



Cultural policy as a factor in the development of national identity of Ukrainians in the contemporary world

Valentyna Kultenko*

PhD in Philosophy, Associate Professor
National University of Life and Environmental Science of Ukraine
03041, 15 Heroiv Oborony Str., Kyiv, Ukraine
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4313-8494>

Inna Savytska

PhD in Philosophy, Associate Professor
National University of Life and Environmental Science of Ukraine
03041, 15 Heroiv Oborony Str., Kyiv, Ukraine
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3795-0427>

Abstract. The relevance of the subject matter is conditioned by the problem of the crisis of national Ukrainian identity against the background of Russian military aggression, which is a strategic threat to the country, which has been fighting for its independence and territorial integrity for years. The purpose of the study was to investigate the possibilities and means of influencing cultural policy on the process of developing the national identity of Ukrainians. To achieve this goal, the following procedures were applied: analytical and synthetic research, phenomenological, dialectical, cultural, descriptive, and causal methods that reveal the content of cultural policy and identify influences on the processes of national identification. The basis of the research was the thesis that culture, being a phenomenon of the living world, is simultaneously an instrument of politics, a means of communication, and a tool for manipulating consciousness. In the course of the research, it was found that non-violent and non-aggressive means of cultural policy are more effective for the processes of self-identification and development of national identity, intercultural communication, compared to conventional mechanisms of influence, which are often ineffective in modern conditions of post-non-classical society with its uncertainty, transnational ties, hybrid wars, etc. Aesthetic and emotional perception, typical of culture and art, appeals to the ideas of cultural unity, the heredity of cultural traditions, common markers of memory as a basis for understanding complex issues of socio-political existence. It precedes a rationally substantiated awareness of reality, providing at the aesthetic level the development of pre-conceptual impressions through emotions, irrational manifestations.

Received 27.10.2024 Revised 19.01.2025 Accepted 27.02.2025

Suggested Citation:

Kultenko, V., & Savytska, I. (2025). Cultural policy as a factor in the development of national identity of Ukrainians in the contemporary world. *Humanities Studios: Pedagogy, Psychology, Philosophy*, 13(1), 107-121. doi: 10.31548/hspedagog/1.2025.107.

*Corresponding author



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Detached values of the aesthetic acquire the ability to influence reality, containing a perfect image of proper existence, reflect the socio-cultural matrix of the present, and provide stable mechanisms for identifying the individual and social development, objectified in political programmes, ethical principles, worldview ideas, creative acts, etc. The results of the study can be used by state and local authorities, public organisations for strategic planning and correction of cultural policy, cultural diplomacy, etc.

Keywords: culture; socio-cultural transformations; identity threats; cross-cultural communication; cultural diplomacy

Introduction

A characteristic trend of the modern world is a re-thinking of the meaning of political action. Analysis of the effectiveness of political actions has revealed that the non-violent means of soft cultural influence inherent in cultural policy are among the most effective. In philosophical reflections on the phenomenon of cultural politics, its understanding is reduced to two theses. First, cultural policy is a managerial activity (vertical and horizontal) in the field of culture. Secondly, it is the result of combining culture (national, regional) with politics to solve the country's domestic and foreign policy problems. This combination leads to the use of the cultural component as a determining political dominant of influence. This refers to the fact that if the state policy is implemented considering and using the cultural characteristics of the region, cultural traditions, values, arguments, then this brings better results, and they are achieved by non-aggressive means. This allows forming the most acceptable and, consequently, the most successful vector for implementing political decisions, expanding the zone of influence, etc. The history of mankind demonstrates that the rejection of politics from culture has a significant impact on both culture and politics. For culture, this turned out to be apolitical, loss of meaning, self-love, which is reflected, in particular, in the theory of "art for the sake of art". The refusal of politics to implement it in line with national (ethnic) culture is extremely harmful, because such separation from the cultural soil provokes the impotence and ineffectiveness of politics, leads to the use of power, punitive means of influence and,

ultimately, the failure of politics, up to the loss of statehood. In the current conditions of the threatened existence of the state of Ukraine against the background of Russia's military aggression, problematisation of the issue of Ukrainian cultural policy is one of strategic and security issues.

It should be noted that the discourse on national identity is not homogeneous. A significant part of researchers insist on its defining role in shaping collective interests and political behaviour. However, there are also those who consider the concept of national identity to be more theoretical, amorphous, and unstable constructs, which makes it of little use for solving practical problems. In this regard, Y. Kaplan *et al.* (2022) conducted an empirical study of national identities to compare and classify them. They appealed to metanarratives and meta-views as a theoretical basis for self-identification. The researchers define metanarratives as "shared dominant stories" and "each nation's meta-narrative". These dominants influence values, beliefs, and behavioural patterns. Researchers expect that in this way the essence of national identity is covered, similarities and differences between different national identities are revealed. These conclusions seem important and promising, and are a contribution to the theoretical development of the topic of national identity and overcoming ethno-national biases and inequality on ethno-cultural grounds.

N. Cherepovska (2022) explores the role of patriotism as a resource for preserving the national identity of Ukrainians in a hybrid, especially information war. According to the researcher,

this role is focused on the problem of insufficient theoretical understanding of the phenomenon of “information patriotism” – active, conscious activity in the information space aimed at protecting and distributing Ukrainian content, countering enemy propaganda and promoting Ukrainian values. Studies of this order are of value from the practical standpoint of correlation of state policy in the field of identification of citizens. In general, a deep connection between the study of national identity and the topic of community resistance to an external enemy, and overcoming prejudice, a sense of external threats, inferiority, etc., can be noted. This refers to the sphere of direct interests of politics, including cultural policy.

When defining the concept of “Ukrainian cultural policy”, experts focus on its essential features (Zdioruk, 2020). In particular, cultural policy is understood as a system of reproduction, standards, norms, subjects of development; as an opportunity to establish the commonality of cultural life in the country through the expansion of the network of cultural institutions and coordination of their activities; as the production and implementation of a unified policy in the field of education and science; as accounting, protection, and study of cultural heritage, support for traditions; the establishment of national unity through the development of the uniqueness and identity of national culture; the development of mass media that support public policy (Melnyk, 2022). The ability of cultural policy to shape, create, and construct a new Ukrainian identity is a measure of its quality. The specification of this thesis was carried out by T. Urys *et al.* (2021) by analysing the impact of a literary work on the nation's creative potential. “The modus of national identity is formulated as a way of realising the identity of one with his nation through certain aesthetic elements and structures at all levels of literary work as an artistic system.” This refers to the fact that a number of dominant elements of artistic creativity (motifs, artistic images, lyrical characters) also carry a load of archetypes of consciousness, symbols and toponyms, through which unity is established

between the author and readers. This position is important for this study, because it demonstrates the ability of culture and art to influence the consciousness of recipients by soft, often invisible means. The vector of such influence is arbitrary and is often determined by political objectives.

The main concepts of this study were cultural policy and national identity in the modern Ukrainian context. Therefore, it seemed appropriate to investigate the process of differentiation of these concepts in their interrelation and development in the works of modern researchers. The purpose of this study was to identify the influence of cultural policy on the mechanisms of self-identification and the development of national identity in the context of Russian military aggression against Ukraine.

Literature Review

The constituent elements on which the phenomenon of national identity is based are traditionally defined: historical memory, culture/tradition, and language. This opinion is found in many researchers, in particular, M. Kundera, Ya. Hrytsak, O. Zabužhko, and others. M. Kundera (2023) was one of the first to emphasise the continuity of national identity with culture and stressed the importance of preserving national culture in the face of threats: “The identity of the people, the identity of civilisation is reflected and concentrated in what the mind has created, in what is known as “culture”. If this identity is threatened with extinction, cultural life becomes correspondingly intense, until culture itself becomes a living value around which people gather.” The opinion of M. Kundera, established under the experience of the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops in 1968, was used as a basic position of this study, when culture overcomes the framework of the aesthetic sphere and becomes an effective factor in politics, social consolidation, international relations, etc.

The Encyclopaedia of Modern Ukraine (n.d.) the phenomenon of national identity is defined from the standpoint of cultural community as a process of identification of personalities with a

national community based on a sustained emotional connection formed as a result of awareness and acceptance traditions, culture, languages, political views, group norms and community values. The encyclopaedia offers a definition of the concept of national identity through an appeal to its components, including broad interpersonal connections and historical ideas about national identity, common historical territory, language, historical memory, culture, myths, traditions, national idea, etc. A number of researchers share a similar opinion to the above. In particular, R. Ashmore *et al.* (2001) offer an understanding of national identity through belonging to a particular state or nation. S. Dollinger (2015) considers it the meaning of “a nation as a whole, represented by the original traditions, culture and language”, which is established under the influence of education and upbringing, historical memory, and cultural proximity. Thus, the content and essence of cultural policy is revealed in the process of national identification of citizens.

The researchers note the opportunities and advantages of applying cultural policy in the field of international communication, in particular, the establishment of intercultural dialogue in the context of a meeting of different cultures. S. Zdioruk *et al.* (2012) noted on this occasion: “Culture is considered as the optimal plane for the meeting (and not the clash) of civilisations, as something that is designed not to divide, but to unite people of different races, faiths, traditions. Intercultural dialogue ... is now one of the most important tools of people’s diplomacy. Culture is what shapes the country’s image in the international arena, serves as a tool for promoting its foreign policy interests, and at the same time acts as a factor of national consolidation.” The above definition contains an allusion to the known opinion of S. Huntington (1997) regarding the clash of cultures.

A comparison of these two ways of interpreting the essence of cross-cultural communication is explicated in the following opinions. On the one hand, in both cases, the fact of rapid changes that are taking place in the modern world is

considered: “the inevitability of instability” – according to S. Huntington (1997); “provoking the development of new trends” – according to S. Zdioruk (2012). In both cases, cultural identity is considered as the basis for further civilisational development and integration on the grounds of cultural kinship: according to S. Huntington – in seven or eight civilisations in the world; according to S. Zdioruk – from the standpoint of Ukraine’s integration into the European cultural space. This refers to the fact that a successful cultural policy can contribute to the establishment of a fruitful intercultural, inter-civilisational dialogue. However, it is clear that the opinion of S. Zdioruk regarding the meeting, not the clash of cultures contradicts S. Huntington’s ideas of polycivilisation conflict. S. Huntington saw no opportunity to overcome cultural differences between different civilisations, especially in religious matters. However, it can be argued that for both researchers, the essence of cross-cultural interactions is reduced to a warning about unresolved conflicts and wars. Given the fact that dangerous cultural tensions between civilisations persist in the world, it seems important for both researchers to emphasise the importance of using intercultural dialogue in political actions, finding common ground in differences. This conclusion is generally typical for the assessment of the modern world and contrasts with the classical understanding of sovereign states, therefore, the destruction of intercultural dialogue can be considered one of the decisive criteria for the causes of wars.

Cultural policy issues are integral components of Ukraine’s national security in the context of the Russian military invasion. It is in this context that O. Marukhovska-Kartunova *et al.* (2025) found out “the main socio-cultural trends that affect the transformation of national identity and sustainability in Ukraine”. Trends that determine the process of national identity of Ukrainians during the war, are considered the processes of decolonisation of the Ukrainian socio-cultural space, the exit from the Russian cultural influence in the field of music, literature, cinema towards

actualisation of national and European cultural symbols, the Ukrainian language. As the researchers point out, “these changes contribute to the development of a stronger national identity, strengthen the social aspect of this identity, and catalyse the transition from feelings of inferiority to the growth of national pride and patriotism”. This position of the researchers is consistent with the basic position of this study regarding the mutual influence of culture, politics, and identity.

Similar conclusions were demonstrated in two experimental studies by O. Spiegler *et al.* (2022) and N. Bogado *et al.* (2023), in which the researchers note the importance of studying one’s own identity. The unambiguity of the conclusions in both cases is striking. Specifically, the researchers emphasise the existence of a strong correlation between conscious identity research and overcoming ethnic/racial or cultural biases. This refers to the fact that people, primarily young people who understand their own identity, realise themselves differently, overcoming the feeling of their own provinciality, inferiority. This reduces the fear of external threats and reduces aggressiveness. While ethno-cultural relief contributes to an increased intergroup sense of threat and an increase in prejudice. An additional effective factor in positive intergroup perception is considered by O. Spiegler *et al.* (2022) as the use of cross-cultural communication frameworks.

In modern European humanitarian discourse, studies of post-colonial consequences and ways to overcome them after the collapse of the Soviet Union are quite common. In particular, V. Pettai (2021) investigated the development of the national identity of Estonians after the restoration of Estonian independence in 1991. It is expected that the researcher considers the presence of Russian-speaking minorities, who have destabilised the situation in the country, to be one of the obstacles to the development of national identity. During the two decades of the 21st century, the situation has been stabilised, but the researcher insists on the importance of the issue of the new national project “In a world of European

integration and globalisation?” During the topic, K. Kovács (2022) focused on the analysis of national identity as a legal concept in the EU legal system. She noted that the EU treaty distinguishes between national and constitutional identity, and “the concept of national identity in EU law is constitutionalist”. Literally, this means fixing the democratic values of national and political identity at the constitutional level. However, such consolidation still does not remove the contradiction between national-political and ethno-cultural identity. The researcher sees the solution to the problem in the development of a new constitutional identity, which will provide, first of all, respect for universal constitutional principles. This position somewhat contradicts the provisions developed in this study. Consequently, the discourse on the mutual influence of national identity and cultural policy continues, revealing new problems, research positions, and practices for solving them.

Materials and Methods

To achieve this research goal, a set of scientific methods was used. The analytical method was used to investigate the theoretical foundations of cultural policy, in particular, to identify its essential features, functions, and tools of influence. This method was used to analyse the papers by philosophers, cultural scientists, and political scientists devoted to the problems of cultural identity, national identity, cultural policy, information warfare, and hybrid threats. Special attention was paid to research concerning the current state of Ukrainian society and the specifics of cultural policy implementation under martial law.

The synthetic method was used to generalise the obtained analytical data and develop a holistic view of the problem under study. With the help of synthesis, the relationship between cultural policy and national identity was established, key trends and patterns of influence of cultural policy on the processes of self-identification of Ukrainians were identified. The phenomenological method was used to study the essence of the phenomena of cultural policy and national identity. With

the help of phenomenological reduction, the process of influence, including manipulative, of cultural phenomena on changes in people's minds and beliefs was investigated. This method helped to better understand exactly how cultural tools can be used to form, strengthen or, conversely, destroy national identity. The dialectical method was used to clarify the dynamics of changes in the studied problems in the time context, in conditions of peace and war, stable and unstable society. The dialectical approach helped to consider the historical context of the development of Ukrainian culture and identity, and to analyse the influence of modern geopolitical factors, in particular, Russian aggression, on these processes.

The cultural method was used to analyse cultural phenomena and processes that affect the development of national identity. This method allowed studying the role of traditions, values, symbols, language, historical memory, and other cultural markers in the processes of self-identification of Ukrainians. The descriptive method was used to describe the nature of the action and establish the relationship between the phenomena of cultural policy and the processes of national identification. With the help of the description, specific examples of the influence of cultural policy on the development of national identity in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war were recorded. The causal method was used to establish causal relationships between cultural policy and changes in national identity. This method helped to identify the key factors that determine the effectiveness of cultural policy in the field of national identity development.

The information base of the study included papers by modern philosophers, cultural scientists, political scientists, materials from mass media, social networks (Facebook, TikTok), YouTube, and other Internet sources. The use of a complex of scientific methods combined with a broad information base helped to conduct a thorough investigation of the problem of the influence of cultural policy on the development of the national identity of Ukrainians in the context of Russian

military aggression and formulate reasonable conclusions and recommendations.

Results and Discussion

Problematisation of the provincial status of Ukrainian culture and its overcoming

Based on the synthesis of the previous research material, a number of initial positions of the study are formulated: 1) culture is the engine of socio-economic development and political influence, its action is aimed at social actors as subjects of social development; 2) in the social plane, culture provides normalisation and standardisation of public life, the development of a coordinated wide network of cultural life, education and science systems, mass media, cultural heritage, etc.; 3) culture is the optimal environment for dialogue of civilisations, therefore, it is an important tool for international political action, establishing intercultural communications; 4) culture forms the image of the country, ensuring its historical subjectivity in the world and contributing to the promotion of community interests in the international arena.

This refers to the fact that cultural influences can be powerful enough to form a stable emotional connection with the community, which is implemented in the phenomenon of national identity and manifests itself in the commonality of traditions, political orientations, values, language, historical memory and myths, ways of communication, etc. Culture, being the meaning of social unity, affects the development of a common sense even at a distance, for example, among emigrants and their descendants. The power of culture is clearly manifested in the ability to influence the development of national identity among different people, despite their different ethnic, religious affiliation and origin. Thus, a descendant of the Lithuanian-Tatar family A. Krymsky, a polyglot, linguist, orientalist, poet, writer, historian, anthropologist, scientific secretary and initiator of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, without a drop of Ukrainian blood, called himself the greatest Ukrainian, an Ukrainophile by conscious

choice (Shtohrin, 2017). Knowing more than seventy languages, being a member of several ethnic cultures, he communicated in Ukrainian and died being accused of being an ideologist of Ukrainian nationalism. Writer, ethnographer, M. Hrymych, assessing the greatness of his figure, highlighted another area of his activity that has not yet been updated: “Now that multicultural projects in Europe have largely failed, A. Krymsky has evidence that there are models that can work” (Shtohrin, 2017). It is no coincidence that the main long-term goals of the new European cultural agenda are unity, well-being, creativity and cross-cultural communication. It is envisaged to use the power of culture for social unity and well-being, to support cultural creativity in education and innovation, and for job growth, and to strengthen international cultural ties (Meteliova, 2017).

The spiritual connection with the Ukrainian community can be traced on the example of the ethnic German Yu. Shevelov, a Slavic scientist, linguist, literary critic, teacher, founded the Association of Ukrainian writers in the diaspora “Slovo”, was the president of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, etc. Being convinced of the culture’s ability to change the world, Yu. Shevelov was one of those who, in his own words, “wants to put an end to the death of the Ukrainian antiquated hamlet, transported by the order of fleeing from its time and compensating time with space to the centre of Central Europe” (Shevelov, 1949). Professor and literary critic T. Hundorova (2024) suggests that “it is Yu. Shevelov and his Kharkiv circle actualised in the middle of the 20th century in the centre of Europe Khvylovyi’s (Khvylovist) version of the national revival, adapting it to the post-war era of anti-colonial movements”. Kharkiv residents in 1945-1949 organised a group – AUM (Artistic Ukrainian Movement), whose goal was to bring the country out of a state of cultural decline, “by artistic means to create a synthetic image of Ukraine, its spirituality in the past, today, and tomorrow”. And also “to serve his people in a highly artistic, perfect form and thereby gain a voice and authority in world art” (Hundorova, 2024).

AUM figures realised the fact that the stateless existence of Ukraine for centuries led to the consolidation of the provincial status of Ukrainian culture – the “Cain seal of provincialism” – according to Yu. Shevelov (1949). He devoted his life to fighting this, being convinced that such provincialism forms a pernicious barrier, the “shell of self-closure”, which separates Ukraine from the rest of the world, and therefore, is in an unfavourable, threatened situation. The goal of his actions, which remains relevant, was to change the optics and deconstruct geocultural oppositions to the level of a new provincialism, when peripheries become new centres of cultural life. This is a kind of global village concept in the Ukrainian reading, based on the belief that Ukraine could become a cultural force that would connect Europe and Asia, despite the fact that Ukraine did not yet have its own statehood. Through cultural victories, Yu. Shevelov saw an opportunity for Ukraine to achieve independence. This belief of the scientist, based on an understanding of the essence of events and phenomena, eventually became a reality. Therefore, the implementation of an effective cultural policy is also possible in conditions of threatened or stateless existence, moreover: this policy can be an effective stimulating factor in the liberation movement towards independence.

The burden of intercultural politics and national identity in the situation of the Russian-Ukrainian war

Culture has a timeless meaning that makes it important in a person’s life. In the current situation, the importance of the normative factors of culture increases significantly, and the aesthetic one acquires an additional political burden. According to A. Kanarsky (2008): “If contemporary art, removing all one-sidedness in its view of what a person should be, shows their true integrity, then the only thing that can be achieved by its own (spiritual) means is only to bring the thought, will, and feeling of a person to the inner need to implement such integrity”. Modern studies of the functional load of cultural policy have received

additional connotations from the standpoint of the Russian-Ukrainian war. In particular, Yu. Melnyk (2023) notes the cultural identity factor as a condition for preserving national identity. The researcher considers cultural identity to be an opportunity for Ukraine's civilisational European development on the basis of integrative cultural strategies with the EU and the formation of the European civilisational identity of Ukrainians. Integral elements of integrative strategies are the development of joint cultural projects for the preservation of cultural heritage; actualisation of joint cultural activities with the EU; adaptation of strategies for the development of EU cultural policy to Ukrainian realities (The EU work Plan for Culture, 2022). This refers to a European strategy for developing a pan-European identity against the background of implementing a single cultural policy. The obvious advantage of such a strategy is to build unity based on common cultural values, which is a much better alternative to the fascisation of Europe under ultranationalist slogans. Cultural unity is ensured through the support of a permanent cross-cultural polylogue, a broad horizontal network of cross-cultural cooperation, respect for cultural diversity and different models of cultural policy in different EU countries, which generally contributes to the development of a sustainable sense of support and trust in the EU (The EU Work Plan for Culture, 2022). A unified cultural policy has been activated in the EU, and its basic guidelines and principles are supplemented by a number of provisions, in particular: sustainability of cultural heritage, cohesion and well-being, an ecosystem of support for artists, cultural and creative professionals and European content, gender equality, and international cultural relations are the main priorities of cultural policy. The promising priorities of the future are to expand the opportunities of the cultural and creative sectors; expand participation in cultural life and increase the role of culture in society; reveal and realise the power of culture; strengthen the cultural dimension of EU external relations. This actualisation of actions is

due, on the one hand, to the need to preserve the unity of the European Union, on the other hand, it is a consequence of awareness of global threats and challenges both within the Union and outside. Among them, the military threat from Russia is one of the most serious.

Among other things, cultural policy in military conditions becomes extremely relevant, it can be a non-obvious, but effective force, a kind of hybrid weapon aimed at undermining social unity, civilisational identity. Ultimately, by means of cultural influence, it is possible to win or destroy favour and international support, to manipulate public opinion, despite objective facts and evidence. In the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war, effective examples of such manipulative implementation of cultural policy in the international arena are observed on the part of Russia. They became possible due to the historical spread and popularity of the mythologeme "great Russian culture" in the world. This is the reason for the perception of Russia as a centre of outstanding world-class cultural life. On the other hand, the world is clearly horrified by the war crimes of Russians in Ukraine, injustice and barbaric methods of unleashed war, so the world's support, both emotional, armed, and financial-economic, is more focused on Ukraine. To prevent this, Russian cultural policy and propaganda, which carry a pronounced ideological load and manipulative practices, have been updated. Cultural manipulation is widely used to create a positive image of a criminal state, an aggressor that systematically violates the norms of international law, human rights, norms and customs of war, etc. at the same time, it claims a high cultural status.

Ukrainian researcher O. Zabuzhko (2024) is convinced that the ideological creation of cultural mythologemes is a historically long-term, conscious and systematic political practice of the Russian Federation. Among other things, such a policy involves the use of social networks for mass and rapid dissemination of information, appealing to classical cultural patterns and reducing them to the plane of everyday life to develop a

positive and sympathetic image of Russia as a cultural territory. The writer points to many years of experience and a high level of skill of Russians in creating ideological manipulations. In particular, there is a video from the TikTok network, in which a conventionally attractive young Russian woman is “accidentally” met on the street and asked what she is listening to in her headphones. Girl’s answer: this is the Ninth Symphony by A. Dvorzhak’s. Under the video there are numerous comments about the natural attachment of Russians to culture, they say, “culture is in the blood of Russians”. Attention is drawn to the non-obvious nature of such manipulative influence, and therefore, its insidiousness and complexity of recognition. However, with a high degree of probability, the success of such propaganda events and the achievement of the goal set can be stated.

Analysis of the situation suggests that cultural policy tools are used in this and similar situations. In particular, the following components: 1) appeal to classical cultural samples of creativity; 2) construction of artificially deterministic ties between world-famous samples of high culture and Russians as “carriers” of this culture, 3) romanticisation of the image of the bearer of culture – exploitation of the theme of the “mysterious Russian soul” in the context of typical existential problems; 4) replication of information at the level of mass culture; 5) reduction of high culture in the plane of everyday life; 6) artificially created “random”, “ordinary” nature of the event; 7) application of aesthetic means of influence (attractive image of a young, modest, beautiful blonde, classical music, etc.). Together, this forms an associative image of culturally attractive Russia (girl = Russia) at the level of mass consciousness, which contributes to its success in the information war. To achieve such success, few resources are spent, but the impact in the world is quite significant. Thus, the manipulative use of culture for political purposes occurs, although it is difficult to recognise it by the disguised ordinariness of the created event, and cultural policy confirms its own effectiveness.

Use of cultural policy in colonising practices

The use of means of cultural influence to manipulate consciousness and identity is a common practice of colonial policy towards enslaved peoples. The cultural influence of the colonists always appeals to the idea of the superiority of the titular nation, the impossibility of achieving success for the colonised peoples without it. This fully applies to Russia’s policy, which for centuries was colonial in nature – during the Empire and the Soviet Union. The systemically implemented policy of assimilation led to the fact that people from different national and ethnic groups, in order to have better opportunities for self-realisation, abandoned their own identity and positioned themselves as “Russian”. This often caused them deep psychoemotional problems, led to an identity crisis. However, this allowed the metropolis to assert its own cultural superiority in comparison with those colonised by appropriating prominent figures, who were called their own, “Russian” – as happened with M. Hohol, P. Chaikovskyi, K. Malevych, I. Kozlovskyi, R. Viktiuk, etc. Their cultural and artistic achievements later became tools of the great Russian cultural propaganda policy (and remain so).

Among the soft means of influence inherent in such a cultural policy, manipulations with historical truth were used, including a ban on one’s own historical memory, on one’s own national culture, on one’s own geniuses and heroes for the colonised. M. Kundera (2023) called this practice a “culture of retreat”. Typical for colonising, and therefore external to enslaved peoples, culture is the denial of the right of colonised people to name or the ability to determine their heroes, outstanding events and historical figures at their own discretion and assign their names and names to topographic objects. In the end, there was a situation in the Soviet Union, which was followed by Russia as its successor, when streets and monuments to Lenin, communist leaders and Russian cultural figures were necessarily in all settlements, but the names of many prominent Ukrainian associates were forgotten, ignored,

destroyed, or desecrated and directly banned by the authorities (such as S. Bandera, S. Petliura, R. Melnyk, metropolitan A. Sheptytsky, brothers-artists M. Boichuk and T. Boichuk, and many others). Thus, the process of colonisation of consciousness took place, which provided for the development of a complex of inferiority, depreciation of the national language, culture, memory, and ultimately – the political pacification of the colonised. “Culture no longer existed as an area in which the highest values were elevated to the level of law” (Kundera, 2023). In cases of resistance of the nationally conscious part of the population, the colonialists used means of terror and physical pressure – wars, shootings, mass starvations, eviction or resettlement by whole families, colonies, organisation of artificial environmental disasters, such as changing the course of the Dni-pro River, which justified the need to flood hundreds of Ukrainian villages, break up family ties, destroy settlements, family traditions, graves of ancestors, break up geographically tied memories, the continuity of family history, inheritance of family heirlooms, etc. M. Kundera (2023) defines such a colonising Russian policy: “based on the principle: the least diversity within the greatest space”. Thus, in attempts to break the cultural tradition, historical continuity, the methods of implementing colonising cultural policy that ensured the dominance of one people over another/others, the unification of cultural, socio-economic and political space are recognisable.

Opportunities for cultural policy in the field of education and upbringing

Another powerful factor of influence in cultural policy is the development of the system of education and upbringing of children and young people. These issues have always been considered priority vectors of political activity, as they ensure the future. The success of solving the problems of education and upbringing is traditionally considered at the level of state policy in an indissoluble unity with the stable economic and ideological existence of society. However, education models

depend on the cultural and historical dominants of a particular region, on the level of development, mental and ethnic characteristics, traditions, socio-cultural values, ideological attitudes, etc. The aggravation of contradictions between education and upbringing occurred in the process of combining the interests of politics, economics and the market, when the educational process began to be mainly reduced to learning. These contradictions were differentiated as the primitivisation of education in the 20th century, due to political implications and the growth of globalisation processes. Numerous researchers have drawn attention to the fact that in the context of globalisation, the essence of the educational sphere is the implementation of training functions, primarily professional. The need for well-educated people is decreasing, but the demand for highly qualified specialists is growing. Thus, the functional load of the educational sphere has significantly narrowed and primitivised, which has led to an aggravation of the issue of ethical consequences both at the individual level and at the social level.

For a long time, starting from the classical era, the abilities of individuals were determined by the needs of the social institution to which it belonged. Cultural tradition preserved the autonomy of social institutions, and the social contract required obtaining a high level of professional specialisation. On the transcendental level, this was manifested in the neglect of the formation of a mature, critically thinking, creative personality, individuality, ignoring the highest transcendental educational tasks, in particular, the ability to criticise, counteract violence, neglect, objectification, and the like. Education and upbringing cannot be unconditionally subject to the requirements of purely economic or purely political expediency. The realities of the Russian-Ukrainian war confirm the thesis about the relevance of the educational transcendental function of the sphere of education, upbringing and culture. Ignoring this fact leads to a blurring of the identity of young people, a lack of patriotic feelings and actions, erroneous choices, etc. This is especially

dangerous in the context of the “war for the future” waged by the invaders in the Ukrainian territories, hunting Ukrainian children, abducting them from their families, taking them out of their homeland and hastily adopting them to Russian families using forged documents. The purpose of these criminal actions is to break family ties, ties with their native land, raise traitors, “Janissaries”, and in the future – cruel haters and persecutors of the lost family and culture. It is no coincidence that the International Criminal Court issued arrest warrants for Russian President V. Putin and M. Lvova-Belova, the Russian Ombudsperson for Children’s Rights, on charges of child abduction.

It is obvious that the strategies of cultural policy in the field of education and upbringing should first of all correspond to the goal – the development of a stable national identity of Ukrainian citizens. The implementation of these educational strategies should be based on humanistic and cultural values and address more noble goals than just meeting the pragmatic and economic demands of the era. Otherwise, society is doomed to the dominance of a “one-dimensional person”, as called by H. Marcuse (1964). The modern development of the global model of the world is characterised by post-industrial development trends that are interdisciplinary, nonlinear, nonequilibrium, indefinite in nature, are studied by nonlinear methodology, including, among other things, the theory of disasters, the position of polyalternativists of the future, etc. In general, this leads to a new need: the development of a person who is multidimensional, comprehensively developed, flexible in relation to social challenges and crises, able to understand and respond adequately to situations. For such multi-dimensionality, a solid base is needed – national and cultural ground that enables stable identification - cultural, national, civilisational. This will have a positive impact on the processes of integration and differentiation of cultural space, especially evident in the context of global crises, when there are insufficient mechanisms for managing both society and culture, formed by the previous era.

Humanity learns to respond to the challenges of the time in a timely and adequate manner. The difficulty lies in the fact that nonlinear, uncertain processes of the external world often require almost instant clear and concrete answers from a person: there is a request for concreteness in terms of non-obviousness. At the level of identity identification, this provokes psychological identity crises. Bifurcation and masking becomes a marker of non-integrity, fluidity of identity and variability of the inner self. The postcolonial pressure of imperial cultural models provokes conflicts of duality, split personality, apostasy and adaptation, or avoidance and self-marginalisation. O. Zabuzhko (2009) defines this phenomenon as intergenerational trauma. Ukrainian historian Ya. Hrytsak (2024) also links the process of personality splitting to cultural trauma, calling ambivalence and corruption forms of survival of the traumatised generation. He sees the task of cultural policy as raising a generation without trauma. In this context, the Ukrainian philosopher V. Kebuladze, defining protest events against the restoration of historical truth and the demolition of monuments to colonists as a failure of the cultural policy of a country that is waging a war of liberation: “It is a colonial trauma when Kyiv citizens defend the monuments to Pushkin and Bulhakov, but are indifferent to the lack of perpetuation of the memory of Valerian Pidmohylnyi, Sholom Aleikhem, Charlz Bairon, who wrote about Ivan Mazepa, etc.” (Kult: Podcast, 2021).

Analysing the difficult path of Ukrainian decolonisation, O. Zabuzhko (2024) noted: “This is, in fact, a symptom of maturity, what for people, what for peoples – to give up the business of the fact that there are irretrievable losses: that not all stories have a happy ending, and not in every fairy tale the truth wins over the wrong. Culture is created, among other things, to help a person survive with this knowledge, preserving the human being in them.” The task of the cultural policy of modern Ukraine is to restore the authentic Ukrainian ethno-cultural identity and stabilise the political national and civilisational identity based on it. This

path involves overcoming inferiority complexes, freeing colonised consciousness, and establishing an independent intercultural dialogue with the world. Decolonisation of consciousness involves the acquisition of a number of important skills of a politically mature nation, including political activity, trust in the institutions of state power, the ability and willingness to defend their constitutional rights and freedoms. These processes are taking place, and they are extremely important, because they ensure the preservation of consistent integrity of the individual, the development of the Ukrainian nation, national identity, the preservation/reproduction of historical memory as the basis of self-identity. Obviously, for the Ukrainian nation, whose history consists of a huge number of tragedies, trials, losses, defeats, this process is not easy, but it is extremely necessary.

Conclusions

The research was carried out in the context of the discourse of the relationship and mutual influence of national identity and cultural policy. Culture is immanently characterised by a high potential to be an engine of multi-vector political processes, to radically influence the socio-economic development of society, the state, and civilisation. First of all, this refers to the ability of culture as a cultural policy to consolidate and unite society and nation around common patterns (traditions, historical memory, cultural markers, etc.). The advantage of cultural policy is its implementation in the plane of horizontal social ties. This gives it a democratic character and encourages social actors as subjects of socio-cultural processes.

The ability of a cultural politician to shape, create, and construct a new Ukrainian identity is a measure of its quality. The Russian military invasion provoked the deployment of post-colonial studies in Ukraine, an important component of which was the discourse of national identity as a condition for consolidating the nation in the face of an external threat. An important component of the discourse was the study of the ability of culture to be a stimulating factor in the movement

of a colonised people to independence and the creation of their own statehood. When combining culture with politics – to ensure the rationing and standardisation of public life; to form a coordinated broad network of socio-cultural life, education and science systems, mass media, cultural heritage, etc.

Actualisation of cultural policy contributes to the development of national identity as a political unity of the nation, united by a common language, cultural traditions, historical memory, etc. Human identity is a dialectical unity of a large number of elements. Their mutual inconsistency is manifested by crises of personal development, threats both to humans and to the environment, and in the global world – to humanity. The political, cultural, and educational spheres have their own socio-cultural experience in optimising the processes of identification and development of collective identity at the level of a nation or civilisation. The means of education and upbringing can influence the development of a stable national identity, and this embodies their transcendental function. Thus, culture becomes a means of social unity at the level of national, civilisational identity. It is important that the task of actualising the role of culture as a system of values, a resource for ensuring sustainable development and consolidation of society is a programme document of Ukrainian cultural policy, reflected in the state legislation – the Law of Ukraine “On culture”.

Obviously, the Russian-Ukrainian war has aggravated and further problematised all the processes taking place in Ukraine. Against the background of active military operations, issues of cultural policy may seem secondary, but the preservation of active attention to them, their resolution indicates the level of maturity of the nation, which is aware of its own political and civilisational choice and responsibility for it. Ultimately, the potential of cultural policy optimises the processes of establishing ways of intercultural, cross-cultural communication, supporting civilisational dialogue, searching for opportunities for understanding in the face of

rapid changes, instability of systems, and multi-vector challenges. Culture, forming the image of a country, ensures its historical subjectivity in the world and contributes to the promotion of interests in the international arena, therefore, it is an important tool for international political actions and intercultural communications. Further research may be aimed at developing practical recommendations for improving cultural policy, studying the impact of information warfare and intercultural dialogue on national

identity, and analysing the role of art, education, and digital technologies in this process.

Acknowledgements

None.

Funding

None.

Conflict of Interest

None.

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Культурна політика як чинник формування національної ідентичності українців в умовах сьогодення

Валентина Культенко

Кандидат філософських наук, доцент
Національний університет біоресурсів і природокористування України
03041, вул. Героїв Оборони, 15, м. Київ, Україна
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4313-8494>

Інна Савицька

Кандидат філософських наук, доцент
Національний університет біоресурсів і природокористування України
03041, вул. Героїв Оборони, 15, м. Київ, Україна
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3795-0427>

Анотація. Актуальність теми зумовлена проблемою кризи національної української ідентичності на тлі російської воєнної агресії, що є стратегічною загрозою для країни, яка роками виборює свою незалежність та самостійність. Метою роботи було дослідження можливостей та засобів впливу культурної політики на процес формування національної ідентичності українців. Для досягнення поставленої мети застосовано процедури аналітичного, синтетичного дослідження, а також феноменологічний, діалектичний, культурологічний, дескриптивний та каузальний методи, за допомогою яких розкрито зміст культурної політики та виявлено впливи на процеси національної ідентифікації. Базову основу дослідження становила теза, що культура, будучи феноменом життєвого світу, водночас є інструментом політики, засобом комунікації, а також знаряддям маніпуляції свідомістю. У процесі дослідження встановлено, що несилові й нерепресивні засоби культурної політики є більш ефективними для процесів самоідентифікації та формування національної ідентичності, міжкультурної комунікації, порівняно з традиційними механізмами впливу, що часто є недієвими в сучасних умовах постнекласичного суспільства з його невизначеністю, транснаціональними зв'язками, гібридними війнами тощо. Естетично-емоційне сприйняття, типове для культури й мистецтва, апелює до ідей культурної єдності, спадковості культурних традицій, спільних маркерів пам'яті як основи для порозуміння у складних питаннях соціально-політичного буття. Воно передує раціонально обґрунтованому усвідомленню дійсності, забезпечуючи на естетичному рівні формування допонятійних вражень за посередництва емоцій, ірраціональних проявів. Відсторонені цінності естетичного набувають здатності впливати на реальність, містячи в собі досконалий образ належного буття, відображають суспільно-культурну матрицю сьогодення й забезпечують стійкі механізми ідентифікації особи та суспільний розвиток, об'єктивовані у політичних програмах, етичних принципах, світоглядних уявленнях, творчих актах тощо. Результати дослідження можуть бути використані органами державної та місцевої влади, громадськими організаціями для стратегічного планування та корекції культурної політики, культурної дипломатії тощо

Ключові слова: культура; соціокультурні трансформації; загрози ідентичності; міжкультурна комунікація; культурна дипломатія