently strong state (which is still the case now), citizens increasingly self-organize, unite to solve problems, and create institutions of civil society. Against the background of a certain distrust of the state, there is a high probability of further development of cooperation between citizens at the level of small groups and associations in Ukraine. For example, according to the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the number of Ukrainians who did not belong to any organization or movement fell from 87% in 2014 to 82%
in 2016 (Brick, 2018). As new socio-political realities determine the need to educate an active, conscious, responsible citizen (good citizen) who will be able to build the Ukrainian state according to the chosen European integration vector of development under the new model of state governance (good governance), which defines civil society as a real partner of the state in development and implementation of policies.

In accordance with the indicated tendencies, the Ukrainian state has intensified the issue of national and patriotic education, and by the order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine dated June 16, 2015, No. 641 “On Approval of the Concept of National and Patriotic Education of Children and Youth”, the Concept was approved, as well as measures for its implementation and Guidelines (On Approval of the Concept…, 2015). However, the expected effectiveness (as evidenced by our analysis of public discourse), apart from the need for additional reporting for educational institutions, has not been recorded from this Concept. The legislator in the new Law of Ukraine “On Education” (as of September 5, 2017) defined citizenship competencies in the list of key competencies-results of training at the level of full secondary education (On Education. Law of Ukraine, 2017). From now on, teachers are increasingly reflecting with pupils what kind of love for the school and for the Motherland is, and what each of us can do for the common good. Naturally, the government came up a little more deeply to the problem of education of the younger generation and social functions of education – through the prism of citizenship. Without a mature citizen who understands the value of public interest and demonstrates the responsible fulfilment of his civil duties, it is difficult to educate a patriot who will act constructively for the development of democracy and human rights, and not destructively. Therefore, now at the final stage of the Government’s approval is the draft Concept for the Development of Civil Education in Ukraine, and the Strategy for the Development of Civil Education in Ukraine for the period up to 2022 is being developed.

**Sentimental and instrumental patriotism**

In this work, the author will try to understand how the definitions of “citizenship” and “patriotism” correlate and if one can combine these two concepts for their mutual content strengthening in one consolidation scheme.

The Stanford Philosophical Encyclopaedia gives the standard definition of “patriotism” as follows: it is love for one’s country (Primoratz, 2017). Other scholars point out that patriotism must be understood as a commitment and a sense of belonging to one’s country (Françoise, 2013). Its meaning is usually related to its role in supporting national cohesion on behalf of the state to the extent that the state encourages members of society to respect their civil responsibilities. The consideration of this question varies greatly from one context to another, so theorists suggest talking about “patriotism” in plural, stating the diversity of its manifestations (Françoise, 2013).

Patriotism can be defined as a system of views (cultural, consciousness attitudes) that reflect the inflexible attachment of a person to a particular country, characterized by an indisputable positive assessment of that country, persistent loyalty and intolerance to critics. In Western political philosophy, there is a debate about the type of patriotism that can provide an effective alternative to nationalism, as a meta idea for a stable statehood (Primoratz, 2017). The theorist S. Nathanson defines patriotism as the identification of a person as a member of his/her country, manifested in a special love for it, a sense of pride in achievement of his/her country and shame
for its loss, anxiety about the well-being of its people, willingness to sacrifice for the happiness of its future (Nathanson, 1993:34-35). Of course, this definition does not claim to be complete. Patriotism manifests itself in the confidence in the dignity of one’s country, the belief in the need to belong to the community of compatriots and to become part of a great story related to the past and future of his/her people (and not just some narrow discussions about current problems) (Primoratz, 2017:446). Hence, the rationale for patriotism as an affective phenomenon, the content of which is strong symbolic (sentimental) interpretations, is valuable.

The theorist H. Kelman suggested two basic types of patriotism – sentimental and instrumental (Kelman, 1997:174). Sentimental patriotism implies “perceiving the group for personal identity,” instrumental – “perceptions of the group to meet one’s personal needs and interests.” Hence, individuals who perceive the country to form their personal identity will be hostile to criticism of the country. Individual carriers of instrumental patriotism are likely to criticize the country if it does not manage to reach the expected level of national welfare. Consequently, sentimental patriotism is characterised by an unquestionable positive assessment, country’s loyalty and intolerance to its critics. Instrumental (or constructive) patriotism is characterised by critical loyalty to the country, due to the desire for positive change. Both orientations demonstrate positive identification based on a sense of affective commitment to the country. However, the sentimental (sometimes called – “blind”) patriot considers the nation’s critique dissent, which is contrary to the long-term national interests (Kelman, 1997:183).

Correlation of the meaning of the concepts of “citizenship” and “patriotism”

Patriotism is defined as love for one’s country, identification with it, special care for its well-being, and also about compatriots, which can also be characterized with concern for “public interest” (Semenets-Orlova, 2016:81). Public interest is a generalized variant of individual and group interests legitimized in public opinion; public interest is a public interest recognized by the public authorities and enjoying state support. Recognition of publicity of interest is carried out through its legal provision, e.g., declaration in laws. For example, the public interests of the Ukrainian people are enshrined in the Constitution of Ukraine. French theorists emphasize a different meaning of patriotism as a recognition of responsibilities to each other as citizens, requiring collaboration, cooperation, tolerance and disinterestedness (Françoise, 2013). In this approach, in general, one can identify the meaning of the concepts of “patriotism” and “citizenship”. However, we do not agree with its authors, although we recognize some meaningful synonymy of the concept of “citizenship” and “moderate patriotism”. In our opinion, in the system of categories adjacent to the issue, the citizenship is more meaningful to the notion of “state patriotism” as an active and responsible patriotism. The central notion of state patriotism is “statehood”, and not “state”, so it is manifested in the active practical actions of the individual to ensure public interest. The logic is: “I love my people, a strong statehood creates opportunities for its unity and being, so I will help the state in the realization of its functions, caring for public interest.”

By the notion of “citizenship”, Ukrainian researchers point to a certain moral and spiritual state of the people, which implies a feeling of one’s own freedom and, at the same time, responsibility, and a belief in social values (Ryabov, 2004:42). According to another scientist I. Ilyin, to be a real citizen is to “feel an indissoluble identity between the interest of the state and
one’s own interest. And that is why, as one’s own interest, each spiritually correct interest of their fellow citizens is to be recognized” (Ilyin, 1994:271). Citizenship reflects the desire and will to live together. Consequently, citizenship, like patriotism, contain meaningful concerns about the interest of fellow citizens. The main components of them (which determine meaningful similarities) is the acceptance of a public goal, a genuine participation in the life of one’s own people and the care of their development (Ilyin, 1994:271).

**What is the definition of citizenship patriotism?**

The scholar W. Galston emphasize the importance of social wisdom in the meaning of citizenship This virtue is defined as the ability to listen to others and formulate one’s own position (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy). This component of citizenship appeals to the aforementioned instrumental type of patriotism.

A well-known philosopher J. Habermas, in his work “Between Facts and Norms”, argues that the normative meaning of democratic citizenship can be determined without the formation of an individual in the context of a “national state” (Habermas, 1996). This approach is somewhat inconsistent with our desire to combine “patriotism” and “citizenship” for their interconnection, but also takes place in scientific discourse. A theorist H. Starkey has a similar position, he claims that the concept of “citizenship” in its meaning always has a political and legal dimension. Although citizenship is in some way linked to a national concept, it is an autonomous and independent theory. In this context, H. Starkey observes that in the new concepts, citizenship exists also at supranational levels (Starkey, 2002:7). Unlike H. Starkey, the Irish researcher M. Craith argues that although the basis of modern citizenship is the focus on civil responsibility, it is the cultural forces (the value attitude of the individual to the state, the country and its citizens) that implicitly fasten components of modern citizenship (Craith, 2004). Our position correlates with the Irish researcher’s point of view.

The need for advanced citizenship is growing with the strengthening of Ukrainian statehood. The processes of decentralization, self-improvement of politics, a new quality of democracy and a new social reality (the need to cooperate effectively in communities for the collective good) need a new model of patriotism for modern Ukraine. Living culture requires the creation of new values, although all of them should be discussed according to the criterion of respect for human dignity (UNESCO teaching and learning for a sustainable future, 2016). Therefore, e.g., the countries that are leaders in the academic performance of young people reconfigure educational systems into a value-based approach, being aware of the growing demand for the value core of the individual for peaceful coexistence in a complex world. An important characteristic of the outlook of people who have devoted themselves entirely to social activity is social service, which is associated with a sense of duty towards others. Trust, belief in justice involves the voluntary commitment of members of society to exercise public functions.

In the western tradition, there is one term “citizenship” for the notions of “громадянськість”, “гражданственность” (in some sense similar to “civility”, “civic engagement”) and “громадянство”, “гражданство” (“citizenship” itself). However, as defined in the Cambridge Dictionary, “citizenship” characterizes the qualities of a person as a member of a society whose behavior corresponds to the expectations of other people living nearby (Cambridge Dictionary). At the moment, the concept of “citizenship” (“civility”, “civic
engagement”) has a different meaning – from self-sacrifice for the good of the state – to free and full participation in public life. Citizenship (“civility”, “civic engagement”) suggests that everyone should engage in solving issues related to public life and act as an active and responsible citizen who respects the rights of others, has a developed sense of solidarity, and honestly performs civil duties. Therefore, unlike patriotism, citizenship (“civility”, “civic engagement”), along with an affective commitment to a particular country, contains a set of specific rational attitudes for the active participation of the individual in the provision of welfare. For example, respect for the law, which is an integral part of citizenship (“civility”, “civic engagement”), requires not blindly obeying the rules and laws already adopted, but the ability to participate in their development.

Based on the abovementioned discussion, the notion of citizenship patriotism can be considered less polarized than sentimental and constructive types of patriotism, but nevertheless meaningfully closer to the latter. Let us describe its features. Citizenship patriotism is an ideal model for a complex society, which is reflected in the commitment of the individual to the interest of the country (public interest), an active position on its protection and fulfilment of civil obligations, along with a substantiated (and affective and rational) positive assessment of the country’s general realities of flexible format. This format allows taking into account the priority of the country’s interest, but with the possibility of a democratic way to consider the positions of other parties.

In the context of meaningful definition, citizenship patriotism can also be characterised as civil responsibility for the development of the Motherland with the active affirmation of a positive present, preserving the value content of history for the future. Perhaps citizenship patriotism could be the highest degree of development of patriotism in a country of developed democracy, though, in our opinion, it is more grounded to define this phenomenon as a separate type of patriotism. The concept of “patriotism” is more about the sphere of psychology, and citizenship - cultural, conscious, behavioural, more rational. Citizenship patriotism is also more closely connected with the responsible attitude of the individual to respect and adhere to the rules of a social contract, the so-called “Public Code of the Rules”, which, for example, may be called the Constitution. This Code provides for the description of agreed or accepted by the individual requirements to each other as members of the united community in order to co-ordinate living together. Hence, the more citizens participated in the adoption of this social contract/code of rules (written/unwritten) or emotionally/rationally agree with it and are active in its implementation – the greater the degree of public interest and, hence, the level of citizenship patriotism of the population.

Endowed with a certain spiritual meaning, the definition of patriotism as love for the Motherland also contains the values that the state creates and gives to its citizen, performing its serving function. The individual, based on the conditions created by the state, forms and gives the society his/her human values, realizing skills, abilities and talent, working for the public good. Citizenship patriotism can become a factor in social and political life only if it is recognized and supported by the majority of citizens of the country. In the opinion of domestic scholars, in today’s Ukraine, citizenship patriotism must be an integral part of cultivating responsibility for the unity of the country, which is manifested in certain forms: territorial integrity, political and social stability, interethnic agreement, interfaith understanding and the formation of a new supra-
ethnic community of Ukrainian citizens – the only one nation, the Ukrainian people (Ivchenko, 2017:225).

Awareness of the undeniable value of human rights lies in the meaning of citizenship. Human rights are based on key values: dignity, freedom, equality, justice. Citizens of Ukraine partly understand the nature and content of human rights, including their own meaning into this notion, focused on the overall assessment of the bad and good things that happen in the country. For example, according to the results of sociological research in 2017, 54% of Ukrainians have never tried to defend their rights (Human rights: nationwide research, 2017). This situation is largely due to a crisis of confidence in government and public administration. And of those who tried to protect their rights, 65% of citizens failed to do so (Human rights: nationwide research, 2017). Such a situation negatively affects not only the general level of “state optimism”, but also the quality of citizenship patriotism.

Empirical justification of determination of citizenship patriotism as patriotism models in Ukraine (according to data for 2018)

Based on empirical data, we will more thoroughly analyse a range of factors of the context background, which creates the preconditions for the expansion of the model of citizenship patriotism in Ukraine.

Since 2013, the Zurich University of Teacher Education (Switzerland) has been implementing the Swiss-Ukrainian project Development of Citizenship Competences in Ukraine – DOCCU. In Ukraine the NGO Development of Citizenship Competences in Ukraine is responsible for realization of the project. The main objective of the project is to support sustainable development of civil society through the dissemination of knowledge about education for democratic citizenship and human rights education (EDC/HRE) in Ukraine, in particular through the system of in-service teacher training of teachers, school principals, the system of in-service training and advanced education of public servants. In this article we will use the empirical data from the components of the projects Teachers and Principals.

Within the framework of the project, a comprehensive sociological study of the status of the culture of citizenship in Ukraine was carried out. In particular, in May 2018 a mass survey of pupils and teachers of schools from different regions of Ukraine was conducted. In total 1233 pupils and 1215 teachers were polled. There is analysis of the responses of pupils whose teachers did not undergo special training on democratic citizenship and human rights in advanced training courses.

Describing their citizenship position, 47.4% of the pupils declared their readiness to defend their rights and rights of other people in all situations, while only 9.6% expressed their willingness to renounce some of their freedoms if this would help others to exercise their rights.

Much of the pupils do not know what branches of power are in Ukraine. Thus, 88.6% of the respondents gave the correct answer concerning the legislative branch, 68.7% as to the executive branch, 72.3% as to the judicial one. Besides 51.3% of the respondents mistakenly replied that there is also a constitutional branch of power, 33.7% – legal, 27.5% – law enforcement, 24.9% – financial, 21.2% – economical, 15.3% – regulating.

Thus, 69.2% of pupils know that human rights are granted naturally from birth. Almost one in five (19.7%) believes that only a democratic state can provide them, and 10.8%, that rights are
acquired if the state joins the relevant international organizations and ratifies international treaties (Diagram 1).

Only slightly more than half of the interviewed pupils understand that for the use of their rights a person is only enough to be born. At the same time, 28% mistakenly believe that the use of rights is possible only in a developed democratic state, and 8.8%, that for this, one must necessarily be an active citizen (Diagram 2).

Only 38.1% of pupils know that the source of power in Ukraine is the people. At the same time, 28% erroneously believe that it is the President of Ukraine, while 21.5% is the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (Diagram 3).

Only 24.9% of pupils understand that they become responsible citizens of Ukraine with the awareness of their rights and the beginning of faithful fulfilment of their civil duties. 10.6% mistakenly assert that responsible citizens become with the beginning of adult labour activity and payment of payroll taxes. But 43.3% mistakenly believe that they become citizens of Ukraine upon receiving a passport of a citizen of Ukraine, and 15% – birth in the territory of Ukraine (Diagram 4).

Less than half of the pupils (42.7%) understand the difference between human rights and the rights of a child as such that a person acquires human rights from birth and uses them until the end of his/her life, and the rights of a child are only up to adulthood. At the same time, 28.2% of pupils do not understand the difference between them and the same percentage mistakenly believes that the rights of a child are from birth to the age of 18, and from the age of 18 to the end of life – human rights (Diagram 5).

Now, we will carry out a comparative analysis of the responses of pupils whose teachers were not, and whose teachers were covered by special trainings on the topic of democratic citizenship and human rights with the support of the DOCCU project.

First of all, we shall note that at all schools, teachers tell pupils about democracy, human rights and rights of a child. Almost a quarter of them (24.8%) chose the answer “fully complied with”, and 34.1% – “mostly adhere to”. At the same time, the choice of “not at all” was chosen by 6.7%, and “mostly not respected” – 11.1%. Among the pupils of the teachers who were covered by the DOCCU project, the answer “fully complied with” was already chosen by 60.3%, “mostly adhere to” – 22.4% (Diagram 6).

The awareness of the civil duty to use their own time for the development of democracy in Ukraine is characteristic for less than half of the polled pupils – 46.3%. At the same time, 35.9% consider that relevant authorities should deal with these issues more often, and 16.8% in general clearly distinguish between the fulfilment of this civil duty and their private life. Among the pupils whose teachers were covered by the DOCCU project, 62.1% of respondents are aware of the civil duty to use their own time for the benefit of democracy in Ukraine (Diagram 7).

A picture is similar with the awareness of the importance of the activities of public organizations and associations of citizens for the development of democracy in society. While 54.4% of the respondents demonstrate this awareness among pupils in general, the proportion of pupils whose teachers were covered by the DOCCU project was 77.2% (Diagram 8).
The results of the study showed that pupils have a vague idea of their civil identity. Thus, 49% believe that the Ukrainian people are citizens of Ukraine of all nationalities. At the same time, 20.5% consider that citizens are only Ukrainians by nationality, and 22.3% – all those who adhere to Ukrainian national customs and traditions. Among the pupils whose teachers were covered by the DOCCU project, the share of those who believe that the Ukrainian people are the citizens of Ukraine of all nationalities is 67.6% (Diagram 9).

While 60.9% of the pupils are aware that they have a civil duty towards Ukraine, the proportion of pupils whose teachers were covered by the DOCCU project increased by 78.3%.

Accordingly, the number of those who do not know the answer to this question decreases (3.8% vs. 11.4%), and also mistakenly believes that civil duties are not mandatory (3.1% vs. 9.1%), or that only those who are 18 years of age have a civil duty (14.9% vs. 17.9%) (Diagram 10).

Pupils whose teachers were trained in democratic citizenship with the assistance of the DOCCU project demonstrate not only the best level of theoretical knowledge, but also take a more active position in everyday life. Thus, they are much more likely to address to the director, heads of the school and teachers with specific questions. In particular, this is done by 19.3% every day, while among pupils whose teachers did not passed EDC/HRE training, this share is 8.5%. A similar situation exists with regard to communication of pupils within the school only with teachers (Diagram 11).

A significantly larger number of pupils whose teachers were covered by the DOCCU project often participate in the public life of their school – 54.5%. The relevant rate among all pupils is 28.2%. At the same time, 9.8% refuse to participate due to lack of interest among pupils in general, and among pupils whose teachers were covered by the DOCCU project – this indicator is only 2.8% (Diagram 12).

It is also noticeable that there is a difference in the awareness of the importance of the activity of pupils’ self-government bodies at school for the observance of the rights of a child – 85.5% of the pupils whose teachers were covered by the DOCCU project, while among the pupils as a whole – 70.7% (Diagram 13).

The pupils whose teachers were covered by the DOCCU project significantly better understand their right to education. The number of those who realize that the right to education implies a responsible attitude towards obtaining comprehensive secondary education as it is a citizen's duty is twice that of the pupils in general (50% vs. 25.1%). Accordingly, there is a lower proportion of those who consider that they should not be compelled to study at school, since education is a right, not a duty (16.6% vs. 27.5%) (Diagram 14).

**Conclusion**

The conducted study concluded that the most integrative potential for the successful completion of democratic transit in Ukraine could be a model of patriotism built on the basis of a high level of civil competency of individuals and called the “citizenship patriotism” model.

Citizenship patriotism requires a critical number of patriots trained to constructive interaction in a complex society and oriented towards securing public interest. As the results of the survey (on the example of high school pupils) showed, the level of citizenship competencies of children and youth is not high enough in Ukraine at the moment. However, if the same
tendency is maintained for the actualization of the issue of civil education in public discourse, in 5-7 years the model of citizenship patriotism can become an effective model of patriotism for the majority of Ukrainians, which will be effective in the unstable context of socio-political development and play a key factor in the successful completion of democratic transit in Ukraine.

Strengthening of Ukrainian statehood especially emphasizes the need for developed citizenship, which outlines the formation of a new model of patriotism in modern Ukraine. Citizenship, like patriotism, involves caring for the interests of fellow citizens. The main component of citizenship is the active participation of the individual in the life of the society for the public good (“my safety and comfort depends on the safety and comfort of all my people”).

At the heart of modern citizenship is the focus on civil responsibility. However, the value attitude of the individual towards the state, the country and its citizens contribute to the consolidation of society and the strengthening of the components of modern citizenship.

To succeed in a modern society, an individual is not enough to be a narrow specialist in a particular industry. Developed democracy implies that all members of society, despite their professional daily activities, must have the necessary knowledge in the field of democratic citizenship.

Today it is a positive phenomenon that the Ukrainian state has standardized the need for the development of citizenship competencies (documented in the law). However, in society there is still no clear idea of the meaningful component of these competencies and their significance. As it turned out, the environment of educational institutions, which largely shape the civil consciousness of young people, does not fully fulfil this function. In general, pupils do not have a sufficiently deep level of political knowledge, and are poorly oriented towards civil participation.

The introduction of civil education in the school process is amorphous and eclectic. We can state that teachers tell their pupils about their rights, but the implementation of the HRE at schools in general is largely declarative and this is far from sufficient. It is not enough to tell the child what the state is, or how important it is to respect the interest of another person every day. The child will understand the significance and magnitude of these situations of social cohabitation if plunges into solving the problem in practice, using the activity and game approach, puts himself/herself in the place of the offender and the offended, find parallels in his/her own experience. Development of civil competences of educators, supported by international projects in Ukraine, contributes to the implementation of the proclaimed words in real life. Trained educators disseminate best foreign experience in developing democratic citizenship through their professional activities for the broad masses of children and young people.

Citizenship patriotism is endowed with the potential to promote sustainable development of society, national unity and the development of local and nationwide democracy in Ukraine. The success of the implementation of this complex and long-term process depends directly on the consolidation of the efforts of conscious and active citizens, the Ukrainian state, the progressive world community.

Citizenship patriotism is a necessary prerequisite for a sustainable democratic transit. Its relevance is greatly enhanced in the context of the decentralization of power in Ukraine. The success of the decentralization process depends directly on the activity of civil position of
Ukrainian citizens. The model of citizenship patriotism involves improving the critical thinking of citizens, the development of the desire to take on the initiative and responsibility, the ability to get rid of stereotypes and myths, the motivation to be conscientious in their profession for the benefit not only of themselves, but also of all members of society. Today, the ability of Ukrainian citizens to reach socially important decisions in a consensual way, to reach a compromise through constructively active socio-political activity is considerably inferior to protest activity. This can be explained by the inadequate level of knowledge of members of society about their civil rights and obligations. The spread of legal nihilism and social de-participation is dynamic in immature democracies, which determines the need for further development of Ukrainians’ civil education. The creation of united territorial communities in Ukraine further exacerbates the need for the development of citizens’ skills in participation, discussion and joint decision-making, dialogue with authorities.

The decentralization reform is a peculiar test of Ukrainian society for the proper level of citizenship, the ability to self-organize, and to solve local problems based on public consensus. The success of the *Local Citizenship Examination* will pave the way for the successful dissemination of constructive civil activity in the context of macro politics, which is to consolidate the achievements of the civil protest action of 2013-2014 to achieve European standards in the area of developed democracy and, accordingly, ensure the high level of quality of life and safety for Ukrainian citizens.

**Acknowledges**

We would like express our gratitude to the Government of Swiss Confederation Government and Zurich University of Teacher Education (Switzerland). In particular we would like to thank to Prof. Dr. h.c. Rolf Gollob, Dr. Corinna Borer, Dr. Iris Henseler Stierlin and Dr. Martin Retzl for their expertise and support in conducting the study. Project is funded by Government of the Swiss Confederation through Swiss Cooperation Office in Ukraine and implemented by Zurich University of Teacher Education (Switzerland).

**References:**


Taleb, N., 2018, Anti-malice, Nash format, Kyiv.


Notes:
[1] D. Rustow is an author of approach of the three phases of democratic transit. These three phases are: 1) the preparatory phase, characterized by the ripening of the conflict of the main social forces; 2) the phase of decision-making on the basis of conflict resolution (peaceful or revolutionary) and the establishment of basic historical rules of democratic law-and-order; 3) the phase of establishing new forms of relations between the state and civil society through the achievement of national unity) (Rustow, 1970)

Appendix

Table 1. The dynamics of the growth of the number of public organizations that reported to the state statistics bodies about their activities for the year (according to the State Statistics Service of Ukraine)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reporting year</th>
<th>Number of governing bodies of public organizations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>21417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>22185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>23237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>25988</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Diagram 1. Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question: “Human rights are granted to a citizen”, %

Diagram 2. Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question: “What is necessary in order to use one’s rights?”, %

Diagram 3. Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question: “Who is the source of power in Ukraine?”, %
Diagram 4. Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question: “When do you become a responsible citizen of Ukraine?”, %

Diagram 5. Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question: “Is there a difference between human rights and rights of a child?”, %

Diagram 6. Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question: “Did your teachers tell you what democracy, human rights and rights of a child are?”, %
Diagram 7. Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question: “Should a citizen give part of his time and efforts to develop democracy in Ukraine?”, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pupils whose teachers were not covered by special training on democratic citizenship and human rights, in particular with the assistance of the DOCCU project (pupils in general)</th>
<th>Pupils whose teachers were covered by special training on democratic citizenship and human rights, in particular with the assistance of the DOCCU project</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No, since everyone has the right to privacy</td>
<td>No, since everyone has the right to privacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not know; for sure, these issues should be handled by the relevant authorities that have been created for this purpose</td>
<td>I do not know; for sure, these issues should be handled by the relevant authorities that have been created for this purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, of course, this is a duty of a person of any age</td>
<td>Yes, of course, this is a duty of a person of any age</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diagram 8. Distribution of answers of respondents to the question: “Is the activity of public organizations and associations of citizens important for the development of democracy in society?”, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pupils whose teachers were not covered by special training on democratic citizenship and human rights, in particular with the assistance of the DOCCU project (pupils in general)</th>
<th>Pupils whose teachers were covered by special training on democratic citizenship and human rights, in particular with the assistance of the DOCCU project</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only if these public organizations pursue the goals of the development of democracy</td>
<td>Only if these public organizations pursue the goals of the development of democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not know</td>
<td>I do not know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Diagram 9. Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question: “Ukrainian people is ...”, %

- Citizens of Ukraine of all nationalities
- Citizens that are Ukrainians only by nationality
- Everyone who adheres to Ukrainian national customs and traditions
- Everyone who is currently on the territory of Ukraine

Diagram 10. Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question: “Do you have any civil duty to Ukraine?”, %
Diagram 11. Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question: “How often do you address the director, the heads of your school with certain questions?”, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Daily</th>
<th>Weekly</th>
<th>Monthly</th>
<th>Every six months and less</th>
<th>I address only to teachers, to the management of the school - only in case of a significant problem</th>
<th>I do not address at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33.9%</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diagram 12. Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question: “Do you take part in public life (for example, extracurricular activities, work of pupils’ self-government) in your school?”, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes, often</th>
<th>Yes, sometimes</th>
<th>Very rarely, if asked by a teacher or the director</th>
<th>I do not take part in it because I do not consider it necessary</th>
<th>I do not take part in it because I’m not interested</th>
<th>I do not take part in it because I study very well, and it takes a lot of time for me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42.7%</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes, often</th>
<th>Yes, sometimes</th>
<th>Very rarely, if asked by a teacher or the director</th>
<th>I do not take part in it because I do not consider it necessary</th>
<th>I do not take part in it because I’m not interested</th>
<th>I do not take part in it because I study very well, and it takes a lot of time for me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29.7%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Diagram 13. Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question: “Is the activities of pupils’ self-government bodies at school for the observance of the rights of a child important?”, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pupils whose teachers were not covered by special training on democratic citizenship and human rights, in particular with the assistance of the DOCCU project (pupils in general)</th>
<th>Pupils whose teachers were covered by special training on democratic citizenship and human rights, in particular with the assistance of the DOCCU project</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>70,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>17,0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's difficult to answer</td>
<td>11,7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diagram 14. Distribution of respondents’ answers to the question: “How do you understand your right to education?”, %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pupils whose teachers were not covered by special training on democratic citizenship and human rights, in particular with the assistance of the DOCCU project (pupils in general)</th>
<th>Pupils whose teachers were covered by special training on democratic citizenship and human rights, in particular with the assistance of the DOCCU project</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I should not be compelled to study at school because education is my right, not a duty</td>
<td>26,6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am obliged to obtain comprehensive secondary education in order to be able to study further</td>
<td>27,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have to take a responsible attitude towards obtaining general secondary education as it is my duty as a citizen</td>
<td>7,5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have the right to study at school, but to study only the lessons that interesting to me</td>
<td>39,4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60%</td>
<td>25,1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>