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Formation of the participant type of political culture of Ukrainian youth

SUMMARY

The authors analyze theoretical foundations of political culture and elucidate its typology. This paper provides an insight into the characteristic aspects of the combination of pure types of political culture and the formation of mixed forms. The focus is on the participant type, without the developed features of which it is impossible to form a mixed-type political culture, the so-called civic culture. By using empirical data, the level of youth's attitudes towards politics is determined and the prospects for forming an activist type of political culture are outlined.

Key words: political culture, youth, the participant type of political culture, civic culture.

Theoretical foundations of the research

The issue of political culture and the process of its formation have been studied by both foreign and Ukrainian political scientists, sociologists, and culturologists. The relevance of the study is proved by the fact that there are more than 30 definitions of political culture in modern political research¹. This is by no means a sign of intellectual chaos in its understanding, but proves the multifaceted nature of the phenomenon, the diversity of its connections with political reality. The conceptual basis of political culture was laid by J. G. Herder²,

¹ S. Zdioruk, *Gumanitarna polityka Ukrajin's'koi Derzhavy v novitnij period*, monografija, ed. S. I. Zdioruk, Kyiv 2006, NISD, p. 47.

² J. G. Herder, *Idei k filosofii i istorii chelovechestva*, http://platon.net/load/knigi_po_filosofii/

G. Almond³, S. Verba⁴ and others. They analyzed the structure and functions of political culture, studied the orientation, behavior and organization of actors of political culture. In particular, G. Almond, explaining the concept of political culture, called it a psychological phenomenon, when each political system “is included in a special pattern of orientations to political action”⁵.

In Ukrainian political thought, the concept of “political culture” was first used by V. Lypynskyi, who defined political culture as involvement of scientific knowledge in the political process⁶. In independent Ukraine, the issues of political culture immediately became scientifically relevant. In 1991, scientists of the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Ye. Holovakha, N. Panina, Yu. Pakhomov, etc.) made a thorough research into Ukrainian political culture⁷. Ye. Holovakha’s monograph “The Transforming Society. Experience of sociological monitoring in Ukraine”⁸ is worth special attention. The scientist defines political culture as “a set of stable forms of political consciousness and behavior that determine special aspects of functioning of the political process members within a certain political system,” and analyzes the elements that, in his opinion, directly show the sequence of people’s involvement in the sphere of public political life. A significant contribution to the study of political culture in Ukraine was made by L. Nahorna⁹. The researcher elucidates essential characteristics of the political culture of Ukrainian society and determines the peculiarities of its formation in conditions of democratic transformations. Ruslan Kalamazh and Volodymyr Ilnytskyi¹⁰ studied the political culture of student youth in the context of a competency-based approach.

Empirical basis

The article is based on the results of the sociological project “Youth of the border zone: Drohobych – Przemyśl”, implemented in May–June 2015 by the Department of Law, Sociology and Political Science of the Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University

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³ G.A. Almond, *Comparative Political Systems*, „The Journal of Politics” 1956, Vol 18, No 3, 391–409, p. 396.

⁴ G.A. Almond, S. Verba, *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Countries*, Princeton 1963, p. 514.

⁵ G.A. Almond, *Comparative Political Systems*, „The Journal of Politics” 1956, Vol. 18, No. 3, pp. 391–409, p. 396.

⁶ V. Lypynskyi, *Lysty do bratv-hliborobiv pro ideju i organizaciju ukrajins’kogo monarhizmu*, Kyiv–Filadelfija 1995, p. 344, 353.

⁷ *Politychna kul’tura naseennia Ukrayiny (rezul’taty sotsiolohichnoho doslidzennia)* / Ye. Holovakha, N. V. Panina, N. Pakhomov, N. N. Churylov, etc., Kyiv 1993.

⁸ Ye. I. Holovaha, *Suspil’stvo, shcho transformujet’sia. Dosvid sotsiolohichnoho monitorynhu v Ukrayini*, Kyiv Fond «Demokratychni initsiatyvy» 1997, 154 p., p. 96.

⁹ L.P. Nagorna, *Politychna kul’tura ukrajins’kogo narodu: istorychna retrospektyva i suchasni realiji*, Kyiv 1998.

¹⁰ V. Kalamazh, V.O. Il’nyckyy, *Politychna kul’tura students’koyi molodi u konteksti kompetentnitsnogo pidkhodu*, „Psychological journal” 2018, No.3(13), p. 53–66, <http://www.apsijournal.com/index.php/psyjournal/article/.../183/>, data dostępu: 15.08.2018 r.

and the Institute of Sociology of the East European State Higher School in Przemyśl (project leaders S. Shchudlo and P. Dlugosz). The research was conducted by using a questionnaire-based survey among senior secondary schools pupils in the cities of Drohobych (Ukraine) and Przemyśl (the Republic of Poland). The sampling was made by using a hard data method: 717 pupils were surveyed in Przemyśl, and 584 – in Drohobych. We also use the results of a sociological survey conducted by the Oleksandr Razumkov Center for Economic and Political Studies in September 2017 in all regions of Ukraine, except Crimea and the occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions. The survey covered 2008 respondents aged 18 and over. Its results were included in the informational and analytical materials for the professional discussion “Political culture and parliamentarism in Ukraine: current state and major problems” on December 17, 2017.

Presentation of the basic material

Political culture includes stable views, orientations, values, beliefs, patterns of behavior regulating relationships between the authorities and people. The multifaceted nature of this socio-cultural phenomenon has led to the emergence of various scientific approaches. For example, foreign researches distinguish three – objectivist, subjectivist and constructivist¹¹. According to the first approach, political culture is a culture of behavior in politics. The second considers political culture as imposing political content and orientations on an individual. Finally, the constructivist approach involves a value perception of politics and political culture. All of these definitions, in our opinion, indicate that political culture is an important element of a political system and helps to reveal the content of society’s political life. In our study, we consider political culture as an attitude of people of a certain country, in particular Ukraine, to politics or the political process in general, as well as to themselves and their role in this process. Since people can perceive themselves as passive members, who cannot make any difference in politics, or may consider themselves an important component of the political system. Such approaches are backed by culture-shaping political traditions and social circumstances. We focus on the formation of the participant type of political culture through interpreting the young people’s attitude towards politics as a rethinking of their role in the country.

The demand for a new generation of political elites and leaders in Ukrainian society is evident. The two Maidans in recent Ukrainian history – the Orange Revolution (2004) and the Revolution of Dignity (2013) prove that young people are a driving force of social transformations¹². This prompts an entirely new approach to determining the role of youth in the state-building process. We fully agree with the researcher Anna Karnaukh regarding the change of Soviet postulates in the treatment of youth exclusively as an object of ideological, economic, and, most importantly, educational influences¹³. We believe that ensuring

¹¹ A. M. Solovey, V. Yu. Shtern, 2012, *Politychna kul'tura suchasnoho ukrayins'koho suspil'stva (teoretyko-metodolohichni vymiry ta suspil'na praktyka)*, Panorama politolohichnykh studiy, Naukovyy visnyk Rivnens'koho derzhavnogo humanitarnoho universytetu, Vyp. 9, p. 258.

¹² Ye. I. Holovaha, *Ukrayins'ke suspil'stvo: tendencyi social'nykh zmin do i pislia Yevromaidanu*, Instytut sotsiolohiyi NAN Ukrayiny, <http://www.soc.univ.kiev.ua/sites/default/.../golovaha-susp2015>, pp, data dostepu: 20.09.2018 r.

¹³ A. Karnaukh, Abstract, *Stanovlennya politychnoyi kul'tury molodi v umovah demokratyzatsiyi suchasnoho ukrayins'koho suspil'stva*, Kyiv 2006, 26 p., p. 5.

effective democratic changes in the society is conditioned by the primacy of individuals, their self-development, an active life position of their own free will, and not due to someone's demands and needs. Therefore, it is important to help young Ukrainians form not only new paradigms and value orientations, but also a statesman-like civic position by acquiring new knowledge. In our view, the most important factor in the formation of political consciousness and political culture, along with learning, is social activity, which is manifested primarily in the interest in politics.

One of the means of comprehensive awareness of value models of political cultures is their typology. The most commonly used in modern political science is a political culture approach, proposed by G. Almond and S. Verba. It distinguishes between three main types of political culture: parochial, subject and participant¹⁴. More specifically, the parochial political culture is oriented toward local values (values of the clan, tribe, and family) and can be manifested in the form of local patriotism, respect for the family; it may also include corruption and political clanism. The subject type of political culture (or the culture of subjection) is characterized by citizens' passive attitude to a political system. Finally, the participant type (or the culture of participation), which is in the focus of our attention, forms a person oriented towards an active role in the functioning of a political system. However, the specificity of all types is that they do not exist in their pure form. According to G. Almond and S. Verba, they interact with each other, produce mixed forms, with one component prevailing: parochial-subject, subject-participant and parochial-participant political cultures¹⁵. In this study, we use a typology of political culture based on the intersection of essential characteristics of an object of political culture with its subject. Thus we speak about a democratic or totalitarian, integrated or fragmentary, parochial-subject or participant, and other forms.

It is difficult to form a new type of political culture in Ukrainian society because, according to Ye. Holovakha, it is a society of spontaneous post-Soviet transformation and postponed declarative transit¹⁶. The researcher says that its characteristic features are a dual institutional system, mass anomia demoralization and social inactivity, as well as values of the "distorted modernity" times. It means that the former value system, which consolidated a totalitarian society, has been destroyed, and a new one, based on democratic values, has not been formed yet. Ukrainian researchers believe that modern political culture of Ukrainian citizens is characterized by democratic and authoritarian components (political culture of a mixed type). In addition, it is a fragmentary political culture of the transitional stage of Ukrainian society development¹⁷. It differs from the political culture of countries with stable democracy in a much lower degree of civil society development and people's political awareness, the level of people's political activity, structures of political identity.

We agree with Tetyana Dzhyga that the subject political culture is dominant in present-day Ukraine. Elements of the participant culture promoting the formation of an active civic position are underdeveloped¹⁸. According to the researcher, a clear civic position, initia-

¹⁴ G. Almond, S. Verba, *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Countries*, Princeton 1963, p. 514.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 516.

¹⁶ Ye. I. Holovakha, *op. cit.*, data dostępu: 20.09.2018 r.

¹⁷ L. P. Nagorna, *Politychna kul'tura ukrajins'kogo narodu: istorychna retrospektyva i suchasni realiji*, Kyiv 1998, p. 36.

¹⁸ T. Dzhyga, *Suchasni tendenciyi stanovlennia politychnoyi kul'tury ukrajins'koho suspil'stva*, p. 66, http://www.ipiend.gov.ua/uploads/pm/pm_46/dzyga_suchasni.pdf, data dostępu: 15.08.2018 r.

tive, a sense of responsibility for the state of affairs in the country is a rare phenomenon in Ukrainian society. The country does not have a well-formed civic culture, in which most citizens are convinced that they can and do play an active role in politics.

In our opinion, the main pillar of Ukrainian young people's political culture should be awareness of the needs of their country and, accordingly, formation of state-building psychology, achievement of a harmonious combination of interests and needs of individuals, civil society and the state. We focus on the formation of the participant type, without whose domination it is impossible to form a civic culture. Civic culture is most characteristic of democratic societies. It ensures normal functioning of society, creates a basis for social stability. This was proved by G. Almond and S. Verba. The researchers emphasize that they do not identify the concept of civic culture with norms of civic behavior, which is primarily associated with political activity. A special aspect of civic culture is that rational-participant behavior patterns coexist with elements of parochial and subject cultures. This type of political culture ensures civil consensus in society as a necessary basis for democracy, even if there are different political orientations in it.

The Western political experience proves that civic culture can only be formed under democracy, and its effectiveness is stipulated by the simultaneous combination of individual autonomy with the right to freedom, when the community members are aware of their equals¹⁹. This is emphasized by a representative of the theory of participatory democracy B. Barber. His theory is based on the idea of citizenship, that is, the formation of a specific type of democratic community, in which individuals are active participants in the common process of political participation who, through negotiation and mutual respect, reach consensus²⁰.

We believe that the participant type of youth political culture can be formed only in the context of transforming the Ukrainian society, according to Y. Habermas, into the "community of people united not only on the basis of interests, but also a common civic culture and education, which are realized in political actions through institutions of participative democracy"²¹. One of the citizenship-forming factors is political participation. It should be emphasized that, along with the category "political participation", such concepts as "civil/political action", "socio-political activity", "civic engagement", etc. are often used. In our study, we consider citizenship participation through their attitude to politics.

Based on the results of the survey "Youth of the border zone: Drohobych – Przemysl", whose respondents were graduate pupils aged 15 – 16, we will analyze their attitude to politics²². According to age requirements, they do not have electoral rights yet. We use a five-grade scale to analyze young people's responses to the question "Are you interested in politics?": "very strong", "strong", "average", "weak", "not interested at all". Only 2,6% of the respondents have a strong interest in politics. The share of those who showed an aver-

¹⁹ V. Klymonchuk, *Politychna uchast' hromadian Ukrainy yak vyivav antropolohichmoho vymiru svobody*, „Politychnyj menedzhment“ 2012, No 4–5, p. 75.

²⁰ B. Barber, *Syl'na demokratiya: polityka uchasnitskoho typu*, Demokratiya: antol. / [upoiad. O. Protsenko], Kyiv 2005, Smoloskyp, p. 259.

²¹ Ju. Habersman, *Gromadjanstvo i nacional'na identychnist'*, <http://litopys.org.ua/rizne/haber.htm>, data dostepu: 15.08 2018 r.

²² Ya. Komarnytskyi, *Stavlennia suchasnoyi ukraïns'koyi ta pol's'koyi molodi do polityky: porivijal'nyi analiz pohranychchia* [w:] *Molodizhna polityka: problemy i perspektyvy*, red. S. Schudlo, P. Dlugosh, Drohobych – Zheshuv 2016, Vyp.7, 177–183 p., p.179.

age interest in politics is the largest – 54,1%. 15,6% of those polled are not interested in politics. Finally, the ratio of those who are not interested in politics at all is 8,7%.

A gender analysis of responses shows that boys are more interested in politics than girls. The percentage of boys who are very strongly interested in politics is slightly bigger than that of girls – 2,9 versus 2,3, while the proportion of boys who are strongly interested in politics is 23,4%, which is more than that of girls – 9,3%. But more girls express an average interest – 57,0%, while the percentage of boys is 50,9. 20,1% of girls and 9,9% of boys show weak interest in politics. As to those who are not interested in politics at all, the percentage of boys is 9,4% and girls – 7,9%²³ (see table 1).

Table 1. Level of young people's interest in politics (%)

	Total	Girls	Boys
Very strong	2,6	2,3	2,9
Strong	15,6	9,3	23,4
Average	54,1	57,0	50,9
Weak	15,6	20,1	9,9
Not interested at all	8,7	7,9	9,4

Source: compiled by the author on the basis of Ya. Komarnyts'kyj, *Stavlennja suchasnoji ukrajins'koi ta pol's'koi molodi do polityky: porivnjal'nyj analiz pohranychchja* [w:] *Molodizhna polityka: problemy i perspektivy*, red. S. Shchudlo, P. Dlugosz, Drogobych–Rzeszów 2016, Vyp. 7, 177–183 p., p. 181.

In order to give a better idea of the level of Ukrainian young people's interest in politics, we will compare the responses of Ukrainian schoolchildren with those of their Polish peers (see table 2.).

Table 2. Comparative analysis of the level of interest in politics of Ukrainian and Polish youth (%)

	Ukraine	Poland
Very strong	2,6	4,7
Strong	15,6	11,4
Average	54,1	32,5
Weak	15,6	28,8
Not interested at all	8,7	22,1

Source: Ya. Komarnyts'kyi, op. cit., 177–183 p., p. 179.

The responses of Ukrainian and Polish respondents concentrated around average positions. However, while over half of Ukrainian pupils indicated “average” interest in politics (54%), Polish pupils' responses divided between “average” (32,5%) and “weak” (28,8%).

²³ Ya. Komarnyts'kyi, 2016, *Stavlennia suchasnoji ukrajins'koi ta pol's'koi molodi do polityky: porivnjal'nyj analiz pohranychchja*, [w:] *Molodizhna polityka: problemy i perspektivy*, red. S. Shchudlo, P. Dlugosz, Drogobych–Rzeszow, Vyp.7, 177–183 p., p. 181.

Compared to Ukrainians, in Poland, there are significantly more people who are not interested in politics at all – 22,1% and 8,7% respectively.

Based on the opinion poll conducted by the Razumkov Center²⁴ in all regions of Ukraine, except for Crimea and the occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, we analyze the level of interest in politics of the next age group of young people (18–29 years old). The analysis shows that 24,3% of the respondents are generally interested in politics, 43,9% are not very interested, and those who are not interested in politics at all constitute 29,2% (see table 3).

Table 3. Level of young people's interest in politics; age 18–29 (%)

Very interested	2,8
Rather interested	21,5
Not very interested	43,9
Not interested at all	29,2
Not sure	2,6

Source: compiled by the author on the basis of O. Razumkov, op. cit.

After comparing the data presented in tables 2 and 3, we can conclude that the level of young people's interest in politics increases with age. However, there is a group of young people who clearly articulate an indifferent attitude towards politics. They can be called absentees. We may assume that when school leavers continue to study or work, due to various circumstances, they do not successfully socialize politically and become alienated from political life. In our opinion, there are different reasons why young people do not take an active interest in political life. One of them is political ignorance, which is opposed to good knowledge in other areas, high rationality, which helps them achieve their personal goals. Ignorance and substitution of concepts contribute to the lack of skills in political participation and political experience. According to the same poll, only a third of young people believe that their participation is necessary for changing the situation in the country for the better. 47% do not feel that need²⁵.

We also consider that the lack of real and effective rule of law and systemic irresponsibility of the political elite leads to a gradual normalization of irresponsibility in everyday practices thus making young people distance from politics more and more, arouses a feeling of apathy, pessimism and cynicism in the society against the backdrop of persistent paternalistic instructions to the general public.

However, the authors think that one should not be so categorical in terms of the lack of changes in the formation of young Ukrainians' civic activity. Protest movements during the Ukrainian Maidans, which we have already mentioned, prove their undeniable

²⁴ O. Razumkov, *Politychna kul'tura ta parlamentaryzm v Ukraini: suchasnyj stan ta osnovni problemy*, Informaciyno-analitychni materialy do fakhovoyi dyskusiyi, Center for Economic and Political Studies, December 14, 2017, http://www.razumkov.org.ua/uploads/socio/2017_Politychna_kultura.pdf, data dostepu: 15.08 2018 r.

²⁵ Ibidem.

influence on the formation of their civil and national qualities²⁶. Ukrainian sociologists are convinced that there are gradual qualitative social changes after Euromaidan (2013). Before those events, Ukrainian society was described as a community, and now we may speak about transforming the Ukrainian community into the public²⁷. This leads to a growing degree of social cohesion and increases the possibility of creating a civil society. In our opinion, the level of self-organization and self-government on the Maidan is a vivid confirmation of a real civil society. American Professor Francis Fukuyama argues that Ukraine has proved that it has a very powerful civil society that needs to be considered, but the process of formation has not been completed yet²⁸. Ukrainian historian Yaroslav Hrytsak also asserts that Euromaidan was an example of social organization with a very clear division of labor. This characteristic belongs to environments with a horizontal structure, where the hierarchy does not matter. According to the scientist, Euromaidan participants have other values: all with higher education, socially equal, live and act not in the elite, but in the egalitarian environments – for example, Facebook²⁹. We fully agree with Y. Hrytsak's conclusions: "Euromaidan is the best confirmation of the value change that happened in Ukraine over the past 10–15 years. Its main driving force is not only the middle class (in the broad sense: from journalists and IT pros to medium-sized businesses), but also young people"³⁰. We believe that the events of November–December 2013 demonstrated that during the years of independence, a new post-Soviet generation was formed in Ukraine, ready to defend European values by democratic methods. It was the young people who were the Euromaidan's driving force – 40% of all the protesters were aged 15–29³¹. The issue of European integration is more than a political decision for Ukrainian youth. First and foremost, it is high-quality education, lack of corruption and a high standard of living.

Conclusions

To recapitulate, we can speak of a mixed type of young people's political culture in present-day Ukraine. It is dominated by signs of subject and parochial culture, while elements of the participant component are only beginning to appear. The process of forming a new type depends on the development of democracy, the spread of new values, certain social attitudes,

²⁶ O. Zelena, *Chynnyky formuvannya natsional'nykh i hromadyans'kykh yakostey molodi u protsesi yevrointegratsiyi, Molod' u suchasnykh yevrointegratsiynykh protsesakh: pravovi, istoriko-politychni ta sotsiokul'turni aspekty: collective monography*, Drohobych 2017, p. 213–238.

²⁷ *Ukrayintsici dyvni lyudy: yakscho yikh b'yut', a vony bizhat', bizhat' zakhyschaty – sociolohy*, Rakurs, 2014, January 14, <http://ua.racurs.ua/426-ukrayinci-dyvni-ludy-yakscho-yih-b-ut-a-vony-bijato-bijat-zahyschaty-sociology>, data dostepu: 02.08.2018 r.

²⁸ *Yevromijdan – podyja desiatylittia – eks-spetspredstavnyk Madeleine Albright, Ukrayins'ka pravda* 2014, January 12, <http://www.pravda.com.ua/photo-video/2014/01/12/7009379/>, data dostepu: 02.08.2018 r.

²⁹ Ya. Hrytsak, *Ukrayina – yak litak, yakyi zakhopyly terorysty*, „Ukrayins'ka pravda” 2013, December 30, <http://life.pravda.com.ua/person/2013/12/30/147591/>, data dostepu: 20.09.2018 r.

³⁰ Ya. Hrytsak, 26-y protsent, abo yak podolaty istoriyu, Kyiv 2014, Fond Poroshenka, 136 p. (Seriya «Zhyty po-novomu»).

³¹ Ju. Matsiyevsky, V. Kovalko, *Protestnyj potentsial ta politychna mobilizacyja v Ukraini: chynnyky vzayemodiyi*, http://cpr.oa.edu.ua/wpcontent/uploads/2015/11/Protestnyi_potencial_ta_pol_mobilizacyja_chynnyky_vzayemodiyi_Matsiyevsky_Kovalko.pdf, data dostepu: 02.08.2018 r.

and willingness to act in a different way. On the one hand, the model of young Ukrainians' political behavior has characteristic features of the post-Soviet transformation society. This manifests itself, first of all, through political apathy and alienation. According to empirical sociological research, both regional and national, young people do not take an active interest in politics. On the other hand, the young generation, which grew up in independent Ukraine and has an experience of participation in the Maidan, shows more signs of a new type of political culture. The desire to live in a country with a high standard of living, respect for human rights and freedoms, high-quality education forms another value component of young people, and they are ready to actively defend and protect it. Further democratization processes in Ukraine should contribute to the formation of the participant type of political culture.

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STRESZCZENIE

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**Kształtowanie aktywistycznego typu kultury politycznej
wśród ukraińskiej młodzieży**

Przeanalizowane zostały teoretyczne zasady kultury politycznej oraz wskazano jej typologię. Podkreślono specyfikę połączenia czystych form kultury politycznej i form mieszanych. Główną uwagę skupiono na cechach kultury typu aktywistycznego, ponieważ w przypadku jej braku niemożliwe jest stworzenie kultury politycznej typu mieszanego lub tzw. kultury obywatelskiej. Dane empiryczne umożliwiły określenie poziomu stosunku młodzieży do polityki, a także przedstawiły perspektywy kształtowania kultury politycznej typu aktywistycznego.

Słowa kluczowe: kultura polityczna, młodzież, aktywistyczny typ kultury politycznej, kultura obywatelska.

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