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## СОЦІАЛЬНА ФІЛОСОФІЯ

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### CONFESSIONAL PLURALISM AS A PHENOMEN OF MODERNITY: WORLD AND UKRAINIAN CONTEXT

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*The article considers polyconfessionalism as a social phenomenon of mankind, describes the features and trends of religious diversity in the world and Ukraine, and reveals the role of religious pluralism in the realization of freedom of conscience. Thirstily of the XVII century, when the principle of freedom of conscience was proclaimed and realized, polyconfessionalism became the idea of civilized coexistence of religions and churches. These trends are reflected in the socio-political life of modern societies. Based on the method of classical evolutionism proposed by the representative of the British School of Sociology and Philosophy of Religion G. Spencer, neo-evolutionism of the American anthropologist J. Stewart and convergent processes in the religious life of Ukrainian scientist E. Martyniuk, the essence of polyconfession is considered and analyzed. homogeneity to diversity; b) consolidation and differentiation of societies; c) culture and socio-geographical features; d) convergent processes of society. Attention is paid to the facts of polyconfessionalism and convergence in the world and in Ukraine, which is due to the evolutionary-historical state and socio-political conditions of the country. This phenomenon is an evolutionary model of modern society, which tends to form the heterogeneity of society, fluctuations from integration to differentiation, adaptation to natural conditions, and multivectority. On the basis of the historical approach and analytical calculations the facts of convergence of polyconfessionalism and multiculturalism are obtained and the further prospects of their existence are forecasted. It is noted that the phenomenon of polyconfessionalism, which also occurs in societies where state religions are proclaimed, often leads to the existence and constant emergence of new religious movements. Polyconfessionalism often produces interfaith misunderstandings and conflicts, which can be a catalyst for new trends*

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and directions. The determinants have been identified, as well as the factors that contribute to or hinder the exercise of freedom of conscience in modern Ukrainian multi-religious society have been analyzed. It is stated that although the concepts of "freedom of religion", "multiculturalism", "religious diversity" are largely implemented today in most modern societies, they must be constantly maintained and strengthened. A special role in this belongs to scientists who substantiate the theoretical foundations of multicultural, multi-religious existence of society.

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**Keywords:** religion, confession, desecularization, multicultural society, multidimensional society, religious pluralism, Christianity.

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## КОНФЕСІЙНИЙ ПЛЮРАЛІЗМ ЯК ФЕНОМЕН СУЧАСНОСТІ: СВІТОВИЙ ТА УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ КОНТЕКСТ

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У статті розглянуто поліконфесійність як соціальний феномен людства, охарактеризовано особливості й тенденції розвитку релігійного різноманіття в світі та Україні, розкрито роль релігійного плюралізму в реалізації свободи совісті. Починаючи з XVII сторіччя, коли проголошується й реалізується принцип свободи совісті, поліконфесійність стає ідеєю цивілізованого співіснування релігій і церков. Зазначені тенденції знаходять свій вияв в соціально-політичному житті сучасних суспільств. Спираючись на методіку класичного еволюціонізму, запропоновану представником британської школи соціології та філософії релігії Г. Спенсером, неоеволюціонізму американського антрополога Дж. Стюарта та конвергентних процесів в релігійному житті українського науковця Е. Мартинюка, розглянуто та проаналізовано сутність поліконфесійності в соціумі: а) еволюція соціуму – від однорідності до різноманітності; б) консолідація та диференціація суспільств; в) культура та соціально-географічні особливості; г) конвергентні процеси соціуму. Звернено увагу на факти поліконфесійності та конвергенції в світі і на теренах України, що зумовлено еволюційно-історичним станом та соціально-політичними умовами країни. Цей феномен є еволюційною моделлю сучасного суспільства, яка має тенденції до формування гетерогенності соціуму, флуктуації від інтеграції до диференціації, пристосування до природних умов, мультивекторності. На основі історичного підходу та аналітичних викладок наведено факти зближення поліконфесійності і мультикультуральності та спрогнозовано подальші перспективи їх існування. Зазначено, що явище поліконфесійності, яке має місце і в суспільствах, де проголошуються державні релігії, часто веде до існування і постійного виникнення нових релігійних течій. Поліконфесійність нерідко продукує міжконфесійні непорозуміння й конфлікти, що може бути каталізатором нових течій та напрямів. Визначені детермінанти, а також проаналізовані фактори, які сприяють чи перешкоджають здійсненню свободи совісті в сучасному українському поліконфесійному соціумі. Констатовано, що хоча поняття "свободи віросповідання", "мультикультуралізму", "релігійного різноманіття" сьогодні значною мірою є реалізованими в більшості сучасних суспільств, однак їх необхідно постійно підтримувати та зміцнювати. Особливу роль в цьому належить науковцям, які обґрунтовують теоретичні засади мультикультурного, поліконфесійного буття суспільства.

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**Ключові слова:** віросповідання, конфесія, десекуляризація, мультикультуральне суспільство, поліконфесійність, релігійний плюралізм, християнство.

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**Formulation of the problem.** The relevance of the study of the chosen topic is due primarily to the diverse socio-cultural transformations in the context of accelerating globalization processes, and the heterogeneity of the current

religious situation in the world. Instead of the expected emergence of a single religion in the global world, humanity is witnessing an almost universal "uprising" of religions. The religious picture of the world is becoming more

diverse, and national societies increasingly contain signs of polyconfessionalism. Although the religious landscape of the world still retains historical and geographical segmentation and some countries look quite homogeneous given the religious affiliation of their citizens, but the events of the third millennium, occurring in the world and in Ukraine in particular, indicate the growing role of religious factors in socio-political, cultural life and world politics. Globalization turns the world into a single whole and even if it does not cause global cultural and religious convergence, it in any case makes the meeting of religions and cultures irreversible [1].

Religious pluralism as a foundation of freedom of conscience manifested itself in the Reformation era, although it was surrounded by a number of caveats. For the first time, religious pluralism was thoroughly declared from the standpoint of the interpretation of religious freedom, attitudes toward non-Christian religions, and ecumenism at the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). The Second Vatican Council adopted the relevant documents ("Nostra aetate" – "Declaration on the Church's attitude to non-Christian religions", "Dignitatis humanae" – "Declaration on religious freedom", "Unitatis redintegratio" – "Declaration on ecumenism"), which directly or indirectly concerned religious pluralism, relations between different denominations. For the first time in its history, the Council of the Catholic Church has formed the doctrinal foundations of religious freedom [2: 305–310; 375–392].

The phenomenon of polyconfessionalism significantly affects society, its axiological principles, and public policy. The principles of freedom of conscience, civil liberties, religious freedom, religious diversity and tolerance are the basic values of civilized life. Today, religion is given a legal place in the public sphere within the post-secular

paradigm, the task of which is to build new dialogic relations between the secular and religious worldview [3]. Very heated debates also revolve around values and identities based on religious beliefs and feelings. Moreover, polyconfessionalism in an interdependent, globalized space poses threats to the escalation of world religious confrontations. In view of the above, the phenomenon of polyconfessionalism is the subject of increased attention of both scholars and theologians, clergy and parishioners.

#### **Degree of scientific development.**

There is a large amount of domestic and foreign literature on the analysis of polyconfessionalism as an important aspect of society and the state. Thus, research on polyconfessionalism in the context of evolutionism, neo-evolutionism and convergence was carried out by such foreign authors as R. Bellah, D. Bell, P. Berger, J. Baudrillard, M. Weber, R. Weintz, H. Casanova, G. Spencer., F. Yancy and others. Transformations of the religious and ecclesiastical sphere caused by radical geopolitical changes of the late XX – early XXI centuries are analyzed in the works of Ukrainian scientists V. Bondarenko, V. Yelensky, E. Koppel, O. Parkhomchuk, R. Protsyuk, O. Sagan and others. Problems of building interfaith relations in the new social conditions became the subject of attention of A. Aristova, M. Babiy, M. Zakovych, S. Zdioruk, V. Klimov, M. Novichenko. A. Kolodny, L. Prokopenko, M. Rybachuk, L. Filipovych, O. Shubi, and P. Yarotsky have made significant achievements in studying the influence of polyconfessionalism on the processes of nation- and state-building, ethnointegration, and the cultural progress of Ukrainians. Modernity and history of polyconfessionalism, the social role of religiosity in the formation of personality, spirituality as a component of national education are also considered in the works of O. Gold, O. Dobrodm,

M. Kozlovets, E. Martyniuk, V. Tytarenko and others. However, many issues of polyconfessionalism in terms of socio-philosophical analysis have not yet been sufficiently raised in scientific research.

**The aim of the study** is to analyze the theoretical and practical aspects of polyconfessionalism as a social phenomenon, the role of religious pluralism and dialogue in social integration, to determine the current religious situation in Ukraine to develop an effective model of interfaith relations.

**Discussion and results.** The phenomenon of polyconfessionalism is a historically complex social phenomenon. It is known that religion as a social phenomenon is organically woven into the ethnicity of society. It cannot exist independently of such historical forms of human communities as race and tribe, nationality, nation. World religions are not free from ethnic influence either. Because religions arose from the tribal and tribal system, and later, when they became national, they did not lose their ties with ethnocultural, because they grew out of the social conditions of an individual people. Religious views are organically combined with ethnicity, culture, psychology, tradition. Religion endows human communities with powerful symbolism, as well as draws boundaries between them that are difficult to penetrate. As a systemic phenomenon, religion consists of separate subsystems – specific religions, religious movements, trends, sects, each of which occupies its place in the structure, is characterized by its integrity.

There are several types of polyconfessional existence in modern societies. Scholars, for example, distinguish "American", "British", "Greek", "Russian", "Ukrainian", "Israeli", "Indian" models of multi-religious states. The criteria of these models are many factors that are specific to the particular country under consideration, but not

exclusively the borrowing of practice in different societies / states [4].

Often in the humanities, the concept of "polyconfessionalism" is synonymous with the term "secularism". It will be recalled that initially secularization (from the Latin *saecularis* - secular) meant the transition of church and monastery lands to state ownership, ie the conversion of church property into secular, the renunciation of the spiritual title and church position and the transition to secular status. Subsequently, the meaning of this term expanded and secularization began to mean the liberation of various spheres of public life from the influence of religion, church, religious institutions, ie a clear distinction between religious and secular spheres. The secularization of society, which began in the new era, has become a fundamentally new situational context, against which the functionality of religion has undergone perhaps the greatest transformations. If in the Middle Ages Christianity permeated human existence in almost all spheres of life, then from the second half of the XVIII century this lifestyle has changed. For the first time, religion was forced to take into account such a serious opponent as secular society, which existed before, but ideologically formalized its principles in the philosophy and ideology of the Enlightenment. Thus, modernization is formed by secularization and leads to polyconfessional societies.

To characterize the polyconfessional society, the concepts of convergent processes are also used – acceleration, actualization of eschatology, actualization of social concepts, Americanization, veltization, virtualization, globalization, dialogue, ecumenical movement, egosyntonization, exoterization, inclusivism, post-conciliarism, conjunction religious pluralism, rationalization of cultic actions, revivalization, secularization, syncretization, scientification, unification of exteriorization, tolerance, feminization,

fundamentalization, charismatization, etc.

Note that the processes of political genesis in early medieval Europe were characterized by diversification - in the presence of unconditional typological similarity and a pronounced "mainstream". The main factor that determined their course within each historical region was the balance of density of the Roman (or Byzantine) and German (or Slavic) traditions. As a result, the cultural face of all early medieval states was determined by the local symbiosis of these two principles. In this respect, Anglo-Saxon Britain has taken a unique position. Prior to its forcible involvement in 1066 in the flow of European feudal (at that time, in fact, mostly Norman) tradition, historical England demonstrates quite standard examples of the symbiosis of different cultures. And it would not be an exaggeration to say that the degree of contradiction of the combination of traditions can be compared only with the contradictions of synchronous Irish culture, leaving far behind the continental and Scandinavian culture "[5: 2].

Researcher V. Malakhov notes that almost all modern states are secular, and secular in their own way. Therefore, the answers to the question of what it means for the state to be secular vary widely. In France, for example, it is impossible to imagine a cabinet meeting that opens with prayer, which was perfectly normal for the United States in the early 2000s. In the United States, it is inconceivable for the federal government to fund a denomination, while in Denmark the clergy of the Danish People's Church are paid because the church has state status. In Ireland, the constitution prohibits state support for any denomination, but the Catholic Church has so much political influence that it has until recently successfully blocked the adoption of liberal abortion legislation. In Germany,

the separation of state and church is enshrined in law, but at the same time the Constitution declares that the state cooperates with the church in such areas as education and social policy. German citizens levy a tax on the church, which is considered routine in everyday life in, say, Austria and Italy, while such taxation is explicitly prohibited by law in France and the United States [6:51].

The growing importance of the religious factor in public life and world politics in the last quarter of the twentieth century called into question the position of the so-called "theory of political modernization" developed by American "sociology of development" G. Elmond, J. Coleman, D. Rostow, which inevitably comprehensive secularization of political structures in the process of modernization. Under the pressure of events, the representatives of the "theory of political modernization" were forced to admit that not all countries will follow the path of secularization that Europe and the United States have gone through, and secularization is not a necessary condition for modernization. There is a historical phenomenon of desecularization as the return of religion to the theory and practice of public life and international relations [7: 82-83].

Thus, E. Hard notes, desecularization and "religious revival" are seen as a return to the ordinary world order. The growth of "non-state consciousness" actually leads to the equivalence of state and religious consciousness, as well as to human support for new religious denominations. The consequence of desecularization is a revision of the role of religion in all spheres of public life, international relations [8].

The current, postmodern era is characterized by the "great return" of religion in global politics, in international relations, in state building, in solving environmental problems, in the biological and social existence of man [9].

Culture and language play an important role in a multi-religious and multicultural society. P. Reeker reasonably writes: "Humanity as a whole has entered the era of global civilization, which testifies to the colossal progress in all spheres of life and at the same time poses the most difficult task of adapting cultural heritage to its new state and preservation. to some extent and in one way or another we feel the burden of the contradiction between the inevitability of this rise and progress, on the one hand, and the need to save the inherited cultural heritage, on the other"[10].

Sociologist Dinesh D'Souza concludes that the existence of the idea of multiculturalism in Europe as a political and social construct is problematic not only as a factor in Islam. Even the experience of the United States suggests that society cannot afford the luxury of cultural pluralism as the equal coexistence of many cultures. This suggests that "the discourse of multiculturalism, which arose in the wake of the democratic renewal of society and was associated with the progressive humanization of human coexistence, appeared in a completely different capacity" [11: 330].

Some authors express doubts about multiculturalism as an adequate expression of society in the current conditions, in a situation of cultural pluralism, and argue the opposite. Thus, the already mentioned V. Malakhov states: "... the ideology of multiculturalism is an obstacle to the formation of a multicultural society rather than a means of such formation. Whoever defends it..., multiculturalism elevated to ideology blocks democratic pluralism, substituting civil society. The period of independence of the Ukrainian state is a manifestation of the historical heritage, which was first received in the tsarist spiritual life, as well as state-church relations. and his essential right to freedom, adaptation to the political or economic interests of societies" [12: 159].

The researcher further notes: "The discourse of multiculturalism, which arose in the wake of the democratic renewal of society and was associated with the progressive humanization of human coexistence, acted as an ideology of consistent opponents of democracy." European proponents of otherness passed under the banner of politically correct "multiculturalism", and the United States and Canada in the early 90's of the twentieth century. faced with so-called reactive multiculturalism, the bearers of which – ethnic and cultural minorities – insist on such a radical difference between their identity and the identity of others, "that no rapprochement can simply be said". The aggressiveness of such a position of minority separation, which, according to the author, can be described using the sociological terms "stigmatized identity" as "voluntary acceptance of stigma", allows modern researchers to assess the phenomenon of modern reactive multiculturalism as a "consequence of devaluation of values", which they used to associate "with the moral code of recognition, turned out to be a code word for segregation strategies," and "the apology of otherness turned into a sermon on alienation. What seemed unequivocally progressive yesterday is now easily integrated into openly reactionary ideologies"[13: 166].

Outlining the destructive influence of polyconfessionalism, the constructive significance of this phenomenon in modern societies cannot be ruled out. The experience of civilized countries shows that the coexistence of different religions and cultures in society is an important condition for democratic, humanistic and legal development of nations based on interfaith and cultural contacts, and the context of ideological and confessional pluralism is a necessary condition for free self-determination and self-realization.

A distinctive feature of modern Ukrainian society is its multi-religious

nature - currently there are more than 100 denominations. Beginning in the middle of the 16th century, Ukraine became the birthplace of various Protestant movements from the time of the Reformation. Judaism and Islam appeared on Ukrainian lands even earlier. The proclamation of Ukraine's independence, new historical conditions, and the realization of the principle of freedom of conscience contributed to the emergence of new and actualization of historical religions. New Christian and non-Christian currents, branches, groups, sometimes quite exotic, far from the national culture and religious tradition of the Ukrainian people, are spreading here. The various denominations have indeed been given many opportunities to assert themselves, to find their own niche in society.

Today in Ukraine there is a wide network (both registered and unregistered) of religious organizations - communities, monasteries, missions, fraternities, educational institutions, etc., which belong to different denominations, trends, churches and sects. New cult buildings, Sunday schools appear in different parts of Ukraine, new periodicals are published. For all the diversity of the religious picture of modern Ukraine, most religious communities are still within different directions of Christianity.

In December 2018, the organizational reform of Orthodoxy in Ukraine took place: on the basis of the UOC-KP and UAOC unification, the Orthodox Church of Ukraine was constituted, which in January 2019 received a Tomos from the Ecumenical Patriarchate on autocephaly. Changes in the organizational design of Orthodoxy in Ukraine have been followed by corresponding changes in the confessional-church self-determination of Orthodox believers (as opposed to fairly stable confessional affiliations).

Thus, modern Ukraine is one of the most multi-religious societies in Europe, where Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant,

Muslim, Jewish, non-traditional religions of various degrees of prevalence and institutionalization are intertwined with a complex pattern. The very fact of the coexistence of numerous denominations, the vast majority of which are only the background for a few dominant church structures in the ethnocultural environment, becomes a significant catalyst for confrontation and religious conflicts. Inter-church contradictions are only an external manifestation of polyconfessionalism, the impact of which on public life is deep and diverse. The significant diversity of the confessional environment makes it unlikely to have a productive dialogue between bearers of different religions, the development of systematic long-term relationships, the development of programs of interaction and cooperation. Denominations are occupied mainly with their internal affairs, and individual joint actions mostly do not find public resonance.

Vectors of tension in the religious environment of Ukraine are expressed in the early 1990s and multiply in three main directions: a) through open competition between traditional denominations; b) due to the confrontation of traditional and non-traditional denominations for Ukraine; c) due to troubles and crises of intra-confessional development [13]. Moreover, these confrontations and conflicts are determined by historical, national, political factors, and are cultivated by the churches themselves, hostile in matters of dogma, worship, methods of preaching and missionary activity, principles of organization, methods of conversion of neophytes and more. In addition, the general public still does not perceive Ukraine as a meeting place and interpenetration of different religious movements and cultures. Protestantism, Catholicism, and Islam are often interpreted as spiritual traditions alien and even hostile to Ukrainians, a living example of expansion and suppression of one's own church.

In the conditions of political and economic instability, immature democracy, unformed national self-consciousness, polyconfessionalism can seriously slow down the processes of national development, integration of society, development of civil society [14: 76]. Therefore, the recognition of religious pluralism is the only prospect of peaceful coexistence and ecumenical cooperation of all Ukrainian churches and religious organizations.

The nature of the religious-confessional identity of modern Ukraine is characterized by incompleteness, blurring, syncretism in the formation of identity, the multiplicity of its forms, the "conflict of identities." We emphasize that divisions within traditional religions, frustration and despair in anticipation of confessional harmony stimulate the outflow of believers to non-traditional religions. Ethno-religious, inter-confessional, state-church, intra-social, interpersonal relations would be transparent and stable, tolerant and humanistic, if first of all churches, religious communities and, following their example, the state and society recognized religious pluralism as a cornerstone in the foundation of freedom of conscience.

The multi-confessional nature of Ukrainian society requires finding a qualitatively new, "integral" identity based on ideological pluralism. Some foreign analysts (H. Casanova, V. Derem) assess the domestic confessional structure as truly pluralistic and "closest to the American model" with its open competition in the "free" and "voluntaristic religious market" [8: 95].

We agree with the valid opinion of the national theologian A. Aristova: "Perhaps it is the excessive diversity of the confessional map that gives Ukraine an exceptional chance to create its own model of a religiously tolerant state, which is able to radically change the entire geo-confessional situation in its favor" [13].

In the first years of Ukraine's independence the state authorities acted somewhat contrary to one of the fundamental principles of the current legislation on religion and church, according to which all religions, denominations and religious organizations are equal before the law and establishing any advantages or restrictions of one religion over another is not allowed [16], then in the future the basic principles of state-church relations were enshrined in the Constitution of Ukraine. According to Art. 35 of the Basic Law of Ukraine, "everyone has the right to freedom of thought and religion. This right includes the freedom to profess any religion or not to profess any, to perform religious cults and ritual rites individually or collectively, to conduct religious activities. The exercise of this right may be limited by law only in the interests of protection of public order, health and morals of the population or protection of the rights and freedoms of others. The church and religious organizations in Ukraine are separated from the state and the school from the church. No religion can be recognized by the state as mandatory" [17].

The dynamism of life itself calls on Ukrainian churches to rethink their role in society and on this basis to seek more effective forms of presence in the world, without losing their main purpose, without becoming another social institution, but to maintain a reasonable balance between earthly and heavenly. Today the Church boldly assumes the function of creating new meanings for the historical progress of Ukraine. It forms and formulates new strategies of social development, demanding a new social contract, which would be based on the alternative system of values prevailing in Ukraine today.

Confessional diversity, the presence of many religions and denominations, religious groups and organizations naturally caused certain problems and contradictions. It turned out that there is



no clear boundary between religions. They live and operate in conditions of mutual diffusion and must adapt to a multi-religious society. The change of the confessional landscape has led to a violation in the definition of its subjectivity, a kind of rupture of tradition and everyday life, religious and cultural experience [18: 8-10].

In a multi-confessional Ukrainian society, dialogue between different religious movements, groups and organizations is extremely important, the goal of which is to unite the efforts of all people – believers and non-believers – to revive Ukraine, form civil society, respect, tolerance for different worldviews. During the dialogue on the implementation of the principles of freedom of conscience and the secular nature of Ukrainian statehood, each religious organization must overcome claims to a monopoly position in the state or region, abandon the idea of its uniqueness, the superiority of its denomination over others, find common ground. Dialogue requires each party to recognize the right to exist and the equality of another worldview system, another type of thinking, other values, mutual respect for each other's views and positions, the rejection of coercive pressure and other forms of intolerant interaction. At the same time, the desire for dialogue between different types of worldview does not mean the rejection of each of the parties from their principles, does not imply leveling or rejection of differences. On the contrary, understanding these differences, including fundamental ones, their deep knowledge, undistorted vision is one of the conditions for a correct dialogue. Thus, confessional pluralism is established in Ukrainian society: not only Christians, but also representatives of other faiths – primarily Islam, ethnic and neo-religions have the conditions for their development and seek to build their relationships on the principles of religious tolerance. Religion and religious

pluralism can significantly humanize and democratize the development of Ukrainian society in the XXI century.

**Conclusions and prospects of research.** In the context of a globalized multicultural space, the influence of the multi-religious factor on the processes of creating national, spiritual, cultural and social values forms: a) a variety of views and strategies for the existence of modern multicultural and multi-religious society; b) the cooperation of churches in the interests of society on the basis of the social component of modern ecumenism; c) movement towards integration, consolidation of civil society, churches, cultural communities, socio-political groups; d) the basis of clearly defined legislative relations between state institutions and representatives of denominations and civil currents.

With its historical and modern experience, Ukraine is "doomed" to polyconfessionalism. The key tasks of the Ukrainian state in this area are the formation of a full-fledged multi-religious society, organized on the principles of tolerance, religious tolerance, mutual understanding. Its successful implementation is hampered by a number of reasons, the main of which is the lack of understanding of the importance of spiritual factors in the progress of civilization (these components are either ignored or reduced to the rank of minor), as well as the legal disorder of the country's religious space. Today do not exist church, socio-religious and interfaith relations in the state. The situation in Ukraine also testified to the unpreparedness of the general public for polyconfessionalism as a norm of public life in the postmodern world. Ukraine is faced with the need to implement a meaningful state policy to revive religious, spiritual and moral values on a European democratic basis. The efforts of the authorities should be aimed at solving these problems, which hinder the

harmonious development of the confessional sphere.

In the conditions of rapid globalization, the role of the religious factor in the life of Ukrainian society will grow. It is possible that in the medium term it will become a solid foundation for national consolidation (not only spiritual, but also political, economic, territorial, etc.), an important link between Ukraine and the European Union, a means of preserving its own cultural identity under the pressure of unified masculinity.

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