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Cultural diplomacy as a tool for shaping the international image of Ukraine

The purpose of the study is to identify the specifics of institutionalization of the Ukrainian cultural diplomacy, as well as outline the main problems and prospects for its further implementation. The author concludes that cultural diplomacy for Ukraine is an important element of strategic activity, a "soft power" through which it is much easier to position oneself in the world and find support at the public level. It is a tool for the realization of national interests, but subject to systematic application and effective coordination of efforts and generation of quality content for export.

Key words: *International cooperation, cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, an image of the state, cultural policy, cultural exchange, Ukrainian Institute.*

Formulation of the problem. It's difficult to overestimate the potency of culture for international cooperation as cultural exchanges create the preconditions for successful interaction between countries in all spheres of societal life. In the context of accelerating globalization, the need for intercultural dialogue is becoming more relevant, significantly changing both the fundamental principles and the goals of its implementation. After the collapse of bipolarity, new concepts of world order emerge and spread, and there is an urgency to find new tools for competitive development for states and new approaches toward international relations. In this regard, the role of flexible factors is fundamentally increasing; the effectiveness of "soft" instruments of influence on the system of international relations is enhanced by promoting a positive image of a country based on the attractiveness of values and culture of its nation [3, p. 48]. Nowadays the postulate formulated by the famous American political scientist J. Nye about the significance and effectiveness of "soft power" in the foreign policy of states is becoming increasingly relevant [12, p. 166]. Intercivilizational dialogue can no longer do without such a phenomenon as cultural diplomacy. It is diplomacy, not the forcible export of political, ideological and religious dogmas or the use of levers of economic and military power that can

produce truly long-lasting desired outcomes. It is worth mentioning the famous statement of former US President B. Clinton that "the Cold War was won by Elvis Presley", at a conference on cultural diplomacy, held at the White House on November 28, 2000 [8]. Those countries that clearly realize their national goals, make great efforts and allocate significant funds for the development of their cultural diplomacy. After all, cultural diplomacy, subject to its successful implementation, can serve as a powerful ideological lever, creating a solid foundation that allows the state not only to protect and promote its national interests on the global stage, but also to directly affect various political, economic and social processes. in the world [3, p. 48].

Cultural diplomacy enables the state increase the effectiveness of foreign policy, as well as raise the prestige of its country, government, policy in the international political environment and among the world community; to overcome prejudice against the country, to reduce the influence of negative tendencies of political and ideological origin, to strengthen the international authority of the state, to demonstrate the openness of society and its democratic values; to influence the formation of a multipolar system of international relations, which reflects the cultural and political diversity and interdependence of the modern world; to form a positive economic climate for foreign investment, to promote the development of the tourism industry; to present culture as a component of state brand formation; to position the policy of the state with high scientific, intellectual and cultural potential [6, p. 122-123].

The prestige of the state and its international status largely depend on how its cultural diplomacy works and how the institutions, which represent it, function. That's especially important in the period of aggressive hybrid war against Ukraine, a significant component of which is informational and diplomatic factors.

Ukraine remains largely vulnerable to numerous information aggressions from outside, which are carried out for various reasons: the struggle for influence on Ukraine among other states, attempts to destabilize its internal situation, damage its international prestige, competition in foreign markets, political, territorial disputes and more. On the other hand, a huge number of internal problems gave and still give a lot of information reasons for negative reports about Ukraine in the world media [9].

Today's Ukraine is going through a difficult stage in which it can gain or lose everything, and now it is vital to break out of this orbit. Not formally, according to the letter of the law, but really, by the transition to other aesthetic landmarks. Ukraine needs to restore its historical status

as a European country not only at the political level, but also at the cultural level, to re-consume the natural European matrix for Ukrainians, to make up for the precious century lost in the Soviet-Russian swamp. If we do not do this, all the efforts of the Ukrainian army will be in vain. And the courage of artists who went to perform in the anti-terrorist operation zone, will be just a senseless risk.

Culture is the axis around which the harmonious society with a strong value system is built. History continues and, despite the mass of depressive elements, Ukraine has never had such great opportunities for a civilizational breakthrough as today. Ukrainians won such a unique chance on the Maidan in 2014. It's time to change the image for the better [10].

Analysis of recent research and publications. The problems of "soft power", "soft influence" and cultural diplomacy as a tool for implementing this influence have been dealt with mainly by Western and Russian scholars. The first group of experts is represented by J. Nay, M. Cummings, Zb. Brzezinski, J. Sablosky, C. Schneider and others. Russian scientists who develop this issue are: E. Astakhov, O. Dugin, V. Kapitsyn, V. Mezhuhev, G. Filimonov, etc.

The study of the development of cultural diplomacy is especially relevant for modern Ukraine, as it promotes the Ukrainian cultural product and the integration of Ukraine into the world cultural space. The relevance of the study is due to insufficient study of the phenomenon of cultural diplomacy in general, in particular, its institutional dimensions. The role of cultural diplomacy in the development of the modern state and civil society institutions is studied by such Ukrainian scholars as N. Kolesnichenko-Bratun, N. Kryvda, O. Kuchmiy, N. Musienko, O. Rozumna, I. Sukhorolska, N. Serbina, G. Shamborovskyi, J. Turchyn, O. Zhuk and others.

It is also worth noting the collection of scientific and expert materials *Policy of Cultural Diplomacy: Strategic Priorities for Ukraine* [4] that includes an analytical report "Cultural Diplomacy of Ukraine: Status, Problems, Prospects" by O. Rozumna, as well as speeches by participants of the round table "Cultural Diplomacy Policy: Strategic Priorities for Ukraine", held at the National Institute for Strategic Studies. Experts emphasize the need to move from rhetoric around Ukraine's international cultural presence to developing effective tools. The collection contains recommendations for Ukrainian authorities on the implementation of cultural diplomacy strategy.

In the domestic political science literature, there is a lack of scientific works that would highlight the value, institutional dimension of cultural

diplomacy. It is also important to study the conditions and factors that are crucial for the development of cultural diplomacy, in particular, the role of state institutions, NGOs, the integration of national culture into international cultural space. Relevance of the researched problems is determined by the fact that despite the importance of this issue, Ukraine does not have an innovative strategy of cultural diplomacy at the state level, institutions of cultural diplomacy are weak, there is no systematic and comprehensive approach to cultural diplomacy development.

The purpose of the study is to identify the specifics of institutionalization of the Ukrainian cultural diplomacy, as well as outline the main problems and prospects for its further implementation.

The main research results. Summarizing the scientific approaches to the understanding "cultural diplomacy", we consider M. Cummings' definition as the universal one. Thus, according to M. Cummings, cultural diplomacy is the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understandings. Such exchange means communication and respect between the cultures involved, which are based on mutual understanding of values and reduction of stereotypical perception [11].

According to the first American practitioners in the field of cultural diplomacy, R.-M. McMurray and M. Lee, "national cultures are the total sum of the achievements of nations, their own way of expressing identity, thinking and acting. Therefore, the main purpose of cultural diplomacy is to present these differences in the field of intercultural cooperation" [14].

Modern foreign scholars consider cultural diplomacy as a form of "soft power" that should become an important part of the tools of international relations. The transformation of public policy is associated with the "soft" influence of culture and ideology, due to which national unity, universalization of cultures and international institutions acquire additional importance in international relations; "Co-opted or soft power" includes "the power of attractive ideas or opportunities to set a priority political agenda and define relationships by ensuring national interests, taking into account the preferences of the other party" [13, p. 9]. The same view is shared by C. Schneider, who also characterizes cultural diplomacy as a prime example of "soft power" , or the ability to persuade through culture, values, and ideas as opposed to "hard power", which conquers or coerces through military might [15, p. 2]. It is cultural diplomacy, according to the author, that won the Cold War, but today, there is every reason to speak of the decline of cultural diplomacy in the United States: cultural diplomacy is transformed into a peripheral area of

public diplomacy because it is considered too soft compared to other instruments of influence [15].

Analyzing the issue of the effectiveness of cultural diplomacy, we would like to agree with N. Serbina and O. Kuchmii that miscalculations of strategies of some countries in the area of intercultural cooperation are explained by cultural expansion, which leads to tensions in relations between states. The United States is trying to neutralize the mistakes of its cultural diplomacy as a result of the events of September 11, 2001, in particular, 7 new legislative acts in this area were adopted, international publications on the problems of intercivilizational dialogue, new TV and radio stations with directed channels of cultural interaction were created and financed from the state budget, fundamental research on cultural diplomacy and its possibilities in bilateral relations was started [6, p. 124]. However, according to C. Schneider, government and public support for the US cultural diplomacy is not systematic, while «soft power requires hard dollars» [15, p. 22].

Obviously, the methods and goals, and consequently the degree of perception of cultural diplomacy, varies significantly today around the world. I. Havrylenko distinguishes two models of "soft power" – American and European ones. The first is specific to the United States and can only be fully implemented under specific conditions. However, "encouraging others to strive for results that you would like to get yourself", which, according to J. Nay, is a strategic goal of the US foreign cultural policy, is not shared today by all regions of the world [12, p. 166]. The European Union, experiencing ideological and cultural competition with the United States, is actively developing its own "soft" influence on the continent. After all, the so-called "export" of American culture in this region is a kind of challenge to the cultural identity of Western European states and nations, their historical and ethnocultural diversity and uniqueness, as well as political and economic independence. The main specific feature of the development of cultural diplomacy in Europe is its two-level context: European and national. In addition, a specific example of British cultural diplomacy is useful in terms of the effectiveness of non-state funding, while the example of Poland demonstrates the high efficiency of this direction in a country which culture and language are not very common in the world [1, p. 8]. In view of this, Ukraine should focus on the European model when building its cultural diplomacy.

"The Ukrainian diplomatic encyclopedia" defines cultural diplomacy as:

- 1) Foreign cultural policy (cultural policy), the purpose of which is to preserve national culture, advocacy of national-cultural identity in

international cooperation, etc.; combines state policy on certain areas of cultural activity, culture of foreign policy, instrumental use of culture and cultural norms in foreign policy.

2) Taking into account in the diplomatic activity of the state cultural factors in order to achieve interstate understanding through overcoming cultural barriers;

3) The use of various factors: – culture, arts, and education – in order to protect and promote national interests in the international arena [2, p. 381].

Thus, cultural diplomacy is defined as a scientific substance as well as a reality of the policy of intercultural cooperation, has national specifics and technologies of implementation, is used as an instrument of intergovernmental cooperation or «soft influence» to ensure national interests at the global, regional and national levels[2, p. 381].

Cultural diplomacy performs the following functions:

- dissemination of information about the country through cultural and artistic events, the work of cultural institutions, promotion and promotion of language, art, cultural heritage and national cuisine;
- formation of a positive image of the country in the world;
- establishing bilateral relations with the host country;
- spreading political influence in the host countries;
- promoting the economic development of the state, entering new markets.

In world politics, cultural diplomacy occupies a significant part of diplomatic activity, and along with economic and financial instruments is actively used to promote and protect national interests. It is time to strengthen Ukraine's cultural presence in the world, seek the dialogue and establish new links, and turn to the means of cultural diplomacy, the so-called «soft power» of foreign policy. Cultural diplomacy is understood not only as a tool for solving certain foreign policy problems but also as "intercultural diplomacy". These two roles are interconnected, however, fundamentally different. In the first case, culture acts as a subject and serves as a means of achieving understanding through the exchange of cultural values. In the second one, culture is the object of diplomacy, while diplomacy moderates intercultural dialogue.

Given the information war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine and the Western world, the cultural sphere is becoming more and more important. In April 2015, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine held the First Forum of Cultural Diplomacy and later created the Department of Public Diplomacy. Some projects in the field of cultural diplomacy are implemented by the Ministry of Culture, but today there

are not enough individual efforts of separate ministries and organizations. Planned concerted actions of various structures of state authorities both among themselves and with the cultural community in Ukraine and abroad are needed. The state should also build partnerships with patrons and non-governmental foundations.

According to the participants of the round table *Promotion of Ukraine's interests in the world through cultural diplomacy and information policy in 2017*, there are first successes of Ukrainian cultural diplomacy:

- presentation of the national stand at the international book fair in Frankfurt, Germany, thanks to the coordinated work of the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, as Mykola Kniashchynskyi noted during the discussion, Ukraine still cannot present a wide selection of translations of Ukrainian books to foreign readers. The Book Institute is called upon to rectify this situation. The law on its creation was adopted by the Verkhovna Rada in 2017;

- funding for culture has improved. In particular, 77 million hryvnias were allocated for the promotion of Ukraine in 2017 at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [5].

In 2021, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine has adopted the Strategy of Public Diplomacy for 2021–2025. As noted by Dmytro Kuleba, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, "that is the first such document of the ministry. Designing this document, we set an ambitious goal - to bring efforts to form a positive image of Ukraine in the world to a strategic level. The country's image and reputation are shaped not only by the tools of public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is only a component of the state's strategic communications, and the process of forming a positive image of Ukraine in the world requires close coordination with all relevant institutions, both governmental and non-governmental ones. To let the world know more about Ukraine, all efforts in this direction must be systematic and coordinated – we must speak with one voice and represent Ukraine synchronously. That is why the strategy pays special attention to the importance of using the *Ukraine Now* Brand and common narratives for a clearer position of Ukraine in the world» [7, p. 8].

According to *the Strategy of Public Diplomacy*, «cultural diplomacy is one of the areas of public diplomacy and soft power policy, which aims to improve the recognition of Ukraine and its cultural diversity, to shape a positive attitude of citizens of other countries to Ukraine. Cultural diplomacy as a direction of foreign policy makes it possible to promote and share national achievements and experiences in the area of culture with citizens of other countries, reaching better understanding and trust" [7, p. 11].

The dimensions of public diplomacy in the field of cultural diplomacy are: 1) the promotion of modern Ukrainian cinema, especially facilitating the participation of Ukrainian films in international film festivals; 2) promotion of modern Ukrainian classical and popular music, support of joint international projects; 3) promotion of modern Ukrainian theater and performing arts, in particular through participation in international theater festivals; 4) promotion of modern Ukrainian literature, facilitating Ukraine's participation in leading international book exhibitions, support of translation and publication of works by Ukrainian writers abroad; 5) assistance to publishing projects for the publication of books and brochures in foreign languages to popularize the history and present of Ukraine; 6) promotion of Ukrainian classical and modern visual art, in particular through exhibition projects abroad, art exchanges and collaborations; 7) facilitating the promotion of Ukrainian creative industries, including design, fashion, architecture, etc.; 8) presentation of the diversity of Ukrainian art, in particular the presentation of Ukrainian culture and art within the framework of international festivals, forums, conferences; 9) promotion of international research projects in the field of culture and art, encouragement of foreign specialists to study Ukrainian culture; 10) promotion of Ukrainian cultural heritage; 11) popularization of the Ukrainian language in the world; 12) promotion of cultural and artistic projects of representatives of indigenous peoples and national minorities [7, p. 11].

The effectiveness of cultural diplomacy requires close coordination and cooperation of foreign diplomatic missions of Ukraine with the Ukrainian Institute, as well as other state bodies and agencies, including the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy, the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation (UKF), the State Agency of Ukraine for Cinema (Derzhkino), the State the Agency of Ukraine for Arts and Art Education (State Art), the Ukrainian Book Institute (UIC), the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory (UINP), etc., cultural institutions, NGOs, as well as associations of foreign Ukrainians.

The Ukrainian Institute, in accordance with its *Strategy for 2020–2024*, carries out its program and project activities to achieve strategic goals: 1) improving the understanding and recognition of Ukraine among foreign audiences; 2) ensuring a constant request for expert cooperation with Ukraine; 3) strengthening the capacity of players of Ukrainian culture, education, science, and civil society to international cooperation; 4) strengthening Ukraine's involvement in current global cultural processes; 5) expanding the area of use of the Ukrainian language in the world [7, p. 12]. The Ukrainian Institute is a state institution managed

by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, which activities are aimed at improving the understanding and perception of Ukraine in the world and the development of its cultural links with other countries. The Ukrainian Institute is a professional and expert organization that implements its own projects in the area of cultural diplomacy and acts as a creative hub for foreign institutions of Ukraine for further implementation of projects in partnership and interaction with the Ukrainian Institute. Foreign institutions of Ukraine are recommended to apply to the Ukrainian Institute when planning and implementing cultural projects abroad. The Ukrainian Institute, for its part, generates ideas for current and modern cultural projects and programs for the further implementation by foreign diplomatic missions [7, p. 28].

The Strategy of Public Diplomacy defines the United States, Canada, Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Serbia, Turkey, Israel, Qatar, UAE, China, Japan as the priority countries and regions for Ukrainian cultural diplomacy (that is geography of the Ukrainian Institute).

According to O. Rozumna, «the problem of institutionalization of cultural diplomacy of Ukraine that is relevant today is not just the absence of policies of promotion and systemic support for cultural initiatives, a significant lack of resources (administrative, financial, personnel). This problem manifests itself as a critical lack of professional vision of this policy. It is at the stage of creating a vision of the institute of cultural diplomacy of Ukraine that it is expedient to analyze the experience of successful European institutions in this area» [4, p. 6].

First of all, it is necessary to overcome the divergence of the concept of culture in the EU and in Ukraine. According to the documents of European structures, culture is defined as a priority of European development, a representative of European identity and citizenship, and is proclaimed the bearer of such a determinative European value as diversity. During the period of Ukraine's independence, the political elite did not consider culture as a priority area of public policy, which for years was affected by underfunding, corruption, and unprofessionalism. This, accordingly, still hinders its openness, the entry of the Ukrainian cultural product on the European market, complicates the full development of Ukrainian cultural diplomacy. Overcoming negative trends in culture will inevitably put the issue of expanding its capabilities, in particular, at the level of foreign policy, on the agenda. The generalized experience of European cultural institutions can serve as a model for the successful implementation of Ukrainian cultural diplomacy. The basis for its institutionalization is the already established links between private

participants in the cultural process, the activities of the Ukrainian diaspora, the work of cultural and information centers within diplomatic missions abroad. Today it is obvious that the latter cannot be used as a tool of cultural diplomacy without a thorough reformatting. I. Gavrilenko believes that the approach implemented in Ukraine since 2006 (when the Presidential decree provided for the establishment of cultural and information centers within foreign diplomatic missions of Ukraine was issued) is faulty, given the lack of funding as well as lack of cultural managers' skills of Ukrainian diplomats [1, p. 8].

Cultural diplomacy should take place with the close support of the state, but without official pressure. During the Revolution of Dignity, *the Global Ukrainians* network was established in Ukraine, one of the activities of which is currently cultural diplomacy. The creation of such a network is also due to the generally recognized need for more systematic and coordinated cooperation between Ukrainian leaders of volunteer movements, public organizations within the country and abroad, and government agencies responsible for foreign information policy.

The variety of activities of "people's diplomats" in Ukraine is impressive. Cultural activists, volunteer movements and public organizations hold cultural days, film screenings, theater performances; artists organize cultural exchanges and exhibitions, conferences, performances of children's groups, festivals, forums, book fairs, and fashion weeks. The involvement of state institutions of Ukraine in such projects is minimal; there is no single strategy and vision for the development of cultural diplomacy for a certain period.

The problem can be solved by a comprehensive approach to the issue of such agents as: Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Ministry of Culture of Ukraine, Ministry of Education and Science, Taras Shevchenko National Prize Committee, artists, experts, volunteers, scientists, Ukrainian expatriates. The main task of Ukraine's cultural diplomacy in terms of content today is to tell the story of the country's heritage in a modern way. To do this, it is necessary to involve foreign cultural residents in the creation of Ukrainian content. Do not focus only on the past, but combine the past with the present and focus on the goal we want to achieve, so that as a result, cultural diplomacy defends national interests and security, responding to external challenges and threats.

Conclusion. Thus, cultural diplomacy for Ukraine is an important element of strategic activity, a "soft power" through which it is much easier to position oneself in the world and find support at the public level.

It is a tool for the realization of national interests, but subject to systematic application and effective coordination of efforts and generation of quality content for export.

The prestige of a state and its international status largely depend on how its cultural diplomacy works and how the institutions that represent it function. This is especially important in the context of aggressive hybrid war against Ukraine, an important component of which is informational and diplomatic factors.

According to experts, the problem of institutionalization of cultural diplomacy of Ukraine is not just the absence of state promotion and systemic support for cultural initiatives, a significant lack of administrative, financial, personnel resources. The problem manifests itself as a critical lack of professional vision of this policy. So the analysis of the experience of successful European institutions in this area seems to be extremely rewarding.

The basis for cultural diplomacy institutionalization in Ukraine could serve established links between private participants in the cultural process, the activities of the Ukrainian diaspora, the work of cultural and information centers within diplomatic missions abroad. Cultural diplomacy should take place with the close support of the state, but without official pressure. It is impossible to stimulate the development of cultural diplomacy without innovations in culture and without a meaningful cultural policy.

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Культурна дипломатія як інструмент формування міжнародного іміджу України

Метою дослідження є виявлення специфіки становлення культурної дипломатії України, а також окреслення основних проблем та перспектив її подальшої реалізації.

На думку авторки, престиж держави та її міжнародний статус великою мірою залежать від того, як працює її культурна дипломатія та як функціонують установи, що її представляють. Особливо це важливо з огляду на те, що проти України ведеться агресивна гібридна війна, вагомою складовою якої є інформаційні й дипломатичні чинники. На думку експертів, «актуальна нині проблема інституалізації культурної дипломатії України полягає не лише у відсутності політики промоції та системної підтримки культурних ініціатив, відчутному браку ресурсу (адміністративного, фінансового, кадрового). Ця проблема проявляється як критична нестача фахового бачення цієї політики. Саме на етапі створення візії інституту культурної дипломатії України доцільним є аналіз досвіду успішних європейських установ у цій сфері».

Насамперед необхідно подолати різночитання поняття культури в ЄС та в Україні. Згідно з документами європейських структур, культуру визначено пріоритетом європейської розбудови, вона виступає репрезентантом європейської ідентичності та громадянства, проголошується носієм такої визначальної європейської цінності, як розмаїття. За роки незалежності України політична еліта не розглядала культуру як пріоритетну галузь державної політики, на якій роками позначалися недофінансування, корумпованість, непрофесійність. Це, відповідно, і досі перешкоджає забезпеченню її відкритості, виходу українського культурного продукту на європейський ринок, ускладнює повноцінний розвиток української культурної дипломатії. Подолання негативних тенденцій у культурі неодмінно поставить на порядок денний питання щодо розширення її можливостей, зокрема, і на рівні зовнішньої політики. Узагальнений досвід роботи європейських культурних інституцій може слугувати зразком успішної реалізації культурної дипломатії. Підґрунтям для створення інституцій є вже напрацьовані зв'язки між приватними учасниками культурного процесу, діяльність осередків української діаспори, робота культурно-інформаційних центрів у складі дипломатичних установ за кордоном. На сьогодні є очевидним, що останні не можуть бути використані як інструмент культурної дипломатії без ґрунтовного переформатування. Заходи культурної дипломатії повинні відбуватися за тісної підтримки держави, однак без чиновницького тиску.

Стимулювати розвиток культурної дипломатії неможливо без інновацій у культурі та без змістовної культурної політики.

Авторка доходить висновку, що культурна дипломатія для України – важливий елемент стратегічної діяльності, "м'яка сила", завдяки якій набагато легше позиціонувати себе у світі та знаходити підтримку на громадському рівні. Це інструмент для реалізації національних інтересів, але за умови систематичного застосування та ефективної координації зусиль та формування якісного контенту для експорту.

Ключові слова: міжнародна співпраця, культурна дипломатія, публічна дипломатія, імідж держави, культурна політика, культурний обмін, Український інститут.