

STRATEGIC PRINCIPLES OF CULTURAL POLICY OF UKRAINE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE COURSE OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

СТРАТЕГІЧНІ ЗАСАДИ КУЛЬТУРНОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ УКРАЇНИ В КОНТЕКСТІ КУРСУ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОЇ ІНТЕГРАЦІЇ

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Abstract. *The purpose of the research deals with proving the need for the formation of strategic foundations of cultural policy in Ukraine for the conditions of military aggression and the post-war period, taking into account the requirements of the state course of European integration. The current state of the cultural sphere in Ukrainian society is demonstrated to be characterised by at least the following factors: the destruction of a large number of infrastructure facilities of cultural institutions due to military operations, a significant reduction in the financing of culture from state and local budgets and the requirement to learn European practices in the implementation of cultural policy as a result of Ukraine's acquisition of the status of an EU member. Given these circumstances, the political class and the administrative establishment of Ukraine are faced with the task of creating a renewed cultural policy that would be able to overcome the losses and traumas of the war period, ensure cultural development in the post-war period, aimed at forming a stable identity of Ukrainians. Hence, the task arises through the means of culture of forming the European component of Ukrainian identity, since the condition for the success of the course of European integration is the need to master the values on which the European community is built. It is established that an updated strategy plan for cultural development is required to address these issues. The necessity of modernization of the legislative base of cultural policy is shown, in particular, the approval of decentralization of the functioning of government bodies, strengthening support for culture from the state and municipal budgets, creating a legislative base for public-private partnership in the cultural sphere, strengthening the information component of the cultural process.*

Keywords: *cultural policy, cultural strategy, identity policy.*

Анотація. *Метою дослідження є доведення необхідності формування стратегічних засад культурної політики в Україні для умов військової агресії та повоєнного періоду з урахуванням вимог державного курсу європейської інтеграції. Показується, що наразі ситуація в культурній сфері українського суспільства характеризується, як мінімум, наступними чинниками: руйнуванням великої кількості об'єктів інфраструктури культурних закладів внаслідок військових дій, зменшенням фінансування культури із державного та місцевих бюджетів, необхідністю імплементації правових засад європейських практик культурної політики, що витикає із набуття Україною статусу кандидата до вступу у ЄС. В контексті зазначених чинників перед політичним класом та управлінським істеблішментом України стоять завдання створення оновленої культурної політики, яка б*

була здатна подолати втрати та травми воєнного періоду, забезпечити культурний розвиток у повоєнний період, спрямований на формування стійкої ідентичності українців. Звідси постає завдання за допомогою засобів культури формування європейської складової української ідентичності, позаяк умовою успіху курсу європейської інтеграції є необхідність опанування цінностями, на яких побудована європейська спільнота. Обґрунтовується, що для вирішення цих завдань необхідно створення оновленого стратегічного дизайну культурного розвитку. Показана необхідність ствердження децентралізації функціонування органів управління, посилення підтримки культури із державного та муніципальних бюджетів, створення законодавчої бази державно-приватного партнерства у культурній сфері, посилення інформаційної складової культурного процесу.

Ключові слова: *культурна політика, стратегія культури, політика ідентичності.*

Introduction

The effectiveness of cultural policy in Ukraine for the conditions of military aggression and the post-war period depends on the solution of at least the following tasks:

(1) Modernization of post-totalitarian mechanisms for managing the cultural sphere (rejection of the so-called sectoral principle), as well as the involvement of managers capable of implementing an effective cultural policy. The political class of Ukraine is faced with the task of forming an optimal management model for decentralization conditions, when central authorities are limited to the development of strategic development programs and their implementation is transferred to grassroots levels;

(2) Cultural policy should meet the requirements of European integration of Ukraine, based on the need to adapt the legislation of Ukraine to the law of the European Union in the context of Ukraine's acquisition of the status of an EU member. In the context of this, the task arises through the means of culture of formation of the European component of Ukrainian identity. After all, the state course of European integration implicitly includes the need for Ukrainian citizens to master the values on which the European community is built. Cultural policy should play a key role in the implementation of this task.

(3) The consequence of the military aggression of the Russian Federation was a decrease in funding for the cultural sphere. Without targeted support from the state and local self-government bodies in the current conditions, cultural institutions simply will not be able to function fully. Therefore, the updated model of cultural policy should provide for state protectionism, which would ensure access to the culture of the general population;

(4) The purpose of cultural policy is to restore the destroyed and damaged due to hostilities infrastructure of cultural institutions and ensure their financing. Thus, according to the Ministry of Culture and Information, as of January 25, 2024, 1,938 cultural infrastructure facilities suffered losses. 314 of these were destroyed. In general, the following were affected: club institutions – 929; libraries – 689; institutions of art education – 154; museums and galleries – 113; theatres, cinemas and philharmonic societies – 38; parks, zoos, reserves – 12; and circuses – 3. As of the end of January 2024, almost the entire territory of Luhansk and significant parts of the territories of Zaporizhzhia, Donetsk and Kherson regions were under temporary occupation, which makes it impossible to calculate the exact number of cultural infrastructure objects affected by hostilities and occupation. (1938 objects ..., 2024).

Thus, the strategic principles of cultural policy are associated with the creation of a multidimensional model that would be able to ensure the restoration of destroyed institutions, involve the general public in the cultural process, ensure proper financing of the cultural process, which would guarantee the population's access to cultural goods, as well as the formation of the Eurocentric orientation of the identity of Ukrainian citizens.

Literature Review

Among the latest studies that analyse the problems of the implementation of cultural policy in Ukraine, we will point to a number of thorough publications that investigate certain aspects of the development of culture in the pre-war period. In particular, the study of the problems of financing creative industries (Vorobei V., Kobrynovych M., Kryvetska L., 2020), the development of library business in the context of decentralization of management (Krat M., Sofii O., 2016) and the analysis

of the problems of informatization of libraries (Brui O., 2021), the analysis of the problems of the development of regional infrastructure of cultural institutions (Bohdan O., 2019) and the provision of cultural services to the population in the context of decentralization (Pyrohova D., 2020). In the Humanitarian Policy of Ukraine: Challenges and Prospects analytical report, an attempt is made to comprehensively study the problems of the humanitarian space in the pre-war period (Sinaiko O. et al., 2020).

At the same time, there is an obvious lack of analytical developments on the topic of what should be the cultural policy in wartime and the post-war period. However, similar tasks are faced by the creators of information policy and, in particular, the creation of information support for the cultural process aimed at conveying the achievements of culture to different social strata. In this plan, we can point to the plan for the restoration of the cultural sphere, prepared by a working group of experts under the patronage of the Ministry of Culture (Draft Plan for the Recovery of Ukraine, 2022). At the moment, the Vision of Ukraine: Reforming and Restoring the Social and Humanitarian Sphere in the Perspective of 2030 project, which was prepared by public experts (Vision of Ukraine, 2023), is under discussion, which separately pays attention to the development of the cultural sphere.

In our research, the basic concepts are used based on the conceptual approaches that are used in many international documents devoted to cultural policy issues.

The concept of “*cultural policy*” is used in the traditional key, as it was defined at the UNESCO Conference in Monaco (1967). Namely, “*cultural policy*” is defined as a set of conscious actions (or their absence) aimed at satisfying cultural needs by using the material and human resources that society has at the moment (Cultural Policy, 1969). For our study, it is important to understand that the content of the concept of “cultural policy” includes a set of legal, administrative and financial levers through which the state policy in the field of culture is implemented. We also used the conclusions of the report of the OUR CREATIVE DIVERSITY Culture and Development World Commission, in particular, on the need to recognize the cultural rights of different social groups and the importance of cultural development to ensure harmonious social progress (Our Creative Diversity, 1969).

For Ukraine, in developing its state cultural policy, it is important to use the principles defined in the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001). Of particular importance are the principles that define cultural diversity as a common achievement of mankind (Article 1) and a factor of development (Article 3). It is also important to use the principles of state policy in the field of culture defined in the Declaration, in particular the statement that such a policy should ensure the dissemination of cultural ideas, goods and services at the local and global levels. At the same time, each state makes its own cultural policy and implements it by appropriate means (UNESCO Universal Declaration, 2001). In the same context, the principles defined in the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions were used, among which, in particular, there is a requirement to include culture as a strategic component in the more general state development policy (UNESCO Convention, 2005).

Approved international documents set the conceptual horizons of specific national policies in the field of culture. International documents should play a significant role in shaping the state cultural policy in Ukraine. At the same time, their implementation should take into account the national specifics of the countries.

In early 2023, the European Commission presented a report on Ukraine's readiness to join the EU. In general, European experts positively assessed the state of implementation of cultural policy in Ukraine, noting *'a certain level of preparation for the EU goals'*, in particular, pointing to the ratification of the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2010) and intersectoral cooperation within the framework of the Creative Europe Program (Analytical Report, 2023). However, it is obvious that within the framework of homework, much remains to be done to ensure that cultural policy meets the challenges associated with the implementation of the course of European integration. In particular, it concerns the need to harmonize Ukrainian legislation in the humanitarian field with EU law.

Main Research Results

Public Demand for a New Cultural Policy

Russia's military invasion was the impetus for significant changes in the structure of the identity values of Ukrainian citizens. In Ukrainian society, new structures of socio-cultural identity are being approved, so the state cultural policy should contribute to strengthening this process. The priority in this regard, in particular, should be to promote the mastery of European values, which should become an integral part of Ukrainian identity, as well as to counteract the destructive cultural and informational influence of Russia.

As an illustration of changes in public consciousness, we will give several statistical data that are important for the formation of cultural policy.

First of all, we should note the unprecedentedly high level of public support for the European and Euro-Atlantic integration course. Thus, according to a representative survey conducted by the RATING Sociological Group, support for Ukraine's accession to the EU in February 2023 was 85% (in April 2022, it was 80%). There is also a high level of support for joining NATO. In February 2023, it was 82%, although in April 2022, it was 59%. Support for the European and Euro-Atlantic vector of integration is unanimous on regional and age grounds (IRI All-Ukrainian Survey, 2023). This is an unprecedented level of support for the entire period of sociological research.

The next factor that indicates a significant transformation in the public consciousness is the final rejection of the symbol set, which is associated in the public consciousness with the Soviet past. Thus, the number of citizens who are nostalgic for the Soviet past decreased from 46% in 2010 to 11% in 2022. The absolute majority of respondents (87%) do not regret the disappearance of the USSR. Values inherited from the Soviet era have long influenced the formation of humanitarian policy. As can be seen, this value-semantic factor has now been overcome (Tenth National Survey, 2022).

Among the signs of political consolidation can also be called an unprecedented level of support for the democratic path of Ukraine's development. According to the survey conducted in May 2022, 95% of respondents indicated that it was important for them that Ukraine become a democratic society. For comparison, before the beginning of the war in December 2021, there were 76% of them. The most significant features of democracy for respondents were freedom of speech, fair justice, and free and fair elections (NDI Survey, 2022).

However, despite the consolidated support for the model of a society built on social and state values associated with the European community, nevertheless, there is no reason to assert that in Ukrainian society there has finally been a historical choice of citizens in favour of a pluralistic society, solidary social relations, and the rule of law. The consequences of social and psychological trauma caused by military aggression, the destruction of the economy, mass migration, the spread of poverty, etc. are quite acute. Consequently, the exam on historical choice and social consolidation has not yet been completed. It can be agreed that there is 'a high probability of the emergence of new socio-political splits associated with numerous human losses, migration, mass impoverishment, etc. Therefore, Ukraine needs to prepare the necessary fuses in advance so as not to slip into identity conflicts again, now based on new demarcation lines' (Zelenko H., Kononenko N., 2022).

In the context of the course of European integration, as noted, it is important to form citizens' value structures of identity, which are associated with the idea of "Europeanness". Polls on popular opinion indicate that there is still more work to be done in this area before Ukrainians consider themselves to be Europeans. Thus, according to the results of a sociological study, the generalized index of self-perception of residents of de-occupied and frontline territories as Europeans is about 4 points. For comparison, the index of perception of oneself as a resident of one's region is 9.3 points. That is, respondents primarily identify themselves as residents of Ukraine and a particular region (oblast). Instead, identification markers associated with the perception of oneself as Europeans are at the initial stage of development (Cultural Practices, 2024).

In the public consciousness, there is a lack of understanding of the content of many norms on which the European community is formed (human rights, rule of law, etc.), so there is a need for the formation of state humanitarian and cultural work aimed at supporting new trends in the formation of the identity of citizens associated with the course of European integration of Ukraine. This is the public demand for a renewed state cultural policy.

Relevance of Updating the Cultural Policy Strategy

The strategic foundations of cultural policy should be based on strong constitutional principles. However, despite the importance of culture for the development of society, not a single article of the Constitution of Ukraine is fully devoted to it. The Basic Law mentions culture in Articles 11, 12, 24, 36, 54 and 66, but the definitions contained in the Basic Law are largely incomplete. In the relevant sections of the Constitution of Ukraine, where the functions of the central authorities are defined, the issue of cultural policy is not given due importance. There is no concept of 'cultural policy' in the Basic Law. Instead, the concept of 'nationwide programs of national and cultural development' is used (Art. 85), 'nationwide program of cultural development' (Art. 116, item 4), and 'regional cultural development programs' (Art. 119, item 3). Based on the importance of culture for the development of society and the citizens, it is obvious that the Constitution of Ukraine should contain a separate article devoted to culture and its functions, which will determine, in particular, the principles of cultural policy and guarantees of ensuring the cultural rights of citizens.

On the agenda is the problem of legislative consolidation of strategic directions of cultural policy. The current documents defining the strategy of cultural development are outdated and do not correspond to their purpose. The Long-Term Strategy for the Development of Ukrainian Culture, which was approved in 2016, does not take into account modern realities, therefore it does not perform the functions of a strategic document of state policy (Long-Term Strategy, 2016).

Currently, several projects for the development of culture in wartime and the post-war period are at various stages of preparation. At the initiative of the Ministry of Culture, in June 2022, the Cultural Consolidation for Victory manifesto was prepared, which identified the priorities of cultural policy in the war period (Manifesto Cultural Consolidation, 2022). The Culture and Information Policy working group of the National Recovery Council prepared a draft plan for the restoration of the cultural sphere in the post-war period (Draft Plan for the Recovery of Ukraine, 2022). The Vision of Ukraine: Reforming and Restoring the Social and Humanitarian Sphere in the Perspective of 2030 project, which was prepared by public experts, is under discussion (Vision of Ukraine, 2023). This Project pays special attention to the development of the cultural sphere. Despite the appropriateness of the creation of these projects, nevertheless, they do not have the status of a state policy document and, accordingly, do not have legal force for the functioning of state and public institutions implementing cultural policy.

Updating the strategic foundations of cultural policy is also necessary taking into account the need to fulfill the requirements for the adaptation of Ukrainian legislation to the law of the European Union in the context of Ukraine's acquisition of the status of a candidate for EU membership. The concept of Ukraine's cultural development strategy should be based on fundamental European values, including, in particular, the values of freedom, justice, solidarity, democracy, the rule of law, the protection of human rights, overcoming poverty and guaranteeing the rights of minorities.

We will identify the main conceptual positions that should be reflected in the updated strategy for cultural development. The following priorities of cultural development require conceptual justification: the need for citizens to master modern cultural competencies, overcome the phenomenon of 'cultural poverty'; guarantees of access to cultural goods regardless of material condition and place of residence; promotion of cultural diversity; institutional and legal foundations for the preservation and protection of cultural heritage; state and public support for various forms of creativity and innovative culture, in particular, creative industries; and mechanisms for the formation of a modern socio-cultural identity of Ukrainian citizens. Among the priorities is the definition of mechanisms for countering the 'cognitive war', that is, the spread in the cultural space of destructive narratives aimed at destroying the identity and deconsolidation of Ukrainian society. It should also be called guarantees of information accessibility of citizens to cultural goods; determination of mechanisms for proper budget financing of cultural institutions, and the legal basis for the creation of mechanisms for extrabudgetary financing. Particular attention in this regard should be paid to strengthening the role of cultural and humanitarian work on the mastery of European values and the formation of socio-cultural identity.

Modernization of the Legislative Base of Cultural Policy

The new strategic design of cultural development provides for the modernization of the regulatory framework of cultural policy.

In this context, the actual task is to develop and approve a new version of the Basic Act of Ukraine on Culture (Law of Ukraine, 2011). The current law requires innovations that should be aimed at the legal justification of the mechanism for the formation and implementation of state cultural policy for wartime and post-war conditions. In particular, it is advisable to identify among the priorities a set of tasks that are associated with the formation of the socio-cultural identity of citizens and the consolidation of society. In this regard, a legislative norm will be appropriate, according to which the mastery of European values will be determined by one of the priorities of cultural development. Accordingly, quantitative and qualitative indicators should be introduced into the system of monitoring and evaluating the implementation of state policy in the field of culture, using which the effectiveness of identity policy is determined.

The basic law should define the guaranteed share of state and local budgets that are directed to the needs of the cultural sphere. The legally defined amount of budget support will allow to get rid of the notorious 'residual principle', according to which cultural institutions are sometimes financed.

In the basic law, it is also necessary to determine the specifics of the implementation of cultural policy in the context of decentralization of management, to outline the areas of competence of regional and central authorities. The policy of decentralisation, which was implemented in the pre-war period, has generally proved its effectiveness, in particular, in terms of increasing the financial capacity of self-governing local communities. At the same time, it is necessary to recognize that local communities, having received additional financial resources, for the most part, did not provide appropriate improvement in the functioning of the infrastructure of cultural institutions. Therefore, at the legislative level, it is advisable to determine the mechanisms for the formation and implementation of cultural policy at the regional and local levels.

Special attention should be paid to the definition of mechanisms for information support of the cultural process (cultural enlightenment), which consists of promoting the accessibility of cultural values to the population.

The need to introduce a subvention from the state budget for guaranteed financing of cultural services is the next priority of the legislative support of cultural policy. In this regard, the legislative initiative of the Ministry of Culture, which proposed the Draft Act of Ukraine on Amendments to the Budget Code of Ukraine on the Introduction of a Cultural Subvention to Finance the Provision of a Basic Set of Cultural Services (Draft Law of Ukraine, 2022), deserves support. The introduction of a cultural subvention will contribute to the financing of a guaranteed set of cultural services, which will result in ensuring the uniformity of cultural development of regions and will become an effective means of preventing the development of the phenomenon of 'cultural poverty'. Moreover, the urgency of introducing a subvention for the conditions for the restoration of destroyed cultural infrastructure objects is increasing, because local budgets for such purposes may simply lack the necessary resources. Without centralized financial support, it is impossible to count on the rapid restoration of destroyed cultural sites.

Particular attention should be paid to the modernization of the legislative framework for public-private partnerships in the cultural sphere. In the current conditions, the main source of support for culture remains funding from state and local budgets, as well as the resources of international partners. At the same time, it is obvious that these sources of funding are not enough for the full restoration of the cultural sector.

According to the relevant committee of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, in the budget of Ukraine in 2022, nominal expenditures on culture and art were UAH 18.9 billion, in 2023, expenditures on culture and art amounted to UAH 22.3 billion. The draft budget of Ukraine for 2024 provides for their growth to UAH 27.5 billion. At the same time, according to experts of the profile committee of the parliament, despite the increase in nominal expenditures on culture and art in the budget of Ukraine in 2024, taking into account inflation indicators (113.8% year-on-year), real financing of the sphere of culture and art will decrease by 26.69% compared to 2021, which will not ensure the restoration of budget financing in real terms of the pre-war level. (On Budget Financing, 2023)

In the context of insufficient budget support, the development of public-private partnerships can be an effective auxiliary tool for financing cultural policy. However, there are currently large gaps in the current legislation regarding the legal support of the capacity of public-private

partnerships to significantly affect the financing of cultural activities. Thus, the Act of Ukraine on Culture, the Act of Ukraine on Museums and Museum Business and the Act of Ukraine on the Protection of Cultural Heritage fixed the possibility of using public-private partnerships. However, this fixation is mostly of a framework nature, since neither the laws that define cultural activities nor the by-laws have developed a mechanism for applying public-private partnerships. According to many experts, the current model of public-private partnership is not adapted for its effective application in the field of culture, taking into account the specifics of cultural infrastructure and cultural heritage sites. The main obstacle is the requirements for the preservation of historical monuments and the functionality of cultural objects under the conditions of their commercial use. As a result, at the moment there are no by-laws and methodological recommendations that would determine the mechanisms for the use of public-private partnerships in the field of culture and the use of historical heritage objects in commercial activities.

The sphere of culture and before military aggression was unattractive for private investors. Therefore, in the context of budget underfunding, the task of modernizing the regulatory framework of public-private partnerships in the field of culture is on the agenda to create a favourable environment and incentives for private businesses to attract investment in the cultural sphere.

Conclusions

Drastic changes in Ukrainian society caused by the Russian-Ukrainian war put on the agenda the need to form a state cultural policy in Ukraine for the conditions of military aggression and the post-war period.

The formation of updated strategic foundations of cultural policy was curtailed during the armed aggression. Ukraine's obtaining the status of a candidate for accession to the EU has set the task of accelerating work in this direction on the agenda. Therefore, despite the losses as a result of the war, the relevance of the formation of updated strategic foundations of cultural policy in the context of the state course of European integration remains.

At present, the situation in the cultural sphere of Ukrainian society is characterized, at least, by the following factors: firstly, the need to restore a large number of infrastructure facilities of cultural institutions that were damaged or destroyed as a result of hostilities; secondly, the need to ensure proper financing of culture from the state and local budgets; thirdly, the need to master European cultural policy practices, which derives from Ukraine's acquisition of the status of a candidate for accession to the EU; fourthly, the task of reforming cultural management bodies at the central and local levels, attracting managers capable of implementing policies following accepted European cultural practices.

To solve these problems, there is a need to update the state policy documents defining the strategy of cultural development. The subject of the updated strategy should be the creation of political and legal conditions for the formation of cultural practices that meet the public demand and the interests of consolidating society, guaranteeing the cultural rights of citizens.

The strategic principles of cultural policy should meet the challenges of today and cover all areas of cultural activity. Target results of cultural policy should be determined, the achievement of which is determined based on monitoring, which provides information to the subjects of the cultural process on the status of implementation of planned activities.

The financial condition of the cultural sector remains rather weak, despite the nominal increase in funding in 2024. Therefore, the agenda includes the development and approval of regulations that would facilitate the involvement of private businesses based on patronage and increase the investment attractiveness of the cultural sphere.

The implementation of European legislation requires a reform of the management system in the field of culture. The central executive body responsible for the implementation of cultural policy should be institutionally capable of implementing practices that contribute to the integration of Ukrainian culture into the European humanitarian space. In particular, this concerns the need to ensure the consistency of planning with the relevant plans of European institutions in the field of culture. Managers at the central and local levels should have the appropriate professional level to ensure the integration of Ukrainian culture into the European humanitarian space.

Current areas of cultural development require the following legislative substantiation: mechanisms for the formation of a Eurocentric socio-cultural identity of Ukrainian citizens;

determination of mechanisms to counter the spread of destructive narratives in the cultural space aimed at destroying the identity and deconsolidation of Ukrainian society; guarantees of proper budget financing of cultural institutions; determination of mechanisms for information support of the cultural process; determination of guaranteed indicators of financing the cultural sphere from the state and local budgets.

The task of integrating Ukrainian culture into the European humanitarian space, in particular the implementation of EU law in the domestic regulatory framework, should be a priority in the development and implementation of cultural policy.

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