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**«NATIONAL IDENTITY
OF SOUTHERN AND EASTERN UKRAINE’S POPULATION
ON THE EVE OF THE FULL-SCALE RUSSO-UKRAINIAN WAR»**

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PREFACE

Writing of this thesis started back in 2021 – about one year before the full-scale Russian invasion in Ukraine. Initially, it was planned as a contribution to facilitation of Ukraine’s reintegration of those regions in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts that had been occupied by Russia in 2014-2015. However, the focus had been shifted in February 2022, when I was taking cover in a shelter during Russia’s airstrike. Not surprisingly, a significant share of this paper was being written during missile attacks – except for the small breaks to play «Uno» with my nieces, cousin, and our new friends from the shelter.

This work and opportunities that it, hopefully, opens are dedicated to men and women who have been fighting for Ukraine in combat, as well as to volunteers who have been helping them. For they are the ones who gave me the privilege to worry about this thesis at all.

INTRODUCTION

There might be a conception of Ukraine's «imagined geography» which implies on imagined difference between Ukrainian East and other regions – like, for example, between Ukrainian West (Hobova, 2018). Such narrative has been also common and has been articulated daily among politicians, political commentators, leaders of public opinion, and public in general – whether on talk-shows, in Facebook, Twitter, or in a random kitchen.

Without a doubt, such vision might be exaggerated and manipulated at times. However, on one hand, is it impossible that Ukrainians who live in the frontline and Russian-influenced regions have somewhat different national self-identification than other Ukrainian regions? Maybe, this notion does not sound impossible on the surface. On the other hand, though, the 2022 Russia's full-scale invasion in Ukraine exposed the narrative of ethnically-politically divided Ukraine and the perception that Ukrainian East and South belong to the «Russian world» as simply not viable ideas.

The fallacy of «pro-Russian» East and South became evident at least in two dimensions. Firstly, international commentators were frequently surprised by the fierce resistance of Ukrainians – including the East and South regions. Secondly, Russia's army, which took parade uniform and expected flowers from Ukrainian citizens, saw the inconsistency itself: Ukrainians in all regions, including the South and the Donbas resisted the occupation – in combat, by stopping tanks with bare hands, or in protests.

Generally, the **puzzle** (problem) of this research was the gap between the public perception (mostly among international public) of the national identity among Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population and of their national identity itself as measured empirically. Yet the **relevancy** of solving this puzzle might be rather obvious – it is extremely vital: a) to highlight and explain the misconceptions of the international community (and Russia) regarding Ukraine's geopolitical and cultural trajectory for its deeper geopolitical recognition and b) to contribute to peacebuilding and facilitation of cohesive international milieu. Thus, Eastern and Southern Ukraine's population were the **object** of this study, whereas their national identity on the eve of full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war was the **subject**. Accordingly, the research **aim** of this

paper was to highlight the national identity of Eastern and Southern Ukraine's population on the eve of full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war. At the same time, it cannot be done just by exploring of the national identity in itself. For a more comprehensive understanding of the national identity of Eastern and Southern Ukraine's population on the eve of full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war, processes and phenomena surrounding it had to be evaluated. Respectively, the research plan required the 4 **tasks**:

1. To conceptualize and to operationalize national and local identity.
2. To conceptualize and to operationalize identity anomie and national-local identity tie.
3. To juxtapose national identity of Eastern and Southern Ukraine's population in comparison to national identities of Ukraine's population in other regions on the eve of full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war.
4. To highlight identity anomie and national-local identity among Eastern and Southern Ukraine's population on the eve of full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war.

Hence, 4 research **hypotheses** were outlined. The first 2 hypotheses tackled the national identity itself:

- **H1:** *absolute majority of Eastern and Southern Ukraine's population identified themselves with Ukraine on the eve of the full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war.*
- **H2:** *national identity of Eastern and Southern Ukraine's population had no significant difference with the other regions of Ukraine on the eve of the full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war.*

Precisely, H1 and H2 were expected to reject a widespread belief that the population of Eastern and Southern Ukraine «are Russians» or have critical differences with the other regions of Ukraine. In turn, the next two hypotheses (H3 and H4) were about the associated identity-states upon the time of the full-scale war:

- **H3:** *neither national identity anomie nor full identity anomie occurred among the majority of Eastern and Southern Ukraine's population on the eve of the full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war.*

- **H4:** *national-local identity tie occurred among Eastern and Southern Ukraine's population on the eve of full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war.*

As intended, these hypotheses were not only empirically, yet also theoretically oriented, thus they might look slightly unconventional – compared to typical forms of social research assumptions.

From the theoretical standpoint, the research was conducted with consideration of social identity theory and social categorization theory (e. g. Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), Anderson's (1983/2006) social constructivist implications on national identity and several other widely cited publications. While national identity was viewed as a macro-level self-reported phenomenon, methodology of this research relied upon the positivist paradigm and quantitative methodology – precisely, representative survey data analysis. For this purpose, WVS Wave 7 Ukraine's dataset (World Values Survey, n. d.) was the empirical base. It should be noted, though, that Crimean and CADLR data was not studied within this paper, while, firstly, there was no applicable data available in any timely survey including WVS 7 (The World Values Survey Association, n. d.a); and, secondly, specifics of Crimea might require even more thorough, targeted research due to the years of it being under the Russian occupation.

The research was also consistent with and complemented previous findings in contemporary studies on Ukraine's national identity done by Kuzio (1996; 1998; 2017), Kulyk (2016), Barrington (2021; 2020), Averianova & Voropaieva (2020). Though, the **innovative aspects** of the thesis included:

- Bridging between the studies of Ukrainian national identity before the full-scale war to the context of the full-scale war, which, hopefully, would facilitate interest to the topic. This research's data thus served as a clear depiction of why the mentioned misperceptions about Southern/Eastern Ukraine's national identity and Russia's propaganda are false.
- Reapproached index-based measurement of national and local identity, based on fresher WVS 7 data and the use of WVS 7 itself for Ukrainian identity's context (World Values Survey, n. d.).

- Inclusion of satellite-phenomena like local identity, identity anomie, and national-local identity tie as important elements of Southern and Eastern Ukraine's national identity description. The latter two phenomena were also obtained conceptualization with direct and indirect theoretical grounds of previous studies and original implications.

Overall, this paper was thought of as a contribution to further studies on the topic and a source of useful analytics for Ukrainian and international media who oppose Russian propaganda, Ukrainian political and cultural diplomats, policymakers, and other audiences that are interested in understanding Ukraine's existential war.

CHAPTER 1.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF NATIONAL IDENTITY RESEARCH

Chapter 1 was written for the purpose of providing a background for a viable theoretical and methodological research frame, as well as for outlining a general «Ukrainian context» for the paper. So, while research tasks 1 and 2 would not be completed here directly, this chapter would suggest a base for their further finalization in chapter 2.

Yet, before the further discussion in this chapter and paper in general, the most general contextual approach had to be pre-defined. Hence, for this paper the war between Russia and Ukraine was viewed as a multi-year event that started not in February 2022, but about 8 years prior to the full-scale invasion. Virtually, the Russo-Ukrainian war might be divided into two stages:

1. **Stage East-South** (February 2014-February 2022). This stage included Russia's annexation of Crimea, invasion-hybrid war in Donbas (Eastern Ukraine) and occupation of certain regions, as well as presumed attempts to occupy Odessa, Kharkiv, Dnipro, and other Eastern or Southern parts of Ukraine.
2. **Stage Full-scale** (since February 2022). This stage has been basically Russia's full-scale invasion in Ukraine.

Moreover, the Revolution of Dignity might be viewed as a prologue, a predicate of the Russo-Ukrainian war, while the protest, which started in November 2013, was generally against pro-Russian regime of then-president Yanukovich.

Nevertheless, the key contextual pre-assumption for this paper was that vital processes regarding the national identity of Eastern and Southern Ukraine's population had been happening before the Stage Full-scale. In fact, shifts, states, processes in national identity, whatever they were, might have been happening during the wartime for 8 years before that. Yes, for 8 years the war was localized in Donbas (also, the occupied territory of Crimea should be considered), but it was a war, nevertheless. Even though combat had not been happening in, for example, Zaporizhzhia oblast itself, for 8 years the frontline was in its neighbor-regions. It would be logical to say

that the war was felt in those parts of Ukraine that were close to the frontline regions. Finally, clarification is unlikely necessary to state that military combat was war indeed for the population of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. In summary, to understand the national identity of Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population at the beginning of the full-scale war, there had to be understanding of what was happening on its eve – namely, during the Stage East-South of the Russo-Ukrainian war. Provided that, virtually, four steps had to be made in Chapter 1 to consolidate the necessary theoretical background.

Firstly, review of social identity and collective identity concepts was conducted. Overall, several identity-concepts may be research topics in social sciences: social, collective, national, local, regional, ethnic, political identity and other concepts that contain «identity» (see, for example, Averianova & Voropaieva (2020) for further discussion). National identity and local identity – as a satellite of national identity – were precisely in the scope of this research. But to define them clearly, probably, one should distinguish them from other common terms for basic theoretical discriminant validity. Moreover, it could be pre-assumed that social identity and collective identity are somewhat more general terms and might pre-define what other – «smaller» – identity concepts are. Namely, this step was important for further development of Task 1 – thus definition and measurement of national identity and local identity.

Secondly, certainly, implications for definition and measurement of national identity had to be outlined. Yet, as it would become evident in further discussion, to describe the state of national identity among Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population, local identity also had to be taken into consideration. Respectively, local identity was tackled as an important satellite of national identity, and implications for its definition and measurement were discussed in chapter 1 as well. Overall, part 1.2 provided direct implications for Task 1's further completion.

Using only national identity's direct indicators (for instance, a «level of self-identification» of any kind) would not be enough. Namely, such approach would not create an informative enough image of what was going on with national identity of Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population on the eve of the full-scale war. To explain miscalculations of international analysts and commentators, it could be reasonable to

highlight phenomena around the national identity which showed its development in the years prior. At the same time, understanding of Ukrainian social context in this regard would be crucial.

Provided that, *the third step* would provide contextual implications. To elaborate, Ukraine-specific, Eastern-and-Southern-Ukraine-specific events and identity processes were important for the research. Also, this step would suggest the general trajectory for hypotheses verification, especially H1 and H2. Finally, *the fourth step* would be the continuation of the third one, while the contextual implications were supplemented with congruent theoretical ideas. Consequently (apart from the general state of national identity of the Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population in comparison with other regions), two specific identity-related states that Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population might have had by the time the Stage Full-scale began were generalized: identity anomie and national-local identity tie. As a result, the third and the fourth step (part 1.3) would suggest background for Task 2 completion.

1.1. Theoretical pool of social identity

Overall, several identity-concepts may be research topics in social sciences: social, collective, national, local, regional, ethnic, political identity and other concepts that contain «identity» (see, for example, Averianova & Voropaieva (2020) for further discussion). National identity and local identity – as a satellite of national identity – are precisely in the scope of this research. But to define them clearly, probably, one should, firstly, distinguish them from other common terms for basic theoretical discriminant validity. Secondly, social identity, on the surface, seemed like a more general identity-category that included topics of national and local identities. In terms of the research tasks, this section would be the first step towards Task 1 completion. What a relevant implication for this research would have been if national identity and local identity were pre-assumed to be included in a category of social identity? Perhaps, national identity and local identity thus might inherit at least some features of their parent-categories.

1.1.1. General aspects of social identity. As agreed by Brewer (2001), the number of publications (and, respectively, conceptualizations) regarding social identity is overwhelming. So, before defining what social identity is, it would be relevant to limit the scope beforehand. Accordingly, Brewer's (2001) publication, which had been a thorough overview of the existing approaches to social identity, or its «faces», was used to establish the general coordinates for social identity in this thesis. Hence, as Brewer (2001) generalized, 4 faces, or researched aspects of social identity could be distinguished:

1. Person-based social identities, according to Brewer (2001, citing Thoits and Virshup, 1997), referred to who a person considers themselves as a member of a definite social category and were studied frequently in the context of self-concept formation through socialization and internalization.
2. Relational social identities were understood as identities of «self as a certain kind of person» in a certain role – like «me» towards coworkers, friends, mother and father, brother, client and (Brewer, 2001: 118, based on Thoits and Virshup, 1997).
3. Group-based social identities – «the perception of self as an integral or interchangeable part of a larger group or social unit», which also serves as a driver for ingroup/outgroup division, based on «common ties to a shared category membership» (Brewer, 2001: 118, Turner et al., 1987).
4. Collective identities orbit around ideas of achieved shared goals, values, norms, collective's self-image, which especially concerns social movements and political action (Brewer, 2001, among others, referenced Taylor & Whittier, 1992 and Gamson, 1992).

This researched was focused mostly on what the idea of, in Brewer's terms (2001), *group-based social identities* appealed. Precisely, common national identity and local identity ties among Ukrainians who lived in the South and East were assumed to be a ground, which was overlooked/ignored by Russian federation and several commentators and was the epitome of miscalculations regarding Ukraine's future. Hence, the further discussion would be focused mostly on the literature on group-based social identities (Brewer, 2001).

1.1.2. Backbone concepts of social identity. Once again, social identity had remained a vast topic in social research, even though Brewer (2001) made a common notion about two decades ago. Respectively, there could be dozens of social identity definitions. Yet in this paper social identity was a general parent category for national and local identities, so focusing on rather classical root-publications on the topic and group-based social identities (Brewer, 2001) would be sufficient enough.

To begin with, publications of Tajfel and Turner (e. g. Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987) might be considered some of the most backbone works of **social identity theory** (SIT), as implied by, for example, Cinnirella (1998) and Brewer (2001). Hence, Tajfel (1974: 69) initially defined social identity as «that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership». Though, later Tajfel (1981, as cited in David and Bar-Tal, 2009; Brewer, 2001) slightly modified the definition, emphasizing the value and the emotional meaning that group membership is associated with. Tajfel (1974) also implied that for some group members leaving the group and passing to another one (assumably, a counterpart group) would be problematic and unlikely, though it might be associated with a level of dichotomization between group membership.

Furthermore, as and Cinnirella (1998), David and Bar-Tal (2009) suggested, Turner made valuable addition to the social identity theory by his self-categorization theory (Turner, 1982, 1985; Turner et al., 1987), and their common work with Tajfel (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). One of the social identity definitions that Turner (1982: 18) provided was the «sum total of social identifications used by a person to define him- or herself», whereas social identification was «the social categorization used by a person to define him- or herself and others». Additionally, later, Turner et al. (1987) appealed to virtually the same definition of social identity that was provided above, referencing Tajfel & Turner (1979, 1985). Though, Brewer (2001: 118-119) argued that the following Turner et al.'s (1987: 50) quote characterized social identity's definition within social categorization framework: «a shift towards the perception of self as an interchangeable exemplar of some social category and away from the perception of self as a unique person».

Generally speaking, **social categorization theory** (Tajfel, 1974; Turner et al., 1987) implied that ingroup/outgroup is an important division in terms of group behavior and preserving/maintaining the social identity salience. People, according to Tajfel & Turner (1986), need their social identity to be satisfactory and better than other alternatives in comparison to the out-groups. Consequently, they will either try to change their current social identity to a more suitable or will try to strengthen their social identity in a way to make it better than other group-related social identities (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). From this perspective, national identity and local identity might be associated with a distinctive response (see Bonaiuto, Breakwell and Cano, 1996 for a common discussion) when there is a threat: either coherence, or a breakdown. This notion may be also inferred from the idea of emotional significance of social identity (Tajfel, 1974). Hence, these conclusions were relevant in terms of explaining Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population response to an external threat.

Though, there were a few more relevant implications for further discussion of national and local identity. Firstly, it could be derived from the self-identification theory/social categorization theory that national identity and local identity are indeed social identities (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987; Bonaiuto et al., 1996 with a reference to Turner, 1982). Secondly, as it might be particularized from the discussion about social identity/threat above (Tajfel, 1974; Turner et al., 1987; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Bonaiuto et al., 1996) and study by Cinnirella (1998), social identity can fluctuate, change over the time. Finally, grounding on Brewer (2001), people obtain social identities from more than one group. If such social identities exist within a person, one might either combine them, or, in case of conflicting identities, making only those of them remain that overlap (non-contradict) the most (based on Brewer, 2001).

Overall, the search for theoretical base of national and local identity, as well as wartime effects, would continue with consideration of conclusions that were outlined in part 1.1. Furthermore, Tajfel (1974)'s conceptualization would be considered in the formulation process of national and local identities' concepts, as well.

1.2. Theoretical background of national and local identity

Part 1.2 would be a crucial part of the research, basically, while national identity was the key concept of the research. Also, local identity was its satellite – a vital one for understanding of the processes on the eve of the Stage Full-scale. Accordingly, part 1.2 was a process of basic theoretical framework iteration for both concepts. Thus, it became direct contribution to how national identity and local identity would be conceptualized and operationalized in Chapter 2.

The need of concept research regarding national identity could be self-obvious. On the other hand, why would local identity be treated as an important satellite for the national identity of Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population? Firstly, from a retrospective standpoint, after the beginning of the Stage Full-scale, it became evident that citizens of villages, towns and cities in the Southern and Eastern regions resisted Russian occupation forces – both peacefully and in combat. What were they protecting? Was it their local area, Ukraine, or both? To continue, ideas of imagined geography (Hobova, 2018) and multiple social identities implied (Brewer, 2001) that there could be certain interaction, interrelation, or dynamics, between the national and the local identity under threat (also, see discussion in Bonaiuto et al., 1996). Say, would national identity and local identity be counterparts in any way, or would they be interacting synergistically (see Brewer, 2001)? Overall, as implied throughout this paper, understanding the state of national identity of Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population required understanding of their local identity as well. Metaphorically, in this paper's context, highlighting national identity without local identity would have been like describing planet Earth's properties without mentioning the Moon.

As for the search of theoretical background, firstly, a principle of correspondence with higher-level identity theories was followed. To elaborate, it was already mentioned that social identity was a parent-category to national and local identity. Respectively, only those implications on national and local identity that corresponded to previously accepted findings regarding social identity could be engaged for the further conceptualization and operationalization. Consequently, conceptual and methodological implications for national and local identities had to be compatible with

each other. Secondly, the social science literature on national and local identity was reviewed virtually for three types of implications:

1. *General methodological cornerstones.* Mostly, basic approaches to operationalization/measurement of the target concepts (section 1.2.1 for both concepts). Typically, it would be logical to define a term and only afterwards – to operationalize it. But a considerable share of literature on national identity used data of widespread social surveys or resembling approaches, so the measurement would be common in some of the reviewed works. Therefore, it would be relevant to highlight such common approaches beforehand.
2. *General theoretical cornerstones.* These implications were outlined separately for national (section 1.2.2) and local (section 1.2.3) identities. Foremost, were useful for establishing basic understanding of the target concepts and selection of general theoretical approach for each.
3. *Conceptualization (or rather its definition) and operationalization.* This information served as the base for further conceptualization of the concepts, as well as methodological choices in Chapter 2 and Task 1 completion. It was also suggested autonomously for national (section 1.2.2) and local (section 1.2.3) identities

1.2.1. General methodological cornerstones of national identity and local identity. To begin with, this section was focused on survey-format measurement of the concepts, in congruence with further selected conceptual approaches and the research subject. At the same time, there was overwhelming number of ways in which both national and local identity were measured in social and behavioral studies. For instance, while some authors and studies suggested using single-item scales to measure national (e. g. Ariely, 2020) or local (e. g. Bonaiuto et al., 1996) identity, others introduced multi-item scales (like Valera and Pol, 1994, as cited in Hernández, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace, Hess, 2007; Lilli and Diehl, 1999; Huddy and Khatib, 2007). Then, in some studies and works national identity was measured in a way, as nation-political-related identity would be measured (e. g. Huddy and Khatib, 2007), yet other involved conceptualization and measurement that tackled (at least partly) national-cultural

identity (e. g. Wright, Citrin, and Wand, 2012) or citizenship (e. g. Kulyk, 2016). Thirdly, some studies suggested nominal or binary scales to measure national identity (e. g. Kulyk, 2016; Barrington, 2021), while other leaned towards at least ordinal-level measurement (e. g. Huddy and Khatib, 2007; Lilli and Diehl, 1999).

As for the *widespread international surveys*, to begin with, the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) had three major modules of national identity research in 1995, 2003, and 2013 (GESIS, n. d.a). Datasets differed slightly in terms of national identity variables (because the questionnaire was modified throughout the years, basically), yet, seemingly, at least approximately 50 variables in each dataset could have referred to national identity concepts (GESIS, n. d.b). Mostly these were 4-point ordinal questions of agree/disagree-type or very/not at all-type (GESIS, n. d.b; n. d.c; 2012; 2015). For example, relevantly to this paper, there were questions about respondents' pride in their country, citizenship etc., feeling close to their country/city/town etc., and importance of having to the corresponding citizenship (GESIS, n. d.b; n. d.c; 2012; 2015). Furthermore, it was stated on one of the methodological notes that «"Feel close to" is to be understood as "emotionally attached to" or "identifying with"» (GESIS, n. d.c: 2). Noticeably, some of those questions (GESIS, n. d.b; n. d.c; 2012; 2015) referred not only to national identity, but to local identity as well.

Then, in some years, Global Social Survey (GSS) used (NORC at the University of Chicago, n. d.a) questions from ISSP for national identity (the so-called ISSP National Identity module), including the variables that were mentioned above (GESIS, n. d.a; n. d.b; n. d.c; 2012; 2015). However, GSS had its own identity-related variables as well. For example, GSS 1996's (NORC at the University of Chicago, n. d.b) «amimp» variable, which was referenced by Huddy and Khatib (2007, had been expressed by the question on «how important is being an American» to the respondent and was measured on an 11-point ordinal scale (0 = «Not at all»; 10 = «Most»).

Finally, World Values Survey, represented mostly by its wave 7 (World Values Survey, n. d.) in this thesis, included at least questions that tackled national identity. The first question (World Values Survey, n. d.) was national pride's indicator (respondents were asked to evaluate «how proud» they were about «nationality of this

country» that was measured on a 4-point ordinal scale (1 = «very proud»; 4 = «not at all proud»). The second variable, though, was a part of the series of questions that concerned one's level of closeness to certain places/communities (World Values Survey, n. d.). It was formulated as «how close do you feel to [your country]?» and was measured as well on a 4-point ordinal scale where 1 = «very close» and 4 = «not close at all» (World Values Survey, n. d.). The same question was also present for closeness to «your village, town, or city» (World Values Survey, n. d.).

Overall, measurement approaches in ISSP, GSS, and WVS 7 were generally concordant, even though measurement of certain variables had slightly different variations. However, ISSP and GSS data was not compatible with the purpose of this research, while it did not contain relevant data for Ukraine, whereas WVS 7 (World Values Survey, n. d.) had to be considered for further discussion, at least.

On the other hand, an example of common measurements of national identity among the *Ukrainian-based surveys* could be attributed to Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS). Say, national identity in some of the omnibus survey (Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, 2014a) might have referred rather to ethnic identity than political-civic (Averianova & Voropaieva, 2020), while respondents were asked who they considered themselves in terms of nationality (Ukrainian, Russian, and so on). Though, a follow-up variable also asked whether respondents considered themselves Ukrainian/Russian only or if they had mixed identity (Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, 2014a). However, there were other KIIS-developed variations of national identity/social identity (Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, 2014b, 2016, 2018), which were introduced not so much in media publications but in academic articles – for example, by Kulyk (2016) and Barrington (2021). The corresponding questions were formulated in a way that respondents had to choose an identity type that was the most important to them (Kulyk, 2016; Barrington, 2021; Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, 2014b, 2016, 2018) – their citizenship identity ethnic identity, local identity, language etc. In other words, national/local identity was compared in importance to other social identities.

1.2.2. National identity. To provide a starting point for discussion of the national identity concept, for this paper, two works were selected as the **general theoretical**

cornerstones. Firstly, it was Anderson's (1983/2006) classic work «Imagined Communities» – reasoned by the popularity of Anderson's (1983/2006) notions in social sciences and the fact that the book supports clear, not overcomplicated general approaches to national identity. The second cornerstone was the research article by Averianova & Voropaieva (2020) – while it was a recent publication which was focused on particularly Ukrainian context, as well as it suggested important notions for discriminant validity of national identity's concept. Also importantly, these two works were rather compatible and synergizing theoretically.

Hence, according to Anderson (1983/2006: 6), nation is «an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign», thus nation is a socially constructed entity. Moreover, if nations are socially constructed and limited, then belonging to a nation depends on whether the one believes they are a member of this nation (based on Anderson, 1983/2006). Accordingly, it would be recommended to use self-report techniques (for instance, to use questionnaires as a data collection instrument, basically) to measure the one's national identity.

One might ask why this paper did not rely on Smith's (1991) classic approach to nations and nationalism concepts, which may be referred to in social science literature alongside Anderson's (1983/2006). Firstly, Smith (1991: 14) approached nation as «a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members». While such definition seemed to be comprehensive, it also implied wider, multi-scale/multi-aspect measurement, which was not accessible for this research. Secondly, Smith's (1991) work did suggest a framework for the concept of national identity, including 5 features that constituted the nation's definition above, but it was not directly stated *what* national identity is. Thirdly, Smith's (1991) approach tied concepts of national identity and nation in a way as if they were one entity. Therefore, it brought slight theoretical confusion and an issue in terms of discriminant validity of these two concepts.

To continue, within their study of Ukrainian collective identity in 2014-2019, Averianova & Voropaieva (2020: 55), seemingly, using Brubaker's (1996) approaches, engaged a two-component model of national identity that included:

- 1) national-cultural identity, which is “formed within the framework of an ethnic nation”
- 2) civic-political identity, which is “formed within the framework of a political nation”.

Direct clarification of this model was rather brief (Averianova & Voropaieva, 2020). However, considering Averianova & Voropaieva’s (2020) general discussion and Brubaker’s (1996) work, it could be elaborated that one may find themselves to be an ethnic Armenian/Belarusian person (national-cultural identity), yet simultaneously a member of Ukrainian nation (civic-political identity). Respectively, it should be noted for the further discussion that by national identity its civic-political type, in Averianova & Voropaieva’s (2020) terms, would be understood. In fact, as national identity was limited in this way, it was congruent with Anderson’s (1983/2006) ideas of a nation, which is precisely a *political* nation.

Despite the importance of theoretical approaches, neither Anderson (1983/2006) nor Averianova & Voropaieva’s (2020) defined the concept of national identity straightforward. Averianova & Voropaieva’s (2020) also did not provide details on the concept’s measurement. Respectively, further literature review would have more focus on national identity’s definition and measurement. At the same time, it could be argued that the number of definitions and measurement scales of national identity might be overwhelming. To secure the focus of this paper, the most typical and classic examples of **conceptualization and operationalization** would be discussed in this section. Also, the focus would be made on those approaches that, in fact, were compatible with the empirical data that was available for this thesis. Virtually, the publications that concerned conceptualization were attributed one of the two tags: 1) those that provided theoretical-definitive implications (without special focus on quantitative measurement), and 2) those that were focused on measurement or on conceptualization/measurement at once.

To begin with the publications that provided *theoretical-definitive implications*, in their prominent research article, Parekh (1995: 255) suggested to drop the term «national identity» and interchange it with «collective identity of a polity» instead – probably, to articulate its ontological idea more appropriately explicitly. To elaborate,

for Parekh (1995), it was not necessary identity of a nation, but of a central to the definition and a more general social entity – polity. Hence, if «we talk about national identity, as distinct from personal or religious identity, we have in mind the identity of a territorially organised community or, what we may for convenience call, a polity», and, possibly, not every polity is a nation (Parekh, 1995: 255). Provided, that collective identity of a polity, or national identity is «the way a polity is constituted, and includes such things as its deepest tendencies, dispositions, values, ideals, and ways of thought» (Parekh, 1995: 267).

To continue, the following definition of national identity could be summarized from Triandafyllidou's (1998) discussion and the references to Connor (1978; 1993) and Geertz (1963): a sense of belonging to the nation and fellow members of it. Precisely, Triandafyllidou (1998) understood the concept of nation in Smith's (1991) definition. Moreover, Triandafyllidou (1998)'s publication was generally dedicated to the necessity of outgroup/threat for national identity's existence, which was relevant in the context of Russo-Ukrainian war. In general, this theorization (Triandafyllidou, 1998) was thus compatible with Tajfel's (1974) and Tajfel & Turner's (1986) ideas.

Bell (2003: 69), though, called national identity a «sense of unity with others belonging to the same nation». This definition itself would be seriously considered in the further conceptualization, while it is short, informative, and appeals to the aspect that may be self-reported by a respondent. At the same time, though, Bell (2003) approached national identity in the aspect of the corresponding mythologies, storytelling, and national memory. Using Brewer's (2001) categorization, Bell's (2003) research focus might be seen as belonging to the categories of person-based social identity research and collective identities research, as it tackles both the context of national identity (national memory, for example) and the way it acquires shape through, for instance, storytelling of mythologies. Moreover, Bell's (2003) work might have been written, supposedly, as a logical, theoretical paper with empirical examples cases, whereas this thesis had an empirically positivist-quantitative paradigm with reliance on respondents' self-reporting.

All in all, while aspects and methodology that by Bell (2003) might be valuable in national identity studies, another approach was selected for this paper, though. The

reason for such solution was that, once again, this research leaned not towards how national identity among Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population was constructed and what mythologies it had been based on, but towards what Brewer (2001) had meant by focus on group-based social identities. In contrast, however, Bell's (2003) definition of national identity itself was more relevant for this paper.

Then, there were quite a few examples of works that concerned definitions and measurement or mostly measurement. Huddy and Khatib (2007: 65) approached national identity as a «subjective or internalized sense of belonging to the nation», referring their previous works (Huddy 2001, 2003) and Tajfel (1981). Noticeably, Huddy and Khatib (2007) distinguished national identity from other national attachments like national pride and other various types of patriotism. Later, Huddy (2016: 13) reaffirmed this notion, stating that «patriotism implies not only a sense of national belonging but also a specific set of beliefs and meaning attached to this national identity». The second model, however, which was based on GSS 1996's survey (NORC at the University of Chicago, n. d.a) suggested expressing national identity by 3 questions - regarding the importance of «being an American», «feeling an American», and feeling close to the country (Huddy and Khatib, 2007: 69).

Furthermore, Ariely's (2020) implications seemed to be in line with Huddy's (2016), yet the relationship between national identity and other types of national attachments, in fact, was reinterpreted. Ariely (2020) thus viewed civil/ethnic identities division and patriotism/nationalism division as two dimensions of national identity. Importantly, Ariely (2020) attributed ISSP's (GESIS, n. d.b) variables of feeling close to country and being proud of being a person with certain nationality to the concept of patriotism. Concept of the civic identity, however, was expressed by the question (GESIS, n. d.b) regarding the importance of respecting the nationality's «political institutions and laws» (Ariely, 2020, using suggestions by Wright et al., 2012).

Other examples of publications that had suggested their own more complicated scales (or their own modifications of existing scales) included, for instance, Lilli and Diehl (1999) and Cinnirella (1993, 1997). Lilli and Diehl (1999), for instance, used Tajfel & Turner's (1986) theoretical approaches and modified Luhtanen & Crocker's (1992) Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSES) to create a new 20-item (5 subscales)

national identity scale with 8-point ordinal measurement (1= «strongly agree», 8 = «strongly disagree»). However, these approaches were not accessible for this study, as such number of variables was not found in the existing and relevant data.

1.2.3. Local identity. It might be argued that local identity is slightly less common research subject as national identity in the social science literature – in fact, it might be not quite as thoroughly articulated (see Bonaiuto et al. 1996; Peng, Strijker and Wu, 2020 for a common discussion). Nevertheless, social science literature yet offered several relevant theoretical implications for this research in publications where the three common terms were local identity, place identity, and regional identity (see discussion by Peng et al., 2020). Though, other terms like urban identity would also be considered. On the surface, these three concepts might be perceived as close to each other in meaning, though these meaning could be versatile (see discussion by Peng et al., 2020). Though, it is not unusual for social science literature when different authors might use different terms to label essentially the same concept.

Provided that, for the purpose of this paper, selection of literature regarding local identity was conducted with consideration of a few more theoretical and methodological principles. *Firstly*, by «locality» a village, town, or city was pre-understood. To clarify, it is not to say that «larger» regional identities like, for example, regional identity of Donbas should not be a matter of interest for social researchers – rather the contrary. Yet, it would be a broader topic for accordingly focused research. This paper, though, was concerned with local citizens' self-identification with a territorial unit/community which was the physically (and perceptually, as it could be assumed) closest to them – thus their village, town, or city. Though, concepts like regional identity were still taken into consideration while they might have provided valuable parallels. *Secondly*, the term «local» was used to name the correspondent type of social identity for further conceptualization, instead of, for instance, «place identity» and any other labels. This was done mostly for convenience and term unification. Also, «place» seemed to be the term which could be confusing, as it might imply on not only town, but a street, a café, or any other physical object with, possibly, shared social meanings and sentiments. On the other hand, «local» seemed to be more appropriate to emphasize a town or other territorial units where people live. *Thirdly*, the three types

of implications – regarding general theoretical grounds, definition, and measurement – were still in use for this section.

To begin with, a so-called place identity theory was considered the starting point and the pool for **general theoretical cornerstones** regarding local identity. As Peng et al. (2020) summarized, there were several meanings attached to the term of place identity, whilst satellite terms like regional identity were used. Also, Peng et al. (2020), mentioning Paasi's (1986, 1991, 2002, 2003, 2009a, 2009b) ideas on a common theoretical division, distinguished two most broad categories of place identity theories:

1. Those which concerned people's place identity.
2. Those that tackled place identity of a place.

The second category included works of scholars like Paasi (2001), Groote and Haartsen (2008), Saleh (1998) and referred to, as Peng et al. (2020: 4) implied, referencing their publications, «anything that makes a place identifiable within the spatial system» - possibly, something close to the idea of a place's image. Hence, such direction was not precisely in the scope of this paper and was not present in further discussions. On the other hand, the first category, stemming from the classic publications of Proshansky (1976, 1978), Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff (1983), as well as, for example, Bonaiuto et al. (1996) and Hauge (2007), treated place identity as a social identity of a person (Peng et al., 2020). Respectively, it was selected for further discussion.

Overall, place identity theory stems (see Peng et al., 2020) from the ideas that were coined by Proshansky (1976, 1978). Switching to the subtopics of **definitions and measurement**, Proshansky (1978, as also cited in Peng et al., 2020: 2) broadly defined place identity as «those dimensions of self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, feelings, values, goals, preferences, skills, and behavioral tendencies relevant to a specific environment» (155) and as «clusters of positively and negatively valenced cognitions of physical settings» (74). Though, according to an alternative definition by Proshansky et al. (1983: 59), place identity (also spelled as «place-identity») is «a sub-structure of the self-identity of the person consisting of, broadly conceived, cognitions about the physical world in which the

individual lives». Moreover, Devine-Wright (2009: 428), slightly reinterpreted and modified Proshansky et al.'s (1983) definition, stating that place identity means «the ways in which physical and symbolic attributes of certain locations contribute to an individual's sense of self or identity».

However, despite being a crucially important ground for further research, neither Proshansky's (1978), Proshansky et al.'s (1983), and Devine-Wright's (2009) definitions, nor several widely cited classical implications like critical comments regarding behavioral aspects by Sarbin (1983), functional-regulative approach by Korpela (1989), and discursive approach by Dixon and Durrheim (2000) were suitable for this paper. To elaborate, the topic of this research required information on local identity (place identity, for that matter) which would be addible to the previously established ideas regarding social identity and national identity. Also, the research concerned not so much how an individual maps the place and several other cognitive or emotional processes, but level of the one's connection with this place. Additionally, Proshansky's (1978) and Proshansky et al.'s (1983) definitions were rather too broad and problematic for measurement.

Nevertheless, a more suitable approach to place identity was suggested by Hernández et al. (2007). Concordantly, Hernández et al. (2007: 311) provided two possible definitions of place identity:

- «process by which, through interaction with places, people describe themselves in terms of belonging to a specific place», citing Stedman, (2002);
- «component of personal identity, which develops according to the elements that typify a specific area and the nature of the interactions that occur there», citing Wester-Herber (2004) and Bernardo & Palma (2005).

Specifically, the first definition, based on Stedman's (2002) work, more-or-less corresponded to the previously established approaches to social identity and national identity as it emphasized belonging. Additionally, Hernández et al. (2007) mentioned using a 4-item (6-point ordinal items, ranging from «not at all» to «really a lot») scale for measuring place identity via identification/belonging intensity, which was based on previous developments by Valera and Pol (1994).

As for the conceptual aspect, Bonaiuto et al. (1996) directly referenced SIT (Tajfel, 1978, 1981; Tajfel and Turner, 1979) and SCT (Turner, 1985, 1987, 1988; Turner et al., 1987). At the same time, Bonaiuto et al. (1996: 164) treated local identity's variable as a single item, expressed by the question: «Do you feel proud of living in this town?». The variable was measured on a 7-point ordinal scale, ranging from «not at all» to «very much». Another relevant consideration was that Bonaiuto et al. (1996) viewed national and local identity as neighboring types of social identity, which matched Tajfel & Turner's (1986) implications.

Overall, it was evident that literature on local identity (place identity) was mostly congruent with Tajfel (1974) and Tajfel & Turner (1986). Such observation allowed, therefore, using Tajfel's (1974) and Tajfel & Turner's (1986) suggestions as a base for further conceptualization and operationalization of local identity. At the same time, measurement of local identity that seemed to be possible in WVS 7 (World Values Survey, n. d.) more-or-less corresponded to ideas by, for example, Bonaiuto et al. (1996), Stedman (2002), Hernández et al.'s (2007).

To summarize part 1.2, after a thorough literature review had been made and the most general capabilities had been highlighted, a few requirements were introduced for conceptualization/operationalization-implications selection. The number of approaches was overwhelming, so such cornerstones were needed to keep the further research in order. For **conceptualization implications** for national identity and local identity, such requirements were established:

- Congruence with the pre-selected Tajfel's (1974) and Tajfel & Turner's (1986) social identity conceptual approach.
- For national identity – compatibility with Anderson's (1983/2006) «imagined communities» and the civic-political identity type (Averianova & Voropaieva, 2020).

To keep the concepts structured and theoretically aligned, a conceptual hierarchy would be considered for the further conceptualization in Chapter 1. Herby, Tajfel's (1974) definition would be the root definition, from which national identity and local identity would stem. Both national and local identities point at attachment to certain

communities/groups (Tajfel & Turner's. 1986). Provided that, for national identity, the concept of nation would be the defining referent category, so Anderson's (1983/2006) compatible conceptualization of nation would be borrowed. As for the local identity, a category of locality would be the referent one, yet, as discussed in section 1.2.3, it was pre-defined by the purpose of this research as a village/town/city. Nevertheless, Tajfel & Turner's (1986) and Bonaiuto et al.'s (1996) work would need to be referenced as a theoretical bridge between social and national/local identity.

Switching to the **implications on operationalization**, there were the following requirements:

- Accessibility of data.
- Congruence with conceptualization implications.
- At least ordinal-level measurement and possibility of multi-item measurement was preferable
- If possible, the selected operationalization had to be comparable with a few other referenced publications.

Luckily, the pre-selected conceptualization implications allowed to have a somewhat aligned measurement of national and local identities. Accordingly, WVS 7 Ukrainian dataset's (World Values Survey, n. d) variables were considered for further operationalization in Chapter 2. As it was discussed in section 1.2.1 and as continued further in Chapter 2, WVS 7 was practically almost the only applicable dataset, yet it was comparable with methods in ISSP (GESIS, n. d.a; n. d.b; n. d.c; 2012; 2015), GSS (NORC at the University of Chicago, n. d.a), Bonaiuto et al. (1996), Huddy and Khatib (2007), Ariely (2020). On the other hand, it would differ from approaches by Kulyk (2016) or Barrington (2021; 2022) for the purpose of alternative, more precise gradational measurement.

Accordingly, the discussion above contributed to the Task 1's completion in Chapter 2, while general theoretical suggestions were outlined for national identity and local identity conceptualization.

1.3. Theoretical background of national and local identity in wartime

Part 1.3 would be dedicated towards understanding the context of the Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population national identity on the eve of the Stage Full-scale, providing theoretical grounds for the identity-related states (Task 2), and formulation (more detailed reasoning) of the 4 research hypotheses. So, *firstly*, examination of existing literature that concerned national identity dynamics of Ukraine had to be conducted (section 1.3.1). Such examination would give the general insights of the national identity of Ukrainian regions, so it would be possible to formulate hypotheses H1 and H2, which depicted Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population's national identity in comparison with other regions of Ukraine. Secondly, considering the contextual implications and more general theoretical implications, two specific wartime national identity-related states were reviewed:

1. What would be called *identity anomia* (derived from e. g. Teymoori, Bastian, and Jetten, 2016a; Durkheim, 1897/1987, as cited in Teymoori et al., 2016a; Merton, 1938).
2. What would be called *national-local identity tie* (derived from e. g. Tajfel, 1974; Turner et al., 1987; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Bonaiuto et al., 1996; Triandafyllidou, 1998; Brewer, 2001).

Accordingly, the contribution was made to the later Task 2 completion in Chapter 2. Also, the respective hypotheses H3 and H4 were formulated.

However, a *precaution* had to be made in terms of the mentioned states. One might have approached them not so much as discrete data insights, yet as dynamics between the pre-Stage South-East time and the eve of the Stage Full-scale. It would be reasonable to compare some two datasets, for example. Yet the accessible data solutions seemed unsatisfactory. Even the previous WVS 6 (The World Values Survey Association, n. d.) was not timely and included a somewhat different wording of questions that would have violated the validity of data comparison.

Accordingly, in further conceptual solutions and data analysis, national identity-related states would be treated as those that had already been reached by the time the Full-scale were began. At the same time, it was pre-concluded that these states developed as a response to the threat during the Stage South-East. Once again, although

this notion would not be directly verified empirically in Chapter 3, discussion in section 1.3.1 would provide reasons to believe that this notion was valid indeed.

1.3.1. Context of Ukrainian national and local identity development. It might not be easy to classify publications regarding the context of Ukrainian national (and local) identity development, while authors themselves had research scopes of different formats. Though, this section would be focused on a few studies that provided the most reasonable and understandable insights. At the same time, in the last few decades national identity of Ukraine (including its Southern and Eastern regions) was discussed in a connection with two historic periods/events:

1. Post-Soviet heritage (e. g. Kuzio, 1996; 1998).
2. Impact of the Revolution of Dignity and the Russo-Ukrainian war (Kulyk, 2016; Barrington, 2021; 2022; Averianova & Voropaieva, 2020).

To begin with the **post-Soviet heritage**, Kuzio (1996) argued that Ukraine's distancing from the USSR would be followed by strengthening of national-political identification with Ukraine. Moreover, Ukrainians' national identity was thought to be multilayered and non-contradicting with other national/local/post-soviet identities. However, another notion by Kuzio (1996: 592) notion served as an argument that identity anomie had to be considered for further discussion: «In the aftermath of the collapse of the former USSR the «inhabitants of eastern and southern Ukraine fell back upon these regional identities». On the other hand, that does not necessary mean that Southern and Eastern Ukraine excluded identification with Ukraine at all – rather there was certain, once again, co-existence of various national/local/post-soviet identities, as well as perseverance of Ukraine's territorial integrity (Kuzio, 1996).

Overall, Kuzio (1996) concluded that Ukraine would be likely to maintain its nation-building, whereas Southern and Eastern Ukraine would see the strengthening of civic/political national identity as well. Also, it was stated that national identity of Ukraine could not have been defined by one single item like language, ethnicity etc., although civic-political identity, perhaps, was looked at the type of identity that helped the nation-building (Kuzio, 1996, 1998)

Switching to the **Revolution of Dignity** and the first months of Russo-Ukrainian war, Kulyk (2016), Averianova & Voropaieva (2020), and Barrington (2021; 2022),

seemed to have agreed that civic-political identity in Ukraine was strengthened during the Revolution and/or as a response to the threat from Russian invaders. This was also congruent with Kuzio's (2017) comprehensive analysis of Ukraine's national identity during the Stage South-East.

For instance, Kulyk (2016: 595), using February 2012's and September's 2014 and survey data by Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (2012; 2014b), highlighted the following switch of share of Ukrainians who selected «citizen of Ukraine» as their most important identity between 2012 and 2014:

- Ukraine overall: 51.7% -> 61.4%
- East/South: 48.7% -> 47.7%
- Donbas 32.0% -> 24.7%

Such results thus implied on overall positive progression, yet either virtually no change, or decrease in the South/East, especially within Donbas (Kulyk, 2016; Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, 2012, 2014b). For identification «resident of my city/town/village» the shift was (Kulyk, 2016: 595; Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, 2012, 2014b):

- Ukraine overall: 51.7% -> 61.4%
- East/South: 30.0% -> 34.2%
- Donbas 32.9% -> 27.7%

Accordingly, implications regarding the dynamics of national and local identity during the Stage South-East were ambiguous. However, the shift in the most important national identity did not mean that one had no identification with Ukrainian national or the locality at all. In their turn, Barrington (2021: 163-165) referenced the October–November 2018's national survey by Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (2018) to illustrate the share of Ukrainians who considered citizenship as an «important part of my identity» (163):

- Ukraine overall – 39.7%
- Southern regions – 38.9%
- Eastern regions – 22.8%

Though, firstly, it was questionable whether citizenship could be equaled to more general civic-political attachment to Ukraine. Secondly, 34% Ukrainians stated that Ukrainian citizenship was «a part of my identity, but not very important» (Barrington, 2021: 163, referencing Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, 2018). Possibly, Southern and Eastern regions have a larger share of this response – that did not rule out national identification with Ukraine as such. Thirdly, it should not have been ruled out that respondents might not have understood what exactly was meant by identity in the question. Finally, Southern regions had the share which was practically the same that was in Ukraine overall (Barrington, 2021: 163, referencing Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, 2018).

At the same time, several studies (e. g. Tajfel 1979; Tajfel & Turner 1979; Triandafyllidou, 1998;) implied that social identity could be strengthened under pressure or threat. A common notion was seen in studies of response to environmental threat by Dalby (1990; 1993), Dalby & Mackenzie (1997). Also, according to the summer of 2021's national survey by Sociological Group «Rating» (2021: 10), the average response estimate for the question «How much do you feel yourself a citizens of Ukraine?», where the scale ranged from 0 («don't feel it at all») to 10 («feel it absolutely»), was 7.9/10. For South and East, the corresponding estimate was 7.6 (slightly lower), whereas it was 7.1 (lower, yet not drastically) in Donbas, specifically (Sociological Group «Rating», 2021). It should be mentioned, though, that perception of being a citizen might have been questionable way of measurement: one may not have sentiments towards the country, but the might totally feel that they have passport.

Provided the ambiguous findings above, two hypotheses were formulated, nevertheless:

H1: *absolute majority of Eastern and Southern Ukraine's population identified themselves with Ukraine on the eve of the full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war.*

H2: *national identity of Eastern and Southern Ukraine's population had no significant difference with the other regions of Ukraine on the eve of the full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war.*

1.3.2. Theoretical background of identity anomie. As it was discussed before (e. g. Brewer, 2001; Kuzio, 1996; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Triandafyllidou, 1998), it is

not impossible that social identities – including national identity – might be contested under threat, or that the population might lean towards other alternative identities. A common concern might be reasoned by the ambiguous data regarding Ukrainian South's/East's national identity (Kuzio, 1996, 2017; Kulyk, 2016; Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, 2012, 2014).

Perhaps, more radical decrease in social/collective self-identification could be traced within social anomie, grounding on Teymoori et al.'s (2016a) study. Classics by Durkheim (1897/1987) and Merton (1938), as well as several other definitions and characteristics of anomie might exist in the social science literature, as noted by Teymoori et al. (2016a). Nevertheless, Teymoori et al. (2016a: 3) applied the following definition of anomie which stems from Durkheim's (1897/1987), while Durkheim's approach is well-known and tackles social-collective aspect: «shared perception that society is breaking down», including its social integration and regulation. Noticeably, such definition slightly differed from their earlier (Teymoori, Jetten, Bastian, Ariyanto, Autin, Ayub et al., 2016b) definition of anomie, which included more articulated political aspect: «perception of society, specifically a perception that the social and political conditions in society are crumbling» (3).

Another relevant notion by Teymoori et al. (2016a) was that due to anomie, individuals may have contraction of social self. From this perspective, the so-called tribalism might occur, as individuals will replace weaker social ties by stronger ones, which could be found within smaller groups (Teymoori et al., 2016a; Maffesoli, 1996; Swann, Jetten, Gomez, Whitehouse, & Bastian, 2012). In the context of this thesis paper, such conclusions (Teymoori et al., 2016a; Maffesoli, 1996; Swann et al. 2012) seemed to be aligned with previous findings by Tajfel & Turner (1986), as restructuring of social ties might have implied on social identity shift.

In addition, there were other, earlier definitions of anomie that were congruent with the implications above. Namely, MacIver (1950, as cited in Srole, 1956) approached anomie as a person's breakdown of sense of attachment to a society. What made this definition valuable for this paper was that the compatibility of such approach with Tajfel & Turner's (1979, 1985) ideas about the emotional attachment-aspect of social identity. To summarize, it was decided to use MacIver's (1950), Durkheim's

(1893/1997; 1897/1987) and Teymoori et al. (2016a)'s approaches in further conceptualization of identity anomie in Chapter 2.

However, is it theoretically possible for anomie to be related to the breakdown of local identity as well? Switching back to the root academic works on anomie, in contrast to Teymoori et al. (2016a), Durkheim (1897/1987) and Merton (1938) are unlikely to have specified the social breakdown and normlessness only at the national level/level of society. Moreover, it could be suggested that Durkheim's (1893/1997; 1897/1987) view on anomie and anomie-related suicides would not rule out disintegration that is felt on the daily level, thus in the one's local community. Additionally, Merton's (1938) ideas on social deviance might have also implied that those who, for instance, committed crime felt the lack of socially accepted opportunities to achieve their goals. If so, deviants, discussed by Merton (1938), would probably feel this lack of legitimate ways of attaining goals in their social environment, which is, probably, again, their local community. In fact, Merton (1938) referred to Lohman's (1937) study of deviance, which originated in the locality in the northern side of Chicago. Concordantly, an assumption that war may be followed by anomie-related breakdown of local identity (similarly to breakdown of «larger» collective identities, that were implied by Teymoori et al., 2016a) might be also viable and would be considered for this research.

Overall, it would be relevant to include both anomie-related identity phenomena – breakdown of national and local identities – into the research focus and hypotheses. However, there was a theoretical issue with the concept of anomie as it is broader than a set identity processes and encapsules problematics of, which is not on the focus of this paper. On the other hand, existence of other parallel processes within anomie might not be essentially the reason to omit anomie-related identity processes from the research. Provided that, a theoretical compromise was found – although broader concepts of anomie would not be reviewed in this paper, concepts of identity anomie would be introduced. Precisely, it was logical to limit the anomie-related discussion to the two phenomena with consideration of implications by Teymoori et al. (2016a), Durkheim (1893/1997; 1897/1987), and Merton (1938) for conceptualization of:

1. National identity anomie.

2. Full identity anomie.

At the same time, social anomie's **measurement** approaches that were found in the literature were not compatible with identity anomie's further operationalization, because they did not correspond to the content of its conceptualization. For instance, Srole's (1956) classic anomie scale had agree-disagree format (ranging from 0 to 5) and included 5 items that referred to indifferent public leaders, perception of fickle social order, distancing from already achieved goals, life meaningless, and loss of social relations' reliability. Apparently, these items were far from the direction that conceptualization of identity anomie was going. Hence, Srole's (1956) approach, as well as other classic approaches that stemmed from it (for example, Fischer, 1973; Teevan, 1975) could not be included into further operationalization.

To name another example, even the Perception of Anomie Scale (PAS) that was developed by Teymoori et al. (2016b) themselves, was not suitable. Firstly, it included 32 items, measured on a 7-point Likert-type scale (Teymoori et al., 2016b), which was not available for this research. Secondly, it tackled two aspects, or the two perceived breakdowns: of (political) leadership and the of social fabric (Teymoori et al., 2016b) – mostly not in a way of identifying yourself with national/local area. For common reasons, a scale by Heydari, Davoudi, & Teymoori (2011) was not applicable.

Overall, no direct operationalization was borrowed for identity anomie from the reviewed literature. The decision was made to deduct operationalize both types of identity anomie from the research purpose and hypotheses. At the same time, anomie would be treated an individual's psychological state that could be spread among a certain share of population (based on MacIver, 1950; Durkheim, 1893/1997; 1897/1987; Teymoori et al., 2016a, 2016b).

Finally, if identity anomie is possible in its essence, was it possible to have happened in the **Ukrainian context** – to the majority of the Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population on the eve of Stage Full-scale? In fact, hypothesis H4 was formulated in a way to reject the belief that any type of identity anomie had occurred: *neither national identity anomie nor full identity anomie effect occurred among the majority of Eastern and Southern Ukraine's population on the eve of full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war*. This decision was reasoned by the previous discussion on possible

national identity's cohesion, further discussion on national and local identity tie and Ukrainian national identity trajectory (Kulyk, 2016; Barrington, 2021, 2022; Averianova & Voropaieva, 2020; Kuzio, 1996, 1998, 2017).

1.3.3. Identity tie effect of national and local identities. As implied in the previous sections, there could be other processes that were contrary to the identity anomie effect. Could national and local identity of the Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population have facilitated one another? Could interrelation between them have become stronger under threat during Stage South-East of the Russo-Ukrainian war? There were several implications on possibility of such scenarios.

Firstly, it was already mentioned that multiple identities might co-exist within one person (Brewer, 2001), precisely national and local identity, accordingly to the context of this paper. *Secondly*, considering the model of Tajfel & Turner's (1986) social identity maintenance, it could be argued that if both the national and the local identity are under threat, there will be a response «from» both of them. This notion would be consistent with the already cited findings of Triandafyllidou (1998), who emphasized that national identity would be reinforcing under threat from the out-groups (other nations, possibly). Thirdly, Bonaiuto et al. (1996) highlighted the positive association between nationalism (including national identity) and local identity. Furthermore, Bonaiuto et al.'s (1996) example showed that citizens with stronger national identity and citizens with stronger local identity both had expressed more negative perception of local beach's pollutants.

Moreover, a couple abstract logical situation modelling could facilitate this discussion. Say, imagine a displaced person (DP) from CADLR, whose hometown was occupied by Russia in 2014-2015 and who fled to those regions of Ukraine that remained under Ukrainian government' control. While it might not always be the case, yet a hypothetical DP may have had opportunities to remain in their hometown or, at least, to return there when heavy combat ended. In fact, from early 2015 to February 2022, with some exceptions, there was mostly no heavy combat inside villages, towns, or cities in Donbas. Nevertheless, millions of DP did not return and remained on the Ukraine-controlled territories. Although such choice might have been influenced by

several conditions, it might as well imply on the fact that, after some time, the hypothetical DP's local identity towards the then-hometown faded.

It is not to say that the hypothetical DP lost local identity, and the blank space would not be filled (though, such scenario should not be excluded). Going back to Tajfel (1974), Turner et al. (1987), Tajfel & Turner (1986), and Brewer (2001), it would be quite possible that, to maintain identity salience, one would switch from identifying themselves with the town that had been occupied to identifying themselves with their new town of residence on the Ukraine-controlled territory. In other words, this logic could be formulated this way (based on Tajfel, 1974; Turner et al., 1987; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Bonaiuto et al., 1996; Triandafyllidou, 1998; Brewer, 2001):

1. I live in Ukraine, in my hometown. They are both important to me, I identify myself with them.
2. My hometown has been occupied by Russian federation and their collaborators, which contrasts my Ukrainian identity. Making my hometown Russian perceivably «pushes out Ukraine» (even though temporarily) from my hometown.
3. Is my hometown really the hometown, now that Ukraine «has been temporarily pushed out», and occupants try to make my hometown Russian?
4. It is hard for me to identify myself with a town which is occupied, so I move to another town – which can both be Ukraine-controlled (maintaining my Ukrainian national identity) and become a hometown for me, emotionally (re-establishing salient local identity).

Such principles, hypothetically, worked both ways: I become more faithful in my national and local identity if my Ukrainian hometown has been protected, has not been occupied. Logically, local population of the Southern and Eastern Ukraine would not protest the occupiers (during both stages of war) if they were not protecting Ukraine as well. Otherwise, unlikely they would have reasons to resist Russian occupants. Furthermore, such principles, evidently, have been working during the Stage Full-scale, as examples of civil resistance in Kharkiv oblast, Konotop, Nova Kakhovka, Kherson, Melitopol' and other places indicates.

Based on the discussion above, a concept of **national-local identity tie effect** of the wartime would be introduced. For it was assumed that national and local identities of Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population intertwined (or this connection became stronger) under threat during the Stage South-East, thus on the eve of Stage Full-scale.

Respective hypothesis **H5** was constructed as follows: *national-local identity tie effect occurred among Eastern and Southern Ukraine's population on the eve of full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war*. Finally, the conceptualization and operationalization of national-local identity would be conducted in Chapter 2 with a reference to Tajfel & Turner (1986), Triandafyllidou (1998), and Brewer (2001), while these publications provided the most direct ground for the respective assumptions.

To conclude, Chapter 1 fulfilled its aim – to provide theoretical ground for further completion of Tasks 1 and 2 in Chapter 2. *Firstly*, after thorough examination, it was decided to align national and local identity as much as possible in terms of conceptualization and measurement. Hence, as a preparation for Task 1 completion, social identity within SIT/SCT was selected as the parent-category for national and local identity conceptualization, as derived from Tajfel (1974), Tajfel & Turner (1986), Bonaiuto et al. (1996). Also, it was recommended to connect definitions of national and local identity to the respective groups: nation, which was defined within Anderson's (1983/2006) imagined communities-approach, and locality, by which the person's village, town, or city was understood (according to the research's purpose). At the same time, WVS 7's variables were considered for quantitative, ordinal/interval measurement of national and local identity, while it corresponded to the most common approaches in literature and social research (see section 1.2.1). If possible, it would be advisable to use multi-item scales for national and local identity measurement.

Secondly, a step towards later Task 2 completion was made as well, while identity anomie, which included national and full identity anomie, and national-local identity tie were provided with theoretical grounds. The recommended base for conceptualization of identity anomie would be Teymoori et al. (2016a), Durkheim (1893/1997; 1897/1987), and Merton (1938), yet the measurement approach would

need to be inferred autonomously from the concept essence, while no suitable solution was found in the literature.

To continue, the general theoretical and empirical context of assumingly upward national civic identity dynamics was established and the 4 research hypotheses were formulated in Chapter 2. The overall pre-selected theoretical manner, to summarize, implied on positivist-quantitative methodological framework with consideration of constructivist theoretical implications. That would include, precisely, self-reported data collection and representative survey data analysis.

CHAPTER 2.
METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK
FOR THE RESEARCH ON NATIONAL IDENTITY
OF SOUTHERN AND EASTERN UKRAINE'S POPULATION
ON THE EVE OF THE FULL-SCALE RUSSO-UKRAINIAN WAR

With all the implications from Chapter 1 considered, it was decided to continue the research in the empirically positivist paradigm – with a few constructivist implications, considering Anderson's (1983/2006) ideas – and appropriate quantitative methodology. Also, as advised in Chapter 1, such methodology would rely on representative national survey data for Ukrainian population and, respectively, quantitative data analysis methods.

Chapter 2 itself, though, would be focused on Task 1 and 2 direct completion – conceptualization and operationalization (using Chapter 1's insights) of national identity, local identity, identity anomie, full identity anomie and national identity anomie, as well as national-local identity tie. Moreover, aspects of methodology that concerned empirical base and hypotheses verification would be suggested. By that, methodological grounds would be established for further completion of Tasks 3 and 4 in Chapter 3.

2.1. Key national-identity-related concepts, supplemental variables, and their measurement

Part 2.1 was dedicated foremost to the Task 1 and 2 completion – the conceptualization of national and local identity (Task 1, section 2.1.1), as well as identity anomie and national-local identity tie (Task 2, section 2.1.2). However, there were other variables and concepts that had to be included in the conceptualization/operationalization process.

Say, even though there was no direct research aim of conceptualizing social identity, the key national and local identity concepts relied on it, as discussed in Chapter 1. So, the root-concept of social identity was conceptualized logically-

hierarchically higher than national and local identity in section 2.1.1. A common approach was used in terms of nation and locality definition (also section 2.1.1), as they were elements of national and local identity concepts. On the other hand, geographical, population-related variables (basically, independent variables) also had to be defined (section 2.1.3) for further analysis and clarification of who are the population of Southern and Eastern Ukraine and other regions, on the contrary).

2.1.1. Social, national, and local identity. The root-concept – **social identity** – was directly borrowed from Tajfel (1974) with slightly more convenient rephrasing: individual's perception of (their) emotionally significant belonging to a social group. Merely for the comfortable writing and reading, when it was said within this paper that X identified themselves with Y, it meant exactly national identity – simply in an active verb format. Nevertheless, Tajfel & Turner (1986: 15) emphasized on a rather broad understanding of a (*social*) *group* in this context: «a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and of their membership in it». Herby, national identity and local identity were treated as two types of social identity (stemming from Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Bonaiuto et al., 1996), thus they borrowed social identity's properties.

National identity was understood, grounding on Tajfel & Turner (1986), as social identity which includes nation as a social group, or, in this context Ukrainian nation. The **nation**, per Anderson (1983/2006: 6), was defined as «inherently limited and sovereign» «imagined political community». National identity's operationalization, though, was expressed by two variables from WVS 7 (World Values Survey, n. d.).

The first variable (Q257) was formulated as a question about how close a respondent felt to Ukraine (World Values Survey, n. d.). This item was thought to indicate belonging and emotional value of belonging to the nation/the social group (Tajfel, 1974). Nevertheless, the original 4-point ordinal variables (World Values Survey, n. d.) was recoded into the direct key for convenience, whereas the «Don't know» response variant was taken as the intermediate value (3). Therefore, in absolute

dimension perceived closeness with was measured on a 5-point ordinal scale (based on World Values Survey, n. d.):

1. «Not close at all»
2. «Not very close»
3. «Don't know»
4. «Close»
5. «Very close».

The second variable (Q254) in WVS 7 dataset was represented by the question on how proud the person was to be a citizen of Ukraine (World Values Survey, n. d.). This item addressed both the emotional aspect of national identity as social identity (Tajfel, 1974) and specific, even more exclusivity aspect of nation's concept (Anderson, 1983/2006). Like in case of the previous variable, the original national pride variable (World Values Survey, n. d.) was recoded into the 5-point ordinal scale with direct key:

1. «Not proud at all»
2. «Not very proud»
3. «Don't know»
4. «Rather proud than not»
5. «Very proud».

Moreover, an original response variant of not being a citizen of Ukraine» (World Values Survey, n. d.) was coded as a missing value.

However, national identity was not measured by these two variables separately, as they constituted a scale, somehow resembling Ariely's (2020) notions. Such approach was selected for three reasons: firstly, these were the two relevant variables that were available; secondly, their combination resembled the properties with theoretical salience; thirdly, their score would create a window for more data analysis opportunities. Moreover, there were 3 forms of national identity variable: index, levels, and binary, while each was more appropriate for different hypotheses verification and analysis methods. Hence, *national identity index* was calculated as a mean score (interval variable) of Q257 and Q254, ranging from 1 to 5, including decimals. Yet for the purpose of methodological triangulation, verification of several hypothesis and data

representation in a commonly understood format of crosstabulation, the index was additionally recoded into the form of *national identity level* – a 5-point ordinal variable:

- < 1.5 -> 1 (low)
- [1.5; 2.4] -> 2 (moderately low)
- [2.5; 3.4] -> 3 (undecided)
- [3.5; 4.4] -> 4 (moderately high)
- > 4.4 -> 5 (high)
- missing -> missing

Finally, the *binary form of national identity* variable was created for a more convenient usage of national identity concept during the verification of identity anomie. The national identity level variable, of that purpose, was recorded by polarizing the two sides of the scale:

- 1-2 -> 1 (do not identify themselves with Ukraine)
- 3 -> 2 (undecided)
- 4-5 -> 2 (identify themselves with Ukraine).

Moving to the **local identity**, this concept was treated as social identity, which concerns locality as a social group, as derived from Tajfel & Turner (1986). The category of **locality**, for the aim of this research, meant a city, town, or village, where the one lived. Respectively, local identity was operationalized with WVS 7's (World Values Survey, n. d) variable Q255 which concerned how close one felt to their village/town/city. Once again, such question corresponded to the conceptually defined perception of belonging and emotionality of local/social identity (Tajfel, 1974). However, like with feel close to country-variable that was mentioned above, Q255 was recoded from 4-point reverse-order ordinal variable into a 5-point direct-key ordinal in a way that national identity subvariables had been coded.

Supposedly, it would have been better if WVS 7 dataset (World Values Survey, n. d.) included at least one more appropriate variable for local identity measurement to match the two-item-based scale of national identity. On the other hand, even though Q255 see World Values Survey, n. d) was the only suitable variable, it was theoretically sufficient, nevertheless. Moreover, local identity variable had two forms: *the ordinal*

form, which was outlined above and used for national-local identity tie verification (H4), and the binary form, which was used for identity anomie verification as well (H3). The binary form of local identity was, respectively, recoded from the ordinal version in a way that national identity binary variable had been constructed:

- 1-2 -> 1 (do not identify themselves with the locality)
- 3 -> 2 (undecided)
- 4-5 -> 2 (identify themselves with the locality).

Finally, at this point, conceptualization and operationalization of national identity and local identity were finalized (Task 1 was completed).

2.1.2. Wartime national identity-related states. The following section involved completion of task 2, while it tackled conceptualization and operationalization of identity-related effects: identity anomie (national and full identity anomie), as well as national and local identity tie.

To begin with, the backbone concept of social anomie (**anomie**) was understood, based on MacIver's (1950), Durkheim's (1893/1997; 1897/1987), and Teymoori et al.'s (2016a, 2016b) theoretical approaches, as person's perception that their sense of belonging society, its norms, and feeling of belonging to it are breaking down. Yet for the purpose of this paper, precisely **identity anomie** is a matter of interest. Respectively, it was tackled as the aspect of social anomie that means person's perception of breakdown of attachment to a certain society, community, or group (as derived from MacIver, 1956; Teymoori et al., 2016a, 2016b; and Durkheim, 1897/1987). It should be noted, though, that identity might be spread among a definite share of population (based on MacIver, 1950; Durkheim, 1893/1997; 1897/1987; Teymoori et al., 2016a, 2016b), and, assumingly, commonness among the majority of population might be the case of the upmost scientific interest.

Furthermore, the *two types* of identity anomie effect that were researched within this paper were:

1. National identity anomie
2. Full identity anomie.

National identity anomie was defined identity anomie that engages breakdown of national identity (based on Teymoori et al., 2016a; Durkheim, 1893/1997,

1897/1987; MacIver, 1950). National identity anomie, noticeably, might be followed by strengthened smaller-group social identity – including local identity (based on Teymoori et al., 2016a). Within the dimension of operationalization, it was viewed as a state when a person did not identify themselves with Ukraine, yet they had local identification – based on the nominal/binary types of national identity and local identity variables.

In its turn, **full identity anomie** was the label of identity anomie that engages breakdown of both national and local identity (based on Merton, 1938; Teymoori et al., 2016a; Durkheim, 1893/1997, 1897/1987; MacIver, 1950). Like with the national identity anomie, the operationalization was based on the nominal/binary types of national identity index and local identity variable. It was judged that a person had been in a state of full identity anomie if they did not identify themselves neither with Ukraine, nor with their locality.

Finally, **national-local identity tie** was defined as simultaneous strengthening of a person's national and local identity and relationship between them within a combined social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Triandafyllidou, 1998; and Brewer, 2001). The operationalization, therefore, would be the hypothesis H4's verification procedure itself to a major extent. Yet it would be based on two categories of elements:

1. The share of the Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population who identified themselves both with Ukraine and their locality (grounding on the nominal/binary versions of national identity and local identity variables), which had to be above 50% of the population.
2. And the Spearman's rho value of the correlation between national identity (index) and local identity (ordinal scale) of the Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population.

Respectively, as identity anomie (including its types) and national-local identity tie were also conceptualized and operationalized, Task 2 was completed.

2.1.3. Population-related variables. This study engaged N_REGION_WVS – WVS 7 Ukrainian dataset's (The World Values Survey Association, n. d) original variable of macro-regions, which would be called **WVS region(s)** further. Each WVS

region included the corresponding Ukraine's oblasts, as described in table 2.1 (based on The World Values Survey Association, n. d).

Table 2.1. Ukraine's oblasts within WVS regions

WVS region	Regions
<i>West 1</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Volyn (oblast) • Zakarpatska (oblast) • Ivano-Frankivsk • Lviv
<i>West 2</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rivne • Ternopil • Khmelnytsky • Chernivtsi region
<i>North</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chernihiv • Kyiv (oblast) • Zhytomyr
<i>Kyiv</i>	Kyiv (City)
<i>Centre</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vinnytsia • Kirovohrad (oblast) • Poltava • Cherkasy
<i>East 1</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mykolaiv region • Odesa region • Kherson region
<i>East 2</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Donetsk • Luhansk • Zaporizhzhia
<i>South</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mykolaiv • Odesa • Kherson
Source: The World Values Survey Association (n. d)	

Though, by Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population (**the SE population**) population East 1, East 2 and South regions was understood (The World Values Survey Association, n. d), so WVS regions variable was recoded into binary SE population (belonging to the SE population) variable: 1 = SE population; 0 = population of other regions. Such selection corresponds to broad understanding of what one might

perceived as Southern and Eastern regions of Ukraine. Basically, those were mostly regions that border with the Russian federation and/or are situated at the border of the frontline (Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts).

2.2. Empirical data for the Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population national identity research

2.2.1. Empirical data selection preconditions. To begin with the *general preconditions* of data selection, the framework of this research belonged to the positivist paradigm, whereas the research scope required quantitative data collection methodology. Furthermore, national identity and local identity were treated as self-reported perceptions. Provided these two preconditions, the pool of possible empirical data – by definition – would be limited to data which was collected with representative surveys or representative survey-like methods. Consequently, the search was started within the pool of survey datasets which fulfilled these two requirements.

Then, the survey data had to be *representative* for the SE population, as well as for the population of Ukraine in general. This precondition, respectively, limited the search for those datasets which had a large enough and appropriate sample. At the same time, the requirement in terms of *data timing* was to highlight the national identity of the SE population just before the Stage Full-scale. So, the data had to be collected as close to February 2022 as possible had to be found. Finally, switching to the *content requirements*, the dataset had to include the necessary variables of national identity, local identity, and appropriate independent variables/regional division. Furthermore, these key variables from one dataset had to be at least minimally comparable with other common social surveys. Ideally, they needed to have similar measurement, and precisely at least ordinal measurement. At the same time, the ordinal type of national and local identity measurement itself (see theoretical and methodological discussions in Chapter 1) was one more precondition for dataset choice.

2.2.2. Empirical data selection. It was problematic to find datasets that fully match all the described principles. Even though finding nationally representative datasets for Ukraine that more-or-less matched the time criteria was possible, other

issues could have arisen. Though, WVS 7 seemed the most appropriate choice. Despite the preference of larger sample and addition of variable that would measure pride-aspect of local identity, overall, the dataset fulfilled the requirements in section 2.2.1.

Switching to the **technical data description**, WVS 7 Ukrainian survey, or 2020 survey, was conducted in July-August 2020 by InfoSapiens and NGO «Social Monitoring Centre» (The World Values Survey Association, n. d.a; Shurenkova, Pavlova, Dmytruk, Volosevych, Latsyba, Akulenko, Balakireva, Kostiuchenko, 2020) via face-to-face Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI). The data was representative (n = 1289) for the adult (18 and older) population of Ukraine and was conducted in all regions of Ukraine, except the temporarily occupied (by Russia) territories, which, at that point, were the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, as well as certain areas of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts (CADLR) – Ukrainian administrative regions (The World Values Survey Association, n. d.a; Shurenkova et al., 2020). The estimated sampling error was 2.7%, with confidence probability of 0.95 (Shurenkova et al., 2020) and response level of 77%.

Nevertheless, at least two **methodological precautions** regarding the dataset had to be made. The first issue with the dataset was *the timeframe* of Stage South-East and Stage Full-scale. WVS 7 Ukraine's 2020 data was collected about 1.5 years before the Stage Full-scale. Though, this flaw might have been non-critical. It was pre-assumed that between summer 2020 and February 2022 no drastic events that would have shifted national and local identity of the SE population had happened. In other words, it was considered that national and local identity estimates in summer 2020 and February 2022 were somehow close. On the other hand, there was no categorical denying of the possibility that escalating concerns of the full-scale Russian invasion in the late 2021-early 2022 may have caused some kind of upward dynamics in the national/local identity of the SE population.

Finally, one more concluding precaution had to be made regarding the *sampling*. While the sample did not include CADLR (The World Values Survey Association, n. d.a; Shurenkova et al., 2020), what would such difference mean for the analysis? Some hypothetical commentators might express concerns about such data comparison in a way like this: «So, yes, the data shows that Ukrainian national identity was rather

stronger in the South-East. But could not it be just a statistical fallacy due to the fact that CADLR were not included in the 2020 dataset? Maybe, people living in CADLR were never identifying themselves as Ukrainians». It would be definitely a dangerous assumption, while it implies on the other assumption – that there were substantial justification for the Russian occupation of CADLR.

However, there were two *counterarguments*:

1. The data for the SE population would imply exactly the opposite: in those areas of the Southern and Eastern Ukraine that were not occupied by Russia, «everything would be going fine» with national and local identity, unless there had been Russian occupation for 8 years or so.
2. Millions of people who had lived in what became CADLR themselves became internally displaced persons, fleeing to other regions of Ukraine. They might have been included in the 2020 sample.

2.3. Data analysis and hypotheses procedures for the Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population national identity research

Data analysis was conducted in IBM SPSS statistical package. For all procedures, original weight variable W_WEIGHT (World Values Survey, n. d.a) was used.

2.3.1. Procedures for national identity per se and its comparison with other regions. Hypothesis **H1** projected the SE population's majority, it would be accepted if the share of SE population who identified themselves with (moderate or high level) was >50%. The distribution would be seen during H2's crosstabulation.

H2, however, implied that there was no statistical difference in the level of self-identification with Ukraine among SE population and population of other Ukrainian regions. Moreover, ordinal type of measurement allowed at least two ways of hypothesis verification, depending on the preferable format of representation: to show difference in the shares of identification levels or to illustrate the difference between two virtual «average representatives» of SE population and other regions' population.

This paper mostly tackled macro-level issues, so it was decided to conduct the main procedure of H2 verification via the combination of crosstabulation, accompanied

by chi-square test and Cramer's V coefficient (ϕ_c). Then, H2 would have been accepted if at least one of the two conditions had been met:

- 1) not statistically significant values of chi-square and Cramer's V ($p > 0.05$)
- 2) not substantially significant of Cramer's V ($\phi_c < 0.2$).

Substantial significance was engaged due to the theoretical possibility of statistically significant, yet low value of Cramer's V. In such scenario, the value is technically significant, but could be so low that it would indicate almost no relationship or very weak, rather non-informative relationship. Furthermore, 0.2 was selected as the threshold, while everything below this value may be treated as negligible or weak (Rea & Parker, 2014).

As for the independent-samples t-test, it was also applied in this research as, firstly, a way of methodological triangulation of the H2's verification procedure. Secondly, it would be an alternative way of illustrating the verification. Say, for some of the academic (and other) audiences the representation in mean values might be more understandable or useful. The index form of national identity variable was an interval variable, so it was suitable with the t-test. Hence, independent-samples t-test was conducted with belonging to SE as the independent (grouping) variable and national identity index as the dependent variable. It would have been judged that H2 was re-confirmed if the independent-samples t-test would follow one of the two scenarios:

1. Statistically insignificant t-value ($p > 0.05$).
2. Substantially insignificant mean difference. For this purpose, the larger of the standard deviation values of the two categories' (the SE population and the population of other regions) national identity level would serve as a threshold of substantial significance. To rephrase, if the mean difference had been lesser than the SD (the larger SD of the two), such mean difference would have been treated as insignificant.

Though, before the t-test itself, Levene's test for homogeneity of variances would be conducted as an in-built SPSS feature. In case homogeneity of variances is violated, it is recommended to use Welch's t-test instead. One the technical versions of it, nevertheless, is also an in-built feature that is conducted in SPSS when a basic independent-samples t-test is applied. Under such circumstances, one would have

needed to look at the corresponding unequal variances' line in the t-test output. Moreover, it was reasonable as well to conduct one-way ANOVA or Welch's ANOVA with Games-Howell post hoc test (in case of homogeneity of variances is violated) for a closer look at average national identity and its difference by WVS regions (independent variable).

2.3.2. Procedures for wartime identity states. Next, **H3** was the hypothesis that verified the **identity anomie** among the majority of SE population. Contrary to other hypotheses, H3 was formulated in a negative key. In other words, it assumed that there had been no identity anomie – neither national identity anomie, nor the full identity anomie. Methodologically, any of the two identity anomie types was treated as substantially significant (widespread) social situation if it had reached the point of >50% of the SE population. In both cases belonging to the SE population was used as a filter variable.

Verification of *full identity anomie* required descriptive statistics via crosstabulation of national identity and local identity in binary forms. Precisely, the procedure was focused on the SE population's cross-category that did not identify themselves with any of the two identities – national or local. The same crosstabulation was applicable for *national identity anomie verification*. Consequently, H4 would be accepted if the share growth up to >50% of the SE population had not happened in any of the two types of identity anomie. Though, H4's acceptance/rejection could have been inferred at the stage of H1 verification.

Finally, hypothesis **H4** concerned a somewhat complicated (from the methodological standpoint) **national-local identity tie effect**. Theoretically, it pre-assumed that the relationship between national and local identity had been significant by the Stage Full-scale, while the level was high for both identities. So, *firstly*, the share of the SE population that identified themselves with Ukraine had to be >50%. Basically, H4 could not have been accepted if H1 had been rejected at its stage. *Secondly*, the share of the SE population that identified themselves with their locality had to be >50% as well (as would be seen in crosstabulation during H3 verification).

Finally, the word «tie» itself implies on a relation between variables, and thus it would be reasonable to verify that aspect using the corresponding measures of

association. To verify discriminant the relationship, Spearman's rank correlation test was used, while national identity index was a in interval variables, and local identity was and ordinal one. Spearman's test allows to verify monotonic relationship, which might not be as commonly used as linear models, yet it is a plausible alternative for situation of interval-and-ordinal-variables and implies on a tendency of simultaneous decrease or increase in the two given variables' values. Then, for the purpose of this paper, relationship between national and local identity would be considered significant if the value of Spearman's rho (r_s) is positive, statistically ($p < 0.05$) significant, and substantially significant ($r_s > 0.3$). Precisely, the threshold of 0.3 was chosen from a somewhat maximum-oriented standpoint, while correlation values below 0.3 are considered low, weak correlation/association (Ratner, 2009; Davis, 1971, as cited in Kotrlik, Williams, Jabor, 2011).

To conclude, within Chapter 2 three important steps were made. *Firstly*, conceptualization and operationalization of national identity and local identity was finalized in section 2.1.1 (Task 1 was completed). *Secondly*, a subsequent Task 2 was also finalized in section 2.1.2, while identity anomie and national-local identity tie were also conceptualized and operationalized.

Thirdly, in parts 2.2 and 2.3 methodological principles of data selection and analysis were outlined, which was a step towards completion of Task 3 and Task 4 in the next chapter. Consistently with the combination of positivist/social constructivist paradigm and self-report-approach to data, Ukrainian dataset of WVS 7 survey (World Values Survey, n. d.) was selected as the empirical base. Furthermore, it was decided to verify the research hypotheses via simple, yet easily understandable and informative data analysis methods in IBM SPSS. They included descriptive frequencies' distribution crosstabulation (H1-H4), chi-square test with Cramer's V coefficient (H2), Spearman's rank correlation test (H4), as well as other supplemental basic analysis procedures for triangulation like independent-samples t-test/Welch's t-test and Welch's ANOVA (H2).

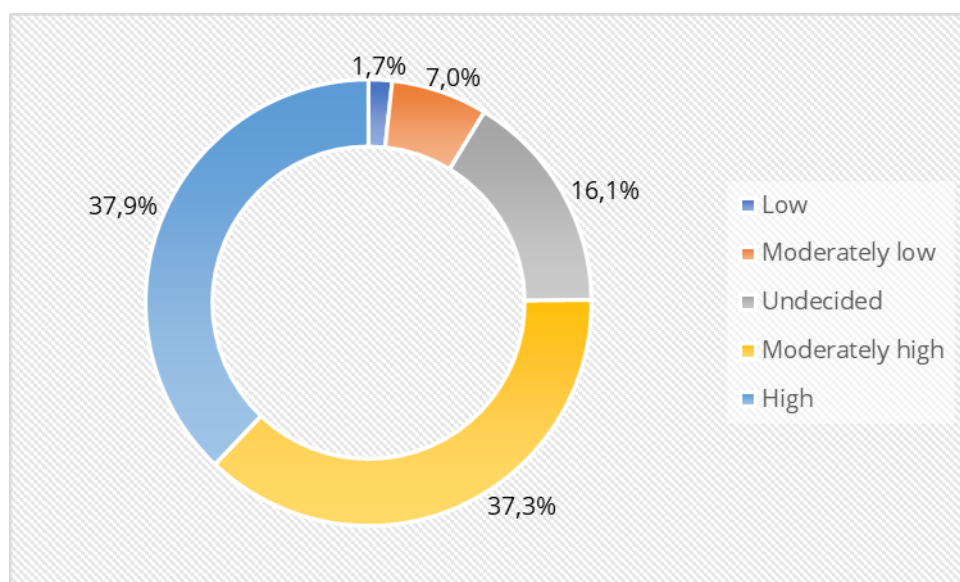
CHAPTER 3

EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE REGARDING THE NATIONAL IDENTITY OF SOUTHERN AND EASTERN UKRAINE'S POPULATION ON THE EVE OF FULL-SCALE RUSSO-UKRAINIAN WAR

The final chapter of this thesis was divided into two parts, where part 3.1 was focused on Task 3 completion by H1-H2 verification, whereas part 3.2 concerned Task 4 and H3-H4. Before the analysis, the dataset was weighted by its original W_WEIGHT variable (World Values Survey, n. d.a).

3.1. National identity of Eastern and Southern Ukraine's population per se and comparison with other regions

3.1.1. Share of national identification with Ukraine. Evidently from Pic. 3.1 and Table 3.1, combined share of those members of SE population who identified themselves with Ukraine was 75.2%, including those who had moderate level (37.3%) and high level (37.9%) of Ukrainian national identification.



**Pic. 3.1. National identity levels' share within the SE population
(based on World Values Survey, n. d.a)**

While it was absolute majority (>50%) of the SE population, even with the 2.7% sample error considered, *H1* was **accepted**. It should be mentioned that for this verification, SE population's variable was switched on as a filter.

3.1.2. Difference with other regions. The statistical distribution included levels of national identity and indicated that the shares within SE population and other regions' population have virtually no difference (table 3.1).

Table 3.1. National identity levels' share within the SE population and the population of other regions of Ukraine (based on World Values Survey, n. d.a)

Regions	National identity levels					N
	<i>Low</i>	<i>Moderately low</i>	<i>Undecided</i>	<i>Moderately high</i>	<i>High</i>	
<i>South-East</i>	1.7%	7.0%	16.1%	37.3%	37.9%	541
<i>Other regions</i>	0.3%	4.3%	11.0%	37.2%	47.3%	748

Generally, while 75.2% of the SE population identified themselves with Ukraine, for other regions the overall respective share was 84.5% (difference of 9.3%). On one hand though, the crosstabulation indicated statistically significant relationship between belonging to the SE population/other regions' population and distribution of national identity levels ($\chi^2 = 24.25$, $p < 0.05$). For that, there was also a statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) value of $\phi_c = 0.14$. Also, the estimated difference of 9.3% seemed considerable, but not critical, while the difference of 5.1% was attributed to the «undecided» category (which was not negative in this context). On the other hand, as it was discussed in Chapter 2, such ϕ_c estimate was lower the pre-defined threshold of substantial significance (0.2). Provided that, the difference was considered not substantial and certainly not a striking example of mythical division between Ukrainian South/East and other regions (see Hobova, 2018), while *H2* was **accepted**.

As planned, independent-samples t-test was conducted for the purpose of methodological triangulation and highlighting the difference between SE population's and other regions' population's level of national identity in other easy-to-comprehend forms. Hence, the following mean levels of national identification were estimated:

- 3.86 (SD = 0.94, SE = 0.04, 541) – for SE population

- 4.10 (SD = 0.81, SE = 0.03, 748) – for other regions' population

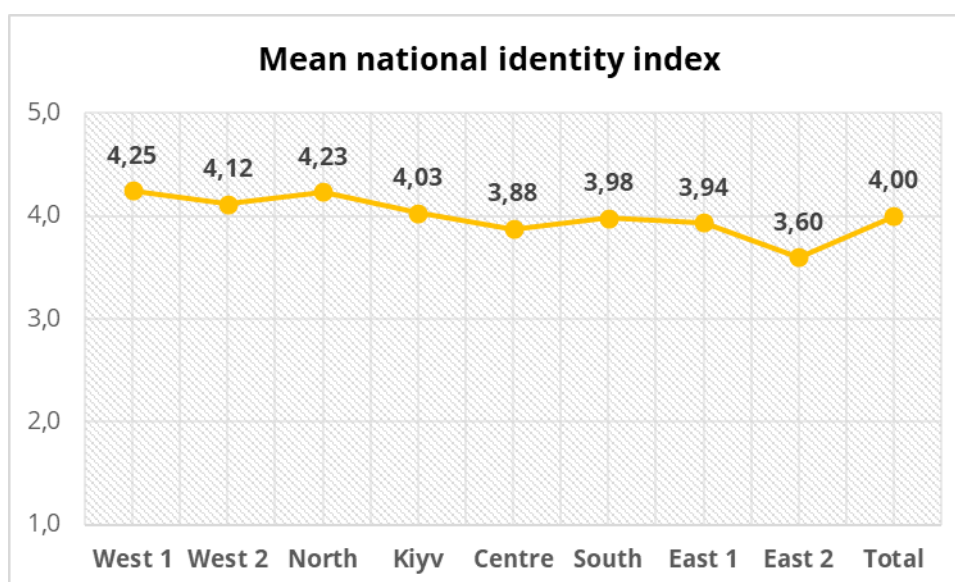
According to the subsequent Levene's test, equal variances could not be assumed ($F = 13.9$, $p > 0.05$). Therefore, the output line of SPSS's unequal variances t-test (basically, once again, SPSS's format of Welch's t-test) was examined. As for the unequal variances t-test per se, though, technically, detected statistically significant difference of -0.25 ($SE = 0.05$, $t = -4.93$, $p < 0.05$) between the two mean levels of national identification was detected (negative mean difference indicated that the estimate among other regions' population was slightly higher than within the SE population). However, consistently with verification procedures, 0.14 was lesser than the larger of SDs of the two region categories – precisely, 0.94 for the SE population. Then, the mean difference between national identity of the SE population and population of other regions was thus substantially insignificant. In fact, the -0.25 difference could be viewed as virtually no difference. To conclude, the results of the independent-samples t-test were **congruent** with the main procedure of hypothesis $H2$ verification.

To continue, a closer look at the constitutions of mean identity levels among WVS 7's region categories would be provided by the subsequent Welch's ANOVA. At first, it was attempted to use general one-way ANOVA, but in-built Levene's test of homogeneity of variances indicated statistically insignificant ($p < 0.001$) value of Levene's $F(7, 1281) = 9.3$. Appropriately, Welch's ANOVA would be a better use because of unequal variances. Hence, it was applied with WVS 7's Ukrainian regions as factor and national identity index as a dependent variable.

As a result, statistically significant Welch's test statistic ($df 7, 499.8$) of 9.4 was detected, which reconfirmed previously findings during Welch's t-test. To explain, it meant that at least one pair among all pairs of WVS Ukrainian regions had statistically significant difference in the mean level of national identity index. At the same time, as evident from table 3.2 and pic 3.2, all Ukrainian WVS regions which were included in the category of the SE population, leaned towards identifying themselves with Ukraine.

Table 3.2. Mean national identity index of Ukrainian WVS regions on the eve of the full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war (based on World Values Survey, n. d.a)

WVS region	Mean	SD	SE	N
West 1	4.25	0.60	0.04	198
West 2	4.12	0.77	0.06	142
North	4.23	0.87	0.07	134
Kyiv	4.03	0.78	0.08	96
Centre	3.88	0.96	0.07	178
South	3.98	0.82	0.07	152
East 1	3.94	0.90	0.06	242
East 2	3.60	1.06	0.09	147
Total	4.00	0.87	0.02	1289



Pic. 3.2. Mean national identity index of Ukrainian WVS regions on the eve of the full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war (based on World Values Survey, n. d.a)

East 2 population's mean national identity had the lowest value among WVS Ukrainian regions (3.6) and a comparatively high standard deviation (1.06). Did that imply that East 2, which included Donetsk, Luhansk, and Zaporizhzhia oblasts, was «not Ukrainian»? Surely, no, it did not. Firstly, the mean value of 3.6 leaned towards higher levels of self-identification with Ukraine, being on the «positive» side of the scale. Secondly, 3 was the neutral (undecided) point of identity, and not the side of non-identification.

Afterwards, Games-Howell post hoc test was conducted to highlight more precise differences for the three WVS regions that the SE population included: South, East 1,

and East 2. To begin with South, the pos-hoc test indicated that the population of Southern Ukrainian oblasts (mean = 3.98) did not differ (in terms of substantial and statistical significance) from most of the WVS regions in terms of mean national identity (table 3.3).

Table 3.3. Mean difference of national identity index: South-WVS regions (Games-Howell post hoc test, based on World Values Survey, n. d.a)

WVS region	Mean difference	SE	p-value
<i>West 1</i>	-0.27	0.08	0.017
<i>West 2</i>	-0.14	0.09	0.804
<i>North</i>	-0.26	0.10	0.179
<i>Kyiv</i>	-0.05	0.10	1.000
<i>Centre</i>	0.10	0.10	0.967
<i>East 1</i>	0.04	0.09	1.000
<i>East 2</i>	0.38	0.11	0.014

As an exception, table 3.3 showed that Southern oblasts' population had statistically significant difference with East 2's population – the mean level was higher by 0.38. Therefore, South seemed to have been somewhere in-between Eastern regions and Western regions. On the other hand, Southern Ukraine population's own standard deviation of the mean national identity index was 0.82. Provided that, it was questionable whether its differences with East 2 were drastic. Presumably, they were considerable, but not drastic.

Switching to the East 1's comparison (table 3.4), the post hoc test showed that East 1's population had differed from the most western and most eastern regions of Ukraine regarding the mean national identity – West 1 and East 2 correspondently.

Table 3.4. Mean difference of national identity index: East 1-WVS regions (Games-Howell post hoc test, based on World Values Survey, n. d.a)

WVS region	Mean difference	SE	p-value
<i>West 1</i>	-0.31	0.07	0.001
<i>West 2</i>	-0.18	0.09	0.433
<i>North</i>	-0.30	0.09	0.040
<i>Kyiv</i>	-0.09	0.10	0.984
<i>Centre</i>	0.06	0.09	0.998
<i>South</i>	-0.04	0.09	1.000
<i>East 2</i>	0.34	0.10	0.029

East 1's population had lower mean level of national identity (3.94) than West 1 (by 0.31, $p < 0.01$) and North (by 0.3, $p < 0.05$), whereas East 2's population appeared to have had lower mean level than East 1 (by 0.34, $p < 0.05$). However, apart from these three cases, East 1 population had not statistically significant difference from national identity index of other WVS Ukrainian regions. Moreover, East 1's own standard deviation of mean national identity was approximately 0.9. This implied that East 1's differences with other regions were unlikely major ones if substantial significance was considered.

Finally, East 2's population seemed to have had the most evident mean differences among all three WVS regions that belonged to the SE population. In fact, through post hoc test, statistically significant difference was found between mean national identity index of East 2's population (3.6) and all other WVS regions, apart from Central Ukraine (table 3.5).

Table 3.5. Mean difference of national identity index: East 2-WVS regions (Games-Howell post hoc test, based on World Values Survey, n. d.a)

WVS region	Mean difference	SE	p-value
<i>West 1</i>	-0.65	0.10	0.000
<i>West 2</i>	-0.52	0.11	0.000
<i>North</i>	-0.63	0.11	0.000
<i>Kyiv</i>	-0.43	0.12	0.008
<i>Centre</i>	-0.28	0.11	0.219
<i>South</i>	-0.38	0.11	0.014
<i>East 1</i>	-0.34	0.10	0.029

To be precise, the largest difference was detected between East 2 and West 1 – once again, the two regions which are situated on opposite sides of Ukraine. Hence, West 1’s mean national identity level was higher by 0.65 ($p < 0.001$). Though, East 2’s national identity $SD = 1.06$, which meant that there was more contrast in how East 2’s population identified themselves with Ukraine than between East 2 and other regions.

Finally, results that were presented in part 3.1 debunked myths about Southern and Eastern regions of Ukraine being a part of the «Russian world». The SE population seemed to have had cohered Ukrainian national identity on the eve of the full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war. Most of the SE population identified themselves with Ukraine, so *H1* was **accepted**. Such results were consistent with the theoretical base (Tajfel, 1974; Turner et al., 1987; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Bonaiuto et al., 1996; Triandafyllidou, 1998; and Brewer, 2001).

At the same time, there was not substantial difference (even though neglectable statistically significant difference was found) between the SE population and other regions in terms of national identification levels. Consequently, *H2* was **accepted** too. Also, national identity per of Eastern and Southern Ukraine’s population on the eve of Russo-Ukrainian war and its difference with the other regions were highlighted, *Task 3* of the research was **completed**. Such results were also reconfirmed by triangulation with alternative statistical methods.

Furthermore, detailed Welch’s ANOVA-based statistics provided more insights on the constitution of national identity level among the SE population and its

comparison with other regions of Ukraine. Firstly, all Ukrainian regions tended to identification with Ukraine. Secondly, there were no drastic differences in mean national identification index, though some Southern and Eastern subregions were more distanced. East 1's WVS Ukrainian region seemed to be among the most intermediate regions of Ukraine, thus it differed with the two most western and eastern regions – West 1 and East 2. South's mean national identity, on the other hand, was statistically different only from East 2, highlighting somewhat contrast within the SE populations' regions. East 2, as the regions where two direct frontline-oblasts are included (Donets'k and Luhans'k oblasts), was found to have more difference with other regions. Though, it was both explainable and not drastic, while its mean Ukrainian identity index was 3.6 (positive side of the scale). Also, in terms of share, about 66.2% (the majority) of East 2 population identified themselves with Ukraine, grounding on the binary variable, meaning that a critical state was unlikely.

Another finding that was, perhaps, not in the focus of this research was that the Central region of Ukraine seemed not to have any significant difference with any of the three South-East regions. Accordingly, it put under question whether South-East's presumed occasions of lower level of self-identification with Ukraine were something to be extremely concerned about, or if they were valid assumptions at all.

3.2. Wartime national identity-related states within Eastern and Southern Ukraine's population

3.2.1. Identity anomie. Basically, verification of H1 and H2 implied that H3 could be rejected even at that stage. Nevertheless, the decision was made to conduct its verification anyway to have more precise view on the share. Belonging to the SE population set as a filter, and crosstabulation was conducted for binary variables of national and local identity, the main results of which were presented in table 3.6.

Table 3.6. Share of the SE population that had certain types of social identity types/combinations (based on World Values Survey, n. d.a)

Identity types/combinations	Share, %
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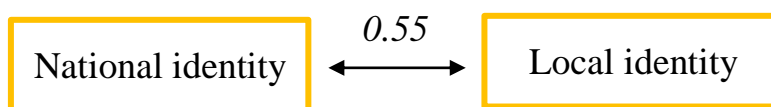
<i>At least, national</i>	75.2%
<i>At least, local</i>	93.3
<i>Neither national, nor local</i>	2.2
<i>Only local</i>	6.7
<i>Both national and local</i>	72.8%

So, firstly, according to the output, only 2.2% of the SE population identified themselves neither with their locality, nor with Ukraine. Respectively, *no full identity anomie* was detected among the majority of the SE population on the eve of the full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war. Secondly, as well, only 6.7% of the SE population identified themselves with their locality and did not identify themselves with Ukraine. Consequently, even the «lighter» type of identity anomie, national identity anomie, was also ruled of the SE population on the eve of the full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war.

While neither national identity anomie nor full identity anomie happened for the majority of SE population, per this research's methodological principles, it was concluded that identity anomie had not happened for the SE population on the eve of Russo-Ukrainian war. Appropriately, hypothesis *H3* was **rejected**. Obviously, such results were, once again consistent with previous verification results of *H1* and *H2*. What is more, as identity anomie and national-local identity tie seem to be contrasting effects, rejection of *H3* implied that *H4* – *H3*'s counterpart hypothesis – needn't be rejected at that point of research process.

3.2.2. National-local identity tie. As seen in Table 3.6, the distribution highlighted that 93.3% of the SE population identified themselves (felt either close or very close to their city, town, or village). Concordantly, the analysis could be continued further at this point. Then, as derived from the crosstabulation with the national identity, it appeared that 72.8% of the SE population identified themselves both with their locality and with Ukraine (see Table 3.6). This share was substantially greater than 50%, even with addition of 2.7% (the estimated sample error), so the *H4* would not be rejected at this point, and its verification would be continued

Subsequently, the bivariate correlation test indicated statistically significant monotonous relation ($r_s = 0.55$, $p < 0.001$) between national identity index and local identity (level form) of the SE population (Pic 3.3).



Pic. 3.3. Spearman's correlation (r_s) between national identity index and local identity level (based on World Values Survey, n. d.a)

Furthermore, the value of 0.55 could be considered moderate correlation (Ratner, 2009), which was indeed substantial from the standpoint of social sciences. Considering that self-identification with Ukraine and localities co-existed for the majority of the SE population, both criteria for hypothesis H4 were met, and it would be concluded that *H4* had to be **accepted**. In other words, national and local identities of SE population, supposedly, intertwined under threat during Russo-Ukrainian war's Stage South-East. This finding, apparently, was also consistent with the idea that SE population's national and local identity both had been consolidated by the time Stage Full-scale began.

As a result, research Tasks 3 and 4 were **completed** in Chapter 3 and all 4 corresponding research hypotheses were **accepted**. Thus, H1 and H2 confirmation indicated no *drastic* differences between national identity of the SE population and other regions, despite certain lower intensity and share of national identification within East 2. H3 and H4, on the other hand, rejected the idea about identity anomie among the SE population on the eve of the Stage Full-scale. On the contrary, there was significant national-local identity tie.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study might have been obvious for some Ukrainians and members of international audience. Yet, hopefully, they will be a useful empirical and theoretical source for common studies when there are doubts about the national identity of the Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population.

To elaborate, *Task 1* on this study was dedicated to the initial conceptualization/operationalization of national and local identities (which was viewed as national identity's satellite). In contrast to defining those two concepts autonomously, hierarchical-integrative approach was taken: the root-concept of social identity, inspired by social identity theory/social categorization theory (see Tajfel & Turner, 1986), was conceptualized, and the target concepts of national and local identities were derived from it. While social identity implied belonging to an abstract social group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), national identity concerned nation as such group, whereas local identity regarded locality – a village, a town, or a city where one lived. The multi-variant measurement based on WVS 7 was chosen as consistent with other popular identity scales and for its versatility.

Task 2 concerned conceptualization and operationalization of identity anomie and national-local identity tie – the two identity-related wartime states that also had to be highlighted for a comprehensive view of national identity among the Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population. Identity anomie was conceptualized in terms of breakdown of belonging (see Teymoori et al., 2016a), while national-local identity tie implied on co-consolidation of national and local identity. Overall, these concepts were congruent with *Task 1*'s national and local identity, involve simple majority-based statistical logic, and can be reproduced easily in other common studies.

Task 3 and *4*, though, **directly concerned the research puzzle** and provided relevant empirical answers. To begin with, *Task 3*'s completion resulted in showing that Southern and Eastern Ukraine are not «Russian world» at all, as Russian federation hoped for. The first correspondent hypothesis H1 75.2% population identified themselves with Ukraine. The second hypothesis – H2 – showed no crucial difference in terms of identity between Ukraine's Southern/East. It is not to say that there were

no differences at all, though. There is no denying, for example, that East 2, has shown some specificity in comparison with other Southern/Eastern subregions with somewhat less intense national identification than all regions, except for the Central. However, the majority of East 2's population still leaned towards identifying themselves with Ukraine.

The results of *Task 4* also gave some optimism. Firstly, there was no detachment in terms of local identity as well, thus no identity anomie (as implied by H3 confirmation). To clarify, only 2.2% Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population identified themselves neither with Ukraine, nor with their locality, so no full identity anomie was detected. At the same time, 6.7% identified themselves with locality, but not with Ukraine. That was also small share, so no national identity anomie was detected too. Secondly, it was evident that national and local identity, probably, intertwined and were cohered simultaneously on the eve of the full-scale war, which was conceptualized as national-local identity tie (H4). Such conclusion was verified both by frequencies analysis of (72.8% Southern and Eastern Ukraine's population identify themselves both with Ukraine and their locality) and significant Spearman's rank correlation (0.55, $p < 0.001$). It also explains at least partly the Ukrainians' fierce resistance in their villages, towns, and cities in the Southern and Eastern Ukraine.

Overall, Task 3 and Task 4's results implied that national identity of Ukraine should not be ignored by the public and policymakers if the aim is to build respectful and peaceful environment in the world. Russia and at least some of international leaders expected Ukraine to fall in a matter of days following Russia's invasion. But this research clearly showed that the huge misconception about a «weak, nationally divided Ukraine» seems an even worse analytical mistake to make.

As for the recommendations for **further academic and policy research**, *firstly*, this thesis provided empirical entry for the studies on Ukrainian national identity's development. For example, it would be relevant to compare national identity before the Revolution of Dignity, on the eve of the Full-scale Russo-Ukrainian war, and after it started. *Secondly*, alternative and, most importantly, standardized methods of measurement should be developed. While the measurement within this study was methodologically appropriate, wider multi-item approach to identity scales might

provide even deeper insights. *Thirdly*, this research reinforced that no policymakers should forget about Eastern Ukraine. It has its specifics on par with Crimea. Despite that, as shown in this research, the East of Ukraine is necessarily a *Ukrainian East* like all other regions.

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