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NEWSPAPER PERIODICALS IN UKRAINE IN 1991 – 2013: FORMATION, DEVELOPMENT TRENDS

***Abstract.** Means of mass communication, in particular periodical newspapers, in the system of social relations between the government and society, play a key role in the formation of democratic institutions and the construction of a civil society. The Ukrainian experience of forming a national post-colonial media field is marked by the priorities of oligarchic groups and does not always correspond*

to democratic traditions and fundamental principles of information sovereignty. The analysis of these issues is the main **purpose** of the research. The chosen boundaries of the study allow us to analyse the sphere development during a peaceful period of the history of the independent state, which was interrupted by the Russian aggression in 2014. **The methodological basis of the research** is a comprehensive source-based analysis of historiography, archival materials on the topic, statistical data, based on the main principles of historicism and scientific objectivity, modern conceptual approaches to systematic and comparative analysis. **The scientific novelty** of publication is the proof of the hypothesis on the interdependence of publishing newspapers on the state of development of economic institutions, freedom of speech, the level of politicization of society, patriotism of state power, and foreign influence. Under the conditions of the social relations transformation, mass media perform not only informational and recreational functions, but also value-oriented, worldview functions. At the same time, both post-colonial, national and historical factors of the Ukrainian society are taken into account. **The Conclusion.** The history of the Ukrainian newspapers development is inseparable from the history of its people. The real creation and development of national newspapers became possible only after gaining independence in 1991. The most productive years were 1996 – 2002, when the potential of the newspaper sphere was accumulated at the expense of new, mainly private, publications. The research on the analysis of the relationship between the press journalism and financial, political factors under the conditions of a transitional society is of a theoretical and practical interest to both scholars and relevant state bodies.

Key words: newspaper, civil society, state, information policy, language, freedom of speech.

ГАЗЕТНА ПЕРІОДИКА УКРАЇНИ 1991 – 2013 рр.: СТАНОВЛЕННЯ, ТЕНДЕНЦІЇ РОЗВИТКУ

Анотація. Засоби масової комунікації, зокрема газетна періодика, в системі соціальних відносин між владою та суспільством відіграють ключову роль у становленні демократичних інституцій та побудови громадянського суспільства. Український досвід формування національного постколоніального медіаполя позначений пріоритетами олігархічних груп і не завжди відповідає демократичним традиціям та засадничим принципам інформаційного суверенітету. Аналіз саме цих питань є **основною метою дослідження**. Обрані межі вивчення дають змогу проаналізувати розвиток галузі в мирний період історії незалежної держави, яку 2014 року перервала російська агресія. **Методологічною основою** дослідження є комплексний джерелознавчий аналіз історіографії, архівних матеріалів з теми, статистичних даних, спирається на головні принципи історизму та наукової об'єктивності, сучасні концептуальні підходи щодо системного і порівняльного аналізу. **Науковою новизною публікації** є доведення гіпотези, про взаємозалежність газетярства від стану розбудови економічних інституцій, свободи слова, рівня політизації суспільства, патріотичності державної влади, закордонного впливу. В умовах трансформації суспільних відносини ЗМК виконують не лише інформаційно-рекреативну, але й ціннісно-орієнтаційну, світоглядну функції. При цьому враховується як постколоніальний, так і національно-історичний фактор українського соціуму. **Висновки.** Історія розбудови української газетярської справи невід'ємна від історії свого народу. Реальне створення та розбудова національних газет стало можливим лише зі здобуттям незалежності 1991 р. Найбільш продуктивними стали 1996 – 2002 рр., коли за рахунок нових, переважно приватних, видань відбулося накопичення потенціалу газетної сфери. Дослідження, що охоплює аналіз взаємозв'язку пресової журналістики з фінансово-політичними чинниками в умовах перехідного суспільства, становить теоретико-практичний інтерес як науковців, так і відповідних органів державної влади.

Ключові слова: газета, громадянське суспільство, держава, інформаційна політика, мова, свобода слова.

The Problem Statement. A successful functioning of the state and its civil society is impossible without the development of national media, which have been and remain a source of knowledge and the most effective means of their transfer, play an important role in shaping culture, spirituality, a diverse worldview, and ultimately the nation's self-consciousness.

The media have undergone significant changes during the period under analysis. First of all, the information market itself changed, at which the Internet began to play an increasingly powerful role. In fact, there was a transition from state-owned to private media, information became a commodity. The industry development took place against the background of a permanent political and economic struggle of financial and oligarchic groups, the influence of foreign, mainly Russian, publishing content and products. The Ukrainian-language periodicals were in a particularly critical state. The economic problems of editorial teams became more and more acute. The quantitative and qualitative indicators of the published issues decreased. The cost of publications was constantly increasing against the background of a decrease in the purchasing power of the population, which did not contribute to an increase in interest in reading.

Today, a characteristic feature is the informatization of all human activity, which requires a constant and careful analysis of the media functioning in view of their role in the informational, scientific, educational, cultural and spiritual provision of society.

Newspapers were always and remain an important component of the information space of the state, a communicator of the government and society, carrying out specific definitions in these relations. The state of such interaction shows the democracy in the country, contributes to the civil society formation, therefore, a historical analysis of the newspaper sphere actual formation and development in Ukraine, clarification of achievements and gaps even under modern conditions of development, is important for the management policy formation both on the part of the state and public self-management.

The study of modern mass media is impossible without an excursion into the past, without clarifying the roots of national media, without determining the cause and effect aspects of various periods of their development. Actually, the research focuses on these issues.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The role of the printed word in the development of independent Ukraine is extremely important. It shapes social and political opinion influences the mentality of the Ukrainian people, their spiritual life and the revival of historical traditions, the economy development. During the period under analysis, the focus of mass media activity fundamentally changed. If during the times of the USSR they were mostly just disseminators of information, nowadays they are active participants in all social and political processes.

Practically all schools and directions of modern humanitarian thought (historians, philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, pedagogues, ethnopsychologists, etc.) in one way or another touch on the functioning of mass media (communication).

The transition to the information society puts forward special requirements for the national information space development, the most sensitive aspect of which is the media business. The studies of domestic scholars are devoted to separate problems of information, information and communication systems of the national information space: V. Zdroveha (Zdroveha, 1995), B. Potiatynyk (Potiatynyk, 1996), I. Krupskyi (Krupskyi, 2007), O. Vakulchuk and L. Dubrovina (Vakulchuk & Dubrovina, 2022), M. Nahornyak (Nahorniak, 1997), I. Mykhailyn (Mykhailyn, 2002), V. Rizun and T. Trachuk (Rizun & Trachuk, 2005), V. Kononenko and O. Melnychuk (Kononenko & Melnychuk, 2019) and the others.

V. Nabrusko did the research on the methods of mass media communication with the audience, distinguishing the main ones: imperative and doctrinal; manipulative, liberal and democratic (Nabrusko, 2009).

There should be mentioned the researchers of modern mass media: M. Tymoshyk (Tymoshyk, 2007), V. Karpenko (Karpenko, 2003), V. Bebyk and O. Sydorenko (Bebyk & Sydorenko, 1996), S. Kostyleva (Kostyleva, 2001), V. Shpak (Shpak, 2015) and the others.

When studying the problems of the national information space, one cannot bypass the language issue, and not only from the point of view of a tool of communication between people or a defining link of national culture, and above all, as a factor of the country's national security.

Ivan Ohienko called a nation that does not have a common literary language an immature nation. The slogan of his magazine "The Native Language" was "for one people – one literary language, one spelling". Transcarpathian Vasiliian Fathers highly valued this publication and prophesied: "One day the eyes of the Ukrainian people will be opened, and they will thank Ohienko for "The Native Language"" (CSHAUL, f. 309, d. 1, c. 1600, p. 18).

Among the most notable researchers in this direction are the following ones: V. Lyzanchuk (Lyzanchuk, 2004), A. Tkachuk (Tkachuk, 2001), M. Mikhnovsky (Mikhnovskyi, 2007), V. Kotsur (Kotsur & Novorodovska, 2022), M. Parakhina (Parakhina, 2014) and the others.

The idea of democratization of the mass media, freedom of speech in the media was studied by Yu. Bondar (Bondar, 2004), Ye. Zakharov (Zakharov, 2001), V. Zdoroveha (Zdoroveha, 1992), V. Lyzanchuk (Lyzanchuk, 1995) and the others.

A special issue is the relationship between the media and the government, in particular of the mass media denationalization. During the study, the following works were analyzed: T. Prystupenko (Prystupenko, 1996), O. Pronchenko (Pronchenko, 2007), I. Krupskyi and P. Fedoryshyn (Krupskyi & Fedoryshyn, 1996), O. Maliarchuk and O. Kogut (Maliarchuk & Kogut 2021) and the others.

M. Nechytaliuk presented the history of Ukrainian journalism (from its birth to the beginning of the 20th century) (Nechytaliuk, 1993). I. Mykhailyn divided the history of the press into 4 periods: the Russian-Ukrainian period, the time from the birth of Ukrainian journalism to the moment of its ban in Russia by the Valuev Circular of 1863; Austrian-Ukrainian or Galician-Ukrainian; three decades of the 20th century; the period of 1930 – 1980 (Mykhailyn, 2000, pp. 20–24).

A more thorough periodization of 14 periods was proposed by M. Romaniuk: from the earliest times to the period of the Ukrainian statehood development (Romaniuk, 2000).

Currently, the most understudied is the modern period of the Ukrainian statehood formation.

The purpose of the research is to do the research on the formation and development of national newspapers in 1991 – 2013, the main achievements and gaps during certain periods of development depending on various factors. At the same time, both post-colonial, national and historical factors of the Ukrainian society are taken into account.

The Results of the Research. In order to understand the current state and development trends of the Ukrainian newspapers, it is necessary to dwell a little into their history. On the territory of modern Ukraine, the first printed newspapers date back to January 1, 1776, when the French-language weekly "Gazette de Leopold" was published in the Lviv printing house of A. Piller. In six months, the leaflet "Lviv Courier" began to be distributed in Polish. The Ukrainian-language editions count from May 15, 1848 – the day of publication of the newspaper "Zoria Halytska" (Kalakura, Holovko, Voitsekhivska, et al, 2002). The Russian-language publications dominated the rest of the Ukrainian lands. "Kharkovskie Izvestia" began to be published in 1817, where parts of the articles were published in Ukrainian (Smolii, 2005, pp. 612–622).

Linguistic researchers found about two hundred decrees of the Russian rulers that suppressed the Ukrainian language (Khronika, 2012).

Even the revolutionary events of 1905 – 1907 pp. did not change the tsar's attempts to eradicate everything Ukrainian. The secret circular of the Russian Empire, promulgated on January 27, 1907, ordered local postal officials to withdraw all Ukrainian-language publications that were subscribed to by the Ukrainian population (CSHAUK, f. 1439, d. 1, c. 518, p. 21). The planned attack on the Ukrainian-language press intensified during the implementation of a circular banning the publication of publications promoting hostile attitudes towards the government (CSHAUK, f. 295, d. 1, c. 2, p. 46).

For a certain period of time, the Ukrainian periodicals were revived during the restoration of the Ukrainian statehood (1917 – 1920). In 1917, more than 550 newspapers were published in Ukraine (Kalakura, Holovko, Voitsekhivska, et al, 2002).

With the establishment of the Soviet power, the press once again fell under a strict grip of censorship. During the post-war period, newspaper materials necessarily passed the control of the Head Office of the USSR for the Protection of State Secrets (Holovlit of the USSR). In the 1970s in the Ukrainian SSR, the free Ukrainian press was only an underground self-publishing press.

Just a short excursion into the history of native newspaper work shows a difficult path of the struggle for one's identity and, actually, for one's existence as a bearer of the Ukrainian culture and national spirit.

The new page of the Ukrainian press began with the announcement of Gorbachov's perestroika, and in 1990 a real revival of the national media, in particular print media, began. The Law "On the Press and Other Mass Media" adopted on June 21, 1990 announced the abolition of censorship.

During the period of formation and acquisition of independence of Ukraine in 1991, the national mass media became a powerful nation-building institution, laid the fundamental foundations of building a new state in terms of information policy, which, together with socio-economic, foreign-political, military and defense components of national policy form a full-fledged modern state. The millions of copies of the Ukrainian newspapers of that period, the multi-million audience of the Ukrainian radio and television with almost one hundred percent coverage of the air signal of the entire territory of the country became a powerful factor in the formation of public consciousness based on fundamental national and patriotic principles.

The formation of the periodical press of Ukraine in 1991 – 2013 as a component of the post-colonial national media field has distinctive features in the Ukrainian realities, associated with unnatural formative social development, excessive accumulation of capital by individual financial groups and the formation of a correspondingly distorted picture of the information field with distinct oligarchic interests.

Let's look at the statistical indicators of the newspaper sector, for which we will use the data of the Book Chamber of Ukraine (Knyzhkova palata Ukrainy, 2022) and the State Statistics Service of Ukraine (Derzhavna sluzhba statystyky Ukrainy, 2022). In 1991, 1,909 newspaper titles were published in Ukraine. After a slight drop of 148 titles the following year, a non-linear but steady increase in the number of titles began, reaching 3,045 in 2002 (3,014 in 2004). These indicators became the quantitative peak of the Ukrainian journalism, as in the future the number of titles began to decline at first slowly, and then accelerated (2,885 in 2007; 2,347 in 2010), up to 2,270 newspapers in 2013.

Other important indicators of the functioning of printed media are the total annual and average circulation of newspapers. The annual circulation in 1991 was 3,799,971.0 thousand copies. The first years of independence were characterized by a sharp drop in this indicator, up to 1,582,389.8 thousand copies in 1996. The following decade was characterized by a rather rapid growth of printed copies of newspapers (4,235,146.0 thousand copies in 2006). However, in the future, this trend changed to the opposite, and already in 2013, only 3,357,303.5 thousand copies were printed. In many respects, the situation is similar in relation to a general average (one-off) adjustments (27,471.0 thousand copies in 1991; 90,267.0 thousand copies in 2006; 50,723.0 thousand copies in 2013). However, some spikes should be noted, in particular 40,973.6 thousand copies in 1993; 49,495.7 thousand copies in 1998; 86,555.9 thousand copies in 2002; 87,653.6 thousand copies in 2004, which is primarily explained by election campaigns in those years to the country's authorities.

Among the qualitative statistical indicators, it is worth focusing on the produced editions per 1,000 people – residents of Ukraine: in 1991, there were 529 copies. The best indicator in 2006 was 1,937.1 copies, which gradually decreased to 1,113.5 copies in 2013.

Based on the mentioned above statistics, it is possible to draw the first conclusions and follow individual periods and trends of development. The period of 1991 – 1995 is characterized by a certain stability, when quantitative indicators fluctuated within the initial period. The exception is 1993 – the year of the start of the presidential race, when the total average (one-time) circulation of publications almost doubled compared to the previous and following years. The printed press was actively involved in the political struggle. Responding to the needs of society, in 1996 – 2002 there was a steady increase in both the number of titles (1122 new newspapers appeared) and the circulation of publications. In 2003 – 2006 intensification of the political struggle led to a rapid increase in the average single circulation of publications – more than twice compared to the previous peak in 1993. However, already in 2007, the annual total circulation of publications decreased by more than 30%, the process of a progressive reduction of the number of newspapers began, which was caused not so much by a decrease in interest on the part of society, but rather by economic problems of editorial offices. By 2013, the number of newspaper titles had fallen back to the level of 1996, and the total average circulation had almost halved compared to the 2006 peak.

Quantitative indicators can be largely understood by considering the newspaper industry from the point of view of ownership. It is natural that in 1991 all newspapers were controlled by the state, party, trade union or komsomol organs and were actually maintained by them. After gaining independence, the majority of the newspapers changed their faces. Councils of People's Deputies, local self-government organs, state institutions, educational and cultural institutions appeared among the founders. The owners of individual editions became the collectives of editorial offices, independently or jointly with commercial structures. Many mass media ceased to exist. There were also new purely state publications: the newspapers "Uriadovy Kurier" (the organ of the state executive power – 1990), "Voice of Ukraine" (the organ of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine – 1991). One of the first business projects was the all-Ukrainian all-political Russian-language newspaper "Kiyevskie vedomosti", which had been published since 1992. Private publications of various topics quickly gained popularity, in particular: newspapers by interests: "Ukrainian Football", "Fazenda", "Dachnyk", "Birzha", "Furniture"; publications for business – "Posriednik", "Law and Business", "Business", "Avizo", "Expres-Obyava"; "yellow" press – "Lel", "Mr + Mrs", "Bulvar", etc. Later, to serve their own interests, financial and industrial groups started their own newspapers:

“Segodnia”, “Fakty ta Komentari”, “Po-kievski”, etc. “Moscow” editions became formally Ukrainian.

The process of formation of the private sector in this field of activity began, but it was not of a mass nature. A kind of growth spurt in the number of newspapers began in 1996, when 365 editions were registered. With variable success, the positive trend continued until 2004. However, the obvious injustice in the financing of publications of different ownership categories began to crystallize. The economic crisis of 2008 – 2009 accelerated the negative processes of decreasing the number of publications.

As we can see, in 1991 – 2013 the formation of the periodical press of Ukraine as a component of the post-colonial national media field has distinctive features in the Ukrainian realities, associated with an unnatural formative social development, excessive accumulation of capital by individual financial groups and correspondingly distorted picture formation of the information field with distinct oligarchic interests.

In 2013, out of 2,270 available newspapers, 70% were non-state. Demands for complete denationalization of the press began to be heard in the early 1990s. The issue periodically escalated, but no real steps were taken. The Orange Revolution made a certain push. The 2005 Program of Activities of the Cabinet of Ministers “Toward the People” provided for the creation of an appropriate legislative framework and a programme for media denationalization. In addition, the Europeans called on the Ukrainian government to take such actions, placing it first in relation to integration processes (Shpak, 2015, p. 200).

However, only after the Revolution of Dignity, on November 24, 2015, the Verkhovna Rada adopted the law “On Reforming State and Communal Printed Media”. Actual denationalization began in 2016.

The ill-conceived state policy of liberalizing mass media activities in 1991 – 2013 led to the strengthening of the Russification process of the media field, the imposition of foreign ideologies, distant from traditions and customs, moral and ethical values of the Ukrainian people. In fact, a number of legislative acts in the information industry, which provide for citizens to receive comprehensive information from various spheres of life, were violated.

In the process of the total offensive of the “Russian peace”, which began practically after the acquisition of independence in the form of the refacing of Moscow newspapers and the addition of Ukrainian markers to mark their legal status in the national information field, our state was helpless in the face of such challenges and threats in the information field. This historical aspect was actually marked by the beginning of the information and semantic war as a precursor to the next armed aggression and an open full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war. The national information space of Ukraine, instead of becoming a guarantee of the political and information stability of the development of the state, the moral and psychological balance of society, a real nation-building factor, turned into a real threat to information sovereignty as a component of national security. A vivid example of the absurdity of reform processes in the information industry was, in particular, the destruction of the military and army press, which looked quite symptomatic on the eve of open Russian aggression.

Another characteristic of the influence on the development of Ukrainian newspapers is the presence of freedom of speech in the country. An attempt to periodize the history of mass media, taking freedom of speech as a basis, shows the following: the period of 1990 – 1996 – a time of confusion, lack of state support, creation of vertical mass media management; the period of 1997 – 2004 – creation of a network of regional publications and newspapers of business structures, total control over the mass media by both the state and the

owners of publications, bribery of state publications, the appearance of “instruction letters”, a real involvement in the political struggle, pressure on the opposition media; 2005 – 2009 – a breath of freedom (in 2007, Ukraine entered the top 100 countries for media freedom for the first time, taking 92nd place and staying there until 2010), the end of “instruction letters”, the time of unfulfilled promises; 2010 – 2013 – the return of censorship, physical attacks on journalists and impunity for criminals (in 2013, Ukraine fell to 126th place out of 179 countries in terms of media freedom) (Reitynh svobody presy, 2021). According to sociological research conducted by the company

According to Research&Vranding Group in 24 oblasts of Ukraine and the Crimea in December of 2010, more than half of the Ukrainians (51%) were convinced that there is a threat to freedom of speech in Ukraine. In their opinion, the objectivity of the presentation of information in the mass media is influenced by the political views of the owner – 53.6%, censorship by the authorities – 38% and self-censorship journalist – 10.6%. (Bilshist ukrainsiv pobachyly, 2010).

The language situation should be singled out as a separate line in the development of the Ukrainian newspapers. In 1991, 66.5 % of newspapers in Ukraine were published in Ukrainian, 32.9 % in Russian, and the rest in other languages of the world. In absolute terms: 1,269 titles were in Ukrainian and 628 titles were in Russian, i.e. almost twice as many newspapers were published in Ukrainian as in Russian. In the future, the situation only worsened. In 2000, the figures were almost equal, the difference was 125 titles or 10%. The patriotic sentiments of the Orange Revolution slightly improved the indicators to the level of 20%, but later the situation stabilized again, and on January 1, 2014, 53% of newspapers were the Ukrainian-language, 36% – the Russian-language, and the rest were published in languages of other nations. The situation is even worse if you look at the editions of publications. In 1991, the total annual circulation of newspapers was: 2,335,388.0 thousand copies – the Ukrainian-speaking and 1,442,596.0 thousand copies – Russian speakers, i.e. the Ukrainian speakers prevailed 1.6 times. The picture changed to the opposite in 1996, when the Russian-language newspapers increased by 1.3 times. The year 2000 became critical, when the dominance of the Russian-language content increased to 2.8 times. In the following years, this indicator fluctuated on the mark around 2 times. At the end of 2013, 66% of newspapers in Ukraine were published in Russian and 30% in Ukrainian. Only the Revolution of Dignity and an epiphany after the barbaric aggression of Russia put an end to this Russian-speaking dominance.

The Conclusion. The conducted research makes it possible to conclude that Ukraine is an ancient publishing country, and the history of the development of the Ukrainian newspaper business is inseparable from the history of its people.

The place and role of printed mass media in society during the period under analysis, their quantitative characteristics were different in different time limits. The authors came to a conclusion about the interdependence of quantitative indicators of newspaper production on the state of development of economic institutions, freedom of speech, level of politicization of society, patriotism of state power, and foreign influence.

The period of 1991 – 2013 can be considered the formative years of the Ukrainian newspaper business. This period is characterized by years of stagnation and reformation based on the Soviet legacy (1990 – 1995); a rapid accumulation of potential at the expense of new, mostly private, publications (1996 – 2002); a quantitative saturation of the market, performance in new economic and political realities (2003 – 2007); a gradual loss of potential, economic and political dependency (2008 – 2013).

Gradually, newspapers became components of clan-oligarchic groups that fought for the monopoly on the information space formation in the country.

The inaction of the authorities, civil society and deliberate informational influence on the part of Russia led to the distribution of the Russian-language content in Ukrainian publications, which contributed to fueling collaborators and prepared the ground for aggression.

The analysis of the Ukrainian mass media evolution, their role and place in social processes is a component of the study of the national history of today, an important element of state building.

The lessons of the periodical press free market formation in 1991 – 2013 under the conditions of social relations transformation remain relevant today. These lessons, based on Article 17 of the Constitution of Ukraine, which states that guaranteeing information security is the most important function of the state, require the state authorities to adopt a number of documents that would include, in particular:

- guaranteeing the inviolable principles of freedom of speech, the activity of free media and the impossibility of any financial and political pressure on them;
- taking into account the phenomenon of the Ukrainian mass media, which perform not only informative and cognitive, but also value-oriented, worldview functions under the conditions of transformational social relations;
- understanding the factor of information sovereignty as a real component of national security, the role of national media in informational and semantic wars;
- support of the national mass media working in the educational and cultural field and engaged in the return of historical memory, establishment of the Ukrainian language as the code of the nation, development and dissemination of the ideologue of the Ukrainian world.

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