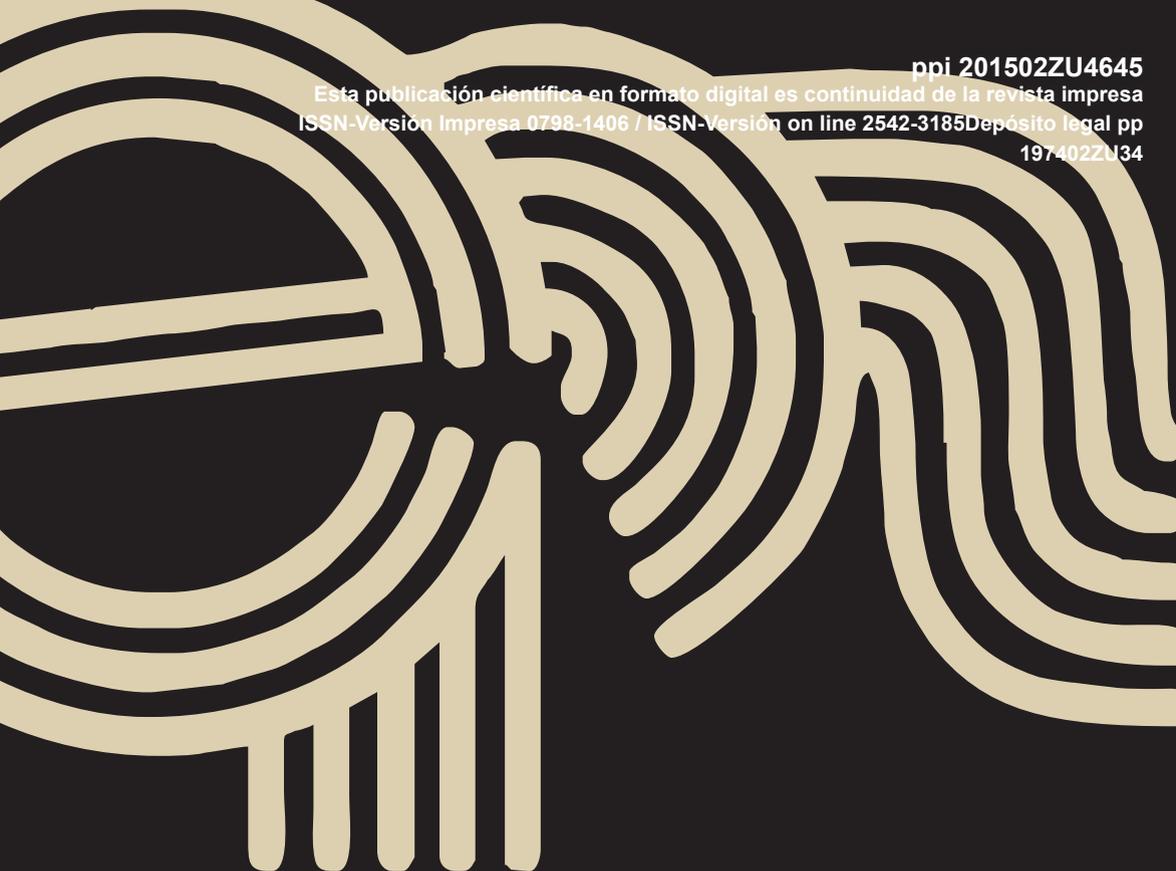


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# Comparison of cultural and political legitimation strategies in Germany and Ukraine

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## Abstract

Along with the economic and defence sectors, the cultural and political sphere is an indicator of the state's authority on the world stage. A country's success in this area depends on the population's understanding of the government's appropriate actions. Therefore, a balanced strategy of cultural and political legitimation of the state not only justifies the government's activities for citizens, but also solves a number of socio-economic problems. The study identified the main existing approaches to the classification of state policy models in the cultural and political sphere, as well as countries that are typical representatives of each model. The concept of legitimation is defined and its constituent elements are determined. The subjects and objects of legitimation in the cultural and political sphere were clarified, and the author's definition of the concept of cultural and political legitimation strategy was proposed. The main characteristics of cultural and political legitimation strategies are described with a view to the historical aspects of development and the current state. The strategies of these countries and the main directions of further development of culture and politics were compared.

**Keywords:** legitimation; cultural and political strategy; foreign policy; democratic values; social significance; social significance; cultural and political strategy; foreign policy.

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## Comparación de estrategias de legitimación cultural y política en Alemania y Ucrania

### Resumen

Junto con los sectores económico y de defensa, la esfera cultural y política es un indicador de la autoridad del estado en el escenario mundial. El éxito de un país en esta materia depende de la comprensión por parte de la población de las acciones adecuadas del gobierno. Por lo tanto, una estrategia equilibrada de legitimación cultural y política del estado no solo justifica las actividades del gobierno para los ciudadanos, sino que también resuelve una serie de problemas socioeconómicos. El estudio identificó los principales enfoques existentes para la clasificación de los modelos de política estatal en el ámbito cultural y político, así como los países que son representantes típicos de cada modelo. Se define el concepto de legitimación y se determinan sus elementos constitutivos. Se aclararon los sujetos y objetos de legitimación en el ámbito cultural y político, y se propuso la definición del autor del concepto de estrategia de legitimación cultural y política. Se describen las principales características de las estrategias de legitimación cultural y política con miras a los aspectos históricos del desarrollo y el estado actual. Se compararon las estrategias de estos países y las direcciones principales del desarrollo ulterior de la cultura y la política.

**Palabras clave:** legitimación; estrategia cultural y política; política exterior; valores democráticos; significación social.

### Introduction

Ukraine's independence increases the significance of the development of the cultural and political sphere. The country's being part of the Soviet Union impeded such development, so Ukraine needs to optimize models and strategies in the cultural and political sphere as soon as possible. In view of Ukraine's course towards the European Union, it is appropriate to study the experience of European countries in determining cultural and political legitimation methods and models which can be useful for Ukraine.

Germany is one of the countries that offers useful experience for Ukraine. One of Ukraine's close neighbours, this country has a historical experience somewhat similar to Ukraine: the weak significance of democratic values, belief in the power of the "leader", the need for post-war restoration, integration into the world community — these factors were characteristic of both countries in certain periods of time.

However, the difference is that Germany started its path towards the progressive development of the cultural and political sphere earlier than

Ukraine, and in recent decades it took place in more favourable conditions, so there is a significant gap between the countries.

Although the cultural and art potential of Ukraine is extremely large, its development and implementation need to be ensured by a thorough state strategy. But the Ukrainian government mostly implements separate short-term measures in the field of culture and art. Besides, it is appropriate to pay more attention to the improvement of institutional support for the development of the cultural and political sphere in Ukraine, which will enable culture-related state and non-state institutions to increase the effectiveness of their activities, consolidate efforts, and also enable the formation and implementation of strategic plans and goals.

The aim of the study is to determine the essence and theoretical aspects of the cultural and political legitimation strategy, and to compare such strategies in Ukraine and Germany with the vectors of further development for Ukraine. The aim involved the fulfilment of the following objectives:

## **1. Results**

Significant differences in the development of countries around the world led to the emergence of numerous cultural and political strategies and models, individual for each country. There are several approaches to the classification of state cultural policy models. Those models can be divided into three types based on the content:

1. Charismatic policy, where the state's efforts in the course of implementing this policy are focused on supporting certain cultural figures or organizations known outside the state and those of national importance.
2. Accessibility policy — the state provides equal access to cultural artifacts and recognized examples of high art to different population groups.
3. Cultural self-expression policy —blurring of hierarchical boundaries in culture by recognizing the value of every attempt at self-expression, cultural self-identification, as well as increasing the value of cultural communication (Babytska, 2019).

Another typical classification of state cultural policy models is the approach with the division of such models into the following types:

1. Liberal model — the state does not actually interfere in the sphere of culture, having transferred the authority to regulate the sphere to various foundations (typical for the USA).

2. Partly-state model — the state transfers its obligations regarding the development of culture to a specially established body (Great Britain and Ireland are typical examples).
3. Bureaucratic educational model – characterized by total control of the state over the sphere of culture, its dependence on ideology (post-Soviet countries);
4. Prestige and education model — culture is determined by the factor of national identity, an indicator of prestige among other countries, for which the state is responsible (France).
5. The national emancipatory model is characteristic of countries, the culture of which was suppressed in the past, and currently their policy is aimed at restoring, preserving and developing cultural traditions (some developing countries — Senegal, Peru, as well as some post-Soviet countries — Kyrgyzstan, Moldova) (Šešić-Dragičević and Stojković, 2013).

The most common classification is the division of state cultural policy models into four types:

1. The assistant state is a model in which the state acts as an inspirer for business and the commercial sphere to invest in the development of culture. The United States of America are an example of a country that successfully implements this approach. The advantage of using the model is to stimulate business through the introduction of economic and/or tax benefits. The shortcoming of the model is excessive subjectivity in making investment, personal preferences of business managers, as well as the limited financial resources of such “donors”.
2. The engineer state – the state solely finances the cultural sphere, and exercises control over the allocation of funds. This determines the dependence of culture and individual creative projects on state policy and ideology. Such projects are recognized as “official”, while those that contradict the ideology of the state are considered “oppositional”. It should be noted that this approach is often used in Eastern European countries.
3. The architect state – this model is characterized by the establishment of numerous official creative associations, as well as long-term funding of the cultural sphere by the state. The inflow of funds for financing the cultural sphere when applying this model is relatively stable, although the dependence on the state budget is increasing. The use of multi-channel financing, which is used in one of the most typical representatives of this model — France — can be the way to solve this problem.

4. Patron state – funding of culture is primarily aimed at ensuring adaptability to changes and needs of culture, as well as introducing innovations. The arm's length principle is in effect, which is implemented through the introduction of a number of independent organizations that create a “bridge” between the state and culture. The financial resources are distributed taking into account expert assessments, which are determined and provided by such organizations. Great Britain and Germany are the representatives of this model (Craik, 1996).

The considered models can be the basis for building cultural and political legitimation strategies for the states in which they are applied. In the most general sense, legitimation can be considered as giving a certain process, phenomenon, etc. legitimacy or its acquisition by this process, phenomenon.

Legitimacy can be defined as the result of legitimation, while legitimation is a process, a system of coordinated actions (Tallberg and Zürn, 2019). The interpretation of Berger and Lukman is worth noting among the first thorough definitions of legitimation. The researchers interpret this concept as a way of explaining and justifying the actions of political and social institutions through their cognitive perception and normative justification (Vodenko *et al.*, 2022).

Legitimation consists of the following elements:

1. The subject of legitimation – the one who carries out the process (active party) – government, authorities, state, mass media, etc.
2. The object – something that is legitimized and has high social significance – politics, social phenomena and institutions, etc.
3. The mechanism – a specific way in which legitimation occurs (answers the question “how?”);
4. The bearers of ideas about legitimation – individuals (passive party), who are influenced by the legitimation process (Markus, 1982).

In general, the legitimation strategy can be considered as a set of efforts of the country's authorities to justify, explain, and also achieve a positive assessment of their actions by an individual (Tannenberg *et al.*, 2021). Considering the cultural and political legitimation of the country, its subject is the state as an active party, an individual as a passive party, and culture as the object.

So, the cultural and political legitimation strategy can be defined as the direction of the state authorities to achieve understanding, acceptance and

recognition of the main goals and orientations of cultural development, the choice of key models and mechanisms of cultural policy by individuals and society as a whole.

It is appropriate to begin consideration of the cultural and political legitimization strategy in Ukraine from identifying the prerequisites and main factors that influenced its development. First of all, Ukraine is a post-Soviet country, and its culture was significantly affected by the totalitarian regime.

So, it needs some time for complete restoration, removal of foreign elements, reproduction of national achievements, etc. Second, Ukraine is a developing country, so the relationship between the state and culture is being developed, and the model of state cultural policy is undergoing a gradual transformation.

Third, Ukraine has chosen integration into the European Union (EU) as a development vector, so the country's culture is influenced by integration and globalization processes. Besides, culture is influenced by such macro-environmental factors as the intensification of crises of various origins, including the so-called legitimization crises of political power, the instability of the economy and politics, as well as the full-scale military invasion of the country by the Russian Federation, which led to the most catastrophic consequences for the population, economy, and culture in the country.

These and other factors determined Ukraine's current transitional position on the way from the "engineer state" to the "patron state". At the current stage, the country is characterized by the implementation of short-term measures for the development of culture in the absence of long-term strategic plans. Among the positive aspects, it is advisable to note the initialing of the Association Agreement and the creation of the Action Plan for the implementation of the Association Agreement with the EU.

After this event, not only the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine played an active part in the building cultural policy in Ukraine, but also such specially established cultural institutions as, in particular, the Goethe Institute, the French Institute, the British Council, the Polish Institute, which expand and provide new opportunities for Ukrainian cultural figures. Moreover, the Ukrainian Cultural Fund, the Ukrainian Institute, and the Ukrainian Book Institute should be mentioned among the recently created cultural institutions.

Comparison of the cultural and political legitimization strategy in Ukraine and Germany shows that Germany uses the "patron state" model efficiently, while Ukraine is on the way to full implementation of this model. However, the path to the current level of development of the German culture was neither short nor easy. The pre-war and war period (until 1945) was characterized by inflated national pride, weak rooting of democratic values, belief in the power of the leader, and weak participation in politics.

The end of the war was followed by the restoration of democratic values, the intensification of political participation, opposition to authoritarian values. There was a crisis of legitimacy in the 80's of the last century, which was characterized by a decreased trust of the population in the authorities. A complex process of merging of two cultures began after the unification of Germany, accompanied by a debate on the political and cultural integration of East Germans into a democratic state (Burns and Van der Will, 2003).

So, Germany's foreign policy on cultural issues has come a long way from cultural expansion to a strategy of the so-called "dialogue of cultures." The attitude towards the state as a guarantor of democratic rights and freedoms is currently typical for German citizens.

German cultural policy is aimed at ensuring freedom of speech and creative independence. Besides, the above-mentioned arm's length principle is in effect in Germany, which implies the creation of a number of self-governing organizations in the field of culture. Promotion of German culture, language and science in countries around the world is one of the most significant vectors of Germany's cultural policy (Zlenko, 2022).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany includes a department for cultural cooperation issues. This department deals with the relations with other countries in the sphere of culture, the development of cooperation in the field of science and education, etc. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany only partly implements cultural policy independently – it mostly entrusts this task to intermediaries.

The largest intermediary organizations include the Goethe Institute, German Academic Exchange Service, Institute of International Cultural Relations, Humboldt Foundation, etc. An important place is occupied by various political (party) funds that "export" the political culture of Germany, work with mass media, public organizations and higher education institutions, etc. (Zlenko, 2022).

Despite some differences in their development, Ukraine and Germany successfully cooperate in the field of culture. The Ukrainian Embassy in Germany and the Consulates General in Hamburg, Munich, Dusseldorf and Frankfurt am Main support a number of projects under the budget programme Financial Support for a Positive International Image of Ukraine, the Activities of the Ukrainian Institute, and Measures to Support Relations with Ukrainians who Live Outside Ukraine.

Today, the Cultural Cooperation Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany of 15 February 1993 is the contractual and legal basis for cultural cooperation between these countries (Embassy of Ukraine in the Federal Republic of Germany, 2019).

The fruitful cultural cooperation between Germany and Ukraine had a positive result for Ukraine —the return of a cultural and historical artifact — the 1708 Charter of Peter I. Among other things, this relic dispels the widespread myth disseminated by the propaganda of the Russian Federation regarding the historical affiliation of the Metropolitanate of Kyiv to Moscow, while the document confirms its subordination to Constantinople. Moreover, numerous monuments related to Ukrainian culture and its outstanding figures — Mykola Lysenko, Lesia Ukrainian, etc.

Were placed in Germany thanks to German-Ukrainian cooperation. Concerts by Ukrainian musicians, events with the participation of Ukraine dedicated to the art of photography, Ukrainian cinematography, as well as literary readings are regularly held in Germany. Much attention is paid to the work with the Ukrainian community in Germany, Ukrainian weekend schools, cooperation in the field of youth policy, etc. (Embassy of Ukraine in the Federal Republic of Germany, 2019).

The results obtained from the review give ground for summarizing recommendations for the further development of cultural and political legitimation strategies in Ukraine. First, it is appropriate to improve the work in the field of strategy and detailed road map development, strengthen the institutional component, document the main provisions and guidelines, and create a thorough documentary framework, ensure adequate funding, etc.

Besides, the individual projects should be properly financed by the state or patrons. Such projects should be aimed at presenting Ukrainian culture and the country as a whole for other countries of the world in the best possible way. Grants for the implementation of such projects should be provided by the Ukrainian Cultural Fund under the Ministry and the Ukrainian Institute.

## Conclusions

The conducted review gives grounds to state that the cultural and political legitimation strategies of Ukraine and Germany are similar and are based on the “patron state” model. However, Ukraine is on the way to the implementation of this model, while Germany has already successfully implemented in through the establishment of a number of independent organizations that “connect” the state and culture, ensuring freedom of speech and creative independence for citizens.

The underlying reason is the country’s long being part of the Soviet Union, and the subsequent need to get rid of totalitarian values during independence, which inhibited cultural development, preserving elements

of the “engineer state” model in the country. The Ukrainian-German cultural cooperation currently plays an important role in the development and spread of Ukrainian culture.

This process contributes not only to improving the image of Ukraine and raising awareness of its identity in the international arena, but also makes a significant contribution to establishing the historical authenticity of certain facts. In particular, it dispels the myth about the historical affiliation of the Metropolitanate of Kyiv to Moscow, and determines that it was actually subordinated to Constantinople.

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