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Young People's Perceptions on Citizenship: The Case of Ukraine

Master's thesis in Childhood Studies
Supervisor: Marit Ursin
June 2020

Master's thesis

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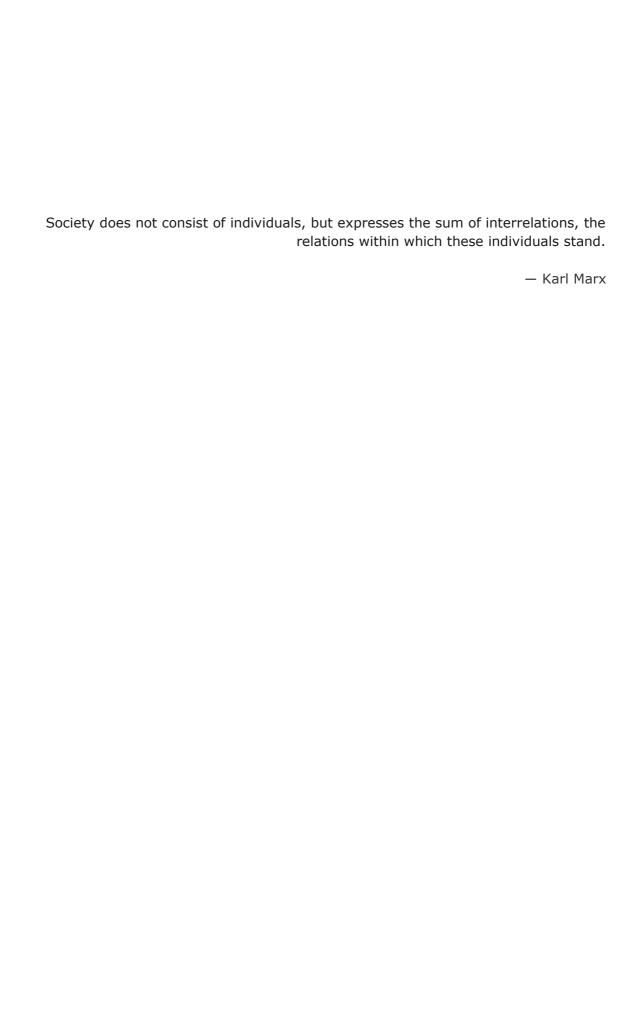Science and Technology

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Society does not consist of individuals, but expresses the sum of interrelations, the relations within which these individuals stand.

— Karl Marx

Acknowledgements

This master project is not only a result of my work but also of people who supported and helped me throughout the whole research process. Hereby I would like to express my appreciation to them.

I want to send my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Marit Ursin for her insightful guidance, infinite patience and constructive recommendations and comments that led me to develop a quality master thesis. I could not wish for a better supervisor. Also, I want to thank sincerely Vebjørg Tingstad who supported me in the initial phase of my research process. Moreover, I would like to express my warmest regards to the staff at NTNU who I could turn to for advices any time. It was my privilege to be a MPhil student of Childhood Studies programme.

This work would not have been possible without the schools that gave a permission to conduct this research project and the students who kindly agreed to participate. Your insightful participation and cooperation would be difficult to overestimate. I am absolutely thankful for opening up to me.

Finally, I cannot express enough gratitude to my family and friends for inspiring and making me to believe in myself during my two-year master studies. Special devotion to my mom who is a foundation of who I am. Her unconditional love and kindness are my lighthouse that leading me through difficult times and providing with stability and directions in my life.

Abstract

Since the Ancient times, the concept of citizenship has been developed and played an important role in the lives of people. Under social movements, the contemporary interpretations and conceptualisations of citizenship has changed significantly in order to include various groups of people in the social, civil and political processes. The question about children and young people's citizenship has emerged in the light of Childhood Studies that recognised them as marginalised group of the society. Approaching young people as political agents who participate in the construction of social reality along adults, this research project focuses on young people's perceptions and experiences of citizenship in the Ukrainian context. The group interviews, mapping and participants observation have been used in order to provide an opportunity for young people to express their opinions regarding citizenship. Taking into consideration the historical realities within which young people live, the generated data was analysed for the purpose to understand how young people see and experience citizenship in Ukraine. This master thesis demonstrates how the intergenerational negotiations and relations are essential in shaping the views and experiences of young people and citizenship. It shows the ambiguity of power relations between young people and adults in the sense that while the society with strong adultist norms prohibits young people to access certain participatory rights, adults in their personal life enhance their participation by inviting them into participatory spaces and actions. Moreover, the study shows that young people's perceptions and experiences of citizenship are affected by the socio-political, economic and cultural factors. Therefore, there is a need to approach young people's citizenship through more inclusive models of citizenship in order to recognise their citizenship status.

Contents

List of Abbreviations

ATO	Anti-Terrorist Operation
CRC	Committee on the Rights of the Child
EU	European Union
GI	Group Interview
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NTNU	Norwegian University of Science and Technology
P	Participant
Ukrainian SSR	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The traditional conceptualisations of citizenship often refer to it as static and universalistic practice, but in the contemporary times, citizenship is seen as a multifaceted concept and its definitions and development depend on the historical realities within which it takes place. Nevertheless, the theoretical conceptualisations and political discourses often differ from the individual experiences of citizenship, thus sometimes creating tensions in the society. This has a direct effect on how children and young people understand and experience citizenship as well as how they are portrayed and treated in the society which is reflected in youth policy and in education curricula. This chapter presents the brief background and the relevance of the research problem of young people's citizenship and provides the personal inspiration, the objectives and the research questions of the study. For a better guidance, the outline of the chapters will be provided in the end.

1.1 Problem Statement

The concept of citizenship has been actively defined and redefined in Ukraine for three decades since the country gained the independence. The rejection of Soviet ideology and identity symbolised the course of Ukraine towards nation-building strategy and national citizenship identity after the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) (Krupets et al., 2017). The processes of political democratisation and opening to the market liberalisation started entering the lives of the Ukrainian society and have resulted in the mitigation of governmental control and the liberalisation of the social sphere. However, the strong influence of the authoritarianism still continues to be present. This has raised concerns about the quality of citizenship in Ukraine, which became a prominent problem throughout the transition from authoritarian regime to democratic governance. These changes have affected citizenship identities and socio-political organisation.

While the Soviet national citizenship identity was placed on the notions of "civic-mindedness and communist (collective) duty towards labour" (Krupets et al., 2017, p. 253), the approach to the new Ukrainian identity was put on the sense of patriotism and loyalty to the nation-state. In the process of constructing the new citizenship identity of independent Ukraine, young people occupied a special position as 'generation of independence' that did not have experience of the old order (Diuk, 2013). Young people were viewed as 'agents for change', who were supposed to finish the democratic transition and bring prosperity to the country (ibid.). After gaining independence in 1991, Ukraine has witnessed three protests: The Revolution on Granite (1991), The Orange Revolution (2004), and The Revolution of Dignity (2014). During these protests, Ukrainian young individuals have had leading positions. However, the so-called 'new generation' or 'generation of independence' has failed to acquire political power due to their image and position in the Ukrainian society.

Despite being positioned as an important role in the transition to democracy and having a vital position in the protests, young people in Ukraine are often regarded as not ready to exercise their citizenship and the role assigned to them is placed on the future as 'citizens-of-tomorrow'. Before reaching the legal age (which in Ukraine is 18 years old), young people are seen as non-citizens; thus, their legal citizenship status here and now is being denied due to their age. The conceptualisation of young people in the Ukrainian context as 'not-yet-citizens' is based on the normative assumptions of adults and on the traditional liberal and civil republican models of citizenship. Through these approaches, young people's citizenship rights and responsibilities are being overlooked, reducing young people's opportunities of participating in the social and civil processes. Young people in

Ukraine remain to be placed in the subordinated position to adults and mainly marginalised in the society.

Furthermore, young Ukrainians are seen more as the citizens with potential who are amenable to absorb official citizenship ideas. The legislation in Ukraine aims to prepare young people for their citizenship role through various educational programmes. The citizenship discourses in Ukraine influenced the framing of citizenship education. In the 1990s, a strong emphasis was placed on the patriotic moral education through outlining the struggle of Ukraine to gain the independence. However, in the mid 2000s after the Orange Revolution, the democratic values and beliefs started to be added to the nation-state building programmes and citizenship education. Nevertheless, young people of the 'new generation' in Ukraine are rather seen as passive objects of socialisation who are in the preparation for their role of citizens and have disadvantaged positions in power relations with little opportunities for formal political participation and representation. Despite this, young Ukrainians show interest for active participation in unconventional politics within the non-governmental sector (Diuk, 2013, Tereshchenko, 2010), demonstrating that they are able to take active position in the actual practices.

There are some laws in the Constitution of Ukraine (1996) that address and regulate children's and young people's political and civil involvement. However, the United Nation Committee on the Rights of the Child in the Concluding Observations in Ukraine (2011) expressed the concerns regarding a National Plan of Action for Children (2010-2016), including "the limited financial allocations […] and limited progress in implementation" (p. 3). The Committee concludes that there is an absence of "a separate independent national mechanism" (p. 4) through which the National Plan can be implemented and achieved. The Act on Youth and Children's Public Organisations (1998) gives the right to organise youth parliaments, but at the same time it "prohibits children's participation in political rallies and demonstrations as well as the establishment of children's associations along political and religious lines" (p. 8). The Committee outlines that there is "the lack of genuine participation of children in the community and public life" (p. 7). In the similar way, despite the fact that The Act on the Protection of Childhood (2001) prohibits corporal punishment and provides with the opportunity to protect children's and young people's rights from violation and abuse, the low level of awareness about children's rights and "widespread use of corporal punishment" (p. 8) in the different settings remains to be an actual problem. In this sense, *de jure* young people's participation in the civil processes is granted and supported by the state but *de facto* young people remain to be unheard and marginalised in the Ukraine society.

1.2 Justification of the Study

Despite the fact that the debates about the concept of citizenship among academics in different fields provide different perspectives on the concept, the views of ordinary people on citizenship are less known and we know even less about the perceptions of young people. Lister et al. (2003) pointed out that there was a lack in empirical research of youth citizenship in the beginning of the 2000s. During the last years, there has been an increasing interest among scholars towards young people's citizenship that implement "a non-marginalising, inclusive approach" but mainly in the context of the Western counties (Krupets et al., 2017, p. 256). The number of researches that has been done in the post-socialist East is extremely limited. How young people of post-Soviet generations experience and interpret what citizenship is and what it means to be a 'good citizen' in the new socio-political realities remains underexplored.

This gap in theoretical understanding of young people's citizenship is related to young people's portrayal as 'not-yet-citizens' or as 'citizens-in-the-making' (Lister, 2008).

Most research projects of post-Soviet countries pay attention on citizenship education that supposed to form and prepare young people for their future roles as citizens. However, such approach ignores young people's experiences and opinions in the present moment and fails to recognise young people's influence on the processes around them. Therefore, deconceptualising the broader meaning of citizenship can provide with the foundation to interpret young people's citizenship as inclusive, fluid and relational practice and to acknowledge it in the different scopes and levels (Moosa-Mitha, 2005, Lister, 2008, Tereshchenko, 2010).

It is important to understand how young people interpret the concept of citizenship in the Ukrainian context. Focusing on young people's understandings of citizenship and what it means to be a good citizen can challenge assumptions about young people's agency and participation in the society, in order to bring it into the debates and whether it needs to be redefined. By studying of young people's views can help to realise the significant role of young people in understanding politics and political change in Ukraine (Diuk, 2013). The problems of young people's citizenship status may demonstrate young people's position and representation in the society as well as young people's identification and value in that society. The empirical investigation of young people's citizenship can provide a more nuanced picture on the promotion of civic and democratic values in Ukraine (Koshmanova, 2006). This can improve the understanding of young people's role in the Ukrainian society and the factors that influence young people's perceptions on good citizenship. The findings can be useful in some implications for developing young people's citizenship through providing more participatory opportunities on different scalar dimensions.

The current research project is relevant to governmental and non-governmental institutions and the general public which are interested in young people's citizenship and political development as it contains initiatives to understand the relations between young people's views and everyday experiences of citizenship. By carrying out the study on young people's perceptions and practices of citizenship, political leaders, educationalists and intellectuals can benefit from the generated data in hopes of bringing positive changes to the young people's representation and position in the society.

1.3 Personal Inspiration

Throughout my entire academic and professional experience, I have questioned the nature of the existing systems and how social, political, economic, civil, and cultural policies affect children and young people's welfare. It made me realise the importance of providing children and young people with the opportunities to live, develop, and reach their full potential as full members of the society. In this sense, one of the inspirational factors of this research project is the Master Programme in Childhood Studies at Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) that provided me with newer and deeper understandings of childhood as culturally dependent concept. The focus on the relationships between children's everyday experiences and the historical realities bring the recognition that children and young people are worth to be studied in their own right. The broad range of my interests was narrowed down to the specific interest in young people's citizenship when I had the opportunity to apply my theoretical knowledge in practice at the non-governmental organisation.

Additionally, the interest in the topic was influenced by the current socio-political, economic and cultural situation in Ukraine within which the new generation is seen as the one that will be able to bring peace, democracy, and prosperity to the relatively newly independent state. Therefore, it brought the questions about what young people's role is and whether they have opportunities for participation and expressing their views and ideas

in the Ukrainian society in the contemporary context in order to fulfil the expectations placed on them.

1.4 Research Objectives and Questions

Citizenship is one of the most contestable concepts in political and sociological agendas. Since the revitalised interest in the meaning of citizenship and its relevance in contemporary times, academics have raised even more questions and proposed new ways of thinking. The new and alternative conceptualisations of citizenship stepped aside from the traditional models but the main building blocks (e. g. membership status, rights, responsibilities) of the concept remained present. As such, the narrow meaning of citizenship took a wider form which allowed to bring the attention and the debates to young people's citizenship. In addition, the combination of socio-political, economic and cultural realities influenced the perceptions on citizenship and the meaning of a good citizen.

Bearing this in mind, the objectives of this research project were formulated. The thesis attempts to:

(I)   Investigate young people's perceptions of citizenship in the Ukrainian context – to understand how young people describe and perceive citizenship, how young people identify themselves as citizens and how they practice citizenship in the Ukrainian context.

(II)   Explore how young people define a good citizen in the Ukrainian context – to understand what the values and actions of a good citizen are and what are the way to become a good citizen in the Ukrainian society.

The research objectives are defined to explore young people's understandings and experiences of citizenship in the Ukrainian context. In order to address the objectives of the research project, the study has the following research questions:

1. *In which ways do young people in Ukraine explain and experience the concept of citizenship?*

   a. In what ways do young people understand and describe citizenship in the Ukrainian society?
   b. In what ways do young people experience inclusion and exclusion of citizenship practice in the Ukrainian society?
   c. What is the influence of socio-political, economic and cultural context of Ukraine on young people's citizenship?

2. *In which ways do young people understand what it means to be a good citizen in Ukraine?*

   a. What qualities and actions do young people relate to the idea of a 'good citizen' in the Ukrainian society?
   b. How do young people understand the ways for someone to become a 'good citizen' in the Ukrainian context?
   c. What can motivate young people in Ukraine to be a 'good citizen'?

These questions can lead to understanding the position and the key aspects of young people's citizenship in Ukraine and identify its strengths and weaknesses. The theoretical

framework of this study is based on the concepts developed within Childhood Studies that focus on young people as agents, as a social structure and as generational category that placed in interdependent and intergenerational relations (Prout & James, 2015, Qvortrup, 2009, Alanen, 2009). These concepts played crucial part throughout the research processes and helped to conduct a deeper understanding of young people's citizenship in order to provide a better account of importance of young people's role in the society.

1.5 Chapters Outline

The master's thesis includes seven chapters with subchapters in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the research process, empirical material and analyses. The master thesis starts by introducing the research topic in this chapter.

Chapter 2 gives an account and explanation of the background and the context of the research topic. It provides information about the transitional period of Ukraine from the authoritarian regime to democratic one. Further, it examines the evolution of Ukrainian citizenship identity during the period since independence. It is crucial to understand the roots of how Ukrainian identity has been formed and disseminated in this period. This will help to fully understand the influence of the socio-political, economic and cultural factors on young people's perceptions.

It is followed by Chapter 3, where the main theoretical approaches in the study are described. The chapter concentrates on the reflections of the common theoretical concepts within Childhood Studies and provides a brief description of development of citizenship conceptualisation. Childhood Studies are identified as the theoretical umbrella of the research project. It includes both the perception of young people as agents of social relations that exists within social structures and the interdependent generational relations that affect young people's membership status, their citizenship rights and responsibilities.

Then methodological framework and methods of collecting and analysing data are described in Chapter 4 to give a better understanding to the reader of the choices made throughout the research process. It illustrates the research design, the sampling strategy, the fieldwork site and access to it and how the rapport with young people and teacher was established. Furthermore, the methods of the data collection, the techniques of data analysis, the establishment of data rigour and the ethical consideration are explained.

The central part of the master thesis is Chapters 5 and 6. The chapters present the empirical material, analysis, discussion and the reflections of the findings and focus on the key issues of the study. The main topic of Chapter 5 is the concept of citizenship and young people's views on it. There are two main directions in young people's understanding of citizenship identified and examine in the chapter. They illustrate different patterns of young people's citizenship in the Ukrainian context. Chapter 6 discusses young people's visions on what are the essential qualities and actions of a good citizen. Further, it proceeds with how young people identify themselves as citizens of Ukraine and whether they consider themselves as good citizens. In the end of the chapter, certain considerations of young people about what influences the formation of a good citizen and what are the motivations are outlined.

Finally, the last chapter of the master thesis presents concluding remarks and reflections on the key aspects of the research project. Here, the importance of stepping outside of the traditional models of citizenship is addressed in order to make space for recognition of young people's citizenship. The chapter is wrapped up by presenting the implications of the study and the recommendations for the future researches focused on young people's citizenship.

Chapter 2. Ukrainian Context

Contextual features of historic realities shape not only our everyday lives and life conditions but also the way of how people perceive and understand the world around them. When reporting research results in a specific circumstance, it is crucial to initially portray a historical background of the place or location where the research is being conducted. This way, it is easier to provide a better account of the results and allow a deeper understanding of the research project and outcomes. This chapter will highlight historical events in Ukraine which influenced the perception of how citizenship is understood in contemporary society. Then, it will proceed with the description of the population composition and its dynamic during the period of independence. The last part of the chapter will be devoted to how political processes and the educational system shape the discourse on citizenship.

2.1 The National Identity and Citizenship in the Soviet Regime

Ukraine is a relatively new state which became independent in 1991 for the first time since it had a short-lived independence during World War I (Rezie, 1999). During 1917 and 1921 Ukraine struggled to gain and secure its independence. As a result of the conflict, it was divided between Bolshevik Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukrainian SSR) and Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia which took three regions of Western Ukraine. By 1945, the three Western areas were incorporated into Ukrainian SSR. In 1954, Ukraine acquired Crimea which was gifted by the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev.

In the different territorial shapes, Ukraine pertained to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) for more than 70 years. During this period, the political power and the governance of Soviet Ukraine were centralised in the hands of the Communist Party. The military reality and the consolidation of the political authority caused the lack of rule of the law. The Ukrainian Constitution did not bound the government by any requirements that supposed to grant rights and liberties to the citizens (Rezie, 1999).

The tactic of creating a new Soviet national identity was at the centre of building the Soviet Union. Soviet nationality and citizenship law established citizenship status of the USSR. The nationality was perceived as a person's ethnic identity while citizenship was referred to as a nation-state belonging but both of them constituted the New Soviet identity. The idea of the ideal citizen of the Soviet Union can be evident from the next question through which good citizenship was tested "Are you willing to subordinate all personal convictions and even family loyalties to the dictates of political authority, and to follow the dictator's whims no matter where they may lead?" (Magstadt, 2019, p. 297). Developing loyalty to the state played the central role in forming Soviet citizens. Creating a new Soviet man also meant a suppression of the cultural differences and the national identities through the programme of Russification. Wojnowski (2015) highlighted that the Communist Party "pledged to create a supranational "Soviet people" (sovetskii narod) in postwar USSR" (p. 3).

The Soviet ideology placed children and young people in a special place in these processes. The transformation of young people to Soviet identity was planned to be achieved "by manipulating their social and political environment" (Bergman, 1997, p.58). Soviet propaganda was the main tool to influence young people's identities through the changes in the education system and the daily activities. Peter Kenez (1985) in *The Birth of the Propaganda State* outlines that education and propaganda were not separated during the Soviet period (cited in Showalter, 2013). The aim of the Soviet propaganda was placed on rejecting one's individuality in favour of *The Moral Code of the Builder of Communism (1961)* which the prime moral focus was placed on the devotion to the

Communist aim and the love toward the Socialist Motherland and other Socialist countries (cited in Showalter, 2013). In this way, Showalter (2013) highlighted that education was concentrated on delivering Marxism-Leninism ideas and on the "acceptance of the supremacy of the state and the leadership of the communist party" (p. 2). Young people were taught to suppress their personality for the collective goals and interests. Young people were meant to become ideal Soviet citizens who would participate actively in building the Soviet country and communism (de la Fe, 2013). The behaviour and actions outside of the Party ideology led to the serious consequences for both young people and their parents.

Still, despite all attempts of the Communist leaders in creating a new Soviet society, nationalist dissent of the Soviet Union demanded a better protection of the cultural and linguistic entitlements of ethnic groups (Wojnowski, 2015). With these views, Ukraine arrived to its independence in 1991 with 90% of the popular vote (Fournier, 2018). Nevertheless, the Soviet regime and communist ideology have affected the national identity and the sense of citizenship of people who lived on its territory which caused a great effect on contemporary understandings and feelings of Ukrainian people.

2.2 From an Authoritarian Regime to a Democratic Society

After gaining independence, Ukraine has witnessed few historical events that influenced the formation and development of the citizenship discourse and identity.

Figure 1. Ukraine on the map

The new-formed country is located between the European Union (on the west) and Russia (on the east) as illustrated on Figure 1. Such geographical location has affected the process of state transition from one political system to another. Nikolayenko (2011) highlights four types of modification that Ukraine has experienced after gaining independence: (1) from Soviet republic to an independent state; (2) from one-party system to multi-party; (3) from planned economy to market economy; (4) and from Russification to the rise of Ukrainian national identity.

To begin with, Ukraine transits from a Soviet republic controlled by Moscow to the formation of a Ukrainian sovereign state. In 1991, Ukraine disrupted a centralised governance system and economic relations with the New Independent States (Gorobets, 2008). The following years, a great work was done to design the new Ukrainian Constitution which was adopted on the 28th of June in 1996. The new Constitution attempted to reduce "Soviet-style governmental control and abuse of the rights of citizens" (Rezie, 1999, p. 175).

Moreover, the one-party system transitioned to a democracy with the emergence of political parties; thus, reinvigorating political competition. In 1994, as a result of the presidential election, the power was transferred peacefully to a new head of the state, Leonid Kuchma, but the new president was unable to implement sustainable democratic foundations. D'anieri et al. (1999) observed that "the former Soviet administrative and political elite…retained great power and influence at the center of government and the economy in newly independent Ukraine" (p. 6). The political parties in the new parliament

could not find an agreement, and they struggled to build a collaboration and fought each other (Gorobets, 2008). Further, the presidential elections were consistently paralysed, and the elite in power often violated human rights by using "the manipulation of electoral rules and the violation of democratic procedures" (Nikolayenko, 2011, p. 67). Consequently, in 2004, to satisfy their own political and financial interest by corrupting the voting results, the elite attempted to consolidate power by putting Viktor Yanukovych as "a handpicked successor" (p. 67). Ukrainians showed their disagreement and demanded for political adjustments in which later became known as the Orange Revolution (2004); this is when Ukrainians pushed for new elections. As a result, a new president Viktor Yushchenko was elected with 52% of votes (Kubicek, 2008), and the local population was filled with high hopes for a better change, to develop into a democracy and to become part of the European Union (EU). However, even though new political power retained the orientation to the West, it failed to keep the promises of building a democratic society, reducing the level of corruption and increasing the living standards of the population. As a result, the hopes of Ukrainian people were crushed in the coming years.

In the next presidential elections in 2010, a new political power came to rule the country with Viktor Yanukovych as its president. This time, however, on the words the president still kept orientation to the West but on the deeds, due to the private interests and under the pressure from Russia, he decided to change the orientation to the East. In 2013, the president rejected the Association Agreement with the EU which was negotiated during several years. Moreover, instead of continuing to seek membership of the EU, Viktor Yanukovych attempted to sign an economic union agreement with Russia. The Ukrainian people went on a strike again to show the support for European integration and for building a democratic country; subsequently, the protest was named the Euromaidan (2014). The protest escalated after government used violence against the people (Biersack & O'Lear, 2014). Therefore, it was "re-branded from the EuroMaidan into the 'Revolution of Dignity'" (Samokhvalov, 2015, p. 1374) and turned against the Yanukovych government. The outcome of the protest was that the former president fled from Ukraine and sought political asylum in Russia. The new presidential and parliament elections were held. Both the Orange Revolution and the Revolution of Dignity showed the ability of Ukrainians to mobilise their power and push for changes. Moreover, not only did young adolescences play a leading role in both protests, but they were both started by small groups of students (Diuk, 2013). Yet, young people were not able to gain political power and influence.

As a consequence of the unstable political situation, the territorial integrity of Ukraine was violated. The first struggle appeared on the Crimean Peninsula. As mentioned previously, it was added as a part of Ukrainian SSR in 1954. With Ukraine gaining independence, Crimea remained part of the new independent state. According to the Population Census in 2001, Russians composed 58% of population in Crimea, whereas Ukrainians were 24% and Crimean Tatars were 12%. Taking the advantage of the circumstances, Russia referred to the geopolitical and historical perceptions of Crimea, claimed the protection of many ethnic Russians who lived in the territory and organised hastily the referendum to join the Crimean Autonomous Republic to Russian Federation (Saluschev, 2014). Despite the fact that majority of Crimea's residents favoured the secession from Ukraine, the referendum was not recognised as legal by the United Nations General Assembly. Nevertheless, Russia undermined the international norms and annexed the Republic of Crimea. The majority of Crimean Tatars did not agree with the admission of Crimea into Russia and protested the results of the referendum.

The invasion of Crimea was followed by the second struggle which occurred in the Donbas region in the Eastern part of Ukraine. The Donbas territory has the second highest proportion of ethnic Russians (after Crimea) with the large proportion of Russian native

speakers in Ukraine (Harris, 2020). With the support of Russian government in 2015, two separatist republics were self-declared in Donbas region, i.e., the Donetsk People's Republic (DNR) and the Luhansk People's Republic (LNR) (Fournier, 2018). The formation of these two republics triggered a military conflict in the eastern part of Ukraine which still remains unresolved. The Ukrainian government initiated 'anti-terrorist operation' (ATO) which were aimed against 'the separatists'. The Russian government denies its involvement in the conflict and asserts that the conflict is internal. Both Ukraine and Russia "are controlling information to achieve their goals in this conflict although to much different degrees" (Roman et al., 2017, p. 358). As the result of the conflict, Ukraine has suffered from the significant loss of people (about 10 thousand killed and 1,8 million displaced), territory (approximately 44 thousand sq. km) and economic development (decrease by around 20% of economic potential) (Poshedin & Chuliaevska, 2017).

The conflicts brought up to the surface the ethnic and national identity problems which were unresolved in post-communist Ukraine which the Russian government used to polarise Ukrainian society (Harris, 2020). This has significantly affected everyday life of ordinary citizens, including young people. Young Ukrainians happened to be surrounded by the numerous violent circumstances. It is important to note that during the periods of political struggles, the majority of the young people in Ukraine were exposed to the various information about the conflicts and violent events, which became a significant part of young people's lives. Young people were regularly involved in the discussions about politics as it became one of the most popular subjects for conversations not only at home but also at work, schools, universities and other public and private places.

The third type of transition of shifting from a planned or command economy to a market economy resulted in a drastic economic downfall during the 1990s – where the national real GDP decreased by 60% – affecting dramatically the livelihood of the average Ukrainian (Nikolayenko, 2011). Moreover, the transition to market economy caused a major wealth and economic gap (Havrylyshyn & Odling-Smee, 2000). While a small number of the local population became rich, the majority of Ukrainians struggled to eke out a living. In 2000, it was registered that Ukraine witnessed positive economic development with growth in the following years. However, 29% of the population was living below the poverty line whereas 3% in extreme poverty (UNICEF, 2007). The unbalanced economic situation was even more estabilised by the global economic crisis, which caused the rise of unemployment and the social security system did not guarantee support (Gorobets, 2008). In this situation, young people were required to overpass "socioeconomic barriers to upward mobility and compete for financially and personally rewarding jobs" (Nikolayenko, 2011, p. 68). As a consequence, young people from rural areas migrated from these areas to cities to study or look for employment either alone or with the family.

The last item to consider after Ukraine gained independence is that it had to step aside from the politics of Russian language and culture imposition as part of national politics to be able to redefine and awaken its national identity. Harris (2020) highlights that the construction of the new identity is vital in the process of building the new state with an insecure identity. Ukrainian language and culture went through decades of suppression during the Soviet times. With gaining independence, the Ukrainian governments started the process of nation building by implementing numerous procedures to overcome the results of Russification and restore Ukrainian national identity. The Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine was adherently brining back Ukrainian language to the public school as the official teaching language. Moreover, the Ukrainian national history was rewritten and students at various school levels were learning "the struggle of Ukrainians for national independence" (Nikolayenko, 2011, p. 69).

After becoming independent, Ukraine failed to build a consistent gradual transitional strategy from an authoritarian regime to a democratic society. Instead, it experienced the lack of coherency in socio-economic reforms, the failure of ex-Soviet political elite in adjusting to a democratic political system, the increase of corruption, and the society entered the period of cultural and moral crisis with passive civil position of the local population (Gorobets, 2008).

2.3 Population Dynamic during Independence

In 1991, when Ukraine became an independent state, the population of the country was about 52 million people. Children of age between 0 and 17 years old consisted 13 million which made up nearly 25% (with 3% of young people aged 16-17 years old) and people 18 and older made up 75% which nearly 39 million. The political and socio-economic instabilities caused high emigration tendency, in combination with low birth and high death rates, these aspects resulted in a constant population decline in the following years. In the first years of independency, Ukraine witnessed a significant rise of migration. Around 2,5 million Ukrainians left the country to look for a better life. By 2015, 11,4% of total population of Ukraine were emigrants. Canada, after Russia, had the largest Ukrainian immigrant community. Also, Ukrainians formed significant immigrant communities in the United States, Poland, Australia, Brazil and Argentina. Moreover, the mortality rate increased due to environmental issues, unhealthy lifestyles (e. g. junk food, smoking, alcoholism) and the low quality of medical care while the birth rates dropped drastically because of unsecure economic circumstances.

Therefore, by 2010 the population in Ukraine decreased by 12% to around 46 million (Gorobets, 2008); then, in 2019 the estimated population number was about 42 million, 20% less than in 1991[1] (UkrStat, 2020). The proportion of young and old generations has also changed. In 2019, the percentage of young people (0-17 years old) dropped almost to 18% (with 1.5% of young people 16-17 years old) which is 7% lower than in 1991 while the proportion of adults (18 and older) increased to 82% compare to 75% in 1991.

Between 2001-2013, the government tried to address the problem of population loss through implementing a demographic potential recovery strategy. But in 2014, the demographic situation was undermined again due to the military conflict between Ukraine and Russia which resulted in the occupation of Autonomous Crimean Republic and part of Eastern Ukraine (Palian, 2016).

The most recent population census in Ukraine in 2001 showed that the major ethnic group is Ukrainian which consists 77,8% of total population, while the minor ethnic group is Russian with 17,3%. The rest 4,9% include other ethnic groups, such as Romanian, Belarusian, Crimean Tatar, Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Polish. The significant proportion of ethnic Russians are based in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine "where the overarching identity is still grounded in the Soviet Union […] and there was little on which to base a coherent identity divorced from Soviet times" (Harris, 2020, p. 13). Therefore, it appears that Ukrainians in the east and the west have different perceptions in whether to identify with western Euro-Atlantic structures or with eastern pro-Russian direction. Furthermore, the Ukrainians on the east are more likely to identify Ukrainians as 'almost the same' as Russians while contemporary Ukrainian nationalism was formed on the Western Ukraine. However, it is important to keep in mind that "the assumed division of Ukraine between the 'nationalistic' west and 'pro-Russian' east obscures the fact that Ukraine is not sharply

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[1] These statistics do not take into account the population of temporary occupied Crimean territory and Sevastopol city.

divided along ethnic or even linguistic lines, and that both east and west are heterogeneous regions" (Harris, 2020, p. 14). This means that Ukrainians in the different regions of the country are more divided on the ideological basis rather than on ethnic one.

2.4 Citizenship Discourse in Ukraine

The breakdown of the Soviet Union imposed the question of the reconfiguration of the national identity and the citizenship discourse in the new independent state. Since gaining independence and change to the democratic political system, several citizenship discourses have emerged and competed for the primacy in Ukraine and it is possible to observe the shifts "in the relative strength of each of these discourses over time" (Janmaat & Piattoeva, 2007, p. 5). At the same time, Ukrainian national identity is being constantly reshaped, changed and adapted to the new realities of the country. To examine the prevailing perceptions on the concepts in Ukraine, it is relevant to turn to the policy documents, political leaders' speeches, and the Constitution of Ukraine which were used to form an understanding of the citizenship discourse in Ukraine. Moreover, as the state often has a privilege and responsibility of the citizenship education, some documents were examined for a clearer view on the patterns of citizenship discourse in the country.

Ukraine as a newly emerged country was insecure about the loyalty of its citizens and faced a challenge of overcoming the Soviet identity. In the first years of independence, the focus was placed on promoting cultural unity and allegiance to the state with a distinct national identity (Janmaat & Piattoeva, 2007). Harris (2020) outlined that in order to create the new national identity, post-Soviet Ukraine sought to "extricate itself from Russia" (p. 15) and overcome its status of 'little Russia'. Kuzio (2016) highlighted that it was also needed because Russia did not recognise Ukrainians as a separate nation. Consequently, Ukraine rejects the identification with the Soviet past "and embraces the nationalist historical narrative originating in western Ukraine and promoted by its Western oriented-leadership" (Harris, 2020, p. 607). The aim was to distance from Russia to weaken its influence on the new formed country. On contrary, due to its ambitions to become part of the EU, Ukraine put accent on the European orientation and values in building the new national identity.

The collapse of the Communist Party's authority caused "abolishing formal instruction of Marxist-Leninist ideology" (Nikolayenko, 2011, p. 68) which pushed for radical changes in the educational system. The nation-building strategy was central to reframe Soviet education to the new post-communism education system with a significant part devoted to the patriotic notions. The concept of citizenship was repeatedly substituted with the concept of nationality in the nation-building strategy of Ukraine to foster emotional feelings and create the connection between the state, the community and the citizens. Ukraine implemented intensive reforms of the whole education organisation and structure which occurred at all levels, including secondary schools, universities, curricula, teacher and educational administration training programmes (Koshmanova, 2006). Tartakovsky (2009) highlights that the new education system and the patriotic education implemented through the first *State Program to Reforming Ukrainian Education* of 1993 aimed to reinforce national identity, protect it from Russian influence and "to develop democratic civic society" (p. 235) with the European orientation. However, the profound reforms only partially brought the expected outcomes, and the education system experienced many pendent problems and limitations.

According to Koshmanova (2006), the approach of redefining national identity through citizenship education with the patriotic notions was based not only on the residency and citizenship but also heavily on the cultural factors. According to Janmaat and Piattoeva (2007), it was identified that education was "the key domain to reinvigorate

the Ukrainian language and culture" (p. 6). This has resulted to the high development of the nationalistic consciousness which meant that the perception of "the Ukrainian-speaking majority who stands for the dominant Ukrainian culture, traditions and welcomes Catholic/Orthodox religion" (p. 107) was dominant in building the new national identity. Such approach defined citizenship in the ethnic terms and had failed to acknowledge Ukraine as a multi-ethnic society where other ethnic groups exist. Ukraine established the recognition of only one citizenship (Ukrainian) rather than dual citizenship for those who identified themselves as Russian or Soviet (Fournier, 2018), in fear that Russia would use it to expand its geopolitical influence. In order to get Ukrainian citizenship, minorities had to "cut certain ties" with the country of origin in favour of "some degree of integration and participation in Ukrainian civil society" (p. 26). Therefore, it caused the increase of xenophobia and ethnic intolerance (Koshmanova, 2006).

Such nation-building strategy resulted in the rise of nationalist orientations. As an outcome of the 2012 parliamentary elections, it was evident that Ukrainians supported the radical nationalist party *Svoboda* which won 10% of the vote that gave 37 seats in the Parliament. Besides, Ukrainians showed support to the ideas of the leaders of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)[2] and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)[3] that were portrayed as 'national heroes' because of their intentions to free Ukraine from the Soviet Union whilst both of the organisations and their leaders were criticised by the European Parliament for the collaboration with Nazi and the involvement in the mass murders (Harris, 2020).

Despite the nationalist orientations, Ukrainians keep supporting the European integration course which was first proclaimed in 1993 with *the Decree of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine* (Poshedin & Chulaievska, 2017). Since then, Ukraine has been developing relationships with the EU and under its assistance, the new democratic society in Ukraine was (and still is) slowly developing. After the Orange Revolution (2004), it was recognised that there was a need to reform the patriotic education and the nation-building strategy toward "openness and democratic citizenship values" (Koshamnova, 2006, p. 111). As a result, the active democratic citizenship discourse started emerging and generated a new European identity in Ukraine. Consequently, it affected the educational agenda which now on one side referencing to patriotism and on the other side to the democracy. As such, it tried to add to the patriotic perceptions, the notions of freedom of speech, tolerance and civic education.

The events of Euromaidan (The Revolution of Dignity) in 2014 showed the results of the nation-building strategy and the desire of the European integration. It was evident that many Ukrainians changed their views towards themselves as the citizens of Ukraine and were determined to protect their dignity, freedom of choice and the democratic values (Fedorova, 2014). In the light of the most recent situation of the conflicts, the relationships with the EU and the success of the European integration which can be achieved through implementing the EU reforms are perceived as "the context under which Ukraine can and must overcome Russian aggression" (Poshedin & Chulaivska, 2017, p. 113).

The Orange Revolution (2004) and the Euromaidan (2014) showed that Ukrainians stepped aside from the obedience to the state and challenged the government authority.

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[2] The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (*Organizatsia Ukrayins'kykh Natsionalistiv* – OUN) was a radical far-right Ukrainian ultranationalist organisation established in 1929. The aim was to achieve Ukrainian independence. The strategy included violence and terrorism.

[3] The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (*Ukrainska Povstanska Armiia* – UPA) was a Ukrainian nationalist paramilitary and later partisan formation established in 1942. The goal was to establish Ukraine as a united, mono-ethnic state. Violence was accepted as a strategic tool.

Ukrainians switched the orientation towards democratic citizenship and the European integration with values of freedom, democracy and the rule of law. It is recognised that the shift in citizenship discourse from patriotic, nationalistic towards recognition of more civil, democratic discourse can help to build more democratic society with understanding rights and responsibilities. Nonetheless, the remnants of the Soviet structure of the education system affected the centralised educational reforms which made the Ukrainian education system remain mainly authoritarian where issues related to the "school autonomy, democracy and pupil centred pedagogy" were marginalised (Janmaat & Piattoeva, 2007, p. 5; Koshmanova, 2006).

It is especially difficult to move towards the democratic citizenship principles and to overcome Ukrainian ethnocentric identity in times of disorder and separatist confrontations. The external threats have resulted in the nationalist programmes with a new strength emphasising on the unity, conformity and loyalty which, with a fast pace, "overshadow initiatives promoting democratization, individual autonomy and respect for diversity" (Janmaat & Piattoeva, 2007, p. 529) in order to strengthen the collective identity (Gehring, 2020). As such, Ukrainian people not only support state's independence and sovereignty in the times of the occupation of Crimea, the war conflict on the Eastern Ukraine, and economic struggles but also show an increased sense of affiliation with the state.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Perspectives and Literature Review

Theory plays a vital role in the research process as it gives both the researcher and readers theoretical perspectives and understandings from which the research data has been analysed. Since the choice of theoretical views are not neutral and depend on the researcher, it is important to provide an account of theoretical concepts which were used to analyse data as the theoretical lens affects how the research results are interpreted and presented. Childhood Studies is the discipline within which this study is situated and thus provide the theoretical umbrella for the research project. Even though Childhood Studies is "an emerging and not yet completed approach to the study of childhood" (Prout & James, 2015, p. 6), its theoretical perspectives have influenced the choice of the methodology, methods and analytical framework of this research project.

In the chapter's beginning, Childhood Studies will be delineated as it is a general background of the study. It will highlight some historical events which have led to the development of the new approaches to the study of childhood and the process of the emergence of Childhood Studies. The modern critics which has helped to develop more recent research trends within the paradigm will be outlined. It will be followed by the theoretical clarification of the concepts on children and young people in Childhood Studies. Then, it is important to explore different approaches to the concept of citizenship as it can be understood in various ways. The concept of citizenship is prone to different interpretations, and it is surrounded by the discussions and arguments. In the following paragraphs, the classical discourses on citizenship will be presented, and it will be followed by some new discussions on the concept. In this way, the account on young people's citizenship will be provided. In the end, a literature review on the existing related academic work will be presented.

3.1 Childhood Studies

One of the first scholars who triggered an interest in the history of childhood and had enormous influence was Philippe Aries. In his innovative 1962 book *Centuries of Childhood*, he proposed that childhood is socially and historically constructed. Aries described how the value of children has changed from material to emotional and the role of children evolved to "a mission to create national prosperity" (as cited in Dunne, 2006, p. 9). However, despite the fact that the work of Aries pointed out a new direction of childhood investigation, there was still little interest in studying childhood by conventional disciplinary research (Hammersley, 2017). Indeed, children have been marginalised in the society which was defined and constructed by adult-centric perspectives. Children and young people were silenced in the society as they were perceived in relation to their deficiencies – passive, immature, irrational, incompetent and asocial – with the assigned role for them as future adults, as 'human becomings' (Hardman, 1973; Nilsen, 2009).

In the 1980s, during the period when academics started paying attention to women as a muted group, scholars also noticed that children and young people were not represented in research (Prout, 2011). Interpretive perspectives, such as symbolic interactionism and social phenomenology, stimulated a rise of alternative ways of studying childhood and the effort to change the construction of children as future adults (Prout & James, 2015). It was acknowledged that childhood is a social construct. Children and young people were recognised as social actors who affect social reality in particular time and place. Academics of this perspective highlight that both adults and children are active contributors to the construction of childhood (Prout, 2011). Therefore, the perceptions of children and childhood "are neither universal nor ahistorical" (Ursin, 2019, p. 5), and it

was necessarily to deconstruct the dominant ways of how children and young people are being portrayed and treated.

Out of these perspectives, Prout & James (1990) and other researchers in social science started criticising mainstream research and concepts that had exceptional influence. During most part of the twentieth century, the discourse of development psychology has dominated and was heavily incorporated into the everyday understanding of childhood and children in the western societies. Within this paradigm, childhood and youth are commonly divided into many different stages within which children and young people are perceived as unformed and incomplete and this means that they do not acquire what it takes "to qualify as properly human" (Dunne, 2006, p. 10). Development as orthodoxy was justifying the notions of rationality, naturalness and universality of childhood (Jenks, 1982; Prout & James, 2015). As a result, the research within developmental psychology was carried out *on* children. Scholars argue that this kind of research was unethical and that theoretical and methodological approaches were maladaptive (Woodhead & Faulkner, 2000).

Furthermore, it was outlined that orthodoxy also was embedded in the social understandings of childhood through theories of socialisation inherited from functionalistic sociology (Nilsen, 2009; Prout & James, 2015). The concept of socialisation focuses on the explanation of children and young people as passive vehicles of adult teaching and upbringing, not contributing to the process, and who learn how to integrate in the adult society (Jenks, 1982; Nilsen, 2009). The notions of socialisation theories were also questioned as they focused on adults' views on how children become prepared and trained to participate in the social world of adults, instead of children and young people's own experiences and perceptions.

In recent decades, scholars have initiated alternative ways of theorising and understanding the concepts of child and childhood, leading to the emergence of Childhood Studies as a new framework. The appearance of this new approach created the possibility to destabilise the dominant discourses of child development and socialisation and aimed to study children in their own right and to give voice to children through research (Prout & James, 2015; Hammersley, 2017). Prout and James (2015) highlighted that childhood is a social construction and should be considered as a variable of social analysis together with age, gender, ethnicity or class, as it is a specific type of social reality. This means that there exist a multitude of childhoods, and that childhood is – as other categories – a marker of identity and life experience.

In addition to the new way of theorising childhood and children, Alanen (2009) has proposed three segmentations of sociological research of childhood: (1) sociologies of children where research focuses on children's agency; (2) a deconstructive sociology of childhood where researchers explore and deconstruct the ways of how children and their views are constructed in society; and (3) a structural sociology of childhood where academics look in the structural aspects of childhood. These conceptualisations of childhood and children have influenced methodological approaches of research with children (Solberg, 1996; Punch, 2002; Clark, 2005), including this research project.

Furthermore, Prout (2011), regarded as one of the leading scholars in the field, has criticised that while Childhood Studies are creating a space for childhood in modernist sociological discourse, it is not confronting adequately to the complexity of childhood as the destabilised phenomenon of late modernity. Thus, the research framework is reproducing dichotomies, such as agency-structure, nature-culture, being-becoming and so on. The academic suggests including the "excluded middle" through interdisciplinarity, networks, relationality, symmetry and mobility. Similarly, Punch (2016) highlights the need to move beyond dichotomies and to include a wider intergenerational perspective

into the childhood research. Nevertheless, achieving interdisciplinarity is possible only when discipline has built a strong basis (Alanen, 2012).

3.2 Young People in Childhood Studies

Despite the emergence of Childhood Studies and the promotion of children as agentic individuals who participate in the construction of social reality, there are still difficulties with how young people are being pictured and perceived. There is a need to turn the attention to what it is meant by 'young people'. Such categories as 'children' and 'young people' remain to be problematic and are under debates which provide multiple alternatives of understanding. Hartung (2017) highlights that there is a great global and legal significance of these terms. In the United Nation's (UN) reports, the term 'children' is often used to refer to anyone of age 18 and under. However, to avoid 'infantilising' those who are in their teens and rejecting the term 'child', as well as to provide a more specific response, "academics and policy-makers tend to stipulate a focus on children or young people as separate categories" (Hartung, 2017, p. xiii). For example, this can be seen among UN agencies that use the variety of overlapping sub-categories which are presented in Table 1 (adapted by Hartung, 2017 from Ansell, 2005).

Table 1. Terms in use by UN agencies

Child (0-17)		
Adolescent (10-19)		
Teenager (13-19)	Young adult (20-24)
Youth (15-24)	

Yet, these sub-categories continue to reproduce the focus on age and assigned role of 'becoming', limiting the dynamics and complex nature of the subjects. Acknowledging these limitations and keeping them in mind, the term young people will be used for the consistency of this master thesis.

There exist various discourses on children and young people that provide different understandings. It is not possible to outline all of them in this master thesis but the most prominent and traditional ways of seeing young people are the deficit discourse and the romantic discourse (Walsh et al., 2018). Firstly, the deficit discourse highlights that young people are seen from a negative side with a focus on youth associated problems. These include alcohol, drugs, early pregnancy and youth crime. Secondly, the romantic discourse portrays young people as the "leaders of tomorrow" (Golombek, 2002, p. 4). This emphasises the socialisation process as a way of transition from childhood to adulthood where young people are seen as future resource rather than current active participants that make a significant contribution to society. Moreover, Montgomery (2003) highlights that several discourses on children and young people can exist parallel to each other.

The following sub-chapter will focus on how children and young people are perceived within Childhood Studies. First of all, one of the prominent conceptions of children and young people as agents will be explained. It will be followed by how children and young people can be understood in the notions of social structure. And in the end, it will be turned to examine children and young people as a generational category, including intergenerational perspectives.

3.2.1 Children and Young People as Agents

The perception of children and young people as agentic beings is one of the central tenets within Childhood Studies. On the contrary to the conventional conceptions, young people's socialisation is perceived as a dynamic and relational process within which children and young people should be understood "as participants rather than recipients of socialisation – active agents in their everyday environments alongside with their adult authorities, institutions, the media and their lived communities as a whole" (Kallio, 2014, p. 210). Prout and James (1997) argue that children and young people are "actively involved in the construction of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live" (p. 4). As such, young people are understood as agents who, together with other agents, contribute to social reproduction. Young people are not perceived as 'incomplete adults' or 'adults-in-the-making' but as actors in the own right who participate in the construction of social reality.

In political life, this entails that young people as agents should have an opportunity to express their voices equally and be able to influence public affairs (Wall, 2011). Moreover, if young people are given a chance, they have the capability to participate actively in political life to bring changes to their lives and to their community through "being active citizens, articulating their own values, perspectives, experiences and visions for the future, using these to inform and take action in their own right and, where necessary, contesting with those who have power over their lives" (Percy-Smith & Thomas, 2010, p. 3). This means that young people do not lack ideas for political actions and are able to represent themselves in civil and political processes, but they should be listened to and their voices taken into account. In order for young people to acquire political agency in any organised and established sense (Wall, 2011), the voice of young people and their right for participation as political agents should be understood as a starting point and not as a desired end point (Oswell, 2008). In this way, Baraldi and Cockburn (2018) argue that "agency is at the core of children's lived citizenship and active construction of identities in social contexts" (p. 9).

However, it is important to keep in mind that seeing young people as political agents also has certain drawbacks. Wall (2011) highlights that the difficulties arise in the way that "agency itself is a political norm with historical adult-centered biases" (p. 91). The researcher continues that in this sense, the normative constructs are rarely being challenged and as a result, there is often attempts to embed young people's agency in the political constructions of adults. Therefore, when it comes to young people's political power, it can have different implementations in theory and practice. Political agency should not be equated with political power but at the same time it should not exclude it. As such, "agency is always relational and never a property" (Oswell, 2008, p. 270) which can take multiple forms "within narrative structure and forms of narration and in the context of other characters with agency" (p. 269). In this way, children's and young people's agency within Childhood Studies is perceived in the relation to structure.

3.2.2 Children and Young People as Social Structure

In the dominant thinking, social structure is perceived as the opposition to agency. Parsons (1951) influenced the understanding of children and young people's socialisation within social structure. He explained that socialisation takes place through education in the school settings and family which supposed to provide functioning of the social system (cited in Oswell, 2008). In this sense, as Oswell (2008) outlines, for Parson "the notion of the 'role' is conceptualised as that which accords with the positioning and identification of the individual within and with a particular functionality within the system" (p. 43). Therefore, the individuality of social agents, including children and young people, is given up for the

sake of construction it in the way of relevant features for their performance in the wider context.

It was proposed that society is formed by the collection of actions which constitute structures. At the same time, structures regulate the individual behaviour and patterns of interaction and the result of these patterns are the social relationships or networks (Prout, 2011). Prout highlights that even though these networks seem to be stabilised, they are always "partial and defeasible" (p. 10) and can be shaped by actions. Hence, the concepts of agency and structure are interrelated with each other and should not be put in the separate corners.

Childhood is seen as one of the social structures where children and young people occupy a special position in these structures (Qvortrup, 2009; Alanen, 2018). Therefore, the theoretical and empirical research in Childhood Studies has tried to acknowledge that structure and agency are not mutually exclusive categories in understanding and describing the experiences of children and young people but as "two sides of the same coin" (Oswell, 2008, p. 35) and to see "children's agency in the context of childhood as a structural form" (p. 42). In this way, social structure should be understood "as more open to the dynamic interactions and influences of children as agentic beings" (p. 37).

In the discussion of childhood and citizenship, every person's actions, including young people, affect the way the citizenship discourse is being shaped and practiced (agency), but these actions are influenced by the historical notions (structure) which provide stabilised networks. This is to say that social structures are defined by specific historical contexts and that actions cannot be separated from them. Thus, when discussing childhood and citizenship, it is important to ask about historical contexts where childhood and citizenship identity are produced. This tendency resonates with what has been proposed as an alternative understanding of children's and young people's political citizenship "as based on interdependence" (Wall, 2011, p. 91). In this sense, young people are understood as being simultaneously actively independent and passively dependent (ibid.). As such, young people's political actions are perceived as relational and interdependent within specific social structure.

3.2.3 Children and Young People as Generational Category

The period of adolescence continues to be perceived as a period of transition to adulthood and young people have a role of future adults while adults make decisions until young people reach adulthood. For example, Bellino (2018) highlights that in the Guatemalan society, young people's role has transformed from 'a solution to be cultivated' to 'a problem to be resolved', and instead of supporting and empowering young people, the adults started to fear and pity them. These perceptions on young people created a generational disruption between young people and adults.

Qvortrup (2009) emphasises that childhood should be understood as "a *permanent form* of any generational structure" (p. 23, emphasis in original). In the sense, childhood as a structure provides a basis to think of development of childhood rather than of child development. Nevertheless, childhood as a permanent generational structure is not an opposition to childhood as a period, but these two conceptions refer to different sides of childhood. Qvortrup further elaborates that childhood should be understood as a permanent segment that "is defined by a set of societal or structural parameters", such as political, economic, social, cultural and so on and it is the result of interplay between "prevailing parameters, which must all be counted as structural forces" (p. 25). Besides, childhood as a structural form does not disappear when children reach adulthood but remains as a permanent form.

In this way, childhood started to be perceived not only as period of life but also as a social category. Thus, Qvortrup highlights that it is useful to observe the relationship with other generational units (adulthood, old age) as all of them "in principle exposed to the same parameters" but their position in the social order and experiences differ (p. 27). The generational approach is identified as a key concept to understand children and young people. Scholars within Childhood Studies outlined that to understand the contemporary life of children and young people, it is important to consider the fact that "childhood is negotiated through competing generationally located agencies" (Oswell, 2008, p. 41). Alanen (2009) proposed generational order as an analytical concept which has impact on children and young people's actions and experiences.

The main idea of a generational order is that "there exists in modern societies a system of social ordering that specifically pertains to children as a social category, and circumscribes for them particular social locations from which they act, and thereby participate in on-going social life" (Alanen, 2018, p. 5). Alanen (2009) argues that it is important to not separate children from adults. The meaning of generational relations, including adult and child, is going beyond of just simple relationships between generations. Generational relations are conceptualised in the notions of fundamentally relational nature of such social categories as childhood and adulthood. Prout (2011) argues that it is needed to observe how young people and adults come into interaction with each other and proposes to maintain "the process of generation as an open-ended one" where it is possible to find multiple "generational orderings" (p. 10).

The concept of a generational ordering also provides the space for the idea of children and young people as agents who participate in construction of everyday relationships. Moreover, "the social world is not only simultaneously gendered, classed, 'raced', and so on; it is also organised in terms of generational ordering – it is also 'generationed'" (Alanen, 2009, p. 162). The relations between adulthood and childhood are interdependent in the sense that they constitute and presume each other – one cannot exist without the other one. Alanen (2018) explains that the actions of one generational position (for example that of a parent) are dependent on the way how these actions were received by other generational position (child) and vice versa. These intergenerational practices, such as interactions between adults and children (as generational categories), affect each other, and (re)produce a particular social structure. In this sense, "generational order is a structured network of relations between generational categories that are positioned in and act within necessary interrelations with each other" (Alanen, 2009, pp. 161-162).

In their everyday lives, children and young people interact and negotiate in various intergenerational power relationships. Punch et al. (2007) outlines that young people are interconnected in relationships with adults. These relationships can be ambiguous as they may provide support for young people, offer opportunities for participation. At the same time, they set the boundaries of these opportunities, control and define who young people are, when they can participate and what citizenship prospects they have (Westwood et al., 2014). These boundaries manifest themselves in the citizenship practice of young people where they negotiate their inclusion and participation through lived experiences. Despite the fact that intergenerational power can be fluid and have multiple notions, it is not symmetrical. The similarity it shares is that "the social positioning of children is more disempowering compared with the greater capacity of adulthood to maintain its position of privilege" (Punch et al., 2007, p. 218). Children and young people's reaction to the unequal power relations is context dependent, including political, economic and socio-cultural factors, as well as it depends on the personal competencies and opportunities of children and young people. Moreover, the generational structures are usually "one of

asymmetry" as they are "embedded in the organization of the welfare state and the organizations of global governance" (Alanen, 2018, p. 8).

3.3 The Concept of Citizenship

In the academic literature, scholars describe different approaches to citizenship. Dunne (2006) outlines two concepts of citizenship which were inherited from the ancient Romans and Athenians. The Roman perception of citizenship as a legal status highlighted that people receive certain rights and benefits in exchange for loyalty and allegiance. For the Athenian polis or city-state, the conception of citizenship was an important achievement that provided freedom to collaborate with others for the aim of self-government and the equality for the decision-making for each other's good. Both concepts of citizenship carry ethical and educational implications.

Citizenship re-appeared with the development of modern democracy after the French Revolution. Citizenship has changed under powerful forces such as nationalism and capitalism (Dunne, 2006). Nationalism offered "a basis for identification and belonging" which served as "social glue of the civic bond" (p. 8); thus, citizenship was associated with the nation-state (Halstead & Pike, 2006). At the same time, capitalism supported the idea of social contract with free economic relationships where citizenship was based on capitalism and required citizens to be "free agents in the marketplace" (Nieminen, 1998, p. 21). The modern concepts of citizenship are profoundly immersed in the idea of nation-state and dominated in the citizenship discourse during XX century (Nieminen, 1998). However, the former conceptualisation of citizenship has been challenged by the international economic and political changes.

Citizenship is a complicated and complex concept with multidimensional nature which can include political, economic, social and cultural notions. One of the classic concepts of citizenship was proposed after the Second Word War by Thomas Humphrey Marshall (1950) in his work *Class, Citizenship and Social Development*. As the basis for the analysis, Marshall used three perspectives: civic, political, and social. The civic part of citizenship constitutes and underlines the right for individual liberty, freedom of speech, thought and faith, and the right for justice. The last one was of special significance as it allowed to "defend and assert all one's rights on terms of equality with others and by due process of law" (p. 203). The political element of citizenship refers to the right to be part of and participate in political processes as a member with political power or an elector of such member. And the social fragment focuses on the variety of the rights from economic welfare to sharing social heritage. Marshall's citizenship theory is fundamental in understanding the concept of citizenship and its implication worldwide. Nonetheless, Marshall's concept was criticised for being "too restrictive" because it was "misleading to think of citizenship primarily in relation to class or the capitalist relations of production" (Nieminen, 1998, p. 23). As a result, the question of what citizenship includes in the new era has come to the surface. Consequently, two traditional dominant discourses on how to think about citizenship appeared: the liberal individualist and the civic republican (Halstead & Pike, 2006; Tan et al., 2018).

On the one side, scholars argue in favour of liberal tradition where more importance is given to the rights and freedom of citizens. Such approach emphasised that all citizens of the state are born fundamentally equal and each citizen should be able to live without state intrusion and control, but at the same time, citizens should have an opportunity to challenge the authorities and be actively engaged in the public actions (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). The liberal individualist tradition fails to acknowledge that the experience of citizenship is depended on the socio-historical contexts. Moreover, citizenship conceptualisation in the notions of "individual ownership of legal rights and privileges"

(Moosa-Mitha, 2005, p. 370) marginalises young people in the society and reduces their opportunities to practice citizenship. As such, liberal model of citizenship draws on "adultist" norms and "define children's rights of autonomy and equality in terms of a construction of children as "not-yet-citizens"" (Moosa-Mitha, 2005, p. 371).

On the other side, the civic republican discourse emphasises that citizenship should be interpreted as membership in the society which exercised through citizens' responsibilities and obedience (Ignatieff, 1988) and "acknowledgment by others in society of one's membership" (Moosa-Mitha, 2005, p. 370). Citizens are perceived as belonging to a community where their personal interests and benefits should come after the public welfare. In this way, participation is highlighted as a vital part of citizenship. However, within the civic republican tradition, participation is envisioned "in normative terms through particular activities that are considered as citizenry" (ibid., p. 372) whereas citizens should possess rationality and other qualities to be able to participate in those activities. Thus, this discourse also excludes young people from the citizenship processes and give them status as 'not-yet-citizens'.

It is needed to be mentioned that these conceptions of citizenship should be understood rather as sets of ideas with common structuring dimensions than "categories into which particular ideas around citizenship can be slotted neatly" (Jones & Gaventa, 2002, p. 2). In the light of the dynamic processes of globalisation and growing diversity, some changes to citizenship discourse have occurred leading to the emergence of contemporary theories and conceptualisations, for example global citizenship (Dower, N. et al., 2002), universal citizenship (Pugh, 2017), multi-layered citizenship (Yuval-Devis, 1999), cultural citizenship (Beaman, 2016), environmental citizenship (Bell & Dobson, 2006), intimate citizenship (Plummer, 2003) and so on.

According to Jones and Gaventa (2002), contemporary writings focus on conceptualising citizenship as both status with entitled rights and responsibilities as well as an active practice. Therefore, the new orientations to citizenship have included a wider range of conceptualisations that go from political and legal through to social and participatory models of citizenship (Bolzan, 2010). However, from the discussion above, it is evident that citizenship is often conceptualised in the notions of adult practice and despite of how much empirical work has been done, discourses on young people and citizenship continue to be contestable. In this process, the experience of being a young person is often perceived as "a transitional stage between 'childhood' and 'adulthood' where young people either learn about becoming adults or where they pass through certain 'rites of passage'" (France, 1998, p. 99). This means that such understandings do not take into account the social reality within which young people practice their citizenship.

3.4 Young People's Citizenship

Both classic and contemporary perspectives of citizenship do not often raise the question of young people's citizenship. While citizenship is often used in the universalist notions and as a substitute term for rights, obligations, agency, national identity and participation, the conversations of young people's citizenship "rarely take it as the sum of its parts, and far more often look only through the lens of one of these parts" (Cohen, 2005, p. 223). Furthermore, the main debate about young people's citizenship goes into the argument of whether it is appropriate for young people to take a role of active citizens, or it is better for them to go into preparation as 'future' citizens (Smith, 2015).

Scholars from sociological tradition have argued that since young people are social actors who actively affect the world around them (Prout & James, 2015), they are consequently citizens in the present and not only in the future. Yet, as Smith (2015) outlines, the dispute about "children's and young people's citizenship in relation to age,

capacity, and legislation with tensions between notions of future citizenship and current citizens" (p. 368) remains to be actual. The ideas of children's and young people's citizenship is being criticised by Roche (1999) and Stasiulis (2002). The academics turn attention to the question whether it is ethical and if children and young people are ready to have those obligations as adults. Furthermore, the question if the rights of children to play, to 'be children' and have a childhood are being ignored and depreciated.

This reproduces the idea that young people are passive recipients of socialisation and fail to acknowledge them as a part of the society. For example, the protectionists or paternal approach to young people's citizenship gives the right to adults to control the "higher level interests" which presents young people as 'not-yet-adults' (Cohen, 2005, p. 224). Young people continue to be excluded from full citizenship due to the fact that "in the modern nation-state, children and adolescents remain unequal and under-privileged vis á vis adults before the law" (Nieminen, 1998, p. 24). This means that young people's citizenship is defined through adult norms and moves them away from the public spaces to the private dimension of the family. Young people are characterized as immature and incapable to exercise citizenship and to participate in civil processes. Therefore, young people's citizenship is denied directly or indirectly as well as their civil and political rights. On the contrary, liberationists see young people being the same as adults or as having the same rights as adults. In this sense, they believe that children and young people should have an opportunity to exercise citizenship in the same way as adults. In the similar way to protectionists, young people's citizenship is again theorised in the normative way of adult practice but, liberationists overemphasise young people's agency. This also plays an exclusionary role as it fails to recognise the differences which young people have.

Nevertheless, Botha et al. (2016) argue that there is a stress on the importance for young people to be a part of, and participate in, civic life in a democratic society. Even though young people's participation in the social and civic life can be understood differently from adult involvement, young people are still "members of society and they engage and participate within it" (Smith, 2015, p. 360). Hence, young people should be understood as both 'being' and 'becoming' citizens who participate in the (re)construction of the way how citizenship being understood but yet to learn new ways of being actively engaged with the community and gain more rights in the future. Bellino (2018) highlights that young people can become 'wait-citizens' due to the fact that they delay their claims for being included in the processes of active citizenship.

In the light of the struggle as marginalised groups in the society, including children and young people, to be recognised as citizens, which would bring the recognition for the participation, entails a need to step aside from "traditional views of citizenship that view the citizen as an individual being processed within a bundle of rights, responsibilities, entitlements, duties, inclusion and exclusion" (Baraldi & Cockburn, 2018, p. 4). It can be achieved through expending the definition of citizenship "towards one that emphasises voice, difference and social justice" (ibid., p. 4).

The difference-centred approach to citizenship described by Moosa-Mitha (2005) is based on more fluid and pluralist notions. Within the different-centred approach, how citizens experience citizenship is understood in the socio-historical context with the recognition of their differences that are often ignored in the traditional models of citizenship. However, citizenship is similarly defined as "constituting membership" but inclusion is connoted in "the public culture of which one is a member" (ibid., p. 370). The sense of belonging within the difference-centred model is envisioned in the subjective willingness of citizens "to belong as a full member of the society" (ibid., p. 372) and constructed in the multiple social relationships with the acknowledgment of the differences' role.

Furthermore, as participation is seen as an important part of citizenship, the definition of participation within difference-centred theory is being reconceptualised and extended beyond "the private/public split through which it is formed" (ibid., p. 374). In this way, citizens have an opportunity to participate differently from the normative assumptions as participation acquires the meaning of one's agency expression within multiple relationships. Citizenship is understood in relational notions "where citizens occupying multiple subject positions such as class *and* gender *and* race come together in solidarity to resist a common oppression" (ibid., p. 372, emphasis in original). Wall (2011) argues that there is an advantage for children and young people in the difference-centred model which provides a space for articulation of "historical marginalization and expanding the exercise of political power to include systematically supressed differences" (p. 93). Moreover, Wall continues that it can enable the extension of power to children "not as a monolithic group" but in their multiple diversities (ibid., p. 93). Such approach can be useful to change the perception of young people as 'not-yet-citizens' and include them in citizenship participation.

3.4.1 Young People's Citizenship as Membership

Young people's citizenship can be claimed within the formal level of citizenship as it means the legal status of membership of a nation-state by the virtue of birth. Lister (2008) argues that children and young people's citizenship "may be different from adults' but that does not necessarily affect the claim to citizenship status" (p. 11). It is important to note that the meaning of young people's membership should be understood in relation to a sense of identity and a sense of belonging to a community or a nation-state. Moreover, it depends on "the relationship between individual citizens" (p. 10) where young people as members of society have their views and experiences which are influenced by their membership status within a nation-state.

Lister cites Jeremy Roche's (1999) statement that "being counted as a member of the community" can be equated with participation. This suggests that being a citizen implies participation in the citizenship community. As such, it is possible to argue that young people can claim their membership of the citizenship community "through active participation" within that community; however, "in order to be able to participate they first need to be accepted as members of the citizen-community" (ibid., p. 11).

Following this argument, young people's sense of belonging can depend on how actively they are involved in the civil processes and what possibilities they have for participation. Liebel (2008) outlines that children and young people are being engaged in various ways in social and economic processes but the problem is that their participation is not acknowledged and does not have appropriate recognition. Therefore, young people should gain representation as citizens. Wall (2011) argues that representation is not just having a voice but should empower "to assert one's own difference against others" (p. 93). This means that young people's participation should be understood in the broader way which allows young people to engage differently from the normative understanding of society. Such viewpoint can encourage acknowledgement of young people's citizenship membership and different ways of participation.

From this discussion, it can be seen that children and young people have membership of some citizenship community and as a result, they have the citizenship status in "a thin sense"; however, the recognition of children and young people as citizens in "a thicker sense of active membership" needs to be supported through their participation and engagement "as political and social actors" (Lister, 2008, p. 11). But young people's participation should not be understood in the sense of normative assumption in a private space prescribed by adults but rather as a practice in a wider community. Such

participation can be enforced through young people's citizenship rights and responsibilities.

3.4.2 Young People's Citizenship as Rights and Responsibilities

Childhood Studies have emerged simultaneously with the adoption of United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), which claims that children and young people have the rights to seek and communicate information, to express thoughts and feelings and to have these listened to and to participate in decisions that affect them. Nevertheless, children and young people are still perceived as a group with less rights than adults. Children and young people's citizenship rights are often denied on the basis of their presumed irrationality, immatureness and the need of protection and situating their rights within traditional models of citizenship with "adult-citizenship rights" (Lister, 2008, p. 12). Bolzan (2010) highlights that young people under 18 years lack the right to vote, to own property and to sign contracts. Consequently, the denial to vote probably "raises the biggest question mark over the status of children's citizenship" (Lister, 2008, p. 11) and move them from the public to the private spaces. In such situation, children and young people face the circumstances of the adult world where they are not being listed to and their rights are ignored or refused. Traditional conceptions of citizenship rights of young people therefore provide limited opportunities to participate in political action that are being recognised (Liebel, 2008, p. 38).

However, the recognition of young people as citizen is not about imposing adult citizenship rights on them but rather to find an alternative conceptualisation which acknowledge young people as citizen. Children and young people's rights should be redefined in relational terms "that addresses their agency and acknowledges their presence as participating subjects in the multiple relationships in which they interact" (Moosa-Mitha, 2005, p. 369). Cutler and Frost (2001 as cited in Lister, 2008) argue that it is important to recognise the importance of participatory rights for children and young people. The recognition of the right of young people to participate in informal politics can be useful for the understanding of young people's citizenship as social action. The involvement in public decision-making perhaps have more importance for young people as it allows to exercise their citizenship rights in a different way from the normative understandings. Moreover, the right of young people "not to participate must also be respected" (p. 17) and the idea of participation as citizen responsibility should not be exposed on young people.

In the discussion about children and young people's citizenship, both theoretical and empirical approaches tend to focus more on how the notions of rights are important for participation of young people in civil processes. However, it fails to acknowledge young people's citizenship responsibilities. In similar way to the rights, children and young people's responsibilities are often reduced to the private space of the family. It fails to recognise what responsibilities young people undertake in a wider public area. Young people acquire certain responsibilities by participating in their community (not to confuse with participation as responsibility); however, "young people's involvement in social responsibilities can be, and is, undervalued" (France, 1998, p. 102). In this sense, citizenship responsibilities, similarly to the rights, are exercised through participation in the civil processes and there is little attention given to such participation. It is not to suggest that children and young people should have the same range of responsibilities as adults but rather "the responsibilities they do exercise should be recognized" (Lister, 2008, p. 17).

France (1998) outlines that the way how rights and responsibilities are related to each other is an essential element of active social participation. It is important to recognise

that young people's citizenship should be conceptualised in the notion of a relationship between rights and responsibilities. Additionally, France (1998) shows this relationship in the way that the lack of young people's citizenship rights (or opportunities to exercise them) "can influence the young's willingness to undertake certain social responsibilities" (p. 101). Therefore, conceptualisation of young people's rights and obligations outside of traditional citizenship models can be useful to create space for young people's participation and recognition of their citizenship status.

3.5 'Good Citizenry'

Notions of what is meant to be a 'good citizen' is extremely contestable. It is important to understand what the notions of a good citizen are as they occupy a significant part in political discourse (Pykett et al., 2010). One of the first who turned to and influenced the theoretical understandings of what it means to be a good citizen was the Greek philosopher Aristotle. In *The Politics*, he outlined the distinction between the good citizen and the good person (Jowett & Davis, 1920). His argument was constructed on that the virtues of the good citizen depended on the state and form of government which the person is a member of. At the same time, the virtue of the good person does not depend on the state as a good person but on the one who poses prudence which is considered by Aristotle as perfect virtue which all other moral virtues are based on. Thus, what is required of the good person and of the good citizen is different.

Further, he emphasised that the virtues of the good citizen were determined by the political system and could be changed with the political regime. In other words, to be the good citizen will not necessarily require the virtues of the good person. For example, in a tyrannical regime the good citizen should support the regime and should not possess qualities which are required for a good person, which is in this case to speak out against the regime. The philosopher continues with the argument that the state should be oriented for the common good by providing the settings where citizens will prosper. It is therefore reserved that the good rulers should be both a good citizen and a good person (ibid.). Nevertheless, for Aristotle, the aim is the coincidence of the virtues of the good citizen and the good person in order to make the state flourishing (Develin, 1973).

Such distinction between a good citizen and a good person produces different views on what good citizenship stands for and what 'good' refers to – a 'good' civil society or a 'good' nation-state? As such, the term 'a good citizen' should be discussed in relation to the specific setting and culture (Pykett et al., 2010).

In the contemporary debates, a noticeable part of the discussions of citizenship tends to focus on the civic and political sides of the concept and, to some extent, there is a disconnection of it from the moral virtues (Janmaat & Piattoeva, 2007). Dunne (2006) highlights that people became depoliticised with a greater interest in their private interests which led to reducing the citizen to the consumer, the lobbyist or the spectator who vote in the best case. Therefore, some academics have argued for the interrelatedness between citizenship and morality. In *Citizenship and Moral Education: Values in Action,* Halstead and Pike (2006) challenge the civic approach and examine the correlation between citizenship and morality which forces us to reconsider the importance of moral values in the concept of citizenship.

Ozolins (2010) outlines that an "indication of a private comprehensive moral system will lead to good citizens because it will develop good persons" (p. 414). On the contrary, according to Tan et al. (2018), before identifying the features of a good citizen, it is essential to identify what values are perceived to be important for the state or the society. The context is central in understanding the notions of a good citizen. For example, a good citizen within the liberal model would be someone who respects rights and

freedoms while in the civil republican tradition, a good citizen would be someone who is oriented towards common good. Therefore, the notions of a good citizen are co-constructed and exist as a result of relationship between different actors that enact good citizenship. Pykett et al. (2010) outline that the types of actors are 'elite' (governments, other public agencies, NGOs, corporations and academics) and 'ordinary' (citizens, society). The 'elite' actors most often define the public frames of good citizenship which 'ordinary' citizens perform.

Despite what values – moral or state – should be taken into consideration when talking about 'a good citizen', both of them share one similarity, namely that the term 'a good citizen' often refers to someone who participates in the community. Pykett et al. (2010) highlight that "the figure of the 'good citizen' emerges when the primary focus is on acts of citizenship" (p. 525). The researchers continue in explaining that the acts are rather embedded in the ordinary 'acts-in-context' and are framed as virtues without making a clear distinction. The participation in this sense should range from the conventional formal understandings (voting, involvement in politics) to the broader informal meanings (volunteering, take care of others).

The context, values and actions are the three elements which the concept of a good citizen is based on (Gudjohnsen, 2016). The context defines the aims of good citizenship, the values show what qualities are important for a good citizen, the actions outlines what a good citizen does, should do or forced to do. It is important to note that the three elements should not be understood as separate but rather as related to each other. The context establishes certain moral qualities and values which in turn influence our interpretations of the contexts in which the citizen acts (Pykett et al., 2010).

3.6 Review of Related Literature of the Study

There has been more research done on the understandings of young people's citizenship and young people's experiences in Western countries. For example, the study of Lister's et al. (2003) and Smith's et al. (2005) investigate the understandings of everyday citizenship among young people in Britain and Miller-Idriss (2006) explores a similar topic in Germany. It is demonstrated that young people in both countries perceive citizenship as a fluid concept which can have contradictory meanings. Moreover, the findings reveal that everyday meanings can have both inclusionary and exclusionary implications. France (1998) turns his attention to the interrelatedness between young people's citizenship and rights and responsibilities, and he suggests that "certain rights are essential if the social participation and active citizenship of the young are to be increased" (p. 97). Walsh et al. (2018), drawing from Arvanitakis framework of influence, reach a conclusion that a good young citizen for young people in Australia is not only engaged but also, he or she should be empowered.

However, there is less research on young people's citizenship in post-Soviet territory. One research conducted by Krupets et al. (2018) focused on the everyday meanings of citizenship for young people in the neighbouring Russia, which shares a similar historical context. The findings showed that real experience of citizenship of young people differed from the country's citizenship discourse or their perceptions of an ideal citizenship. The researchers concluded that "everyday meanings are multiple and can both coincide and diverge from theoretical and political concepts" (ibid., p. 255). The main similarity between mentioned above research is that they call for more inclusive view of citizenship within which young people's citizenship and their status as citizens can be acknowledged.

Ukrainians scholars mostly focus on how young people perceive national identity and national boundaries. In his comparative study, Tartakovsky (2011) explores how

national identity and attitudes towards the country of high-school adolescents in Russia and Ukraine are affected by socio-economic changes during the period of post-Perestroika (the period after the collapse of the USSR). The results revealed that there was a positive change in "the individual's feelings of fondness and pride" (p. 237) towards country with the improvements of economic situation over the years, but it did not affect the identification with the nation. Fournier (2018) investigates how a potential 'frozen conflict' and territorial indeterminacy affect the ideas of territoriality among young Ukrainian citizens. She concludes that some participants expressed that they might be ready to surrender the disputed regions of Donetsk and Luhansk, but the fear goes into the possibility that Russian intrusion will go beyond these areas. Moreover, young people, who use Ukrainian or Russian as languages of communication, showed that they identify themselves with Ukraine.

In the study exploring Ukrainian adolescents' aspiration for personal, local and global future, Nikolayenko (2011) finds that young people in Ukraine are more concerned with local politics compared to their peers in "mature democracies" (p. 64). Similarly, Tereshchenko (2010), who investigated how Ukrainian youth from two contrasting regions engaged with politics, debates that even though young people are more concerned with macro-political scale, they are more likely to be involved at the micro-level of locality. Moreover, the participants preferred the models of citizenship where participation and active engagement is in the centre. However, Duik (2013) argues that young people have a lack of knowledge on how to engage with political institutions. According to the researcher, even though youth is seen as an "agent for change" and young people were "a catalyst for mass street protests" (p. 181) in Ukraine, the post-soviet generation was unsuccessful in gaining political power. She continues that young people in Ukraine do not have a complete knowledge of what democracy is and how it works; thus, they are often ready to give up their civic rights and freedoms to the state in favour of personal wealth. Young people in Ukraine are being politically marginalized, but they have created alternative forms of civic and political participation, for example through Internet which entered many spheres of lifestyle.

Another focus of young people's citizenship research is placed on citizenship education. Researchers investigate how children and young people acquire knowledge about citizenship. Koshamnova (2006) examines how both teachers and students understand civic education. The results showed that teachers' beliefs were strongly embedded in patriotic citizenship education, while the students expressed willingness for more democratic citizenship education. The researcher argues that there is a need for multicultural educational policy and a change in teaching techniques to enhance social inclusion.

Research on young people's citizenship in Ukraine is often done from traditional citizenship discourses with attention on how young people engage and participate in civil, political processes or focus on the factors which influence the national identification of young people. However, with the emergence of new citizenship discourse in Ukraine from patriotic citizenship to democratic in the beginning of XXI century, there has been done little research and it remains underexplored how young people perceive and experience the concept of citizenship and the concept of a good citizen. This change in Ukrainian citizenship discourse influenced the aim to explore perspectives and practices of young people of citizenship in contemporary Ukraine. Thus, the expertise, theories, reflections, and contributions of the existing literature helped to inform, direct and shape this master project. It provided a background for developing research topic and questions as well as designing the research strategy and the analytic basis.

Chapter 4. Research Methodology

The methodology in a research project influences all its stages at various levels, it is a necessary process to carry out an investigation and it develops from a particular discourse and from diverse perspectives (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011, p. 97). Thus, it is important to note that the methodological framework comes together with epistemological standpoints and the choice of methods. The methodological approach of this research project is informed by the philosophical views of constructivism within the theoretical field of Childhood Studies. In this case, childhood is regarded as a social construction and an emphasis is placed on the life experiences of young people that are worth to be studied on their own.

For the consistency and the reliability of the generated data, Miller and Brewer (2003) highlight the significance of selecting appropriate methods to the methodological framework. Prout and James (2015) argue that ethnography is an appropriate methodology to research young people's views and cultures. However, ethnography is a research of longitudinal nature and requires an extensive timeframe to spend with the participants. Consequently, due to the nature of this research project and time limitations, it was not possible to conduct an ethnography, so the methodological approach of this project is a qualitative case study influenced by ethnographic perspectives. Within such framework, it is needed to understand that generalisation of the findings is limited to the specific context. I acknowledge that the same research project implemented in a different context could generate different findings.

This chapter will comprise the sections where the process of generate data will be explained. Initially, the research design, including my view on the young people's role and participation in the research, and pre-phase of fieldwork will be highlighted to provide an idea of the initial stage of the research process. This will be followed by examining the data collection process where I will introduce the methods used to conduct the study, their justification and how I worked with them. Then, I will proceed with handling the data process by presenting my reflections on the transcription and the stage of analysis. Finally, the ethical foundations which have influenced the whole research project and process will be outlined.
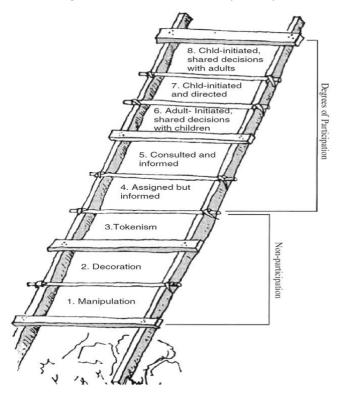
4.1 Research Design

Despite the fact of adoption of the UNCRC in 1989 where children and young people are portraited as active members of social life who possess rights, young people are still often associated as future becomings or as troublemakers (Walsh et al., 2018). However, within Childhood Studies, children and young people are understood as agents who affect and are affected by the political, economic, social and cultural processes around them; thus, constructing different kinds of childhoods. It is acknowledged that children's and young people's lives are worth of researching on their own, and since adults are the ones who conduct research, it is crucial to acknowledge the power relationships. Cassidy et al. (2019) argue that if the rights are placed in the centre of the research with young people, it is possible that it will enable a shift in the balance of power. Therefore, young people will be perceived as rights holders with occasion to exercise their voice and decent amount of attention paid to what they say. This research project is influenced by the right-based approach to young people's participation in order to assure that their opinions and understandings are taken seriously.

Woodhead and Faulkner (2008) highlight that young people can be seen as subjects, objects or participants in the research process. The approaches of seeing young people as a subject or object have dominated in the scientific research tradition until

recently. Young people as participants in the research process and doing research *with* them rather than *on* them is a relatively new approach which was developed with the emergence of Childhood Studies. This approach raises a question of the ways of carrying out the research process with young people, and this affects the research project in all stages: design, methods, ethics, participation and analysis (Punch, 2002). Furthermore, the debates regarding whether young people should be treated just the same or completely different from adults in the research process continues among scholars. In this research project, young people are perceived as participants who are similar to adults but who have different experiences (Punch, 2002). This approach has influenced the choice of the methods; thus, when deciding on the methods/methodology for the research project, I took young people's skills and competencies into consideration.

Furthermore, there are numerous debates about the extent to which children and young people can participate in the research process with a different degree of adults' control. Hart (1992) presents a ladder of participation with eight ways of seeing children and young people's participation. (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Hart's ladder of participation

It is evident that the first three levels (manipulation, decoration and tokenism) are models of "non-participation" where projects are completely designed and coordinated by adults, and young people act in roles set by adults (Hart, 1992). The next levels (from 4 to 8) present different degrees of participation. The level 4 is the lowest level of participation and means that children and young people participate on voluntary basis, their views are respected but adults make decision on the project. The level 8 has the highest degree of participation where children and young people have the leading position in the project and invite adults to be involved (Wong et al., 2010). This research project can be situated on the 5th degree of participation because it was adult-initiated but the decisions were consulted with young people and their opinions were taken seriously. In addition, reflexivity is a vital aspect when researching with young people. It is important to be reflexive not only about the role of the researcher and what assumptions researcher possesses, but also on the methods used to collect data and their application (Punch, 2002).

4.1.1 Fieldwork Site

As the research project has a focus on the young people's perceptions on citizenship in Ukraine, I have considered two options for where to carry out the research. The first option was to conduct the fieldwork in the school setting, and the second option was to contact different organisations where young people participate. However, the access to the school site could be more challenging than that of an organisation. The first variant I considered

as a more appropriate place to get in contact with the potential participants. The formal schooling is compulsory in Ukraine from the age of 6-7 to 16-17 years old and the school setting provides more diversity as some of the students can be involved in activism (e.g., in student organisations, school parliament), while other students are not.

The fieldwork was conducted in my home country, and it was carried out in my native languages. I recognise that doing research 'at home' can have both advantages and disadvantages. As for the advantages, Unwin (2006) suggests that doing research in a known social and cultural context can provide the researcher with an opportunity of being more aware about which areas the research is needed. Moreover, it allows to work more efficiently without spending time on arranging living conditions as well as to spread the time period of research. Moreover, doing the research in the motherland means that the native language will be used to communicate with the participants. Even though Ukraine has Ukrainian as its only one official language, due to historical events, Ukraine became a bilingual country. Both Ukrainian and Russian languages are widely used in the country. So, I carried out research in the two native languages. There was one exception where one group asked me to conduct the group interviews in English.

Working in the native languages provided me with an opportunity to achieve a sophisticated understanding of the participants in the complex nuances during the group interviews and data analysis (Unwin, 2006). However, being an 'insider' provides not only advantages, but also limitations to the research, such as taken-for-granted knowledge of the society and culture on which an 'outsider' can deliver their external perceptions (Unwin, 2006). But the role of the researcher is always negotiated, and this limitation was partially addressed by the fact that I live and study abroad; thus, the impact of living outside of Ukraine as well as I was unfamiliar with the research site and participants helped me to perceive some situations as an 'outsider'.

4.1.2 Fieldwork Access

Bureaucratic processes of gaining physical access to the fieldwork site was a challenging process and some of the gatekeepers seemed to think of me as a potential danger to them and the students. Prior to contacting the schools, I tried to find information about the process of entering to the fieldwork site, but there was limited information on the issue and no official procedure. Therefore, my first step was, at the end of August 2019, to contact by phone Holosiivo district department of education in Kyiv to gain information on the legal procedure of researching in school settings. The choice of the district was influenced by the proximity of my living location and familiarity with the district. I explained to the head of the department who I was and what my research was about. The answer was that the department has no rights to force any school to give me access to the institution, but she would contact few schools and contact me back. In two days, I received a call from the head of the department, and she gave me a phone number of one of the school deputy directors. When I contacted the person, I explained the research project, its objectives and aims as well as the methods I intend to use and the duration of the research to her. First of all, she suggested to me to avoid the word 'research' as it has negative perception among Ukrainians. Thus, further I have been using word 'project' when talking about the research. Then she said to me that she would talk to the principal and call me back within two days. Even though the deputy director was positive, the principal rejected the invitation without further explanation.

The next step was again to contact the head of the educational department in Holosiivo district to ask for another school suggestion. The head of the department suggested another school and said that I should contact the educational department of Kyiv for information of how to get access to school. The head of the department of

education of Kyiv informed that they do not provide such services and redirected me to the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine. When I contacted that institution, they explained that the access to the school can only be allowed by the school's principal. I thus decided to try another school suggested by the head of the district department. Simultaneously, I started to explore my social network for access to a fieldwork site. Within a week, I got two appointments with two principals.

The first school is a public school that is located in the centre of one of the districts of Kyiv with easy access of the public transportation. The specific of the school is that it focuses on an intensive learning of foreign languages curricula. It provides education from level I to level III[4] to the students who live in Kyiv. The second school has an intensive military and physical education. It is situated in the remote district and offers education of level III only. The school has a special procedure for acceptance new students and provides financial benefits such as, stipend, free meals and uniform. Both principals agreed to give me access. Even though the initial plan was to do research in one school, I found this situation as a good opportunity to get richer empirical data as they had different specialisations, therefore I have decided to do fieldwork in both institutions. However, due to a small sample, I will not do a comparative study between the schools, thus all participants are treated equally in the analysis.

4.1.3 Sampling

The research project focuses on young Ukrainians and the choice of the participant representation was influenced by few factors. Young Ukrainians have had leading positions during three protests which Ukraine witnessed since gaining independence in 1991 but as Diuk (2013) outlines, young people have failed to acquire political power because of partial understanding of their rights and democracy and the way they work. The interest fell on the young people who reached the final grade (11th) within Ukrainian secondary level of education system; thus, they are between 16 and 18 years old. However, the research project concentrates rather on the situational context than on the age frame with shifting "attention away from 'being' to 'doing'" (Solberg, 1996, p. 54). Young people get their Ukrainian internal citizen passports at the age of 16; however, with receiving this document young people gain limited rights and responsibilities. The right to participate in civil and social life, such as to vote, to leave country without parents' permission, organise meetings, and form public associations comes at the age of 18.

Prior to start the fieldwork, I defined the target population, sampling technique and number which would the best way fit the research project. As the research project focuses on young people who reached the final grade and possess internal citizen passport of Ukraine, such variables as gender were not taken into account and random sampling on voluntary basis was used as the sampling technique for this research. Initially, the sample size supposed to be between 15 and 25 students which would be combined into 3-5 groups for the group interviews. However, since participation was voluntary, the total number of participants reached 38 students: 14 students showed interest to participate in the research immediately after presentation of the project, and later on 24 additional students agreed to participate in the group interviews (see discussion in sub-section 4.4.1). It is interesting to note that in the second school, the class did not have any female students; thus, there were only male participants in the sample. Below, the table 2 presents a number of participants with age, gender and school affiliation.

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4 Level I – Primary, students from 6/7 to 9/10 years old; Level II – Secondary (base), students from 10/11 to 14/15 years old; Level III – Secondary (last), students from 15/16 to 17/18 years old.

Table 2. Research sample

	The number of participants	Age of 16	Age of 17	Male	Female
The first school	26	24	2	10	16
The second school	12	9	3	12	-
Total	38	33	5	22	16

When the fieldwork site and the selection of participants were defined, I could proceed with the next steps of building rapport with the participants and the gatekeepers.

4.1.4 Building Rapport

It is equally important to establish relationships with both the young people and the teachers. Corsaro and Molinari (2008) highlight that if the teachers are willing to cooperate with the researchers, the process and outcomes tend to be more fruitful compared to situations where the researcher is perceived as a potential risk. In my case, the teachers were more aware of my presence at the beginning of the fieldwork and seemed to feel a certain pressure. However, Ukrainian universities often have agreements with the schools to send their psychology or pedagogy students for so called 'practice', and the teachers have a choice to allow them to be present at the lessons or not. Even though I had a permission from the schools' principal to join the classes, I decided to follow the practice and in the beginning of each lesson, I approached teachers and ask for a permission to join the classes and in the most occasions, the teachers agreed.

Corsaro and Molinari (2008) argue that to gain the acceptance by the young people is especially difficult due to the obvious differences between adults and children. However, my physical size, appearance and style played rather a positive role for me as I looked similar to the students. Moreover, the tradition that university students come for practice has helped me to be seen rather as an older student than a teacher. From the beginning when I was brought to the classroom at both educational institutions by the head teachers, I was not introduced to the young people as well as my presence was not explained. The head teachers told me that I would have time to present myself and my project in three days on the particular lessons. However, some of the students were interested in the new person in the class and initiated the first contact (see Christensen, 2004). The students showed interest in me by asking who I was and what I was doing in their classroom. I tried to answer questions in a way which it could allow me to continue the conversation in order to start establishing relationships. When introducing myself, I explained that they can address me by the informal form of 'you' and without patronymic5. Despite this, the majority of the students kept calling me by the formal form of 'you' but without patronymic. However, calling me that way is rather a tradition to address someone who they do not know rather than someone who is older. Within a week, some students could carry on their conversations freely around me, and only occasionally making each other comments when someone says 'bad' words which are not supposed to be said in front of adults.

After the phase of entering the field and establishing rapport with the students and the teachers, it was possible to proceed to the next stage of the research process of collecting the empirical data.

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5 Patronymic is a part of full name in Ukraine and obligatory in formal speech to call a person in respectful manner.

4.2 Methods of Data Collection

As it was discussed above, the methodological framework has influenced the choice of the research methods. To gather empirical data for this research project, I used group interviews as the method which could allow me to acquire deep understanding of young people's perceptions. Brannen (2005) argues that triangulation of data may provide deeper insight on the research topic, group interviews were complemented by mapping and participant observation to crosscheck the information. In the following section, I will provide an account on the methods I used, the justification of their choice and some challenges of using these methods.

4.2.1 Group Interviews

The central method of gathering information to address the research questions was group interviews with the students who showed the interest to participate. The preference was given to this method because during interviews, participants can express their experiences and interpretations of the world in which they live while the interviewer has a possibility to explore complex and deep issues (Cohen et al., 2017). However, I acknowledge that the group interviews are predisposed to interviewer bias, have difficulties with anonymity and the answers of the participants may be influenced by other participants.

In this research project, the participants were divided into groups of 3 to 5 people per group. Each participant should take part in two group interviews devoted to two main research questions. However, three participants decided not to continue to and two participants did not participate due to health condition in the second group interview. The participants were mixed for each group interview and the group formation depended on several factors, such as presence and availability of the students, and participants' preferences with whom to be in a group. The group interviews were held during school time and the duration was from 20 to 45 minutes each. The total number of the group interviews is 15 where 8 group interviews were about the concept of citizenship and another 7 devoted to what it means to be a good citizen.

There are different types of interview's structure and it depends on the source. Brinkmann and Kvale (2014) propose three interview sequence: structured, semi-structure and unstructured. For this study, I have chosen a semi-structured approach for the group interviews to access perceptions of young people and to identify trends and patterns on their understanding of citizenship (Krueger & Casey, 2009). Moreover, it allows to obtain clarification on the given topic and questions through prompts and probes (Cohen et al., 2017). Additionally, during group interviews, the research process gets a chance that new data can emerge.

As the researcher introduces and regulates the process, it is important to address adult-child relationships and negotiate the power relations during the research interview (Cohen et al., 2017). Houssart & Evens (2011) argue that group interviews give an opportunity for young people to interact in ways in which is unlikely to happen on adult-child interviews by challenging or extending each other ideas and using the language which they normally use. Furthermore, "interviewing a group of children together can equalize more the power differentials between interviewer and children" (p. 65). Since the group interviews were in the school settings, there was a risk that the participants could try to give 'correct' or socially desirable answers rather what they think (Punch, 2002); thus, group interviews create an environment which inspires communication in the group rather than just responding to the questions of the interviewer. Also, during the group interviews, I served some refreshments to help students to feel that they are in a more relaxed situation and do not see the group interview as a lesson, a test or an exam as it was sometimes presented to them by the teachers (I explicitly rejected this idea throughout

the fieldwork and explained to the participants that we have a conversation about their understandings and experiences). Besides, the group interviews were held during different times of the school day, hence students could be hungry and feel uncomfortable during the process.

4.2.2 Mapping

It is important to combine methods and activities in the group interview to ensure that young people have time to think. For this research project, I used mapping method as a supplement method to the group interviews. During the second group discussion, the participants were given two sets of paper sheets. The first paper sheet consisted the rights and the responsibilities from the Constitution of Ukraine (Appendix – G) in order to mark the most important rights and responsibilities. The activity was followed by the discussion where the participants were explaining why they chose those rights and responsibility and how they relate to the concept of citizenship. On the second paper sheet, there was a list of the qualities which a good citizen could have with a free space in the bottom where the participants could add the qualities if they have not found them in the list (Appendix – F). I proposed the participants to choose 10 qualities which they consider crucial for a person to be a good citizen. However, the participants could choose more or less than 10 qualities. Afterwards, we discussed why the choice fell on those qualities, and it would be followed by another set of questions about what it means and how to be a good citizen.

The challenge I faced while using mapping method was the fact that young people could take too much time on choosing their answers. However, the time for each session was limited by the length of one lesson after which students had to go back to class. At the same time, I did not want to rush them, and I felt that I needed to give them time to think as much as they needed. To address this issue, I asked the participants how much time they needed and if they would not finish by that time, they could elaborate during the discussion.

4.2.3 Participant Observation

The method of participant observation was carried for three weeks prior the group interviews to deliver information about the context and routine of the educational institutions and during the four-week period of the group interviews to provide "a reality check" (Cohen, 2017, p. 542). Moreover, Corsaro and Molinari (2008) clarify that for the students and the researcher to become familiar with each other and develop a deeper connection, they need to spend time together. Therefore, the time spent with the classes during participant observation was used to get familiar with the context, establish rapport and give students time to get comfortable with me and my presence as well as understand who I am, why I am asking them to participate in the project and how that would affect them.

Cohen et al. (2017) argue that observations unavoidably depend on the attention abilities of the researcher, hence this method is selective. I used field notes to record the observational data (Appendix – E), and I focused on the facts (e.g., the physical settings and objects in them, the number and the sequence of events, how many students attend classes), events (i. e., activities, the interaction between teachers and students, and between students and students, the off-task conversations), and behaviour (acts and feelings of students, the cooperation between them). Moreover, observation gave an opportunity to transfer from group interview perception-based data to approach special knowledge as the observational data was less predictable; therefore, it helped to observe the interaction in the social settings which supplemented the data of the group interviews and mapping. Therefore, in the field notes, I recorded factors which could affect the group

interviews and the data collected on them. Although, I observed uncontestable facts, it is recognised that they immediately became "the researcher's interpretation and judgment of situations" (Cohen at al., 2017, p. 542); thus, it is vital to tackle this issue and be reflexive. Consequently, I had a diary of field experience which I would write after each day of fieldwork where I could reflect on how I felt, what has been observed during that day as well as the difficulties and issues which could arise. Both field notes and filed diary helped me to analyse the data collected by means of other methods more efficiently.

4.3 Data Handling

Every research project includes the process of the data handling and there are numerous ways how to approach it. In this research project, the data was handled by transcribing the recordings of the group interviews and the analysis of generated data. In this way, it was possible to identify similarities and differences in the participants' perceptions. Moreover, in handling qualitative data, it is important to establish qualitative rigour to confirm the reliance and the quality of the results.

4.3.1 Transcription Process

Transcribing is a crucial stage of the research process. As Cohen et al. (2017) argue "there is the potential for massive data loss, distortion and the reduction of complexity" (p. 523) and the loss of data is inevitable due to the fact that oral and interpersonal set of rules is translated into written language. During the group interviews, I used tape recording to keep spoken information, and the transcription process took place after the fieldwork. Nonetheless, during the fieldwork, I listened to the recordings to reflect on the ways of how questions were asked and how students answered. When I was transcribing the group discussions, to keep partially contextual aspects, I made comments about visual and non-verbal elements that I have written during and after the group interviews as well as those that I could remember when listing to the recordings.

Even though this process was time consuming, the transcripts were more detailed than if someone else would have done transcribing (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). Another advantage of transcribing by myself is that it caused the initial analysis of the empirical data. The transcription records were kept in original languages (Ukrainian and Russian) for the initial analysis process to avoid the loss of information in translation. For the final stage of analysis and the writing up stage, the part of the transcriptions was translated into English with trying to keep as close as I could to the meaning in the original language as the literal translation was not possible without losing much of the details.

4.3.2 Analysis

The next stage of the research process was analysing the data. This step is essential for the research process and plays a vital role in it. Analysis happens not only when empirical data has been collected but throughout the whole research process. Initial analysis was made during all stages of the research project – from designing, where I thought about analytical strategy, to the stage of writing up the results. As the research is focused on how young people perceive and understand the concept of citizenship, qualitative framework is more appropriate for the analysis process "to derive meaning from research data" (Thomas & Hodges, 2013, p. 22) as well as this approach allows to reflect deeper on my role as a researcher while conducting data and producing research results.

Saldaña (2013) highlights that there are two cycles of coding. I began the first cycle coding by preparing raw data for the analysis by doing an overview of empirical material and reading transcripts of the group interviews and observational field notes to detect emerging patterns in order to generate analytical categories in the collected data

(Pope et al., 2000). All the transcripts have been printed out in multiple copies for the convenience to manipulate the data physically. This also helped to make the reoccurring themes to be more noticeable. In this way, I was able to decrease the amount of the data by classifying useful information from unsuitable. Based on this, I started the second cycling process of coding and organising the data in order to develop categories and their interpretations, and how they interconnect with the theoretical concepts which could provide deeper understanding of the empirical material (Saldaña, 2013). To support my interpretations, I underlined the most illustrative quotes that could be used later in the report.

4.3.3 Qualitative Rigour

Researchers of qualitative tradition frequently dispute about qualitative rigour which makes it one of the most problematic concepts. Thomas and Magilvy (2011) outline that qualitative rigour should assure consistency of the research project which provides reliance on the results. In this way, rigour brings the details of the research for the purpose of replicating a study with a different research sample (p. 151). Lincoln and Guba (1985) presented the model of trustworthiness or qualitative rigour which depends on credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (cited in Morse, 2015).

Establishing credibility of this research project was done through examining "the representativeness of the data as a whole" (Thonas & Magilvy, 2011, p. 152) and using different methods to validate and crosscheck the data. It shows that the results are more reliable in the way that the participants' views and perceptions with the acquired knowledge and experience in both educational institutions were similar and consistent. Therefore, transferability is expected in the sense that if this research design is implemented for conducting data at various settings with different participants, the findings should be close to the findings of this research project. However, it is important to acknowledge that the findings will not be the same as well as that findings cannot be generalised because this is a micro-scale research design. Moreover, by presenting exhaustive description of the research design and process within thesis limits, I intended to establish dependability for this research project. And as it was mentioned above, by having a self-critical attitude, in different ways, I reflect on my part as a researcher and how my biases and assumptions affect the research; thus, it allows to develop confirmability of the research.

4.4 Ethical Issues

Any researcher who plan a research project which will involve people has ethical responsibility and needs to be prepared to address ethical issues. Punch (2002) outlines that ethical challenges frequently perceived as "the central difference between research with children and research with adults" (p. 323). Mayne and Howitt (2018) argue that to ensure that children's rights are upheld, it is important to recognise what moral questions should be tackled when designing a research project and what consequences it can have when research report disseminated. For this research, the ethics of the study follow the UNCRC ethical code that states that young people are active agents of their lives and as participants should be seen as subjects with rights to participate in the research process and to have voice (Beazley et al., 2009). Therefore, to assure that the research will not do harm to the participants at any stage (Morrow, 2009) following precautions were taken care of – informed consent and confidentiality. Moreover, prior to start the fieldwork and collect the empirical data, I have acquired ethical clarification and approval from Norwegian Centre for Research Data to carry out the research project.

4.4.1 Informed Consent

Brinkmann and Kvale (2014) outline that the informed consent is a central part for the ethical research. In this way, the participants can have a clear idea about the research project, their role in it and the following use for the potential reports.

The students who were willing to participate in the research project signed the consent form (Appendix – B). The informed consent was collected through presentation. I explained to the students the main points of the research project and highlighted that the participation is voluntary and that no one could force to participate if they did not want and that they could stop their participation at any time before data anonymised. After the students listened to the presentation, I handed out the information letter (attached Appendix) where the information was repeated in the written form and the students were given time to read it. Then, we had a question and answer session during which the students could ask questions or clarify about the research. Since all the students, except one, have turned 16 years old and legally could make the decision by themselves, the informed consent from parents was not required. Thus, the students could make decision right after the activities mentioned above, but also, I gave students an option to give back a signed informed consent within two weeks, so they could have time to consider if they want to participate. Occasionally I reminded students to return the consent if they want to participate, but at the same time, I was making sure that they are not forced to participate. The students were quite honest about their views on the participation, they were telling me directly if they were not interested in participation without explaining the reason. As a result, 14 students have signed the informed consent right after the activities of the presentation, and 24 students have brought the consent form with the signature during the next two weeks. Among these 24 students, 7 were those who were absent at the school on the day of the presentation and decided to participate when I explained the research project to them individually when they came to the school.

4.4.2 Confidentiality

Confidentiality is another tool to address ethical issue of participants' privacy and safety by providing fictious names or changing some characteristics of those who participated and the educational institutions when writing up and present the results. Brinkmann and Kvale (2014) point out the importance of "altering the form of the information without making major changes of meaning" (p. 306). But at the same time, confidentiality should be in a way that it would not be possible to identify the actual person or the institution.

For my master thesis, the initial idea was to anonymise participants by using fictious names that they created for themselves. There were those who did not want to be anonymous subjects and said that I could use their real names because I study in Norway and no one cares about them there. I explained and clarified to them more that using real names is a big responsibility as the results of the research project can be translated and published in Ukraine at some point and then unexpected consequences can appear. Then to confirm their decision, I asked them again if they still wanted to use their real names, the participants told me that they changed their minds and preferred to use fictious names. However, during the data handing process, I noticed that some fictious names coincide with the participants' real names; thus, I decided that it would be safer to assign a participant and a group interview numbers. For example, Participant 1 (Group Interview 1). For more convenience, in this master thesis, I used abbreviation P1(GI1).

Another important consideration is how and where to store the gathered data. The loss of the collected data can be a reason of potential troubles and danger for the participants if the names have not been anonymised yet as well as it can trigger some issues for the researcher. Therefore, to keep the right of participants' privacy, the collected

data has been stowed at my laptop with a password which is known only to me. The recordings of the group interviews were saved on the laptop as soon as it was possible, and the field notes are stored at the drawer with a lock and only I have access to it. While transcribing, I replaced real names with the fictious ones, thus when the transcripts were printed out, it was unlikely to identify participants, however I keep transcripts at the same drawer with the field notes.

Chapter 5. The Concept of Citizenship

The debates about the concept of citizenship have been going on for a long time among academics and scientists, but there is a limited understanding what citizenship means to citizens themselves. After gathering information for this research project, for young Ukrainians, despite the fact that they have a notion of what it entails, citizenship appears to be an unfamiliar concept as it is rarely being discussed among young people in their everyday life. But it is worth to notice that young participants voluntary engaged in the group interviews and some of them showed a great amount of interest and enthusiasm in the topic.

By conducting group interviews and using mapping techniques as methods, young people had an opportunity to express their perceptions about the concept of citizenship and how they experience it. Through the analysis of young people's declarations and interpretations, it was possible to show young people's views and the ways how they experience citizenship. Analysing of the generated data revealed that young people understand and experience citizenship in various ways which sometimes contradicted each other. However, it was possible to identify the most prominent themes that emerged during the group interviews about the concept of citizenship.

The way young people argued and made statements showed their knowledge about citizenship and how they exercised this knowledge. The analysis shows that participants refer to their understanding of citizenship as membership status of a country and as a sort of social contract between the country and the people. Before proceeding to the subchapters, it is important to keep in mind that the personal background of each interviewee may produce several perceptions and various lived experiences of citizenship for the young individual (Krupets et al., 2017).

5.1 Citizenship as Membership

Young people's citizenship status is an important but contestable question which influences how young people are perceived and positioned in the society. Young people are often marginalised as members of citizenship community through conceptualisation of citizenship in the traditional models that dominate in a country and portray young people as 'not-yet-citizens' or future citizens. Smith (2015) argues that such perception on young people can cause that children and young people can become disconnected from the society that affects their identification and a sense of belonging. As such, children and young people should be recognised as citizens of a nation-state who are different but not inferior to adult citizens. This part of the analysis is devoted to how young people explain citizenship in relation to the notion of membership of a nation-state through possession of legal status and a feeling of belonging to a certain community.

5.1.2 Legal Status as Belonging to a Place

Young people often subscribed to the idea of citizenship as a legal status which a person possesses in a particular nation-state. The first reaction of young people when they were asked during interviews "What is citizenship?" was that citizenship is a place of residence of a person. They often considered that citizenship status can be claimed by birth in a specific geographical location which gives the right to a passport.

During the group interviews, in which participants discussed the concept of citizenship, young people described that citizenship is embedded to the notions of the specific territory and to the place of residency of people. In this sense geographical location is seen by young people as an important part of citizenship which provides legal status.

P1(GI4): [Citizenship] is a person which lives on a county's territory for a long time.

P1(GI5): Citizenship is when a person lives on the territory of a certain country.

It shows that young people perceive citizenship as legal status within specific physical boundaries which gives a sense of membership. Similar findings appear in the research of Miller-Idriss (2006) where young Germans see citizenship in terms of birth or residence in a geographic region. France (1998) argues that seeing citizenship within specific boundaries can provide young people with the feeling of safety and security as they are familiar with geographical location. Young people tend to form stronger connection with the community on the "micro-territories of the local" and seem more likely to participate in civil processes at the local level (Harris & Wyn, 2009, p. 327). In this sense, citizenship can be conceptualised in a thicker notion as the local geographical places play a meaningful role for young people due to the fact that they build connection with their local community and are able to exercise their citizenship within specific geographical boundaries (Walsh et al., 2018). This can indicate that citizenship is conceptualised relationally, as a membership of the community within which young people are constructing individuals' relationships and building a sense of belonging to the spatial place of residency (Wood & Black, 2018). Therefore, space and citizenship are connected and affect young people's experiences.

Another notion which occurred among young people in discussing citizenship was possessing official documents which verify their identification as a legal member of a nation-state. During group interviews, answering to the question "How do you understand what citizenship is?", young people referred to citizenship as having a document which can prove legal status to a certain country, and this would be the evidence that a person possesses citizenship of that country.

P2(GI1): In my opinion, citizenship is when you have some documents that prove that you are a citizen of a certain country.

P3(GI6): [Citizenship] is a document which says that you are a member of some country.

This shows that it is important for young people to possess a document which proves the legal status of membership of a nation-state. With the discussion proceeded further, it became apparent that when young people talked about documents, they did not mean only passport but other documents that could prove legal belonging to a particular country.

P4(GI7): Well, you have to possess documents that you are a citizen.
I: What kind of documents?
P5: Passport
P3: Birth certificate
P2: Tax number

As it can be seen, young people did not reduce the list of documents just to passport but rather extended it to the documents which are given by a nation-state. In this sense, citizenship can be understood in the formal level which is symbolised by having a document (Lister, 2008). This can suggest that for young people having one of the above-mentioned documents automatically means having a citizenship. The young people in this study often referred to themselves as citizens of Ukraine due to the fact that they have

Ukrainian passports. When I asked them if that means that they did not have citizenship before, they argued that they had a birth certificate which proved that they possessed citizenship from birth. The extended list of documents provided young people with an opportunity to negotiate their identification as citizens from the early days of their lives. This indicates the membership status does not depend on the age of a person or on the specific document. Rather having a document offers an identification with a specific community where young people establish their relationships and binds to this community which is located in a specific geographical place.

Young people identified that the status of membership of a country can be acquired by birth right. Throughout discussions, young participants often stated that "you acquire citizenship when you are born" and "at the moment of birth in some country". Such perception of citizenship can show that young people understand citizenship as 'universal status' within which everyone is a citizen due to their birth on the territory of a particular country. In the thin definition of citizenship, it means that a citizen is equated with a person (Lister, 2008) and that everyone has a membership status of a nation-state. Following this statement, young people argued that they have citizenship of Ukraine because they were born in the country.

> I: Do you consider yourself as a citizen of Ukraine?
> P1(GI4): Yes, because I was born here, same as my parents.
> P2(GI7): We are born as citizens of Ukraine.
> P3(GI15): Yes, because I was born here, I grew up here.

The quotes above show that young people interpreted citizenship in the traditional definition of the concept where the place of birth matters for obtaining the status of membership. The research of Krupets et al. (2017) shows similar findings where young adults perceived acquiring the citizenship status as 'inevitable' and 'inherited' from parents. Miller-Idriss (2006) argues that citizenship is perceived by young people as "an essential and biologically embedded part of an individual" (p. 549). Thus, citizenship status is something that people have no control of and cannot choose.

Even though young participants understood citizenship as a membership within boundaries and territories which is acquired by birth right, they did not see it as fixed but something what can be extended. This was evident through how young people identified another way of obtaining the status of a citizen. They saw that the original given with birth citizenship status can be changed to another one in a different nation-state through migration.

> P3(GI2): Well, citizenship you can choose, you can move to another country.
>
> P1(GI12): [Citizenship] is something you can earn.

The quotes above describe citizenship as a membership status that is flexible and something that can be earned. Citizenship for young people is a choice of a membership where a person feels like belonging to a particular place and is ready to commit to that place (Miller-Idriss, 2006) but at the same time, a new member should be recognised by that community. Opinions among participants about how a person can earn citizenship status were context-dependent. Young people argued that the process of acquiring citizenship status of one country can be easier than in another country. In different discussions, young people used countries as the United States of America, Iceland and the United Kingdom as examples for explanation. In general, young people were unfamiliar

with how legal citizenship status can be obtained. This is probably due to the fact that none of the participants have ever migrated (and only few travelled abroad for vacation). Young Ukrainians highlighted that language and being familiar with the culture are crucial in the process of obtaining citizenship status. This suggests that these factors are seen as important because they help to enter a new community and to be accepted by that community. Thus, citizenship status is perceived as embedded in the multiple interdependent relationships and cannot be seen as individualised practice separated from a wider context (Wall, 2011).

Literature on young people's citizenship often suggests that young people constitute a non-political part of society (Kallio, 2014), not being interested and having limited knowledge about political and civil processes. However, the analysis suggests that young people can be political actors with their own voices and thoughts. For example, when discussing citizenship in relation to democracy, assigning citizenship by the geographical place of birth was seen by some of the young participants as an unfair procedure which limits the freedom of choices.

> P1(GI1): […] I do not like that when you are born you automatically become a citizen of Ukraine, acquire citizenship… For example, I do not want to be a citizen of Ukraine – I am not saying that I do not, it is just an example – but I am [a citizen] just because I was born here. In my view, it is not an open liberal system.

> P4(GI1): I think that if a person is born then this person should be able to decide citizenship of which country he/she wants to be. This would be democratic.

Young people expressed that there is a need to change the law in Ukraine which would allow to have more than one national citizenship. The most evident example was stated by one of the participants by comparing the experience of Ukraine to the experience of another country:

> P1(GI1): I think it would be better if we could choose one more citizenship in addition to the one [Ukrainian] we have. In other words, without losing our citizenship, we should be able to have citizenship of another country.
> P2: If I understand you correctly, you want that Ukraine allow to have multiple citizenships?
> P1: Yes, like in USA.
> P2: How many [citizenships] does USA allow?
> P1: More than 5 for sure.

This suggests that young people are not being unfamiliar and ignorant to national and international agreements. And at the same, it reveals that they have their own ideas and understandings which show their ability to act politically (Wall, 2011) through expressing their opinions. As such, young people are being actors in political socialisation. Moreover, young people's understandings of citizenship are relational and situated in a particular context that influenced by local policies and practices (Hörschelmann & Refaie, 2014).

However, when discussing citizenship in Ukraine, young people compared it to citizenships in other countries which goes beyond national borders. It demonstrates that the opportunities of young people's experiences are increased and interweaved with international processes and citizenship is shaped in more relational notions. Therefore, the experience of citizenship for young people operates within interconnected scales where young people are able to participate in civil processes (Hörschelmann & Refaie, 2014).

In contradiction to seeing citizenship as 'universal status', some participants expressed their views that citizenship should be a conscious choice for a person. They suggested that when a person reaches a 'mature' age, this person would be ready to be a member of a nation-state. Yet, the perceived age of maturity differed between participants.

> *P2(GI1): I think that it should be like this: no one has citizenship before 18 and then after 18 decide…*
> *P4: Maybe after 16*
> *P1: Or 14…*

Some of the participants expressed that before certain age young people are not mature enough to have citizenship; therefore, for young people acquiring citizenship is related to the change in legal status and the transition to the status of being adult (Krupets et al, 2017). The chronological age maturity varied among participants' articulations. Stating that a person is ready to be a member of community at the age of 18 years old shows that young people's knowledge was socially constructed in a specific historical context where this age become a formalised threshold to adulthood. Socially constructed 'mature' age places children and young people in a certain generational position as 'not-mature-enough'. Such conceptualisation of citizenship measures young people's membership in the normative adultist notion and overlooks the specifics of how young people relate to citizenship (Lister, 2008). Adults establish the boundaries within which young people can claim their citizenship status. This interaction between adults and young people affects the (re)production of the existing structure where certain social relations are established between children and adults (Alanen, 2009). However, at the same time, such conceptualisation of young people meets a different reaction by other group of young people. Other participants showed that they possess competencies to negotiate these power relations and their position in the society. They argued that the age of 'maturity' should be lowered to 16 or even 14 years old. Nevertheless, it suggests that power relations between young people and adults are unequal and often difficult to negotiate as adults' position is the one of privilege (Punch et al., 2007). Young people struggle for their recognition and inclusion as members of citizenship community. Despite the fact that the membership of a particular nation-state is supposed to provide members with the legal status, the traditional and contemporary models of citizenship rarely try to include and recognise young people's membership status as citizens (Lister, 2008).

This can mean that the political and social reality into which people are born influence their membership status of a nation-state and what kind of relationship young people have with the community (both local and national). The constituting membership of young people imply in addition to take into the account the public culture within which they are members (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). Lister (2008) argues that young people's relationship to the community can differ from adults' but it does not mean that young people should lose their claim to citizenship status.

5.1.2 Sense of Belonging – Relational Practice
If at formal level young people in this study understood citizenship as a membership status within specific geographical boundaries, then at more substantive level citizenship signifies a sense of belonging to a nation-state and self-identification with it (Lister, 2008). Sense of belonging involves the emotional attachment and connection with the community that allow a person to feel as a part of that community (Wood & Black, 2018). Some

participants argued that when receiving a passport, a person not only gets a citizenship but also it means that he/she acquires a nationality and vice versa.

> *P1(GI5): I think those two concepts are very similar.*

> *P2(GI7): If you get nationality of a country, you become its citizen.*

The quotes above suggest that young people understand citizenship as territorial belonging within which occurs in a culture and in a certain way of following traditions of that country. By adding a cultural dimension, young people show that citizenship is affected by the Ukrainian context with specific socio-cultural structures. As it was mentioned in the background chapter, the concept of citizenship was often substituted with the concept of nationality in the nation-building strategy of Ukraine. Through such approach, it was intended to develop a sense of identification and belonging with the new independent state and break the ties with Soviet past. In this way, being a citizen of Ukraine extends beyond of formal status as it includes a cultural dimension with which Ukrainian people could identify themselves and feel an emotional attachment to the country. This reveals that the meaning of citizenship is being established in relation to a specific citizenship community and shaped by specific historical realities where young people's political socialisation unfolds as a relational process (Kallio, 2014) through making certain connections and disconnections that develop a feeling of belonging (Smith, 2015; Wood & Black, 2018).

However, as the group discussion proceeded further, young people mentioned that nationality relates more to belonging to the culture while citizenship relates to belonging as legal membership. Therefore, when talking about citizenship and nationality, young people in this study understood citizenship as formally belonging to the place where a person resides and to the nation-state while nationality is perceived more as a sense of subjective belonging connected to cultural heritage and family. For young people, the features of citizenship are locality and legal documents, and, in contrast, the characteristics of nationality are traditions, language and religion. In this sense, citizenship for young people is a more legal way of membership of the nation-state where a person lives while nationality is more of a subjective concept of identity.

> *P4(GI8): Well, citizenship is where you live, the country.*
> *P1: And nationality is who you are, it is you parents, your relatives.*
> *P3: [Nationality]is some traditions.*

> *P3(GI4): Well, you can have citizenship of any country, not necessarily where you were born, but nationality relates to a country.*
> *P2: Well, not exactly to a country but to the people [of that country].*

> *P1(GI12): I think citizenship is more like official and nationality is how you identify yourself.*
> *P2: Nationality is your identity with blood, with some thoughts, it is in your heart, but citizenship is more official, it is for documents.*

According to young people's justifications, citizenship is comprised of more formal qualities of legal membership as stated in the official documents. At the same time, nationality is seen as having more emotional relations to a community that entails a sense of belonging. However, traditions and national language were perceived by young people as important

factors of both citizenship and nationality. This suggests that these two concepts are not contradictory but interconnected and influence the sense of belonging to a nation-state and develop emotional resources of young people (Lindström, 2010). Citizenship and nationality seem to be difficult to separate as both of them affect how young people's identities are constructed and strengthened through social bonds between individuals and communities (Lindström, 2010) and as such, acquire more dynamic and relational conceptualisation. Further, Wood and Black (2018) suggest that the features of place can state "a reified notion of citizenship that is attached to a homogenous racial, linguistic and historical identity" (p. 174) and can serve for inclusion or exclusion of members of community. Such approach shows how interpersonal relationships and political side come into interaction within citizenship.

The interconnectedness of citizenship and nationality is visible in young people's views on patriotism. The young participants seemed to see being a patriot of a country as part of citizenship as well as of nationality:

> *P2(GI2): [Citizenship] is a person who serves his/her country, a patriot.*

> *P1(GI5): I associate this word [nationality] with patriotism…respect to the country.*

> *P1(GI12): In our country we understand…Ukrainians understand nationality as you have to be patriotic.*
> *P3: And also, it can be maybe love for your town, for your country, it is included in citizenship.*

The analysis suggests that young Ukrainians in this study seem to conceptualise citizenship in the sense of patriotism in addition to as formal status and documents. This resonates with the study of Eid (2015) where young people of Bahrain identified citizenship with the feeling of love, affiliation and loyalty to their country. Young Ukrainians perceive that being a patriot is to protect the country's independence and keep traditions. Political, social, economic and cultural contexts where young people grow up play a significant role on building their views and attitudes.

Young Ukrainians interpret citizenship in the sense of emotional attachment to a country through devotion, respect and love. As it was explained in the context chapter, since independence in 1991, Ukrainian policies emphasised national values and patriotism as part of citizenship in order to build the nation-state and transform Soviet identity to Ukrainian and promote loyalty to the state. Love and protection of national symbols and language were (and to certain extent still are) seen as important parts of being a patriot. Children and young people occupied an important place in developing and increasing a sense of collective belonging to a citizenship community, being conceptualised as 'citizens-in-the-making' who may be formed in line with nation-state standards through patriotic education.

In some countries, political socialisation of young people aims to regulate moral development in order to nurture them with the prevailing national norms, values and traditions (Ursin, 2019). Therefore, members of citizenship community tend to identify themselves with a specific nation-state which foster a sense of belonging. Wood and Black (2018) outline that "a sense of attachment to a specific space or place can be powerful factor behind young people's act of care towards that place, fuelled by a desire to protect, preserve and transform it" (p. 176). In this sense, common good of a country and responsibility to protect it are prioritised over individual rights which implies that

citizenship is practiced within traditional civic republican model (Moosa-Mitha, 2005) that creates a collective citizenship identity.

For young people, citizenship as membership status in the sense of belonging can include diverse patterns, but it is noticeable that it plays a vital role for young people in developing their identities and affiliation with a specific nation-state. Eid (2015) presents similar findings in her research which highlight that young people of Bahrain expressed high importance to the feeling of belonging as a part of citizenship. This can suggest that young people build their identities as citizens through the sense of belonging that allow them to acquire a membership which gives them the opportunity to participate in civil processes and feel as part of a social community (Lister, 2008). Moreover, the membership of citizenship community involves confirmation and recognition through some special actions and practices (Krupets et al., 2017). In this sense, participation can be exercised through rights and responsibilities. As having a passport means having citizenship, the young participants outline that it is something which gives them both rights and responsibilities.

> *P2(GI7): If you come to Ukraine and got a passport, then you have to follow civil responsibilities of this country in which you are already a citizen. If you got a passport then you must follow the rules, but also you already have rights of that country.*

According to the young participants, the citizenship status requires a recognition by the community which can be achieved through practicing rights and responsibilities. Hence, in the next section, the analysis will turn to another side of understanding the concept of citizenship by young people where citizenship is seen as an agreement between a person and a country.

5.2 Citizenship as Social Contract

During the group discussions, besides explaining citizenship as a membership that develops a sense of belonging, young people referred it with rights and responsibilities. Young participants outlined that citizenship is about possessing the rights that are provided by a particular state as well as citizenship can be understood as responsibility to obey the rules and the laws of a country where a person has citizenship. Such interpretations of citizenship could suggest that young people who participated in the group discussions subscribed to the liberal and civil republican models of citizenship and as such the traditional universalist conceptualisations dominated in their understandings. However, the analysis of the generated data revealed that throughout discussions, young people directly or indirectly expressed that rights and responsibilities are two elements of citizenship that are interconnected and should be understood in relation to each other.

> *P1(GI6): Where there are rights, there are the responsibilities, they are related.*

> *P1(GI4): Well, citizenship, of course it includes responsibilities. As it was said, citizenship gives you some favours, and for exchange we have to help our country […] Responsibilities, it is something what we get for having rights.*

The quotes above show that young people understand citizenship in a sense that for obeying rules and undertaking the responsibilities, citizens are entitled to benefits and protection from a nation-state (or the government). In this way, the perceptions of young people in this research project can be identified in line with the social contractual model

of citizenship (Lister et al., 2003). Such conceptualisation of citizenship binds citizens and the nation-state together by a 'social contract' that prescribes rights and responsibilities to both and creates a contractual context within which participation takes place.

5.2.1 Rights

Rights discourse on young people's citizenship has various approaches but most of them aim "to ensure the well-being, safety, and participation within society of children from birth to 18 years of age" (Smith, 2015, p. 361). The analysis reveals that another way for young people to explain citizenship was through the entitlement of rights. As it was mentioned in the theoretical chapter, the classic version of Marshall's citizenship outlines three types of citizenship rights: civil, political and social. Even though participants of this study mentioned all three types, some of them subscribed to one type more than other. Nevertheless, for most of the participants, having a citizenship of a particular country means to have rights within that country. Rights are seen as something what citizenship includes tacitly.

> *P1(GI8): Well, citizenship is very important thing which every person should have because it gives rights.*

> *P2(GI15): We have rights that are integrated in citizenship.*

In this sense, citizenship is perceived within the liberal tradition that exercised through individual ownership of the rights and benefits (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). Sherrod (2008) provides similar findings with adolescents where rights are seen as "entitlements or the things one should obtain as a result of being a citizen" (p. 782). Moreover, by seeing citizens as rights-bearers, the participants also highlighted the social justice claims of equality in the sense that everyone is entailed to the rights.

> *P3(GI5): Every person has some rights which are stated in the Constitution.*

In this way, citizenship is seen as a fundamental concept that provides rights for all citizens of a nation-state and therefore see them as 'inherently equal'. However, when talking about young people's citizenship, young people are being compared to adults as a standard (Moosa-Mitha, 2005) and defined as 'not-yet-citizens' due to their lack of certain competencies in a normative sense. Such conceptualisation suggests that young people are not entitled to all legal rights within the liberal model of citizenship.

When talking about citizenship in the sense of having rights, young people named various rights which can be included in the concept of citizenship. The analysis of the empirical data revealed that young people perceive the right for life, equality, freedom of speech, education, medical insurance and benefits, and freedom as the vital rights for citizenship. This indicates that citizenship for young people is embedded mostly in two types of citizenship rights: civil rights (for life, equality, freedom of speech and freedom) and social rights (for education, medical insurance and benefits).

Young Ukrainians in this research project expressed an understanding that they are entitled to social rights as citizens, such as free education, free medical care and social protection. Young people discussed citizenship in the notion of social rights that often were seen by young people as more important ones than political rights.

> *P3(GI8): [Citizenship] is having rights for life, for education, for health, for social security…*

P2(GI5): The country also has responsibilities to its citizens.
P1: Provide good life, probably.

One explanation to why young people favoured social rights is the reflection of the context within which young people live and experience citizenship. Young people expect that the state provides them with a minimum standard of living and safety. In this sense, social security rights are seen as unconditional rights to benefit. The role of citizenship is not limited to providing the rights but also it should guarantee the protection of these rights. Consequently, citizenship for young people in this study is that the country ensures security to its citizens and has responsibilities towards its citizens, such as delivering the rights and protecting them.

The other explanation to such perceptions of citizenship can be that young people expect social benefits from the nation-state in exchange for their loyalty. For example, if the country is in war, citizens are obligated to protect the country in military actions, in extreme cases by means of their lives. As such, social rights seem to have conditional nature where the most common condition is loyalty to the country (Conover et al., 1991). This conceptualisation suggests that social rights are linked to the responsibilities of citizens and embedded in social contractual model of citizenship (Lister et al., 2003).

The importance of civil rights became particularly apparent when the participants were talking about citizenship in relation to democracy, as they see citizenship as something that gives people participatory rights and where people's opinion should matter. Young people emphasised the right to freedom of thought and speech and the right to the free expression. They explained that citizenship means to have the right to participate in the decision-making of a country.

P1(GI2): Citizenship gives a right to choose to live in democracy or not, this means they [citizens] have the right to choose.

P2(GI5): Well, in general…[citizenship] is when a citizen can express his/her opinion.

For young people, the rights to affect the civil and political life of a country symbolise the opportunity for representation and participation. Similar findings appeared in the research of Smith et al. (2005) where, for young people, having the right for a voice is positioned within the understanding of citizenship. This suggests that for young people, citizenship means having influence through having the right to participation in the different forms of political involvement.

Interestingly, the right to vote was used by young people as an example of expressing an opinion but not reduced just to it. Young people acknowledged that there are different ways for expression, but voting was seen as something what citizens of a country possess exclusively. In other words, non-citizens do not have a right to vote unless they acquire a citizenship of a country.

P3(GI4): If you have a citizenship of a particular country, you have an opportunity to express your opinion in that country. If I come for example to Italy, no one is going to listen to me there.

P1(GI4): If a person does not live on the territory of this country and has no relations to it, then this person has no right to express an opinion about different

things in this country. […] It would not be fair if, for example, a Russian person goes to the USA and votes for their president, because it [elections] decides a fate of the people in that country.

The analysis of the data suggests that, despite that young people are at that age when voting is not available for them, they conceptualise citizenship within that idea of political participation. By stating that rights are something that is given by birth then exercising the rights should not be depended on the permission to do so, young people bring attention to the fact that their participatory rights in political processes are limited due to their age.

I: Do you consider yourself as a citizen?
P4(GI6): No, I am still too young, I cannot vote, I do not have this right.
P2(GI7): No, not until I turn 18 years old. Also, I cannot vote. Besides, I think it is unfair. We [young people] should be able to do it earlier, maybe from 14…we are more conscious than, for example, grandmas.

Young people in this study expressed concerns to the fact that they are excluded from the voting in the national elections. Such exclusion is justified by adults by the idea that young people do not have sufficient capacities to vote and if they would have this right, they could harm themselves or others (Wall, 2014). This is embedded in a protectionist approach towards young people and makes it more difficult for young people to be heard and be taken seriously. It puts young people in marginalised and pacified position as citizens in political processes and affects young people's perceptions of themselves as citizens. This means that young people's views and interests are not taken into account and excluded from the decision-making as well as giving a role to young people as 'not-mature-enough' or future citizens.

The opportunity to express an opinion and to be heard are important for young people for exercising citizenship. In the research of Lister et al. (2003), a group of young people similarly highlight the need for the right to express themselves and to have their opinion taken into account. Some participants in this research project expressed their interest and readiness to have suffrage earlier than 18 years old. The last quote above suggests that young people do not see themselves as incompetent and irrational but as capable political agents who are able to participate in constructing social context and affect political processes as much as adults (see also Wall, 2011). However, because adults undervalue young people's capacities and see them as 'not-yet-citizens', young people have to work for the recognition of their citizenship status. This creates some tension between young people and adults that can lead to either conflicts or young people's loss of interest to the participation.

The data revealed that young Ukrainians in this study can claim their participatory citizenship rights and express their voices in alternative ways through different sources and places. This perception of participation by young people resonates with the conclusion of Kallio and Häkli's (2011) study which states that political agency cannot be "restricted to certain preconditioned means, modes, matters or arenas, but can come about in diverse forms and places" (p. 100). One of the places which young Ukrainians highlighted as a space for their participation was school.

P1(GI1): We participate in the school life. I am a president, and my classmate is a vice-president […] Together with other school leaders of all districts of Kyiv, we gather and solve different important questions.

The quote above suggests that young people see the school as a place within which they can participate in the civil processes. Young people's participation unfolds in the school domain which is often assumed by adults as an appropriate place for young people to occupy and where they can be granted the participatory opportunities. The prospects of participation in the school area serve an educative role where the essential goal is to teach young people civic skills and political values that would stimulate civil and political involvement in the future (Pontes, 2019). With this knowledge that is acquired in school, young people are expected to become active members and integrate into society which would develop them into the full citizens (Kjørholt, 2007). This proposes the idea that young people are going through the political socialisation process and being prepared for adult life (Mayall, 2002) which highlights young people as political 'becomings'.

Nevertheless, schools can operate as a place through which young people's political awareness and participation can be organised and recognised. For example, on the contrary to the adultist conceptualisation, some young people in this study saw themselves in the socialisation process as active participants who are not only being educated but also are in the position where they have a voice and have certain power to affect matters that influence their lives here and now. In this sense, schools provided a space through which young people felt as empowered members of the society. This corresponds with Kallio and Häkli's (2011) proposal that young people are willing and able to be active participants in this type of political activities and through school parliaments act as political agents. However, young people's participation still takes place in the adult-led place (e.g. school) and as such, it is guided by adults which creates certain concerns and issues. Additionally, the cultural context and the political traditions of a country are central in understanding what role the schools can take in promotion of young people's participatory rights.

Young people acknowledged that their participation can take place not only in the places which are designed for them, such as school, but also in the public areas which are often understood to be for adults.

> *P3(GI5): Me and my mom recently went to the protest against animals' torture in zoos.*

> *P5(GI15): We can go to Maidan[6] and express our support for Zelenskyi [current president of Ukraine] and this is also considered as a voice.*

The quotes highlight that young people are performing citizenship in the conventional spaces, voicing their opinions through the traditional channel and are involved in the political activism. Young people make a claim that they are not indifferent to the political process and show themselves as active political agents in the society who have an opinion about various citizenship issues, including those that have political significance, and are engaged in political participation (Wall, 2011; Kallio, 2014). It is important to note that political participation is shaped by wider economic and social forces; hence, young people's activism should be understood as time- and issue-specific that responds to the wider political and civil circumstances rather than being engaged with political parties (Tereshchenko, 2010).

Moreover, for young people, the public places, such as the Maidan, are the areas where they have a possibility to participate in the national political events alongside with adults. This and the first quote above suggest that young people's participation is situated in intergenerational relations. Protesting together with parents can highlight the

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[6] Independence Square, the main square of Kyiv.

ambiguous nature of the relations (Punch et al., 2007). Parents have power to influence young people's behaviour and participation in the public spaces. During the participant observation time on the break between lessons, one of the students said that she was not able to join a protest because her father could not go with her. It indicates that parents often think that participation of this type is not appropriate for young people as it takes place outside of the spaces that assigned to young people and can be dangerous; thus, such participation should be done with adults' supervision and protection (Mayall, 2002). It is expected that young people ask for a permission to be able to practice their participatory rights while adults have power to restrict young people's choice to engage in the civil processes. In this sense, adults set the limitations and boundaries for young people's participation.

It is important to highlight that the experiences of young people of citizenship and participation are different from the ones of adults but should not be separated from each other as well as from the context within which they take place (Prout, 2011). Therefore, on the other side, adults can provide and support the opportunities for young people's participation. By negotiating their position and relations with adults, young people pursue certain control and power over their prospects for participation (Mayall, 2002). It is possible to see how young people through interactions with adults come into public spaces to express their voices and getting access to participation in civil processes. It can imply that young people see adults as a source through which they exercise their participatory rights and create opportunities for their political participation (Wall, 2011):

P5(GI15): Moreover, our parents vote, and this is our vote too, with the family.

This quote highlights that young people perceived parents' votes as representing the family. Parents are often assigned to the roles who safeguard and take care of children's interests. However, it is important to note that there are disparities in interests across generations (Liebel & Saadi, 2010 as cited in Ursin & Lorgen, 2019). Due to such ideas, young people lack political influence and representation as children's and adults' interests does not always coincide. At the same time, according to Cohen (2005), when parents have the responsibility to represent their children's interests, they often substitute or combine them with their personal visions what is the best for their children. This means that instead of children's interests, parents' beliefs are represented as they are the ones who have possibility to support and present children's interests when they match with their own (Ursin & Lorgen, 2019). Cohen (2005) argues that such perceptions on young people encourage disregarding young people's interests and cause their formal underrepresentation.

Moreover, young people's political representation through their parents portrays young people as vulnerable and immature objects that are not ready for independent representation and a voice as they do not know what is in their best interest (Cohen, 2005). It reproduces the ides of young people as incompetent and as such, not entitled to the right to vote (Wall, 2014).

Young people's citizenship is strongly embedded in the multiple relationships in which young people continuously engage and negotiate (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). The meaning of citizenship can acquire an extended inclusive definition where young people express their agency in multiple spaces as well as it can be a practice that excludes young people from public areas and reduce opportunities for exercising participatory rights. Moreover, even though young people can find alternative ways of expressing their opinions on different matters through involvement in political, civil and social processes, some of

the participants still feel that their opinions are not taken into account and they have no influence in the society.

> *P1(GI2): Currently, we cannot do anything because we are not 18 years old and we cannot express our opinion in the same way as adults do.*
> *P3: We can express our opinion, but it will not be considered.*

Some of the participants perceived that their opinion and participation are not taken seriously by the state and adults which suggests that young people experienced that their participation is under adults' control and young people's right to equality to participate and being heard is compromised. Equality in this sense is understood in formal normative terms where rights and benefits from the state should be provided to all citizens. However, adults are the ones who enforce such distribution putting young people on the dependent status because they are seen as not mature enough to have public significance (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). The young people experience these normative values of the public culture as marginalisation. Krupets et al. (2017) argue that young people in their study similarly "problematise their desire for the performative aspect of their own civic identity, experiencing limited access to involvement in social-political life, the possibility to express their opinion" (p. 259) which lead to deficit of civic influence. France (1998) reaches a similar conclusion, that "failure of the community to recognize 'difference' or the right of young people to have some form of control over the shaping of their own lives created conflict and feelings of exclusion" (p. 104).

Young people feel that they do not have influence as citizens because of how politics is conceptualised as static and fixed ideas in the traditional forms of adult-led world (Kallio, 2014; Krupets et al., 2017). However, it does not mean that young people are incomplete citizens who do not have interest to participate in the community. The participants acknowledged, however, that they, as citizens, have certain influence in the society through daily activities. This influence is often placed within closer circles. For example, young people outlined that they have an effect on their family and friends.

> *P3(GI5): We have influence on some things. For example, we have influence on our education […] We can influence our brothers and sisters.*

> *P4(GI8): [Influence] on society, yes. Because…I have many examples…for example, I am doing something, the others saw that…for example, I had friends that…let's say were drinking, smoking and so on. They saw me doing sports, they liked it and they started joining me.*

This shows that the politics should be rather understood in relational sense to contexts and situations where participatory rights can unfold on different dimensional scales and places (Kallio, 2014), providing a basis for more inclusive understandings. Connell (1987) argues that institutions, such as school, family, and mass media, contain innately a form of politics. This means that participation can be understood not only in a formal way of political expression but also in the scale of mundane, everyday 'politics'. For example, Kallio and Häkli (2019) highlight how the formal or informal practice of care should be understood as a part of mundane politics that are embedded in broad power relations. Following this line, young people's practice of politics takes a place in what is often assumed to be 'apolitical' everyday environments (Kallio &Häkli, 2011). It is important that 'politics' (everyday, mundane) and 'politics' (formal institutional) should not be separated as "the state is actively connected with the structure of power, and hence with

the patterning of politics, within non-state institutions" (p. 221). It suggests that young people are political agents because they are situated in "a field of social relations which is inherently political" (ibid.). Thus, the traditional views on citizenship are being redefined from 'big ideas' to 'inclusionary' realistic strategies that open a space for young people's participation and finding their identities as citizens (Kallio, 2014; Krupets et al., 2017). Kallio (2014) shows how young people acquire their own positions and roles and how they can act politically in the mundane lives.

5.2.2 Responsibilities

According to the UNCRC, children and young people should be entitled only to the rights and they are not mature enough to have political responsibilities. But both the role of young people and the notion of responsibilities cannot be separated from the wider context and should be investigated in relation to specific historical realties that affect young people's perceptions and experiences of responsibilities (Bjerke, 2011). Even though Ukraine has ratified the UNCRC, young people in the Ukrainian context are often perceived as not being mature enough to have the whole range of the rights but eligible to carry out some responsibilities. France (1998) has a similar argument stating that "'being responsible' is a key experience of 'being young'" (p. 100). At the same time, young people acknowledge that not only a country has responsibilities to its citizens, but also citizens have responsibilities to the country. During the group interviews and the mapping, young people expressed their perception of citizenship as having responsibilities. Young people outline that if a person has citizenship, it means that this person has responsibilities to the country.

> *P3(GI2): [Citizenship] is different laws…therefore, a person, a citizen, must follow laws of a country where he/she lives.*

> *P2(GI5): [Responsibilities] can be equated with citizenship. When you live in a country, you have to do some…obey the country's rules, responsibilities.*

This view of citizenship has relational notions, and it can be placed within the civil republican model which interprets citizenship as membership in the society. The membership within this model is fulfilled through citizenry obligations (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). It is interesting that the obligation to obey the rules of a country usually occurs in relation to different discussions of citizenship. In a research conducted by Lister (2008), she found that obeying the law is the key responsibility of citizenship expressed among young people. To obey rules was perceived as a crucial part of citizenship, supposedly bringing benefits for everyone by keeping social relations and the society organised.

> *P2(GI7): Responsibilities of a citizen are something that a citizen must do without asking questions.*

> *P1(GI14): They [responsibilities] are there not just because, you know...they exist for some reason these laws…for a good reason, for everything to be a better place. Like, order [...] to keep all things organised.*

> *P3(GI15): We need to follow the laws because if everyone starts to break them, then it will not make any sense to have them.*

Since gaining independence, citizenship discourse in Ukraine has been actively redefined and, as it was mentioned in the background chapter, characterised by the processes of the transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic one. While patriotic education of independent Ukraine aimed to raise loyal citizens, young people were also exposed implicitly or explicitly to the old Soviet moral education as it was still embedded in different areas of life in the society. As such, young people are not only obligated to respect and love their country but also to have a sense of civility and collective duty. The emphasis on obedience does not necessarily mean that citizenship is understood as passive but instead citizens are required to be involved in active participation in order to sustain a citizenship community (Conover et al., 1991). The historical context might help explaining why young people emphasise civil responsibilities over political. Additionally, this can be apparent from how young people highlighted that disobeying the rules will be followed by punishment by the state. One of the prominent examples is made by one participant who said that punishment is a tool for the government to manipulate society to do their obligations:

> P2(GI6): The government influence us by the fact that they can punish us, so we carry out all the responsibilities.

Nevertheless, young people also acknowledged that responsibilities can be of different kinds. Despite the fact that majority of the participants were aware to some extent of political responsibilities, in their discussions, they mostly outlined civil responsibilities and social responsibilities.

> P3(GI3): There are different types of responsibilities. For example, responsibilities to the country, responsibilities to the parents, responsibilities to each other.

For young people, these different types of responsibilities are related to the notions of citizenship. The analysis revealed that the majority of the participants perceive the responsibility to abide the Constitution and the laws of Ukraine and the responsibility to not infringe on the rights and freedoms, honour and dignity of other people as vital responsibility of citizenship. They argued that if people do not obey the Constitution, all other responsibilities and rights do not make sense.

> P1(GI9): The responsibility to follow the Constitution of Ukraine […] because there would not be any crimes if everyone obeys the laws and do not break them…well, for not having chaos.

> P2(GD13): Well, adhere to the Constitution of Ukraine for…I mean, the Constitution is the set of rules which allow us to live more or less safe and equal…Thus, this responsibility as abide to rules which are in the Constitution should allow us to keep equality.

This perception of citizenship is in line with the social contractual model that exercised through following the Constitution of Ukraine. Such approach should ensure that through the organised social relations, every citizen can practice their rights and responsibilities in order to achieve social equality. Common good and the interest of the community should have priority over private interests (Conover et al., 1991). However, the analysis of the generated data also suggests that some young people had certain expectations that they should be provided with some privileges in exchange for their 'good' behaviour. This is in

line with young people's understandings of the social rights as exchange for citizen's commitment to responsibilities and aspired civic behaviour (Conover et al., 1991).

For the second group of the participants, the responsibility to protect the country's independence is the most significant responsibility within the concept of citizenship. These young participants argued that in the current political situation in Ukraine, to fight for sovereignty is the responsibility of every citizen.

> *P5(GI8): Well, join the army and be a conscript are the direct responsibility to the country. You join the army and serve the country…paying off your debt [to the country].*

> *P2(GI9): The responsibility to protect our Motherland because in the existing moment with what is happening in our country, it is very important.*

The analysis revealed that the current military conflicts in Ukraine played an important role in young people's understanding of citizenship responsibilities. The term Motherland, which some of the participants used in both Ukrainian and Russian languages, refers to one's native land and shows affectionate love of country (see also Krupets et al., 2017). In such context, young people's feelings and effective attachment towards the Motherland Ukraine have actualised. To defend the country's independence and borders seems to prevail young people's patriotic feelings. Such vision of citizenship resonates with the nation-state building project and patriotic education that aim to foster young people's sense of loyalty, respect and love toward the country. In this sense, the findings resonate with the research of Ursin (2009) where young Mexicans are seen as having responsibilities "in terms of respecting, protecting and defending the nation, its culture and its citizens" (p. 13) rather than as having the social rights.

It is important to outline that on the contrary, some participants expressed that they dislike the responsibilities assigned to them by the state that forces them to go to fight. A responsibility to join the army after reaching a certain age is not supported by all young people.

> *P2(GI13): I also highlighted the responsibility which I do not like – the responsibility to protect the country's independence. I like monarchy as a political system when protecting a country is in interest of a private person. For example, if it is a king, he should spend his money and not the money from country's budget. Therefore, if I do not want to do it, I do not. It is an interest of one person.*

The quote above reveals antagonism against patriotism and civil republican model of citizenship. And instead it puts more emphasis on the rights that nation-state should provide for its citizens and support the liberal tradition of citizenship where citizens are not expected to follow the laws if they contradict their feelings of autonomy and freedom (Conover et al., 1991).

Other participants view the mentioned responsibilities as "a nonce" and that "it does not make any sense". They debated that the environment should be a priority for citizens as it affects their lives the most. Hence, the second responsibility which young people consider as the most valuable is the responsibility to protect environment.

> *P4(GI9): The responsibility not to harm nature, cultural heritage and to compensate for any damage he or she inflicted, because I think we have terrible problems with environment.*

P1(GI10): The responsibility not to harm the environment I think is really your responsibility. You do not have any right, well, to do crap where you live…because then we live in this crap.

They referred to the bad environmental conditions in Ukraine, such as nuclear Chernobyl disaster, poor opportunities for recycling and seasonal harmful activities (e. g. burning leaves during autumn and burning dry grass during summer). Children and young people are often assigned to the role of 'agents of change' that emphasises a connection between "childhood's symbolic power to influence high-level change and children's embodied and emotive 'pester power' in everyday life" (Walker, 2016, p. 14). However, such perception fails to consider that young people's position in the society is situated in interrelated networks. Moreover, it positions young people in the notion of future resource that can bring change in the future but not here and now (Prout & James, 2015). Walker (2016) highlights that young people should accept "being 'environmental subjects' with a generational positioning that means they are frequently disadvantaged in their everyday interactions and negotiations" (p. 17).

Through highlighting such responsibility, young people showed that they are able to address such difficult problems, reflect and act upon them. The actions of young people mostly were placed in everyday environmental activism (e. g. reducing consumption, recycling when possible, involve parents and so on) but some participated in the protests with their parents which were discussed earlier. Walker (2016) argues that seeing young people as 'future citizens' does not mean that they lack capacities to act in the present moment. Moreover, such responsibility highlights the relational approach towards citizenship which not only entails human relations but humans' relations to the nature and environment. Giving the importance to the 'environmental' responsibility suggests that citizenship involves human relations to animals, nature, environment, earth. That shows more complex conceptualisation of citizenship that is not completely concerned with nation-state but rather with the wider context and includes multiple relationships.

Some rights were understood as responsibilities by some of the young participants. For example, the right for education and the right for family are interpreted by the participants rather as their obligation than their rights (Warming, 2018) which highlights the complexity of rights-responsibilities relation.

P1(GI4): Well, the most important responsibility for me is probably to my parents because they provide everything to me and I need to help them when they need, when it is hard for them, especially in our country.

P1(GD8): I think [my main responsibility] is to my parents. I do not want them to think that I come here [to school] for nothing.
P3: For me as well, responsibility to parents, responsibility to study.

Education was considered by young people in this study as a responsibility to their family, especially to parents (or caregivers). Even though they realise that they have a right for education from their citizenship status, they see parents as those who provide them with the opportunity for education and young people feel that going to school is their obligation. This resonates with a cultural practice established in Ukraine where young people expect their parents to support them financially until they get a job. At the same time, by giving the opportunity for their children to study, parents expect that they do well in school in order to get a good job in the future. This suggests that young people and their parents

are situated in the interdependent relationships where material support of the family "replete with moral and social responsibility shaped in the junctures between norms, assets, and material conditions" (Abebe, 2019, p. 10). The generational expectations from both young people and parents are important factors that affect activities and experiences of young people. In this sense, young people's practices of their citizenship rights and responsibilities are shaped in relation to 'other' generations that influence young people's position in social relationships (Mayall, 2002; Abebe, 2019). Additionally, as parents hold certain expectations on young people through which the process of recognition takes place, this highlights that young people are positioned in asymmetrical power relations (Cockburn, 2017).

Moreover, paid employment is often perceived as an important citizenship obligation. Since young people are not involved in full-time legal paid jobs, their citizenship participation can be often ignored or overlooked. Young people are frequently undertaking certain work responsibilities at different levels and places which are not recognised and valued as work. By highlighting their responsibilities to the family, young people in this study repeatedly explained that they were involved in certain work at home, such as taking care of their siblings, gardening, farming and so on. Undertaking such responsibility allows young people to feel that they are in the position where their parents recognise them as trustworthy and young people can experience certain power in making decisions (Bjerke, 2011). This highlights that young people are not simply receiving care from the adults but also, they are the ones who undertake the responsibility to provide care which show them as capable and competent beings involved in the interdependent social relations.

Smith et al. (2005) argue that "a focus on economic independence associated with waged employment thereby obscures the social reality of interdependence" (p. 428) which keeps young people's responsibilities and work contributions invisible. The researchers continue that it is important to acknowledge that young people contribute to economic development by participating in educational processes that are vital for the maintenance of the society as well as they are involved in doing work within and outside of household. Bjerke (2011) argues that responsibilities should not be conceptualised as a static notion, "but as a complex and rich practice embedded in relationships with others in the sense that it is judged in relation to the actions and attitudes of others" (p. 69). Therefore, it suggests that positioning young people's experiences in the interdependent relational context can challenge the 'mainstream' conceptualisation of childhood as time with no obligations (Bjerke, 2011). Such approach can help to acknowledge children and young people as 'relational beings' which can lead to the recognition of their citizenship and their empowerment in the society (Abebe, 2019).

At the same time, Warming (2018) argues that young people "may experience some protection rights as discriminatory—for instance, the right to protection from work" (p. 34) that is stated in UNCRC, Article 32. Some of the participants during discussions expressed their desire to take the labour market responsibilities and start to work.

P2(GI11): For example, give us right to work... At least from 16 years old, for example.

However, since they have not reached 18 years old, they have to get parental approval first, and, in addition, they cannot work full time, and the wages are lower than those for the adults. Therefore, some young people reflected on the economic opportunities in comparison to adults and felt as being excluded by being denied taking financial responsibilities and gain certain economic independency. Lister et al. (2003) also highlight the importance of employment for young people and conclude that the absence of

economic independency "effectively excludes many of the young people themselves, in the short term, because of age or dependence on their parents" (p. 238).

As the result of being excluded from economic rights, young people evade from their protection rights and look for alternative ways to get an employment due to different reasons (to support family or earn own pocket money). For example, they get employed illegally which does not require parents' permission, they can work full-time and get higher salary since the employee does not pay taxes but at the same time "they are exposed to exploitation and unregulated work environments" (Warming, 2018, p. 34). Additionally, this suggests that even though many young people highlighted the importance of obeying the rules, some participants found that it is ok to disobey them when it comes to the personal benefit.

Some of the young people in this study refused to accept the responsibilities listed in the Constitution of Ukraine. These participants said that until they turn 18 years old, they do not have any responsibilities while others acknowledge that they have limited or different responsibilities than those from the adults.

P4(GI3): I do not like responsibilities at all […] I do not like the Constitution.

P3(GI5): Well, according to the law, children before 18 years old do not have responsibilities.
P2: We do not have responsibilities.
P3: Maybe just some moral ones.

This corresponds with individualistic and legal understandings of citizenship. Such view suggests that citizenship responsibilities are seen as a danger to personal autonomy and freedom and serve more as compelled obligation to a nation-state (Conover et al., 1991). Besides, the understanding of not having or resisting the civil responsibilities can be explained through France's (1998) conclusion that young people do not recognise and do not undertake responsibilities because they feel like being excluded from possessing some rights. Also, Bjerke (2011) outlines that such perceptions can be related "to the perceived selfishness of children and their lack of interest in what is going on in society" (p. 75) or unwillingness to undertake responsibilities in order to enjoy their childhoods.

Moreover, the participants' frustration and resistance of the responsibilities and the mentioned by them the legal limit of age resonate with the common perceptions of children and young people as 'becomings' and 'future citizens' in the Western societies. In line with this perspective, childhood is a period when children and young people should be free and protected from the burden of the responsibilities as they lack the competencies of adults and do not have enough experience in undertaking responsibilities (Bjerke, 2011), but simultaneously, children and young people should learn how to be responsible. This indicates that to be full responsible is restricted by the dominant normative ideas "of being a rational adult, with the necessary life-experience and competence" (ibid., 74).

Chapter 6. The Concept of a Good Citizen

How young people perceive citizenship can influence how they understand what it means to be a good citizen as well as how they identify themselves as citizens. Smith et al. (2005) highlight that "citizenship status is dependent on how we understand the meaning of citizenship" (p. 430). These perceptions on citizenship identity influence how young people behave in civic and political lives. Therefore, in this chapter, the perceptions of young people on what it means to be a good citizen will be analysed in relation to what qualities and actions a good citizen has and what ways young people outline to become a good citizen. The analysis of what makes young people identify themselves as citizens and what restricts them to feel like citizens will also be presented. This will be accompanied by whether young people consider themselves as good citizens and what would motivate them to be/become a good citizen. It is important to note that the quotes represent the answers not of all the participants as the views and experiences among young people vary.

6.1 Qualities and Actions of a Good Citizen

Young people offer a number of ideas about what constitutes a good citizen. The analysis of empirical data of this research project revealed that there are three main criteria for young people to consider someone as a good citizen: (1) someone who is respectful towards the law; (2) someone who has a combination of qualities of a good person; and (3) someone who takes actions and participate in the socio-political life. Dean (1999, p. 110) shows similar interpretations of young people who see a good citizen as "someone who looks after other people, … someone who contributes to the community, and … someone who obeys the law and/or pays their taxes" (as cited in Lister at al., 2003). Additionally, it is important to stress that when talking about qualities and deeds, young Ukrainians switch between a good citizen and an ideal citizen. Nevertheless, both conceptions have similarities which will be presented further.

6.1.1 Obeying the Law

Young people in this research project explained differently how they view the concept of a good citizen. During group discussions, young people had an opportunity to describe what a citizen should do to be considered as a good citizen. More than half of the participants found that to obey the law of a country is an important part of being a good citizen.

> *P1(GI3): [A good citizen] is the one who obeys the law.*

> *P4(GI9): The most important, I think, for a citizen is to know and follow the laws because if you are a citizen and you live in a certain country, you must obey what is written in the Constitution.*

> *P2(GI14): Follow the laws – for a good citizen is important because if everyone will not follow the laws, it will be chaos.*

The quotes above suggest that being a good citizen means to behave in accordance with the rules of the state and the society (Magstandt, 2019). In this sense, the requirements of a good citizen are defined by the state; thus, a good citizen is a loyal citizen who should fulfil the expectations that put on him or her by the state and ready to limit individual rights for the benefit of the community (Conover et al., 1991). Many young people's perceptions on a good citizen are more in line with the traditional civic republican model

of citizenship that emphasises responsibility to follow the law more than personal well-being (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). In the way of understanding a good citizen through obeying the laws and the responsibilities, it becomes more evident that it is an essential part of how young people understand the concept of citizenship. This suggests that the perceptions on good citizenship are constructed through relationships between the state and the 'ordinary' citizens in the specific context. The state provides the range of the acceptable acts and social roles that are supposed to be 'good' (Pykett et al., 2010) while citizens are expected to perform them in order to be considered as 'good'.

This suggests that a good citizen is someone who follows legal requirements of the state and the commitments to the community. Conover et al. (1991) argue that "a strong emphasis on civility and the preservation of community norm" outweigh political participation (p. 814); thus, a good citizen tends to have a more passive role in the society with a certain degree of obedience and loyalty while the nation-state regulates its citizens behaviour. Eid's (2015) research with young Bahrainis also shows that the interviewed participants "endorsed qualities related to the 'rights, responsibilities and the law' category of citizenship" (p. 15). In this sense, the country maps the spaces within which citizens are supposed to perform and identifies the approach that allows to regulate behaviour and attitudes of good citizens (Pykett et al., 2010) which means that a good citizen is expected to fulfil the expectations placed on him or her. The perceptions of a good citizen as someone who obeys the laws places the emphasis on the personal responsibility which "obscures the need for collective and often public sector initiatives" and "distracts attention from analysis of the causes of social problems and from systemic solutions" (Westheimer & Kahne, 2002, p. 15).

However, when discussing what a good citizen is, some young people differentiated between knowing the law and obeying the law. The participants outlined:

P3(GI11): Well, to know and to obey [the law] are two different things. You can know them but not obey.

P2(GI9): …To be a good citizen, it is needed to know some laws, rights and responsibilities in general. To know them completely is impossible.

The analysis revealed that seventeen participants favoured that it is more important to know the law, rights and responsibilities if someone wants to be a good citizen than to obey them. In comparison, twelve participants highlighted that obeying the law, rights and responsibilities is crucial for being a good citizen, but it appeared less frequently. One explanation to these viewpoints can be that young people are in the process of learning the laws, rights and responsibility; therefore, knowing them is seen as more important than to exercise them. Moreover, as it was presented in the previous chapter, young people are often restricted in their citizenship practices of rights and responsibilities. This affects their understandings not only about what citizenship is but also how they perceive the notion of the good citizen.

In addition, shifting the focus from obeying to knowing can suggest that young people were influenced more by the democratic values that were introduced as a part of young people's civil education in the middle of 2000s (see the background chapter). The aim of these measures was to support the emerging democratic society that was still fragile and needed a great support. This caused certain changes in the image of a good citizen in Ukraine – to the prevailing orientations of collective good and patriotism were added the respect of the rights of others. Thus, the portrayal of a good citizen described by young people should be understood and related to the specific time and place and

historical period. Different political regimes at different times may create different frames of a good citizen that would address the existing needs and issues of the nation-state (Pykett et al., 2010).

6.1.2 Qualities of a Good Citizen

The understanding of the concept of a good citizen in the way of what qualities he or she should possess plays an important role as it prevails the citizenship discourses in the specific context. During mapping, young people had an opportunity to mark pre-identified or to write ten qualities which they perceive to be essential for being a good citizen. For young participants to consider someone as a good citizen, he or she should possess certain qualities and behave in a particular way. The analysis of responses revealed that such qualities as mutual respect, humanity, fairness, honesty and politeness were mentioned by the participants the most often.

Table 3. Five qualities required for a good citizen

Quality	Quantity
Mutual respect	19
Humanity	18
Fairness	17
Honesty	15
Politeness	12

Mapping was followed by the group interview where young people could explain the choice of the qualities. The most common interpretation of a good citizen was that he or she possesses the quality of respecting others and vice versa. They explained that a good citizen is someone who shows respect to other people as well as to practice self-respect.

> *P4(GI9): Mutual respect, I think that without respect to others, you cannot be a good person.*

> *P2(GI14): The main for me is respect – everyone should respect everyone, everyone's choice and everyone's thought, it is really important. Everyone should have been listened to.*
> *P1: Yeah, I mean how can you be a good citizen if you do not respect your co-citizens? To be a citizen – to a be a part of country, of nation, of society, so to be a part of society means to communicate, to respect each other.*

Therefore, mutual respect for young people is a cornerstone for being a good citizen. This suggests that the qualities of a good citizen are developed and interacted in the interdependent relations that are embedded in the civil society. Tupper and Cappello (2012) show that young Canadians place respectful relationships as high priority when describing a good citizen. Moreover, some participants referred to tolerance as a part of respect in which people's differences should be respected.

> *P1(GI11): Tolerance because you should not care [about differences] in another person. It is when you respect all races, nationalities…they should not make difference for you.*

P1(GI14): Tolerance, of course, you cannot judge people by how they look.

In this way, these young people supported the understanding of a good citizen as someone who accepts diversity. These views of young Ukrainians resonate with the ones of Canadian young people in the study of Tupper and Cappello (2012). The analysis of both research projects reveals that according to young people, the good citizen should respect people despite what race, culture, religion and socio-economic circumstances they have. In addition, young people in this study outlined that the quality of fairness is also important for a good citizen; thus, a good citizen should treat everyone fair. The combination of respect and fairness can suggest that young people indirectly talk about equality in the society. It proposes that the qualities of a good citizen are unfolded in the relation to other citizens. As such, young people describe a good citizen more in line with liberal model of citizenship (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). Moreover, a large proportion of the participants related the quality of humanity to the description of a good citizen.

P3(GI9): Humanity, maybe because…well, every person has to be…should not behave like an animal (laugh), treat other people with politeness and respect.

Even though young people referred to humanity as a quality of a good citizen, when discussing, they rather saw it as a quality of a good person. In this way, young people substitute 'a good citizen' with 'a good person'. This can mean that some participants do not separate these two concepts and for them to be a good citizen means to be a good person. The quote below shows that the participant was choosing qualities based on what would constitute a good person and as a result, a good person meant to be a good citizen.

P1(GI10): I choose those qualities because those qualities for me mean a normal adequate person who understands what is going on.

P2(GI14): Like for me a good citizen should have some...should have qualities really simple that everyone should have to be a good person.

This resonates with the observations of Smith et al. (2005) where they conclude that for some participants 'citizen' meant 'person'. In this sense, young people highlighted citizenship as a 'universal status' that every person should possess. Outlining such qualities of a good citizen, young people emphasised the role of citizenship as something that can help people to live together as community. However, Magstadt (2019) argues that the moral norms and values of a good person can go into conflict with the meaning of a good citizen when it is defined by the state due to the fact that "the state seeks to obscure or obliterate the difference between the two" (p. 298).

Interestingly, such qualities as having manners and being civilised (*vykhovanyi*) were highlighted by participants as important for how to be a good citizen. It can be argued that young people perceive citizens as part of the society which has its formal norms and informal rules; therefore, a citizen should follow the established way of behaviour in order to be considered as a good citizen.

P3(GI3): Some qualities, I picked according to what qualities a person should have if he/she is in the society. I mean if this person is in contact with people, he/she has to be kind, civilised, polite and so on. A good citizen should behave well.

P5(GI9): [A good citizen] should behave normal.

This understanding of a good citizen can be explained through the notion of the influence of the previous regime where citizens were judged by the standards of behaviour that was achieved by 'vykhovannya'. Krupets et al. (2017) outlines that 'vykhovannya'[7] has deeper meaning than the literal translation of 'upbringing'. It was embedded in the Soviet vision of moral and social education of young people that aimed to raise a person who would always behave in line with state's social and political norms and standards. As such, the main value of a good citizen was to be oriented towards country's prosperity and well-being. In this sense, young people make emphasis on the collective obligation of a good citizen. It is important to note that intergenerational relationships affect the formation of a good citizen as adults – parents and the government – define what is 'normal behaviour', deliver 'vykhovannya' and evaluate whether young people 'behave well'. This puts young people in subordinated position to adults (Alanen, 2009; Pykett et al., 2010).

One more interesting quality that young people outlined was health. The participants marked health as a valid quality to consider someone as a good citizen. However, during discussions, they struggled to explain why a good citizen should have good health.

> P2(GI11): Yes, I have chosen health because… health should be… well, it is hard to explain, and it should be understood without explanation.

Various educational programmes directly or indirectly promote a healthy lifestyle (e. g. have a healthy diet, give up bad habits, do sports and so on). This approach was adopted by country as the strategy to fight with cigarette, alcohol and drug addictions, including among children and young people. This suggests that one of the country's perceptions of a good citizen was that a good citizen is a healthy citizen. Moreover, the reduction of a number of people with addictions supposed to have positive influence on the citizens who are involved in crime actions. Therefore, the choice of health as a quality of a good citizen seems to be important for young people. Moreover, following the line where young people equate a 'good citizen' to a 'good person', health is considered as an important part of a person's lifestyle and accordingly a good citizen also should have good health.

Even though some qualities illustrate that young people are still being affected by the ideological assumptions of the previous political regime where a good citizen meant to be loyal and obedient to the state, young Ukrainians give another interpretation to what qualities a good citizen of Ukraine should have. These qualities indicate that in order for young people to consider someone as a good citizen, he or she should be first a good person.

The analysis of the data revealed that for young Ukrainians, the qualities that make a good citizen were more in relation to the social and civil life while in relation to political area were unnecessary or less necessary. This has a degree of resonance with the starker finding of Eid (2018) where young Bahrainis perceive that the qualities "which were obviously related to politics, were not required for Bahraini citizens" (p. 16). It reflects young people's orientation to moral values and ethical behaviour of a good citizen. Young people in this research project believed that this kind of a good citizen would be able to build a tolerant society which could bring equality and welfare. However, Westheimer and Kahne (2002) argues that the focus on such qualities is not "inherently about democracy"

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[7] Krupets et al. (2017) write about the Russian context and use the Russian word 'vospitanie' which is translated to Ukranian as 'vykhovannya'.

and reduce attention on other important "democratic priorities" which means that these qualities "hinder rather than make possible democratic participation and change" (p. 15).

In contrast, qualities such as loyalty (1[8]), patriotism (5), follow traditions (3), knowing country's history (7), protect the country (5), language (4) were among the least frequently picked and considered as less important. Evidently, young people did not see these qualities as an essential condition for being a good citizen. This goes in contradiction with young people's perceptions of citizenship in the patriotic notions. Love for the country and desire to improve the country rarely appeared during the group interviews in relation to a good citizen. As it was mentioned in the background chapter, Ukrainian civil education added more democratic perceptions to patriotism and loyalty. Consequently, young Ukrainians preferred qualities such as respect, humanity and fairness over patriotism and loyalty. It indicates that the understanding of what qualities a good citizen should possess unravels and acquires meaning in the specific context (Pykett et al., 2010). Therefore, the shift in the social conditions in Ukraine has changed the norms of what it means to be a good citizen. As a result, as Dalton (2008) argues that younger generations are more likely to participate actively in the social and civil processes than in political.

6.1.3 Actions of a Good Citizen

Taking actions in the social and civil processes was considered by the participants as an essential part of a good citizenship. Pykett et al. (2010) argue that when discussing good citizenship, it is important to place focus on the acts of citizenship. Young people often related the outlined values, or a combination of them, to the fact that a good citizen should help others. The responses of young people referred to the understanding that a good citizen should think about others. Many participants highlighted that a good citizen gives his or her time to help those who in need and consequently it is vital for being a good citizen.

> *P3(GI9): Helping others, I think that a good citizen should help every person who needs a help. Any person…if you see that someone does not feel well, you are obliged to help that person.*

> *P1(GI9): [A good citizen] should help others who requires it and should give his or her time to those who needs it.*

> *P1(GI13): Volunteering shows that you are a good citizen and do not leave out anyone.*

Consequently, it means that for young people a good citizen should participate in social life and contribute to the society or to the community. This can be related to findings of Lister et al. (2003), which show that "a considerate and caring attitude towards others and a constructive approach towards and active participation in the community" (p. 244) were offered by the participants as the most common interpretation of what it means to be a good citizen. Similarly, young Germans in the research of Miller-Idriss (2006) insisted "that one of the characteristics of a good citizen is helping others or being an active part of the community" (p. 555). In this case, such contribution can be made by formal volunteering or informal helping others.

Volunteering was seen by young people as participating in some organisations or visiting nursery homes, animal shelters or other place which organise more formal way of

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[8] In parenthesis, the number of participants that picked mentioned quality.

helping. Similarly, young people in the research of Smith et al. (2005) expressed feelings that volunteering is an indicator of being a good citizen. In this sense, voluntary work is seen as official way of participation that are often organised by non-state actors (e.g. non-governmental organisations) and should ensure that participants demonstrate appropriate norms, values and behaviour (de Koning, 2015). This indicates how good citizenship is formed through the interactions and relationships between 'elite' representation and performative acts of 'ordinary' citizens (Pykett et al., 2010). As such, a good citizen needs "the knowledge and skills necessary for civic engagement in community affairs" (Westheimer & Kahne, 2002, p. 17).

However, Lister et al. (2003) outline that young people argued that "not doing voluntary work does not mean that one is a bad citizen" (p. 247). In a similar vein, majority of young Ukrainians in this study acknowledged that a good citizen can also participate in other ways which can be outside of formal volunteering. Therefore, the actions of a good citizen go beyond being an organised formal activity. Young people in this study saw that helping other people in a more informal day-to-day format is essential when it comes to be a good citizen. It means that "contributing to society, helping the community, being a good neighbour and supporting the vulnerable" (Smith et al, 2005, p. 437) are all seen as participatory actions of a good citizen. Lister et al. (2003) also found that young people frequently stated that 'helping people' and contributing to the community are important factors for being a good citizen.

Young Ukrainians in this research project frequently referred to such example as helping older people on the streets and taking care of those who are in need. This resembles the findings of the study of Miller-Idriss (2006) which suggest that young Germans conceptualise good citizens in the notions that are behavioural. This means that young people expect a good citizen not only to be involved in the formal activities but also "that citizens will actively help fellow citizens and work toward improvement of the country" (p. 555). In addition, young Ukrainians argued that a good citizen should be able to predict or anticipate the consequences of the taken actions and take responsibility for the outcome of those actions. By placing "an emphasis on collective work related to the life and issues of the community" (Westheimer & Kahne, 2002, p. 13), the relational nature of constructing an idea about what a good citizen does is highlighted. The good citizen should recognise that his or her actions take place in the relation to the community and the country and the same time, the society should acknowledge the actions of citizens.

Furthermore, young people mentioned other aspects of being a good citizen. Often, young people in this study referred to homeless people as not good citizens as they do not work. In this sense, employment is seen as an important factor to be considered as a good citizen. This resonates with the participants' perceptions of citizenship in the sense that a good citizen is someone who is economically independent and can contribute to the country by paying taxes. Moreover, in relation to the responsibility model of citizenship, young people perceive undertaking the responsibility of paid work can mean that a person immediately possesses some of the qualities of a good citizen. Smith et al. (2005) show that for young people in Britain, people who do not have work are seen as "second-class citizens" and those people are untrustworthy (p. 433). But at the same time, a significant part of young participants acknowledged that being employed still does not necessarily mean that someone is a good citizen. A person can still lack some qualities and fail to take actions that are more important for being a good citizen than having a job.

Moreover, many young people in this research project argued that a good citizen needs to be interested and participate in the social processes. They mentioned that a good citizen should be aware of ongoing situations and contribute to the society.

> *P5(GI3): I think that a citizen should know what he/she is doing. I mean […] be knowledgeable and know what is happening around the world.*

> *P3(GI9): [A good citizen] should know, for example, about his or her country…what, where and when [something happening].*

> *P4(GI9): [A good citizen] should do something for the country…even something insignificant, for example, go to a meeting, join some organisations, go to clean streets.*

The quotes above demonstrate that some participants argued that a good citizen should be involved in and be conscious of social issues that exist not only in the nation-state of the residence but also those that are in the wider international context. This indicates that the actions of a good citizen should address the issues that "are raised in the complex and overlapping contexts of global dependencies" (Pykett et al., 2010, p. 525). Therefore, the context within which good citizenship is framed should not be limited only to the nation-state. It is important not to separate it from the wider global context as it also influences the interpretations of how a good citizen should act.

Further, the analysis of the generated data also revealed that political participation was mentioned by young people less often. This is consistent with the results of Lister et al. (2003) where "political conceptions of good citizenship were less frequently articulated" (p. 245) by young British who participated in the research. Therefore, voting is not seen as an important criterium for being a good citizen and a very small number "saw good citizenship in more active political or campaigning terms" (p. 245). This also resonates, to a certain extent, with the findings of Sigauke (2012) which show that young people in Zimbabwe did not perceive that a good citizen should be involved in politics but "regarded non-political activities as indicators of good citizenship" (p. 220). This can suggest that a good citizen is rather involved and aim to improve society through the community work and volunteerism than participating in social movements that challenge the social structure and bring systematic change (Westheimer & Kahne, 2002).

Overall, it is possible to notice that being a good citizen for young Ukrainians expanded from the notions of being passive and obeying the laws, rights and responsibilities to more active participatory views where a good citizen should be involved in the community and civil processes. Seeing a good citizen in these ways is not exclusive for young people in Ukraine. For example, the study of Smith et al. (2005) also shows that for young people in Britain being a good citizen was "ranging from the more passive abiding by the law, to the more proactive helping people and having a positive impact" (p. 436). Moreover, throughout the group interviews, it became obvious that most of young people in the study thought that a good citizen is someone who is a good person. In addition, what young people count as the most or the least important factor for being a good citizen is affected by their personal background as well as by the historical-political situation of the country where they live.

Such interpretations of the data suggest that young people see a good citizen as a part of the society who has a responsibility to participate and influence civil processes. However, as it is possible to notice, the participation is more related towards social involvement rather than political. Lister (2008) argues that for many people, including young people, social actions are more beneficial and meaningful ways of participation than political in traditional definition.

6.1.4 How to Become a Good Citizen

As it is was outlined, the participants had various understandings of what it means to be a good citizen; thus, near the end of the group interviews about good citizenship, it felt appropriate to ask young people "How does someone become a good citizen?" Interestingly, young people referred frequently to self-improvement as a method to become a good citizen. Such answers as "improving yourself", "you have to start from changing yourself", "work on yourself", "firstly, begin with yourself" appeared in all group interviews about a good citizen. This shows that young people who participated in the research acknowledged that everyone can be a good citizen; however, some participants added that it can happen just in that case when a person has a desire to do so.

> *P4(GI3): A person needs to want [to become a good citizen] or otherwise nothing will change him or her.*

This shows that some young people perceive being a good citizen as an innate virtue. Therefore, there is nothing that can motivate a person to be a good citizen except by his or her own conviction or motivation. In this sense, young people stressed the person's agency in constructing a good citizen. Conversely, other participants acknowledge that good citizenship depends not only on the person but also on the context which the person lives in. Thus, young people argued that becoming a good citizen is influenced by how a person was nurtured and educated.

> *P3(GI3): It depends on nurturing. It depends on parents. If from childhood a person does not have some independence, education then later on he or she will not be able to learn it.*

> *P2(GI11): Probably a person should have normal education. When you live in a normal family then you will have respect and politeness and so on.*

Therefore, it is noticed that for some young people, family, parents in particular, plays a vital role in the formation of good citizens. Being a good citizen is something that a person acquires through nurturing and education, according to the participants. This echoes certain similarity with the findings of Miller-Idriss (2006), which show that some participants indicated that qualities and attributes of a good citizen are "acquired elements of his character, rather than innate ones" (p. 556). The analysis of the data suggests that young people form understandings about good citizenship through interaction within intergenerational relations. Young people's knowledge and skills of a good citizen are constructed and practiced within their family. This resonates with young people's views on that a good citizen is someone who has qualities of a good person. The family provides the space where young people acquire certain qualities and learn how to participate. Therefore, it is important to provide young people with the support that can encourage them to participate in social processes. Furthermore, some young people outlined that the extended environment in which a person lives in also influences whether this person will become a good citizen or not.

> *P3(GI3): No, it is not only from parents… A person spends time not only with parents but also with friends, teachers and others.*

> *P1(GI10): By looking at others make conclusions and do not do how you would not want it to be…and how you would want it to be. Find a balance in all this.*

Young participants repeatedly saw people in their environments as the source of learning how to be a good citizen. For them, one of the methods to become a good citizen was based on the examples they saw around them. Therefore, the analysis of the data indicates that for young people in this study, good citizens are formed through interactions with the actors in different spaces rather than being born. This means that "the image of key actors whose acts constitute operative ideas of good citizenship" influences the understandings of young people about a good citizen (Pykett et al., 2010). However, it is important to mention that the different actors do not have equal impact on formation of ideas about good citizenship. As such, it was interestingly to observe that a significant part of the participants did not give much importance to the school as the place which forms good citizens. Young people in Ukraine receive citizenship education and some participants mentioned that they were taught political literacy (for example, laws, political systems and so on) at school. But young participants did not recognise it as relevant because the school did not form the qualities of a good citizen which they discussed earlier in the group interviews. One of the illustrative examples is presented below:

> P1(GI11): For example, confidence. In the 4th grade we had a music teacher. She was playing the piano and we had to go to the front of the class and sing. If we did not go, she gave us a bad grade. Many [students] cannot sing and were ashamed…we were just humiliated in front of the class.

The analysis of the observation notes showed similar patterns of the relationships between students and teachers. In this sense, the participants perceived that the school has less influence on forming good citizens than their families. This probably can be explained by placing an emphasis on how young people understand what it means to be a good citizen. As it was mentioned previously, moral virtues of a person were more important for young people than loyalty to the country or speaking the national language. Consequently, many young people perceived that they learn how to be a good person outside of the school setting as the education in Ukraine still keeps certain traditions from the previous authoritarian regime. This can suggest that there is a conflict between the conceptualisations of a good citizen. The school offers the particular concept of a good citizen that is formed by the government which does not or only partially coincide with young people's views. It does not mean that young people do not acknowledge that the country itself play a role in the process of forming good citizens. Even though these views appeared less often in the group interviews, for some participants, the role of the country of raising good citizens was placed within patriotic notions.

> P3(GI10): I do not know how…probably to love your country.
> P1: I agree. If you do not like a place where you live, you will not want to be a good citizen.

Therefore, the analysis of the empirical data revealed that for young people a good citizen is formed through the multiple relationships in the various spaces, including interactions within the family and educational, community and social institutions. This can mean that there are possibilities to form multiple and coexisting frames of good citizenship within specific political, economic, social and cultural contexts (Pykett et al., 2010). Additionally, these understandings show that young people perceive the formation of a good citizen as the interdependent process of relationships (Alanen, 2009). Hence, becoming a good citizen is both a subjective experience and a social practice that unfolds through interpretations and negotiations.

6.2 Experience of Being a Citizen

The analysis of the data in this research shows that the different understandings and conceptualisations of citizenship outlined in the previous chapter affect how young people interpret their experiences of being citizens of Ukraine. Young people's experiences of citizenship often differ from the experience of adults as they occupy different intergenerational position in the social structure.

6.2.1 Self-identification as Citizens

To explore how young Ukrainians experience being Ukrainian citizens, first, they were asked whether they consider themselves as Ukrainian citizens. All participants unconditionally identified themselves as Ukrainian citizens. The results of analysis revealed that a significant proportion of young people considered themselves as Ukrainian citizens for the reasons such as having a document which prove their legal status and the fact that they were born in Ukraine.

> *P1(GI4): First of all, I have Ukrainian passport. And second, I was born in this country as well as my parents.*

> *P3(GI15): I was born here; I grew up here.*

The quotes above indicate that young people acknowledged that officially they belong to Ukraine because they were born within territorial boundaries of the country and possess legal documents. This means that young people's perceptions on citizenship as geographical location and formal documentation coincide with how young people understand themselves as citizens. Most of the participants often relied on the citizenship model of birthplace and documents as something what makes them citizens. Similarly, young people in Bahrain identified themselves as citizen of the country because of their birthplace (Eid, 2018). In comparison, in the study of Lister et al. (2003), young people judge themselves as citizens in relation to economic independence model. However, a small number of young Ukrainians, in addition to birthplace and documents, justified being citizens through a social contract model. Some of them acknowledged that they have responsibilities which they undertake and for that they receive rights and security from the country.

> *P2(GI7): We became citizens when we were born. We have passports. Moreover, we follow our civil responsibilities.*

> *P4(GI8): Because I have protection [of the country], I have rights and I have some responsibilities which I follow.*

> *P1(GI8): Because the country support me, it gives me what I need and, in my turn, I study and bring benefits to the country.*

In contrast, when young Ukrainians were asked if they consider themselves as full citizens, less than a half of the participants viewed themselves as "full citizens". There were no participants who recognised themselves as not citizens, but the vast majority of young people identified themselves as partial citizens. The most often occurred explanation was that they do not feel themselves as full citizens due to their age.

P3(GI4): I think that until 18 years old, we are not full citizens. We have some restrictions because of our age and that does not give a right to be called a 100% citizen.

P3(GI6): We are too young to be full citizens.

It is evident that age plays an important part for young people's identification as citizens. Young Ukrainians in this study saw the age as the cause of some limitations for them to be considered as full citizens. This shows that young people's self-identification unravels through the intergenerational relations within which their position is constituted and negotiated. Young people compared their citizenship opportunities to the ones which adults have. This suggests that for young people, citizenship means a transition to adulthood. As such, it places young people in the generational position of 'not-yet-citizen' and highlights the subordinated power relations (Alanen, 2009; Mayall, 2002). This creates certain restrictions for young people's citizenship which are experienced in different areas of young people's lives.

P1(GI4): We cannot have full time work somewhere.

P4(GI6): Well, we cannot vote, we do not have that right. Also, for example, before 21 years old, we cannot buy alcohol and it also makes us not complete citizens.

P2(GI7): No, until we reach 18 years old, we cannot vote.

Young people understand that they do not have all the benefits of a citizen until they reach 18 years of age. Therefore, young people recognise themselves as citizens in relation to the achievements in their lives. Such conditions as being heard and taken into account as well as independence also played an important role to the experiences of being a citizen. This highlights that young people's self-image as citizens is restricted due to the fact that they cannot exercise the full range of citizenship rights because they do not fit the normative requirements of competency that are set by adults (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). In this sense, adults do not recognise young people as full citizens and place the boundaries for young people's representation and participation which result the marginalisation of young people in the society.

Young people expressed that they feel like being excluded as citizens from civil and political processes. This means that "more subjective factors were also important" for young people (Lister et al., 2003, p. 242) when it comes to the practical side of being a citizen. Consequently, the implication of this finding is that for young people, they found citizens who have more independency than them and whose opinion is taken into account more than theirs should be placed on a higher level. Thus, young people do not consider themselves as full citizens. A similar tendency appeared in the findings of Lister et al. (2003); some young participants "placed themselves at the bottom of a hierarchical image of society" (p. 242).

Moreover, the quotes above show that young people used the political participation model as an assessment to consider themselves whether they are full citizens or not. The right to participate in elections appears to be a meaningful criterion for young people to whether identify themselves as full citizen. The findings in Lister et al. (2003) also show that participation is important for young people; however, participation for young people is inclined towards social processes rather than political ones. Besides, a significant difference between the findings is that a minor part of young people "made reference to

voting" in Lister et al. research with young British (p. 242) whereas the research with young Ukrainians shows that for them the opportunity to vote often means to be a complete or full citizen. At the same time, since the interviewed participants have not had the voting experience, they shared that this restricted them from identifying themselves as full citizens. Further in the discussions, when young people were asked the question "Will you consider yourself as a full citizen with gaining the right for vote?", a significant portion of participants answered with a definite "Yes". The explanation to this can be that young people face structural limits which exclude them from having an opportunity to participate in political life, particularly in voting because it is a tool to participate in the decision-making processes coming from the state or government.

Furthermore, as it was presented above, some young Ukrainians shared that the inability to get paid work and being dependent on parents also reduced their opportunities to identify themselves as full citizens. Smith et al. (2005) conclude that "some participants felt that their identity as citizens was limited because they were not in waged employment and were dependent on the parental home" (p. 440). This shows that the feeling of having restricted independence influences young people's experiences of being citizens. Moreover, when talking about economical side of citizenship, some young people overlooked their contribution by being involved in the household work. This suggests that these young people failed to recognise household related work as citizenship responsibility because they are subscribed to the traditional models of citizenship.

Perceiving citizenship in the notion of responsibilities also affects young people's experiences as citizens. Young people expressed that their experiences of being citizens are limited because they do not have and are not able to undertake the whole range of responsibilities assigned to citizens. They acknowledge that by reaching 18 years of age, they are going to get not only more rights and benefits but also, they will have more responsibilities. For example, young people identified that they do not contribute economically and do not have full criminal responsibility.

P1(GI4): We do not pay taxes to the country.

P1(GI4): With 18 years old, we will gain more responsibilities, probably… We will have the whole list of what an adult citizen has. For example, the criminal responsibility also relates to this.

Consequently, young people in this study expressed that they are partial citizens because they do not undertake all the citizenship responsibilities. It is interesting that some young participants mentioned that before they reach the legal age, their parents undertake the criminal responsibility for them. Indeed, Ukrainian legislation states that parents are responsible for the certain crimes of their children until the last one turns the age of 18. This points out that children and young people are recognised by the law as someone who lack capacities for mature judgment and as a result are less culpable for committed offences (Hancock & Casey, 2011; Arthur, 2012). This highlights that children and young people are perceived through the romantic discourse where they are seen as innocent, vulnerable and incapable of judgement.

However, it is important to note that parents responsible only for a certain part of criminal acts of their children and in other instances, young people in Ukraine hold criminal responsibilities from an earlier age than they have suffrage. For example, in Ukraine, even though young people receive softer sanctions in the age span 14-17, they are still convicted. This highlights the process of responsibilisation of young people despite the fact

that legislation render children and young people as irrational and immature to be legally responsible for criminal acts.

It is evident that young people's experiences of being citizens of Ukraine relate to their viewpoints and explanations of citizenship. Even though young participants identify and feel themselves as Ukrainian citizens because they were born on the country's territory, having citizenship rights and responsibilities is a vital criterium for them when they consider themselves as full or partially full citizens. There are some similarities reported in Eid (2018) where young Bahrainis indicated that "the feeling of belonging, and having rights and responsibilities are the most important reasons for being a citizen" (p. 17).

Another way of how young people experienced being citizens appeared in relation to their participation in civil processes and having influence over them. During the analysis, it became evident that the participants could be divided into two groups. The first group comprised those who did not perceive themselves as being full citizens because they did not participate in civil processes. The second group was composed of young people who acknowledged themselves as complete citizens through participation in various civil activities.

Even though young people have a wide range of understandings about what it means to be a citizen, the participants who did not see themselves as full citizens were not always able to relate these viewpoints to their own experiences. Smith et al. (2005) found that young people did not recognise that some of their activities were socially constructive and "instead, participants tended to assess their own practice in relation to a view of volunteering as a formally organised activity" (p. 437). Such perceptions of activities narrow the opportunities for young people to identify their activities as participation in civil processes. Some young people did not acknowledge that their activities can be of different forms and the participation can be formal or informal. Moreover, Smith et al. (2005) highlight that most of young people's "socially constructive activities took place independently of formal organisations" (p. 438).

The analysis of the generated data revealed that insignificant number of participants had some experience of formal voluntary work while most of young people participated in informal social and political activities. In comparison, Smith et al. (2005) show that around one-half of the young people in their research took part in formally organised voluntary activities and around one-quarter joined informal political actions. Even though the nature and level of participation are different, it shows that most of the young participants in both research projects were involved in some social and civil activities. This can be an evidence that young people are not passive in the society but being citizens who participate in civil processes in different ways. However, the limited traditional definition of participation not only prevents to recognise their participation in the society but also decreases the value of young people as citizens in their own eyes and in the eyes of others.

After analysis, it was apparent that another group of participants saw themselves as active citizens in the given situation with the given opportunities. It means that these young people found an opportunity to increase the level of how they identify themselves as citizens through participating in the social and civil activities. This corresponds with the observation of Smith et al. (2005) which arrive to the conclusion that young people were able to "enhance their self-identification as citizens" through participation (p. 440). Young people in both studies recognised what they already do as citizens; thus, they acknowledged that they express themselves as citizens through different actions and give value to these activities. This suggests that these young people think of themselves as

capable political participants who engage in and contribute to the community and the society rather than perceiving themselves as passive and immature.

The presented above interpretations of the generated data expose that although the level of the self-identification can be different, young people still identify themselves as citizens of Ukraine. Moreover, young people in the study used different ways and strategies to acknowledge themselves as citizens. In this way, having a legal document, participating in the social and political processes or undertaking certain responsibilities are seen by young Ukrainians as important factors to consider themselves as citizens. Similarly, Lister et al. (2003) show that "achieved waged employment and paid tax; been involved in their communities or undertaken voluntary work; or had voted" (p. 242) play an important role for young people whether to identify themselves as citizens or not.

Moreover, it is apparent that even this small group of young people who participated in the research can have different approaches when it comes to the experiences of being a citizen. Smith et al. (2005) state that "citizenship identity is always contingent and continually negotiated, not only in youth but throughout the life-course" (p. 440). This suggests that the separation of young people's and adults' citizenship is not useful, and the experience of being a citizen should be acknowledged as unstable and fluid for both young people and adults.

During the group interviews, young people found ways to reshape their citizenship identities in relation to their experiences. In addition, young people's practices of Ukrainian citizenship show that their experiences are multiple as young people relate them to different models of citizenship which can include or exclude young people as citizens. However, the age limitations still play a significant role for young people's self-identification. Repeatedly, young people perceived the status of being a Ukrainian citizen as something what can be achieved with reaching certain age and as a transition to adulthood. This affects their perceptions and opportunities of being citizens and consequently, young people might lose some motivation for any participation in civil processes. In this way, a wider definition and area of participation can help to acknowledge and recognise young people as real citizens for themselves as well as for the society. Furthermore, as Smith et al. (2005) point out, young people's self-identification as citizens is influenced along the way of their transition. Consequently, the practices and experiences of young people are also witnessing transformations.

6.2.2 Self-evaluation as Citizens

Since all participants identified themselves as either full or partial citizens of Ukraine, another interesting theme that appeared during the analysis was how young people think and understand their experiences and own actions of being a citizen is linked to their self-evaluation as being good citizens. In general, young people found it difficult to answer the question "Do you consider yourself as a good citizen?", and whether they answered positively or negatively, they still struggled to explain their answers. Some young people made an attempt to refer to the qualities which they outlined earlier and judge if they are good citizens. The quote below illustrates the approach which some participants applied:

> *P3(GI3): Some qualities I have chosen because I have them, such qualities as health, optimism… In some areas, I think I am a good citizen. I mean I possess some qualities of a good citizen.*

This quote also demonstrates that the young person perceived himself as not completely good citizen. It is worth to mention that a significant number of participants identified themselves as partially good citizens or as not good citizens. Even those participants who

considered themselves as full citizens were more likely to evaluate themselves as not-good-enough citizens.

Those young people who consider themselves as good or partially good citizens explained it by stating that they were participating in activities such as cleaning the school yard or the streets, being in the school parliament, volunteering in animal shelters, and helping other people. These responses show that some young people were able to relate their views of what means to be a good citizen to their real experiences. However, some young people who mentioned participation in the social activities when they were asked if they considered themselves as good citizens, they gave a negative answer since they feel they do not contribute to their communities and are not involved in political lives.

> *P3(GI10): I do not think I am a good citizen […] because I do not do anything from what we listed for a good citizen.*

> *P1(GI11): No, because I do not have most of those [mentioned earlier] qualities.*

> *P4(GI10): Well, I think I am partially [a good citizen] and I am trying at least with some minimum to treat people with respect. I also follow the rules more or less. But to be a good citizen, I need to grow up first.*

In this way, young people's perceptions on what it means to be a good citizen played a vital part on how they make an assessment towards themselves as good citizens. The outlined qualities and actions of a good citizen proved to have meanings for young people. Also, the last quote highlights that the age limit was once again a relevant factor towards defining what is to be a good citizen. The interviewees argued that they cannot be good citizens if they do not even have all the rights and responsibilities of a citizen and that their participation in all spheres of life is restricted. Therefore, the intergenerational relations that are embedded in the specific social reality influence how young people evaluate themselves as citizens (Qvortrup, 2009; Pykett et al., 2010).

As it was mentioned in the previous subchapter, it is generally believed that a good citizen should be involved in the constructive activities and have certain ways of behaviour. In addition, Smith et al. (2005) point out that "the constructive social participation model of citizenship implied a value system" where the participants create a model of a good citizen (p. 437). The inability to subscribe to this version of a good citizen caused that young people do not feel like they fit in the constructive social participation model of citizenship. They acknowledged that they did not have an active position in the society and were not involved in the social processes. Therefore, they do not perceive themselves as good citizens.

> *P4(GI9): I think that we can do maximum for our country when we turn 18 years old because we will have full responsibility for ourselves and we would not need parents' permissions.*

From this quote, it can be implied that some young people referred indirectly to limited independence. The lack of opportunities to make decisions about their lives and being self-reliant seem to be a struggle for young people to consider themselves as good citizens. In this sense, young people acknowledged that they have unequal power relationships with adults (Punch et al., 2007). Therefore, the young people's understandings of the world they live in is influenced by intergenerational as well as intragenerational processes (Alanen, 2009).

Young people's interpretations of what it means to be a good citizen are based on the transmitted knowledge; thus, young people's reflections on their role as citizens is affected by those interpretations. An illustrative situation of this emerged during the group interviews as it was observed that young people could change their perceptions whether they are good citizens or not based on the answers and arguments of other participants. Young people could quite quickly reflect on what their peers where talking about and re-evaluate what they think of themselves as citizens.

Similarly, the experiences of identifying themselves as good, partially good or not good citizens "covered a continuum of more to less constructive activities, attitudes and behaviours" (Smith et al., 2005, p. 437). This suggests that young people's practical implication of being a good citizen goes simultaneously across different models of citizenship. Therefore, as Lister et al. (2003) suggest, the ordinary perceptions of citizenship within different models can imply inclusionary and exclusionary practices of citizenship, so "the 'lived citizenship' of young people needs to be understood in fluid terms, cutting across fixed theoretical categories" (p. 251).

The analysis of the data shows that young people negotiate what it means to be a good citizen with how they exercise it. Besides, it resonates with how Ukrainian dominant citizenship discourse constructs its approach to young people in the sense of 'not-yet-citizens'; therefore, these normative assumptions about what constitutes good citizenship affect how young people identify themselves as 'not-good-citizens' or as future citizens (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). Moreover, intergenerational relationships played an important role for how young people construct the meaning of a good citizen in comparison to adults (Alanen, 2009; Punch et al., 2007). When young people were talking about their experiences, they acknowledged implicitly or explicitly that they are different from adults in terms of being or not being citizens, so they face inequalities. It is important to keep in mind that young people are not same as adults; therefore, they represent different experiences of being a citizen to "the norm assumed and reflected in social institutional practices and beliefs" (Moosa-Mitha, 2005, p. 384).

Young people in this research project showed that their understanding of the concept of good citizen differ as well as their experiences of being citizens and justifications whether they are good citizens or not. In academic literature, being a good citizen is regularly understood in the sense of activism and participation, but the definitions of activism and participation are built in the traditional concepts of citizenship and in such a way that they often fail to acknowledge young people's participation and agency in the social and political processes. The analysis of the empirical data of this study revealed that the majority of the participants tended to adopt the traditional conceptualisations of citizenship. This resulted that young people's self-identification and self-evaluation as citizen were limited to the normative adultist perceptions and prevented some young people to understand their participation as different from the adults. Nevertheless, some participants succeeded in acknowledging these differences; thus, they resisted and responded to the social situation within which they live in. Some young people in this project saw themselves as active participants in the construction of social relations. However, the analysis of the participant observation notes suggested that often young participants were punished for their actions and expressed opinions as these were seen by the teachers as rebelling. For example, during the History lesson, a student was sent out of the classroom as punishment for expressing her opinion about the material presented to them. On the break, I asked the students' opinions about the incident, even though some participants said that this happens only in school, other students told me that this occurs to them not only in the school but also at home sometimes. They shared that they are not allowed to express opinion even though the result is going to affect them.

This turns to the argument that young people are being in the oppressive position in the intergenerational relations (Moosa-Mitha, 2005; Punch et al., 2007). It suggests that being in such circumstances, young people may lose interest of being or becoming good citizens. Then, it is important to encourage and keep young people to be motivated for being and becoming good citizens.

6.2.3 Motivation to Be a Good Citizen

The data was further examined to understand the motivational notions of young people to be or become a good citizen. Young people were asked "What would motivate you to be a good citizen?" The most commonly identified reason for their motivation to be a good or better citizen was the country where young people live in. In this sense, the role of the country to motivate young people to be good citizens was placed in different aspects. Some participants saw it in the way that the country should provide more opportunities for young people to get involved and make contributions to the society. For example, by implementing more programmes for young people.

> *P1(GI3): The country should motivate young people that they would want to change something in their country…maybe some projects. For example, one-day experience on the position of a government.*

Moreover, for other young people having opportunities were not enough. They highlighted that it was important for them to see that they are being heard and that their opinions are taken into account.

> *P4(GI9): If my actions will be taken into account by the government. If I do something and I will see that I am being heard.*

Young people's answers suggest that it is important for young people to have more spaces and opportunities for participation, share their opinions and being heard. These are significant factors for young people's motivation to strive to be good citizens. This demonstrates the importance not only to have the opportunities for participation but also the significance of recognition of that participation through including young people's voices and opinions when decisions are made. Young people negotiate and challenge their subordinated position in the society and the normative image of them as incapable and immature. On the contrary to the adultist views, the quote suggests that young people perceive themselves as political agents that have sufficient capacities for participation in the social processes as much as adults (Wall, 2011; Kallio, 3014). As such, the recognition of young people's citizenship would reduce the tension between young people and the society that could lead to young people's motivation to be good citizens.

Other participants perceived that the country's role in motivating young people is that the country should give more benefits to encourage young people to be active in civil processes. However, the benefits which the country can provide were different among participants. Some thought that financial benefits can motivate them to be better citizens.

> *P2(GI3): Maybe some benefits from the country. If you a good citizen then you…well, get money.*

> *P2(GI11): Give bigger salaries.*

In this way, motivation takes a form of gaining individual economic benefits. This argument about motivation as financial benefit was made mostly by those young people who did not see themselves as good citizens because of the limitations of their age. It shows that young people see that by gaining economic independence, they will be motivated to be good citizens as it should provide them with more opportunities to be involved in social and political processes. For other participants, good living conditions were more important for their desire to participate in the social life and be a good citizen.

P3(GI3): Maybe some medical insurance, good streets and roads, infrastructure. Well, maybe even not country but society motives to be a good citizen.

P3(GI10): Good government in the country and good living conditions.

Therefore, it is possible to notice that some young people are rather demotivated to be good citizens since they are not satisfied with the present ways of governing and the living situation. This suggests that for young people in this project, the country does not uphold its responsibilities in providing and securing the citizens' rights and benefits. This results that the young citizens are not motivated to undertake their responsibilities to do good for their country through participation in the social and civil processes. These perceptions highlight that young people subscribed to the social contractual view of citizenship that is, in accordance to young people, rather broken in Ukraine. This creates tensions in the relationships between 'ordinary' citizens and the government which affect the process of the construction of the country's social reality where young people occupy active political position.

On the contrary, another group of participants argued that the negative situations of the country should motivate them to be better citizens. This argument frequently came from those who evaluated themselves as good or partially good citizens.

P2(GI9): Well, when bad things happen in the country and you want to become a good citizen to change it.

P1(GI13): I understand that our country is not in its best times and situation and because of that I need to try harder to do something for it.

The quotes suggest that some participants find their motivation in patriotism. Young people highlighted that they desire to help their country when it goes through bad times. This indicates that young people emphasised the obedience and loyalty to the nation-state and that common good comes first while the private interests of the citizens should be put aside. At the same time, the analysis also revealed that some participants saw good future as the factor which would motivate them to be good citizens.

P1(GI11): Well, for a good future.

P3(GI11): Well, if you know that the future will be good then why not [to become a good citizen].

This suggests that in exchange for their support and 'good' behaviour, young participants have expectations that the country would achieve and provide certain improvements in the social conditions of living. Moreover, the analysis of the data also showed that some

young people who identified themselves as good or partially good citizens highlighted that they already had motivation for becoming better citizens.

> *P1(GI14): Personally, I am already motivated to be a better citizen, but I think for most people to be motivated is to show them a better future, what we can achieve.*

> *P2(GI14): I am already motivated, I want to be better...better like version of myself and these qualities, really simple qualities that every person should have, not just citizens, everyone should have.*

This can suggest that young people saw themselves as competent political agents who are in the position to participate and influence the social reality of the country. But at the same time, the historical context where young people live in affected how their perceptions and interpretations are developed. In addition, the quotes above suggest that young people find their motivation to be a good citizen in the prospects of the better future that it is possible to achieve. Also, they think that the vision of a better future can motivate other people if it is presented to them.

Consequently, as it was outlined, young people possess different opinions on how to become a good citizen and what would personally motivate them to be a good or better citizen. Exploring subjective motivations to be a good citizen are quite problematic as they highly depend on the personal backgrounds of the participants as well as on the context in which they live in.

The group discussions showed that young people's motives about good citizenry are mixed and were placed on both personal and social approaches. The motivation often takes individual notions and less often it is about bringing changes to the society. The motivation is based on personal benefits which the country should provide to the citizens. In this sense, the country takes the central role for young people in encouraging them to be good citizens; thus, the structural conditions affect young people's experience of citizenship. This goes in the contradiction with the imaginary perceptions of young people about what it means to be a good citizen. As it was revealed, the most prominent understanding of good citizenship among young people is someone who has the moral qualities of a good person and who participates and contributes to the society. Therefore, some young people take a passive role in forming themselves as good citizens. However, there are a number of participants who acknowledge the importance to be active in the society and this motivates them to be better citizens. These young people show that they have agency and motivation to affect the world they live in; however, they wish to have more opportunities for the realisation of their views and ideas.

Chapter 7. Concluding Remarks and Reflections

The academic writings and related policies often assume that young people are passive objects of socialisation and view them as future resources and 'citizens-in-the-making'. The focus of this research project was to investigate and analyse how young people perceive and experience the concept of citizenship and their understandings of what it means to be a good citizen in the context of Ukraine. For the development and implication of young people's citizenship, it is fundamentally important to give young people the opportunity to express their views, hear them and take into account. In this master thesis, the general account on the contemporary citizenship discourse in Ukraine, theoretical lens and the study's methodological approach were presented in order to address the imposed questions on young people's citizenship. It is important to acknowledge that the analysis of the subjective understanding of citizenship is highly problematic (Krupets et al., 2017) due to the fact that the viewpoints and experiences of young people differ. Although, it was possible to identify the features that were common among the participants. Therefore, in this chapter, a summary of the findings, the recommendations for future research and the possible implications will be outlined.

7.1 Assessing the Findings

In order to understand the conditions within which young people's views on the concept of citizenship are formed, the background information of the Ukrainian context was provided. This included the transition from an authoritarian regime to the democratic rule and the conditions in which the new citizenship identity of Ukrainians was formed and evolved throughout this period. It was important to provide an account of the socio-political, economic and cultural conditions within which young people are situated and to consider how it influences their perceptions on citizenship.

Moreover, it was acknowledged that even though young people share similarities of the Ukrainian context where they live, their personal background and situation differ which also affect their views and experiences of citizenship. Some participants had more interest in citizenship and had more direct experience of practicing their rights and responsibilities while others were less familiar with the concept and had more indirect experiences. Nevertheless, all participants, to certain extent and different level, were exposed and involved in social, civil and political processes.

Academic literature on young people's citizenship provides a wide range of conceptualisations. The discussion of young people's citizenship outside of citizenship education is a relatively recent interest that tries to acknowledge and recognise young people as citizens in here and now rather than in the future. Young people's citizenship is approached by relational understandings which accept young people's differences that traditional models of citizenship fail to recognise. The theoretical basis supported the idea of young people as political agents who possess citizenship rights and responsibilities and participate in civil processes but struggle for their recognition in intergenerational relations through various conceptualisations of childhood and citizenship.

Keeping such perceptions in mind, this study focused on young people's citizenship as an important part of young people's experiences that influence their identities. Moreover, it investigated young people's citizenship as relational processes embedded in the specific historical context and intergenerational relationships.

It is important to acknowledge that the empirical material that emerged in this study are affected by certain limitations. The qualitative approach to the research imposes some limitations itself as it involves certain level of subjectivism. Both the researcher and

the participants are bind to the subjective perceptions and reflections on the studied phenomenon (Christensen, 2004) which are embedded in the particular time and place. Besides, the qualification of the researcher plays an important role. Since this is a master project, it is planned and conducted by a master student who has little experience in carrying out a research study and is still in the process of learning and developing the needed skills and knowledge.

Furthermore, the limited time for fieldwork influenced the research design and process in various ways, such as the number of participants, the opportunity to build a more trustful rapport, time for the interviews and so on. Additionally, the study explores the research questions of young people's citizenship from different angles, perspectives and orientations rather than states a clear answer. Also, the small number of participants makes it less possible to generalise the findings.

7.2 The Summary of the Key Findings

The concept of citizenship is not static but fluid, and for young people it does not have unitary form. The meaning and experiences of citizenship shift and vary among young people. Through the analysis of the data, it was possible to observe that a significant part of young people in this study perceived citizenship as a legal status that is defined by specific geographical borders within which a person is born and as such it is essentially biological heritage from parents over which people have no control. However, the further investigation revealed that the concept of citizenship was also perceived by young people as not fixed but fluid in the sense that not only it can be 'inherited' with birth but also a person can decide to change citizenship status to the one which he or she feels more connected and ready to commit. This suggested that the participants acknowledged that the geographical places can acquire more meaningful notions than just a legal status as they develop a connection to the society where they live. For example, young people expressed that such factors as language and familiarity with the culture play a significant role in acquiring citizenship status as they help to establish the connection with the community and can affect the processes of inclusion or exclusion to it. National borders affect young people's identification with the specific citizenship community within which they establish relationships and form the sense of belonging that binds them to the particular nation-state. At the same time, the citizen's membership status should be recognised by other members of the citizenship community. Therefore, young people's views on citizenship are affected by the relations that they as members negotiate and establish with certain citizenship community that influence their identities.

The discussion of the empirical material suggested that the citizenship rights and responsibilities should be investigated in the relation to each other as both constitute young people's participation in civil processes. Through the analysis of the data of young people's views on the citizenship rights and responsibilities, it was revealed that young people emphasised the social contractual model of citizenship by highlighting that for undertaking certain responsibilities, they are entitled for the social rights and benefits. Young people expected that for their loyalty to the state and the protection of its independence, they should receive social protection in the form of medical insurance and care, free education and do on. In this way, citizenship status of a nation-state should ensure that citizens have equal opportunities to practice the rights and responsibilities. This shows that it is beneficial to approach citizenship as a relational concept that establish contractual relationships between citizens and the nation-state.

However, young people in this study were those who did not reach the age of the majority that in Ukraine is 18 years old and often they expressed that they feel excluded from the full citizenship status because of their age. In this instance, views of young people

are resting on the understanding of citizenship that is more in line with the traditional conceptualisations. Common portrayal of young people in Ukraine is often embedded in the traditional models of citizenship based on the adultist notions where young people's opportunities for expressing their voices and agency are limited. The normative adults' perceptions of young people as 'not-mature-enough' and the traditional models of citizenship where young people are not entitled to vote or access other arenas of relevance (employment, political parties and so on) influence young people's own perceptions on their citizenship status and a sense of being excluded. Young people repeated frequently that they would be able to make a difference once they turn the age of 18. This indicated that they reproduced the idea that young people assigned to the role of 'agents of change' (Walker, 2017; Diuk, 2013). Such approach highlighted young people's 'immaturity' and 'irrationality' and allocated young people to the position as future resource and as 'future citizens' and fail to acknowledge young people's agency in the present moment.

Therefore, young people's perceptions and experiences of citizenship are essentially linked to intergenerational negotiations and relations where young people occupy a particular position. As an example, young people perceived that citizenships status is related to reaching the legal age of majority which means that a person transit to the adulthood but, at the same time, young people negotiated the power relations by suggesting that the legal age should be lowered down to 16 or 14 years old. Young people expressed that they have enough capacities to participate in the social, civil and political processes as much as adults do but due to the fact that these capacities are not acknowledged by the adults, they struggle for the recognition in the society. This suggested that young people's citizenship exists in the intergenerational relations where young people face unequal power relations and are put in the subordinated position where the citizenship rights and obligations are being unequally allocated.

The participatory rights were seen by many young participants as an important part of citizenship, but in the Ukrainian context, young people's capacities for exercising their rights to participate are underestimated and regularly limited by adults. Young people's position as 'not-yet-citizens' do not allow them to take part in the decision-making process. The 'adult society' prohibits young people from the access to the certain participatory rights, such as voting or working. Young people in the study expressed that because of the absence of the right to vote, they feel like being excluded from the political processes and as a result, it reduced their feeling as citizens of Ukraine. In this sense, 'politics' were conceptualised through the normative assumptions as a formal institutional practice where young people have no place. However, the analysis of young people's answers showed that adults in their personal life enhanced young people's participation by inviting them into participatory actions. Young people articulated that they were able to participate in the organised protests of their interest together with their parents. This suggested that the intergenerational relations can acquire an ambiguous nature where adults can set boundaries for young people's participation as well as they can be a source which provide young people with an opportunity to be involved in the processes and to express their voices and show their agency in the public spaces.

The analysis exposed one more point that some rights were perceived by young people as their responsibilities. Young people outlined that they felt responsible to get education because their parents provide them with such possibility. But simultaneously, it highlighted that intergenerational relations between young people and their parents are interdependent and have reciprocity nature due to the fact that for giving children an opportunity to study, parents expect that young people do well in the school and get a good job later on.

The mainstream idea of childhood as a period that should be protected and free from responsibilities were challenged by some young people in this research project as certain rights were seen and experienced by them as exclusionary. These young people were concerned with the fact that they are not entitled to the right to be full-time employed and need a parents' permission for the part-time employment. Young people preferred to find alternative ways to get employment rather than sought for parents' approval in order to have certain economic independency even if it means to evade from the rights to protection. Moreover, the participants outlined that they undertake work responsibilities at home (care for siblings, help in the orchard etc.) which highlighted that their participation should be seen through a broader definition that takes place in everyday, mundane politics. These young people's perceptions suggested that their experience and position as citizens is being constantly affected and negotiated in the intergenerational relations and that young people can acquire an active role in the social relations in order to be included and recognised as part of the society.

The analysis of the data revealed that young people's perceptions and experiences of citizenship cannot be understood as a separate practice from the wider context within which this practice takes place. As Krupets et al. (2017) outline, "everyday meanings are multiple and can both coincide and diverge from theoretical and political concepts" (p. 255). Therefore, it is important to keep citizenship open for interpretations. Citizenship is not a fixed concept and depends on socio-historical reality where citizens live. The same concept often has several meanings for the same person and these meanings can conflict with each other as well as correspond. Miller-Idriss (2006) arrives to the similar conclusion, namely that young Germans possessed multiple opinions which were opposed to each other during the interviews.

The historical realities dictate the cultural norms and values that affect young people's experiences. The current situation in Ukraine seems to influence young people's perceptions of citizenship. The military conflict in the Eastern Ukraine enhanced young people's patriotic feelings and the emotional attachment to the nation-state that directed towards protection of country's independence and sovereignty. Moreover, the emotional resources of citizens are developed through the focus of education on patriotism that can establish the link between the country and its citizens and create the feeling of collective belonging. This suggested that young people are positioned as 'citizens-in-the-making' that can be educated in line with the norms and values of the nation-state and citizenship can take multiple forms which depend on the and historical realities.

In addition, majority of young people in this study focused more on the responsibilities than on the rights. When talking about citizenship, obedience to the law and the rules of the country for everyone's good predominated in young people's understandings, and only occasionally, they express the need to stand for rights by challenging the government. This suggested that young people are in the process of learning the democratic values of citizenship, but at the same time, they are still influenced by the previous authoritarian regime. Krupets et al. (2017) partly notice similar patterns in young Russians that demonstrate "the brief and curtailed period of democratisation in Russia and the experience of the previous generations in terms of non-involvement" (p. 264) affect both perceptions and experiences of citizenship. However, when young people talk about their experiences of citizenship, they acknowledge their membership and themselves as a part of society through having the relationships with the community and the country.

The analysis of young people's views on what it means to be a 'good citizen' revealed that there is no one way to underscore good citizenship due to the fact that there is no right or wrong but rather subjective perspectives of it. Multiple viewpoints on what

constitutes a good citizen suggested that it should be treated and interpreted as relative concept as the qualities and actions of a good citizen acquire value only when practiced in a specific context.

The study of young people's perceptions showed that for them a good citizen should have certain qualities and take particular actions. When young people described a good citizen in the notions of qualities, they repeatedly substitute a good citizen with a good person. Such qualities as mutual respect, humanity, fairness, honesty and politeness appeared to be crucial to consider someone as a good citizen. This suggested that for young people a good citizen should be 'relatively independent' from the legal status (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994). Further, the analysis of the material implied that a good citizen was understood by the participants through actions rather than through his or her character. Young people made a distinction between formally organised activities (e.g. volunteering) and everyday informal actions but both were considered as important practices of good citizenship. The framing of a good citizen evades "making a clear distinction between some extraordinary or transformational acts as 'virtuous' and everyday practices as passive and apolitical" (Pykett et al., 2010, p. 526). Moreover, the actions of a good citizen were put by the young participants in a specific setting that has its norms and parameters through which these actions were evaluated. As such, young Ukrainians in this study outlined the standards of good citizenship that ordinary citizens should do or have obligations to perform were specific for the Ukrainian context.

The analysis of the young people's responses revealed that they expected the state to play an important part in the process of forming good citizens and should therefore encourage participation in the public matters. Even though young people indicated that the school did not play a significant role in the process of educating good citizens, it was evident that the patriotic education acquired a certain position in young people's visions. Patriotism was one of the tools through which a person can become a good citizen. The emotional affection and the sense of belonging towards the nation-state influence the actions in both public and private matters. Besides the influence of the nation-state, young people argued that the immediate environment has a significant role in the upbringing and nurturing of good citizens. The discussion of the data indicated that the intergenerational relations between adults and young people affect how young people developed the perceptions on good citizenship. For example, according to the young people in this study, their families, especially parents, influenced their perceptions and experiences of a good citizen as this is where they acquire and practice their knowledge and skills.

When young people evaluate themselves whether they are good citizens or not, the position in the society and the available resources significantly influenced their perceptions. Young Ukrainians repeatedly compared themselves and their actions to the ones of adults. This revealed that the limited opportunities for participation in the public area appeared to be one of the central reasons for young people to consider themselves as 'not good' or 'partially good' citizens. In this sense, the normative standards and norms of citizenship set by the 'adult society' caused that young participants failed to recognise their citizenship actions and experiences as being 'not-good-enough' in their own eyes and in the eyes of the society. This can affect their desire to be good citizens and discourage young people for undertaking further actions.

Young people in this study expressed that that having a space for expressing their opinions and being heard are significant criteria for their motivation to participate. In addition, they stressed the importance of being recognised as citizens through including their opinions in the process of decision-making. Moreover, the additional opportunities for engagement as well as social and financial benefits could motivate young citizens to have more active social position.

In sum, the social, civil and political realities play an important role in constructing young people's perceptions on citizenship. The traditional models of citizenship that are dominant in the Ukrainian context are not sufficient to understand young people's citizenship as they are often portrayed as 'not-yet-citizens', 'citizens-in-the-making' or 'future citizens which limit their opportunities for expressing their opinions and being taken into account. Therefore, it is important to provide alternative models of citizenship that can grasp young people's manifold, complex and ambiguous perceptions and experiences of citizenship. Due to the limitations of participatory opportunities, this study showed that young people's citizenship is placed within everyday mundane politics rather than in the formal institutional politics. Young people's citizenship draws on relational practices that take place within interdependent intergenerational relationships where young people's position is being constantly negotiated.

7.3 Recommendations and Possible Implications

The analysis and the discussion of the generated data made it visible that one of the recommendations is that the research of young people's citizenship should be more actively included in the agenda of Childhood Studies. The field can benefit from such research as it can help to strengthen the basis for the intellectual disputes about relational features of childhood in order to create the space for "excluded middle" and to move towards interdisciplinarity. Children and young people's citizenship is underexplored and complex concept. Moreover, it can provide a space to look on children and young people as 'beings' and 'becomings' who not only influenced by but also affect the society through engaging and negotiating in the interdependent and intergenerational relations on the different levels.

The future studies of young people's understandings and experiences of citizenship can focus on other categories of young people in the different contexts which would help to acknowledge children and young people's experiences of inclusion and exclusion. The research with different age groups can bring the light on how views and experiences of citizenship of children and young people change with age and show that they are not homogenous group. The research with ethnic minorities and immigrants can help to understand what factors influence on how children and young people form the sense of belonging and identify themselves as citizens. The research with young people with disabilities can enrich understandings of young people's experiences of citizenship, the practice of their rights and responsibilities, the opportunities of participation and the ways of self-identification. In addition, it is important to include adults' views that could help to expend the understanding and constitution of children and young people's citizenship as relational and intergenerational practice. Thus, more empirical investigations and novel interpretations should be done.

Certainly, it is important to keep the focus on young people's citizenship as theoretical concept that includes various interpretations but at the same time it is needed to develop the ways of how it can be put in practice. Therefore, the constructive academic criticism can highlight the pros and cons of the existing conceptualisations and interpretations in order to bring new alternative pragmatic ideas that could lead to wider recognition and acceptance of young people as active agents who participate in the on-going processes through their rights and responsibilities.

The findings of this study address the questions about young people's citizenship that provides better understanding on the experiences of young people in the society. The relational and difference-centred conceptualisations of citizenship can be used in various contexts in order to include and recognise young people as political agents in present political, civil and social processes. Such conceptualisation can lead to a better

understanding of young people's experiences of citizenship which might bring the positive change to the well-being of both young people and the society in general.

In regards policy implications, Ukraine needs to undertake a review of the policies oriented on children's and young people's rights, responsibilities and participation to ensure that the rights of the child are guaranteed in both private and public levels. Ukrainian legislation should be designed according to the international standards, including the suggestions and requirements of the UNCRC. Moreover, there is a need to build working mechanisms for implementation of the policies. Therefore, the produced findings can be one of the sources that inform the government by providing theoretical platform in the processes of developing new approaches to a national strategy oriented on the improvement of young people's participatory opportunities and the practice of their rights.

Lastly, in the themes outlined throughout the chapters, it is possible to note that young people's perceptions, to certain extent, resonated with traditional liberal and civil republican citizenship models. But often young people understand citizenship as a relational concept in terms of relationship between a person, a community and a country. For young people, this relationship can have different forms, and the experiences of citizenship also differ. Moreover, the real experiences of young people's citizenship show that the traditional understandings of citizenship are unsatisfactory to the young people's lived practices as they reduce young people's participatory rights and responsibilities and consequently might be a reason for young people to distance from participating in and contributing to political and civil life.

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Appendices
Appendix – A

NTNU | Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Information Sheet for Participants
The Norwegian Centre for Research Data Reference Number 114661

My name is Inna and I am carrying out a project. In the end of the project, I will write a report for my University course. The aim of the project is to explore young people's perceptions on citizenship and what it means to be a good citizen. Ukraine is in the beginning of its way as an independent country and it is important for adults to know and take into account what children and young people think about that as they are also citizens of the country.

If you agree to participate in the project, I will ask you to join few activities that I will organise. Adults do not always know what young people think, so it will be interesting to know what you think! You do not have to participate if you do not want. It is your choice to participate or not.

The project has 3 types of activities: group interview, mapping your thoughts and further discussion with other participants. You can choose activities which you want to participate in (it can be one, two or all three). There will not be correct or wrong answers, but it will be more important to know what you think about citizenship and what it means to be a good citizen. In the beginning of each activity, I will explain what is going to happen. You still will be able to decide to participate or not in the project or in some activities.

Together with the teachers and you we will discuss and decide when we can do the activities, so it will be convenient time for everyone and will not take much of your time. Every activity will take about 45 minutes of your time.

If you do not like the activity or what we talk about, you can decide to stop your participation. Also, you do not have to answer all of my questions. When we will be talking, I will use a recorder, so I can remember the discussions and use them for the report.

I will type the information from the recordings. Only me and my teacher will see the notes. After I complete the report, the recordings will be stored for 5 years and destroyed afterwards. No one else will know and use what you have shared.

When I will write the report, I will use your words, but I will not use your real name, so other people will not know that they are your words. If you want, you can choose for yourself another name that I can use in the report.

If you have any concerns after other conversation, you can come and talk to me. Our conversations will be private. The exception can be in the occasions if you are in danger. In that case I might have to tell your teacher about it, so he or she can help you. You can ask any question regarding the project before you decide to participate. You can contact me in person or send an email to innar@stud.ntnu.no

Thank you for reading this information sheet and considering participating in this project!

Inna Romanyuk
MPhil Student in Childhood Studies
Norwegian University of Science and Technology
innar@stud.ntnu.no

Appendix – B

NTNU | Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Informed Consent for Participants

The Norwegian Centre for Research Data Reference Number 114661

Inna has explained to me that:
1. I have the right to refuse to participate:
2. If I participate, she will be asking me about my opinion and views about citizenship and what it means to be a good citizen;
3. There are not correct or incorrect answers and I have the right to not answer the questions;
4. I am not obligated to participate in all activities. I have the right to choose to participate in the interesting activities for me;
5. I have the right to stop the conversation;
6. She is carrying on the project for University course;
7. She will use my words but will not write my real name. I agree with that;
8. The conversations and my words will be recorded. The recordings will be typed into the notes and some parts will be translated to English. Only she and her teacher will see the notes;
9. If I have any concerns about the project, I can talk with her;
10. Time and place will be approved with the teachers and me. The activities will take place during the school day;
11. I receive the copy of this form.

By signing this consent form, I agree to talk about citizenship, I agree to be recorded and I agree to participate in the project.

My name is_____

My age is _____

The name of my class teacher is _____

Date_____   Signature_____

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data & the Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Inna Romanyuk
MPhil Student in Childhood Studies
Norwegian University of Science and Technology
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Appendix – C

NTNU | Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Information Sheet for School Administration

The Norwegian Centre for Research Data Reference Number 114661

Date_____

Mr./Ms. _____

Head of School _____

Permission to Conduct Master Project

Dear Mr./Ms._____,

      My name is Inna Romanyuk. The reason I am writing is to ask your permission to conduct the project at your school. I am a master student in the programme Childhood Studies at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. As the part of the programme, I am required to conduct a project and write a report on it. The topic of the project is *Young People's Perceptions on the Concept of Citizenship*. The aim of the study is to explore how young people at the age of 16-17 years old understand what citizenship is and what it means to be a good citizen in the Ukrainian context. The project will last 8 weeks and involve such activities as participant observation, group interviews and mapping. The observation will include taking the notes of what is being observed. The group interviews will take up to 45 minutes with 3-5 participants per one group interview and will be recorded (the list with the questions is attached). During mapping, participants will be proposed to work with handouts which will be followed by the discussion (the handouts and the list with the questions are attached). The requirement of participants will be founded on the voluntary basis. It means that the students will decide by themselves whether to participate or not.

      If permission is granted, I will ask the school to assist me with the access to the students of 11th grade, support in the communication with the class teachers and help to schedule time and place on the school site for the activities. No costs are required by either your school or the individual participants. The generated data and the information about school and students will remain confidential and anonymous. It will be ensured that neither participants nor school will be identified in the report.

      You can contact me by phone +380939097972 or by email address innar@stud.ntnu.no in case if you have further questions, want to arrange a personal meeting or decided to grant a permission.

Thank you for reading this information sheet and considering participating in the project!

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data & the Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Inna Romanyuk
MPhil Student in Childhood Studies
Norwegian University of Science and Technology
innar@stud.ntnu.no

Appendix – D

NTNU | Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Group Interview Guide
The Norwegian Centre for Research Data Reference Number 114661

Participants: 1. _____ Date: _____
      2. _____
      3. _____
      4. _____
      5. _____

Explanation of the activity:

- Greetings and gratitude for participating;
- Reminder of participation process (information sheet and informed consent);
- Time frame;
- Introduction of the topic;
- Questions from participants.

Indicative Questions for the Leading Discussion:

- What is citizenship? How do you understand citizenship? What does the concept of citizenship include?

- What is democracy? Does democracy relate to citizenship? If yes, what is the relationship between democracy and citizenship?

- What is nationality? Does nationality have relationship to citizenship? If yes, what kind of relationship does nationality and citizenship have?

- How do you understand what are rights? Do rights relate to citizenship? If yes, what is the relationship between rights and citizenship? What rights do you know? What rights are the most important for you? Why?

- How do you understand what are responsibilities? Do responsibilities relate to citizenship? If yes, what is the relationship between responsibilities and citizenship? What responsibilities do you know? What responsibilities do you consider as the most important for you?

Indicative Questions for the Following Discussions:

- What qualities have you chosen? Why?
- What does a good citizen do/should do/forced to do?
- Do you consider yourself as a citizen of Ukraine? Why?
- Do you consider yourself as a good citizen of Ukraine? Why?
- How to become a good citizen?
- What would motivate you to be a good/better citizen? Why?

Closing Question:

- Are there any thoughts that you would like to add on what we have talked about?

Appendix – E

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Observation Sheet

Background:

School	
Class and place	
Date and time	
Lesson and teacher	

Factors to Consider:

Researcher	
Child(ren)	
Characteristics of place	
Weather	
Interruptions or distractions	
Other	

Observation Notes:

Appendix – F

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Handout "Good Citizen"

Name: _____ Data: _____

Mutual Respect	Kindness	Morality	Pragmatism
Courage	Experience	Persistence	Hard-working
Responsiveness	Initiative	Educated	Religious
Responsibility	Communication skills	Patriotism	Tolerant
Care	Humanity	Respectful	Artfulness/cunning
Interest	Sensitiveness	Sincerity	Credulity
Obedience	Activity	Volunteering	Persuasiveness
Rationality	Maturity	Calmness	Fairness
Organisational	Creativity	Civility	Influence
Awareness	Gratefulness	Positivity	Optimism
Politeness	Neutrality	Conscience	Independence
Lenience	Excellency	Fun	Wit
No bad habits	Love	Energetic	Honesty
Confidence	Memory	High grades/salaries	Authority
Knowledge of laws/rights/responsibilities	Compliance with laws/rights/responsibilities	Determination	Culture
Loyalty	Protection of the state	Helpful	Openness
Self-respect	Dignity	Proudness	Ingenuity
Language	Honour of traditions	Enthusiasm	Health
Fullness	Involvement	Self-knowledge/Self-improvement	Freedom-loving
Knowledge	Political	Knowing country's history	Analytical skills
Legitimateness	Spontaneity		

Appendix – G

NTNU | Norwegian University of
Science and Technology

Handout "Citizen's Rights and Responsibilities"

Name: _____ Data: _____

Rights and Freedoms:

Art. 21 The right for freedom and equality. Human rights and freedoms are inalienable and inviolable.

Art. 22 Human and citizens' rights and freedoms affirmed by this Constitution are not exhaustive.

Art. 23 Every person has the right to free development of his or her personality.

Art. 24 Citizens have equal constitutional rights and freedoms and are equal before the law.

Art. 25 The right to have citizenship. The right to change citizenship. The right for care and protection to its citizens who are beyond its borders.

Art. 26 Foreigners and stateless persons who are in Ukraine on legal grounds enjoy the same rights and freedoms and also bear the same duties as citizens of Ukraine.

Art. 27 Every person has the inalienable right to life. The duty of the State is to protect human life.

Art. 28 The right to respect of his or her dignity.

Art. 29 The right to freedom and personal inviolability. the right to challenge his or her detention in court at any time

Art. 30 Everyone is guaranteed the inviolability of his or her dwelling place.

Art. 31 Everyone is guaranteed privacy of mail, telephone conversations, telegraph and other correspondence.

Art. 32 The right to personal and family life. The right to confidentiality of information. the right to examine information about himself or herself.

Art. 33 The freedom of movement, free choice of place of residence. The right to freely leave the territory of Ukraine. the right to return to Ukraine at any time.

Art. 34 The right to freedom of thought and speech, and to the free expression of his or her views and beliefs. The right to freely collect, store, use and disseminate information by oral, written or other means of his or her choice.

Art. 35 The right to freedom of personal philosophy and religion.

Art. 36 The right to freedom of association in political parties and public organisations. he right to take part in trade unions with the purpose of protecting their labour and socio-economic rights and interests.

Art. 38 The right to participate in the administration of state affairs, in All-Ukrainian and local referendums, to freely elect and to be elected to bodies of state power and bodies of local self-government. The equal right of access to the civil service and to service in bodies of local self-government.

Art. 39 The right to assemble peacefully without arms and to hold meetings, rallies, processions and demonstrations.

Art. 40 The right to file individual or collective petitions, or to personally appeal to bodies of state power, bodies of local self-government, and to the officials and officers of these bodies.

Art. 41 The right to own, use and dispose of his or her property, and the results of his or her intellectual and creative activity.

Art. 42 The right to entrepreneurial activity that is not prohibited by law.

Art. 43 The right to labour. The right to proper, safe and healthy work conditions, and to remuneration no less than the minimum wage as determined by law.

Art. 44 The right to strike for the protection of their economic and social interests.

Art. 45 Everyone who is employed has the right to rest.

Art. 46 The right to social protection.

Art. 47 The right to housing.

Art. 48 The right to a standard of living sufficient for himself or herself and his or her family that includes adequate nutrition, clothing and housing.

Art. 49 The right to health protection, medical care and medical insurance.

Art. 50 The right to an environment that is safe for life and health, and to compensation for damages inflicted through the violation of this right. The right of free access to information about the environmental situation, the quality of food and consumer goods, and also the right to disseminate such information.

Art. 51 The right for equality in a marriage. Each of the spouses has equal rights and duties in the marriage and family.

Art. 52 Children are equal in their rights regardless of their origin and whether they are born in or out of wedlock. Any violence against a child, or his or her exploitation, shall be prosecuted by law.

Art. 53 The right to education. The right to obtain free higher education in state and communal educational establishments on a competitive basis. The right to receive instruction in their native language, or to study their native language in state and communal educational establishments and through national cultural societies.

Art. 54 The freedom of literary, artistic, scientific and technical creativity, protection of intellectual property, their copyrights, moral and material interests that arise with regard to various types of intellectual activity. The right to the results of his or her intellectual, creative activity.

<u>Art. 55</u> The right to challenge in court the decisions, actions or omission of bodies of state power, bodies of local self-government, officials and officers. The right to appeal for the protection of his or her rights. The right to protect his or her rights and freedoms from violations and illegal encroachments by any means not prohibited by law.

<u>Art. 56</u> The right to compensation, at the expense of the State or bodies of local self-government, for material and moral damages.

<u>Art. 57</u> The right to know his or her rights and duties.

<u>Art. 59</u> The right to legal assistance.

<u>Art. 60</u> No one is obliged to execute rulings or orders that are manifestly criminal.

<u>Art. 61</u> For one and the same offence, no one shall be brought twice to legal liability of the same type.

<u>Art. 62</u> No one is obliged to prove his or her innocence of committing a crime.

<u>Art. 63</u> A person shall not bear responsibility for refusing to testify or to explain anything about himself or herself, members of his or her family or close relatives in the degree determined by law. A suspect, an accused, or a defendant has the right to a defence. A convicted person enjoys all human and citizens' rights, with the exception of restrictions determined by law and established by a court verdict.

<u>Art. 64</u> Constitutional human and citizens' rights and freedoms shall not be restricted, except in cases envisaged by the Constitution of Ukraine.

<u>Art. 70</u> Citizens of Ukraine who have attained the age of eighteen on the day elections and referendums are held, have the right to vote at the elections and referendums.

<u>Art. 71</u> Elections to bodies of state power and bodies of local self-government are free and are held on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage, by secret ballot.

<u>Art. 76</u> A citizen of Ukraine who has attained the age of twenty-one on the day of elections, has the right to vote, and has resided on the territory of Ukraine for the past five years, may be a National Deputy of Ukraine.

Responsibilities:

<u>Art. 51</u> Parents are obliged to support their children until they attain the age of majority. Adult children are obliged to care for their parents who are incapable of work.

<u>Art. 65</u> Defence of the Motherland, of the independence and territorial indivisibility of Ukraine, and respect for its state symbols, are the duties of citizens of Ukraine.

<u>Art. 66</u> Everyone is obliged not to harm nature, cultural heritage and to compensate for any damage he or she inflicted.

<u>Art. 67</u> Everyone is obliged to pay taxes and levies in accordance with the procedure and in the extent established by law.

<u>Art. 68</u> Everyone is obliged to strictly abide by the Constitution of Ukraine and the laws of Ukraine, and not to encroach upon the rights and freedoms, honour and dignity of other persons.

Appendix – H

O NTNU

Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Faculty of Social and Educational Sciences
Department of Education and Lifelong Learning

	1 of 1
Date	Our reference
05.06.2019	2019/15742/KAVI
dd.mm.yyyy	
Dated	Your reference
dd.mm.yyyy	

Inna Romanyuk

Symonenka str. 5a apt. 111
03189 Kyiv
Ukraine

Not for public disclosure FOIA §
26 fifth paragraph

Letter of confirmation - MPCHILD

Department of Education and Lifelong Learning at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim, Norway, hereby confirms that Ms. Inna Romanyuk was admitted in the graduate degree programme MPhil in Childhood studies (120 credits) in August 2018. MPhil in Childhood studies is a 2-year fulltime study programme. Ms. Romanyuk will graduate 20 June 2020 and will than have earned 120 credits and obtain the degree Master of Philosophy.

Yours sincerely,

Kari Vikhammermo
executive officer
(sign.)

In accordance with delegated authority, this document is approved electronically and therefore requires no handwritten signature

Address	**Org.no. 974 767 880**	**Location**	**Phone**	**Our contact person**
Department of Education and Lifelong Learning, NTNU NO-7491 TRONDHEIM Norway	Email: postmottak@su.ntnu.no https://www.ntnu.edu	Dragvoll, Loholt Allé 91, Paviljong D	+47 73 59 19 50	Kari Vikhammermo

Please address all correspondence to the organizational unit and include our reference.