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Mediatization of History: the Ukrainian Context

1. Introduction. Mediatization as a trend of the 21st century

Modern media is not only a means of informing, it has become an important factor influencing public opinion and public behavior, which is undergoing a significant transformation due to the rapid development of electronic information resources on a global scale. Thanks to significant evolutionary changes, modern media have ceased to be just a technological platform, they have become a full-fledged institution that significantly affects the life of society. The use of media in various fields is so great that many processes cannot be considered without media components. Media initiate particular narratives and meanings through direct and indirect communications that fill modern society.

The communication revolution associated with the development of the Internet and electronic media marked a new informational stage in the life of society, which simplified the process of producing and distributing information, changed the forms and types of communication between communicators, and modified the spheres of professional, public, and personal activity.

The media ceased to be only a source of information and became the main channel of communication. With the help of social networks, e-mail or messengers, you can quickly build communication with any audience or individual. As Scott McQuire said, “the media can no longer be separated from society, as well as from politics, economy and culture”¹. It can be said that the media at the current stage of development not only broadcast certain events for the audience, but influence the reinterpretation of cultural and historical values and shape the picture of the world in general. With the help of the media, history becomes part of the political struggle. Thus, media from a translator of information became a tool that shapes the direction of development of all spheres of

¹ McQuire, S. (2008). *The media city: Media, architecture and Urban space*. SAGE Publications Ltd, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446269572>: p.28

social life, which led to mediatization, as a phenomenon that describes the mutual influence of media and society.

2. Mediatization. Concept

In general, the concept of mediatization is understood as the integration of media into various spheres of social life, the formation of a unified communication system of society. There are several approaches to understanding mediatization. One of the first terms “mediatization” was used by the English researcher J.B. Thompson in the work “Media and Modernity” to denote the role of the media, which broadcast not just information, but samples of culture that have shaped modern society in recent centuries. Domestic researcher Zh. Mina believes that “the modern world is filled with communication networks, when the experience of an individual person is increasingly mediated by technological systems of production and transmission of symbols – carriers of ideology”².

Danish media researcher Stig Hjarvard understands mediatization as a process by which society is increasingly represented by the media, or becomes dependent on the media and their logic³, and considers mediatization as a two-way social process by which society is saturated with media mass information to such an extent that mass media can be considered only in the context of public institutions⁴. Mediatization, according to S. Hjarvard, can have both positive and negative consequences. He emphasizes that the surrounding media environment is expanding and developing in various directions at the macro and micro levels, as a result of which human immersion in the information flow and the formation of certain social, political, economic, cultural realities with the help of new technologies gives a powerful impetus to influence public consciousness, as a result of which society becomes completely dependent on the media.

German communication experts Winfried Schulz and Friedrich Krotz used the concept of “mediatization” to define the role of media in social change in the broadest sense. Thus, V. Shults, analyzing the phenomenon of mediatization, singles out four types of processes that change social communication: expansion, substitution, unification, adaptation. As an example, V. Schultz cites social media, which today successfully perform a communicative function along with information and entertainment (which was originally the privilege of traditional mass media)⁵. He notes that mediatization refers to the changes associated with the communication means of mass information and the-

² Мина Ж. (2022) Вплив культурної комунікації на інституціоналізацію: бібліотеки, музеї та архіви в медіапросторі сьогодення – https://dspace.nau.edu.ua/bitstream/NAU/53285/1/%D0%9C_2.6_%D0%A1%D1%82%D1%80.%20109-120.pdf, Access 2.05.2023.

³ Hjarvard S. (2008a) *The Mediatization of Religion: A Theory of the Media as Agents of Religious Change*. In Northern Lights 2008. Yearbook of Film & Media Studies. Bristol: Intellect Press.

⁴ Hjarvard S. (2008b) *The mediatization of society: A theory of the media as agents of social and cultural change* // Nordicom Review. – 2008. – Vol. 29. No. 2. P. 105–134.

⁵ Schultz W. (2004) *Reconstructing mediatization as an analytical concept*. European Journal of Communication 19(1): 87–101.

ir development, and the technological, symbolic and economic characteristics of mass information lead to the problem of dependence, limitations and distortions.

F. Krotz considers mediatization as one of the four main processes – along with globalization, individualization and commercialization – that have shaped and continue to shape modernity⁶. He explains mediatization as “a historical, long-term process in which mass media increasingly appear and become institutionalized, allowing audiences to connect events unfolding in different places and historical times”⁷.

In modern literature, the process of mediatization is often considered in the context of political communication. Polish researcher Teresa Sasynska-Klas says that the communication channel used by a person is considered as the primary source of obtaining knowledge about reality. And mass media, in turn, is the channel (intermediary) that transforms traditional society into a media society, mediatizing it with the help of various communicative strategies in order to influence different target audiences⁸.

In the context of the mediatization of history, the fact that the accumulation of information involves the collecting of the experience of previous generations is important, and the task of preserving and broadcasting cultural values of the public is carried out by the media. One can agree with the domestic researcher M. Butyrina, who believes that “the media, as an attribute of modern communication, is one of the means of constructing sociocultural reality”⁹. She connects this with the development of the Internet and social networks, which today have become a technological basis, producing new means of mass communication, new levels of information structuring and are a direct factor of mediatization.

Professor G. Pocheptsov believes that “the most important idea of mediatization should be recognized as the reverse influence of the media on social institutions, when not only the environment affects the media, but also the media affects reality”, which, according to the scientist, gives a completely different status to the media and media reality, since the media hold this reality in certain parameters, and also create it under certain conditions”¹⁰. The close connection between mediatization and reality involves the creation of certain value attitudes that influence personal characteristics, communicative strategies and behavioral reactions.

⁶ Krotz, F. Media (2008) *Connectivity: Concepts, Conditions, and Consequences*. In A. Hepp, F. Krotz & S. Moores (Eds.), *Network, Connectivity and Flow: Key concepts for Media and Cultural Studies*. New York: Hampton Press.

⁷ Krotz F. (2009) *Mediatization: a concept with which to grasp media and societal change*. In K. Lundby (ed.) *Mediatization: Concept, Changes, Consequences*. New York: Peter Lang. Available at: <https://johnpostill.com/2010/03/01/notes-on-krotz-2009-mediatization/>, Access 2.05.2023.

⁸ Sasińska-Klas T. (2014) *Mediatyzacja a medializacja sfery publicznej* // *Zeszyty Prasoznawcze*. – T. 57, nr 2 (218). – s. 162–175.

⁹ Бутиріна М. (2009) *Стереотипи масової свідомості: особливості формування та функціонування у медіасередовищі*: Монографія. – Дніпропетровськ: Видавництво „Слово” – 368 с.

¹⁰ Почепцов Г. (2016) *Медіатизація и её последствия для социального управления* – <https://ms.detector.media/mediaanalitika/post/16061/2016-02-14-mediatyzatsyya-y-ee-posledstvyaya-dlya-sotsyalnogo-upravlenyya/>, Access 2.05.2023.

In our opinion, the definition of mediatization of history proposed by Roman Horbyk and Yana Prymachenko, who consider it as “a concept that explains the coverage of a wide and growing range of points of interconnection, mutual saturation and influences between history and mass media, is correct.” It is obvious that the fusion of history and media product occupies a central place in this mode of knowledge¹¹.

Summarizing the approaches to the concept of mediatization and the influence of these processes on the interpretation of history, we will consider the mediatization of history as increasing the role of traditional and new media in creating, interpreting and disseminating information about historical events of the past and the processes of the present, providing access to this information and forming personal, interpersonal and group levels of audience interaction regarding historical events and modern facts. If the attitude to history and culture is considered an indicator of the maturity of society, then their preservation and popularization should be one of the priorities.

3. History in the media

History can be interpreted in two dimensions, in particular, both the facts and events that occurred at a certain stage of development, and the interpretation of events, that is, the explanation of the prerequisites, reasons that led to these events, their course and consequences. Therefore, history must be approached with great respect and caution, it cannot be manipulated or appropriated. History for the media is one of the most interesting topics because it corresponds to the interests of the audience, and the task of the media is to satisfy the interests of the audience and explain the issues important to it. The quality of media materials on historical topics affects the level of knowledge of the audience and the level of understanding of a specific historical topic.

Traditional and new media, regardless of their orientation, offer their audiences projects or columns that are dedicated to historical and cultural events. Audience segmentation allows to satisfy the demand for various information about the history. Today, we can observe the creation of high-quality and interesting media projects with a historical orientation, which indicates an understanding of the importance of conveying information about the events and facts of the past to contemporaries. The purpose of such projects is enlightenment, highlighting of historical aspects, promotion of the formation of opinion about the events of the past, understanding of the present and formation of the civic position of the population.

Active mediatization of history has become a trend in recent years, documentaries about specific events in Ukrainian history, TV channels' own documentary projects, the Internet, in addition to information, provides the opportunity to create specialized historical YouTube channels, feature films on historical topics, etc.

¹¹ Horbyk R., Prymachenko Y. (2022) *Mediatization of History: Introducing the Concept and Key Cases from Eastern Europe*. *Inventing Majorities: Ideological Creativity in Post-Soviet Societies*. Stuttgart: Ibidem Verlag: 177–201.

4. Documentaries

One of the first national historical documentary projects of the time of independence was the series “*Unknown Ukraine. Essays of our history*” («Невідома Україна. Нариси нашої історії»), which was created in 1993 by the film company “Kyivnaukfilm”. The series consists of 108 films, each 15 minutes long, covering the period from the Neolithic to the declaration of Ukraine’s independence. A separate cycle of the project – “Essays of our history” («Нариси нашої історії») is devoted to historical events, “The Golden Stirrup” («Золоте стремено») – the history of the Ukrainian army, “Medicine in Ukraine” («Лікарська справа в Україні») – the history of medicine, “How they were judged in Ukraine” («Як судилися в Україні») – the history of law. The film uses a lot of archival photos and video footage. However, the series was shown for the first time only three years later. Despite this, today the number of views of the series on YouTube exceeds 234 thousand.

The famous director Jerzy Hoffman presented his vision of the history of Ukraine from the Christianity to the present day in the large-scale project “*Ukraine. Formation of a nation*” («Україна. Становлення нації») (2008). It is known that the director was inspired to create the film by Leonid Kuchma’s book “Ukraine is not Russia”, namely its title and Hoffman’s own experience. The film uses a lot of archival video and audio materials, many illustrations and archival documents that Jerzy Hoffman collected personally, the film is also accompanied by comments from the author himself. Although the film received very favorable reviews and an offer to award the director the titles of Hero of Ukraine and Honorary Citizen of Odessa from the professor of Odessa National Polytechnic University, head of the Department of History and Ethnography Hryhoriy Honcharuk, “this iconic movie” according to M. Sheveleva, “so far no Ukrainian TV channel has shown (Sheveleva, 2023).

9-episode documentary film by Serhii Bukovsky about Ukraine in the Second World War “*War. The Ukrainian Account*” («Війна. Український рахунок»), released in 2002, today has 55,000 views on YouTube. In the film, the director used a large amount of newsreels from the war and post-war years, as well as eyewitness accounts, often contradictory and contradictory. “*Tell Your Name*” («Назви своє ім’я») is another documentary film directed by Serhii Bukovsky (2006), ranked 40th in the list of the 100 best films in the history of Ukrainian cinema. The main characters of the film are people who survived in 1941–1942 and talk about their salvation from inevitable death during the Holocaust.

Documentary about Galicia on the eve and during the first years of the Second World War “*Golden September. Chronicle of Galicia 1939–1941*” («Золотий вересень. Хроніка Галичини 1939–1941») was issued in 2010 and tells about the establishment of Soviet authority and repression in Western Ukraine. This film was the first in a series of documentaries about Western Ukraine directed by Taras Khymych. In the following years, his films “*Silver Land. Chronicle of Carpathian Ukraine 1919–1939*” («Срібна Земля. Хроніка Карпатської України 1919–1939»), “*Chronicle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army 1942–1954*” («Хроніка Української Повстанської Армії 1942–1954»),

“Legion. Chronicle of the Ukrainian Galician Army 1918–1919” («Леґіон. Хроніка Української Галицької Армії 1918–1919»). Today, the number of views of “Golden September. The Chronicle of Galicia 1939–1941” on YouTube exceeds 234,000.

In 2003, a documentary film by Sviatoslav Novytsky – an American of Ukrainian origin – “*Between Hitler and Stalin: Ukraine in the Second World War, unknown pages of history*” («Між Гітлером і Сталінім: Україна в Другій світовій війні, незвідані сторінки історії») was released, dedicated to the memory of Ukrainians who died in the war, victims of communist repression and Ukrainian Ostarbaiters. The director has done thorough work in the archives, in particular, with photo and video materials, which are reflected in the film. “*Slovo House*” («Будинок «Слово») – a 2017 documentary tells about the period of Stalinist repressions in the 1930s among the Ukrainian intelligentsia, which was called the “Shooted Revival”.

The world premiere of the documentary chronicle “*Maidan*” («Майдан») (2014) directed by Serhiy Loznytsia was held as part of a special screening of the official program of the 67th Cannes Film Festival. A documentary film about the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine, “*Winter on Fire: Ukraine’s Struggle for Freedom*” («Зима у вогні: Боротьба України за свободу») by the American director Yevgeny Afineevsky, was first shown at the 2015 Venice Film Festival. Also, the film received the prize of audience sympathy at the festival in Toronto. And the American Internet provider Netflix became the main distributor of the picture. Today, the number of views on YouTube exceeds 1.3 million.

The first full-length documentary film about embroidered shirts “*The Heritage of the Nation*” («Спадок нації») has collected more than 840,000 views, which shows that the embroidered shirt is not only a material, but also a spiritual heritage of the Ukrainian people. The topic of language is considered in the documentary “*The Nightingale Sings*” («Соловей співає») (almost 2 million views on YouTube), where the authors study the causes and consequences of the current confrontation over the Ukrainian language. The 2020 full-length documentary “*Wedding Legacy*” («Весільний спадок») (more than 220,000 views) tells about Ukrainian wedding traditions of the 19th and 20th centuries in various regions. The 2021 documentary “*Mustachio Funk*” («Вусатий фанк») tells about the vocal and instrumental ensembles of the 1970s and explores the phenomenon of the so-called “mustache funk” – a landmark phenomenon of the “golden era” of Ukrainian pop music.

The film “*Donbas*” tells about the life of people in the occupied territories in the East of Ukraine after 2014 (has 111 thousand views on YouTube). Oleksandr Ratushny’s documentary “*Mariupol 2022*” has already garnered almost 200,000 views and shows life during the blockade of the city.

5. Historical films as an information product

In the context of the mediatization of history, feature films on historical subjects can be considered. It should be noted that there were films showing different stages of the history of Ukraine in Soviet times as well. Thus, the silent film about a day in the life of a big city “*Man with a film camera*” (1929) directed by Dzyga Vertov and cameraman Mykhailo

Kaufman (894 thousand views on YouTube) is today one of the most outstanding films of world cinema. This picture is considered as a video document of the life of large Ukrainian cities of the beginning of the 20th century — Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odesa.

The author's vision of well-known historical events, in particular Olga's revenge on the Drevlyans for the murder of her husband Igor, was presented by the luminary Ukrainian film director Yuriy Illenko in the film *"The Legend of Princess Olga"* (1983, 209,000 views on YouTube). The director told about the events of those times on behalf of different people, whose versions differed, and by this he wanted to tell the viewer that it is necessary to be critical of the official interpretation of history.

During the time of independence, more attention was paid to Ukrainian history in feature films. In 2006, the feature film *"Bohdan-Zinovyi Khmelnytskyi"* (113,000 views on YouTube) by Ukrainian director Mykola Mashchenko was released, which tells about the national liberation war under the leadership of the Ukrainian hetman; The 4-episode film *"The Century of Jacob"* (2016, 2.9 million views on YouTube), which tells about the events of Ukrainian history of the 20th century through the prism of one person's life; *"King Danylo"* (2018, 73 thousand views on YouTube) about the events of 1238, the struggle of Ukrainians against the Mongol-Tatar invasion.

The events that took place in Ukraine between the two world wars and during its stay as part of the USSR are shown in the tapes *"Famine 33"* (1991, 189 thousand views) – the first feature film about the Holodomor and the establishment of Soviet power on the territory of Ukraine; *"Secret Diary of Simon Petlyura"* (2018, 26,000 views) about the life and activities of the head of the Directory and Chief Otaman of the Ukrainian People's Republic Simon Petlyura during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1920, as well as during his stay in exile; *"Kruty 1918"* (2019, 241,000 views) about the battle that took place at the Kruty railway station; *"Black Raven"* (2019, 8.3 million views) about the uprising of imprisoned fighters for independence from Kholodny Yar in the Lukyanovsk prison in Kyiv. The topic of the Holodomor was also raised in the tapes *"The Guide, or Flowers Have Eyes"* (*«Поводир, або Квіти мають очі»*) (2014, 41 thousand views on YouTube), *"The Price of Truth"* (2019, 363 thousand views), *"And there will be people"* (*«І будуть люди»*) (2020, 212 thousands of views). The deportation of the Crimean Tatars in 1944 is shown in the film *"Khaitarma"*, which was released in 2013. In the winter of 2023, the Ukrainian-Polish historical drama *Shchedryk* was released, depicting the events of the beginning of World War II. The film *"Forbidden"* (2019, 173 thousand views) tells about the last years of the life of Vasyl Stus – an outstanding Ukrainian poet of the 20th century, his struggle with the system and attempts to publish the last collection of poems, which he wanted to transfer from prison to freedom.

Special attention should be paid to the feature films that reveal the events of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, which has been ongoing since 2014. Yes, the film *"Ilovaisk 2014. Battalion "Donbas"* (2019, 1.7 million views) is based on real stories of soldiers and publications in the press. The feature film *"Cyborgs"* (2017, 1.1 million views) about the defense of the Donetsk airport was included in the list of the 100 best films in the history of Ukrainian cinema. *"Cherkasy"* (2020, 290,000 views) is a Ukrainian feature

film about the defense of the naval minesweeper of the same name, blocked by Russian troops in Donuzlav Bay in March 2014 during the annexation of Crimea, which resisted and continued the fight. The nominee for the "Special View" award at the Cannes International Film Festival in 2019 was the film *"Home"*, which tells the story of one Crimean Tatar family in our days.

The world leaders of TV and film production also showed interest in the significant events of Ukrainian history. Thus, the American TV channel HBO together with the British TV network Sky filmed the TV mini-series *"Chernobyl"* (2019, 2.1 million views), dedicated to the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in 1986. The script is based on archival materials that reveal the causes and consequences of this tragedy, as well as highlight the information and media coverage of the accident.

Television also offers its audience channels and programming products belonging to the historical field. One of the first historical television projects was the STB TV channel's documentary drama *"In Search of Truth!"* («У пошуках істини!»), which talked about important historical events of the world and Ukraine, historical characters, controversial moments of history. In total, from 2007 to 2011, five seasons of the TV program with a total number of 100 episodes were filmed. Despite the fact that this docudrama received mostly negative reviews from television critics, due to significant deviations of the creators from real historical facts, its episodes on the YouTube channel, which was launched only in 2022, have already gained more than 30 million views.

The film *"DNA. Portrait of the Nation"* was released by the "Ukraine" TV channel in 2014, where you can learn about what defines Ukrainians as a nation and what allows Ukrainians to carry their national identity through the centuries. Since its release on YouTube, it has been viewed 815,000 times. *"DNA. Portrait of the Nation"* became a continuation of another project of the TV channel – *"Code of the Nation"*, which has collected more than 1 million views to date.

In the same year, a documentary special project of the TV channel "1+1" was released – the film *"Operation Crimea"*. More than half a million YouTube viewers had the opportunity to find out exactly what happened in Crimea during the annexation, how the referendum took place, as a result of which Crimea ceased to be part of the Ukrainian state, whether the local public actually supported the new government.

In 2016, the TV channel "1+1" launched the Ukrainian historical series of documentaries by Akim Galimov *"Ukraine. Returning one's history"* with the aim of dispelling historical myths imposed on Ukrainians for many centuries. The author shows how over the centuries Ukrainian history was rewritten and those who fought for the country's independence were killed. Within the framework of the project, in particular, facts related to the history of Kyivan Rus are revealed, the face of Yaroslav the Wise and the appearance of his wife – the Swedish princess Ingigerda are reproduced, a hypothetical portrait of Hetman Ivan Mazepa is created, large-scale thefts of relics of the Cossack era by Russians are exposed, created and handed over to the Ministry of Culture Ukraine's list of stolen artifacts, as well as how Ukrainian church history was destroyed

and appropriated. YouTube – version of the project has already gained more than 220 thousand views.

It is worth mentioning the historical projects of the Suspilne TV channel, namely the eight-episode documentary series *“Legacy of the Tereshchenkos”*, which tells about the glorious family of the Ukrainian tycoons and patrons of the Tereshchenkos, and the documentary series *“Collapse. How Ukrainians destroyed the empire of evil”*, which shows the Ukrainian role in the collapse of the USSR and Ukraine’s restoration of independence. Although the projects were released only in 2022, the series *“Legacy of the Tereshchenkos”* has already been viewed 25,000 times on YouTube, and *“Collapse”* – more than 65,000 times.

6. Ukrainian historical YouTube projects

The development of the Internet, in particular video hosting, social networks, messengers, provides access to alternative sources of information, including history, as well as through video and audio format facilitates the assimilation of material. Today, the most popular YouTube channels dedicated to history are, in particular, *“History without myths”*, *“the name of T.G. Shevchenko”*, *“Ukrainer”*, channel of historian Oleksandr Alfiorov, *“Kozak UA”*, *“Real history”*, *“Local history”*, *“Kulturtriger”*, *“Historical truth in details”*, etc.

So, today, the channel of the national historian Vladlen Marayev *“History Without Myths”* (*«Історія Без Міфів»*) has the largest number of views – more than 101 million and 723 thousand subscribers, where experts are invited – professional historians, each of whom is a specialist in a specific issue. During such meetings, issues of the past of Ukraine and the world of all periods are discussed. As the author states, the goal of the project is *“refuting anti-scientific myths, fakes and stereotypes about Ukraine and Ukrainians, spreading public interest in history, pride in the glorious past, victories and achievements of the Ukrainian people, promoting the consolidation of Ukrainian society, forming a positive image of Ukraine and Ukrainians”*.

The rapidly developing YouTube channel *“the name of T.G. Shevchenko”* (*«імені Т.Г. Шевченка»*) hosted by the Kapranov brothers, popular Ukrainian writers and public figures. Although the channel was registered only in 2019, it has already collected almost 91 million views. The *“Ukrainer”* (*«Ukrainer»*) channel, which positions its programs as a view of Ukraine from the inside, has 64 million views. Candidate of historical sciences Oleksandr Alfiorov’s YouTube channel highlights various aspects of the Ukraine-Russia conflict and has garnered more than 46 million views. 28 million times, viewers watched the video on the *“Kozak UA”* (*«Kozak UA»*) channel, which contains information about important events in the history of Ukraine and the world, and which carries out educational work to overcome the stereotypes imposed on Ukrainians during the period of our country’s stay as part of the Russian Empire and since Soviet times.

Akim Galimov’s project *“Real History”* (*«Реальна історія»*) is rapidly gaining popularity. The channel was launched only in February 2023 and has already gained more than 14 million views. The audience’s interest is aroused by short videos created by the

author on important historical topics that Russia is speculating about. To avoid criticism, all facts are checked by professional historians. The goal of the project is the development of the viewer's critical thinking.

Therefore, the presence of historical themes in the programs of TV channels, author's YouTube projects, feature films on historical themes play an important role in the presentation and explanation of certain historical events, the education of entire generations and the formation of a civic position in the audience.

7. Mediatization of history as a component of political ideology

It should be noted that history is often used as a tool of political ideology, and mediatization is seen as a tool of political communication. As noted by the French historian and historical memory researcher Pierre Nora, "It is not about ruthless politicization carried out by the will of historians themselves, but the inevitable ideologizing of their product, the ideologizing of the world in which historians work"¹². That is, there is a certain interpretation of social phenomena taking into account the interests of certain public groups.

Mediatization is an important source of political socialization – the process of acquiring political knowledge, values, methods and forms of political participation. We can agree that mass media played a decisive role in the qualitative change of the existing political system in Ukraine and continue to play a significant role in its functioning¹³. On the one hand, Ukrainian mass media is characterized by a high degree of politicization, and on the other hand, researchers note a high degree of mediatization of politics itself.

In Ukraine, an example of the mediatization of history in the context of promoting the political ideology of the state can be considered, in particular, the subject of the Holodomor (famine) of 1932–33, which was subjected to special censorship during Ukraine's stay as part of the USSR. Since 1993, the Holodomor began to become an important element of state historical policy. A.Kudryachenko notes that "from the mid-2000s to the present day, a generation of young people was formed, brought up on the understanding of the importance of the Holodomor as a common national tragedy, which is one of the foundations of Ukrainian historical national memory"¹⁴.

During the presidency of Viktor Yushchenko, the campaign to recognize the Holodomor of 1932–1933 as genocide against the Ukrainian people became the basis of his humanitarian policy, the elements of which were, in particular, the legitimization of the Holodomor as genocide at the legislative level; the campaign to recognize the famine of

¹² Нора П. (2011). *Історія як захист від політики* – <https://www.historians.in.ua/index.php/en/istoriya-i-pamyat-vazhki-pitannya/117-pier-nora-istoriia-iak-zakhyst-vid-polityky>, Access 5.05.2023.

¹³ *Encyclopedia of political communication* (2008) / edited by L.Lee Kaid, C.Holtz-Bacha. – Los Angeles: Sage Publications – 1104 pp.

¹⁴ Кудряченко А. (2004) *Соціально-політичні виміри голодомору в Україні 1932–1933 років за свідченням тогочасних німецьких дипломатичних установ в Україні // Голодомор 1932–1933 років: основні дійові особи і механізм здійснення. Матеріали Другої Міжнародної наукової конференції.* – Київ. – С. 88 – 95.

1932–1933 at the international level; creation of the National Book of Memory of Holodomor Victims; encouraging the publication of scientific research on the subject of the famine of 1932–1933; creation of the National Museum “Memorial to the Victims of the Holodomor in Ukraine” and others.

On November 28, 2006, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted the law “On the Holodomor of 1932–1933 in Ukraine”, which recognized the Holodomor as genocide of the Ukrainian people. Public denial of the Holodomor was recognized as an insult to the memory of millions of victims of the Holodomor, a humiliation of the dignity of the Ukrainian people, and was recognized as illegal. The Cabinet of Ministers officially declared 2008 as the “Year of Remembrance of the Holodomor Victims”, and in November of the same year, the “Remembrance Candle” monument was established in Kyiv, which became a place to perpetuate the memory of the victims. Ukraine started a large-scale media campaign “Ukraine remembers, the world recognizes.” Collections of archival documents and materials about the Holodomor of 1932–1933, a number of scientific monographs and brochures were published and republished. In schools, lessons in memory of the victims of the Holodomor were held. In separate sections of newspapers and magazines, cycles of radio and television programs, the topic of the famine was widely covered.

One of the results of the presence of the topic in the Ukrainian interpretation of the Holodomor in the world media is that as of 2023, the Holodomor is officially recognized as a genocide of the Ukrainian people in 27 countries, including the USA, Canada, Poland, Georgia, Germany, and 5 more countries have condemned the Holodomor as an act of extermination of humanity committed by the totalitarian Stalinist regime. On December 15, 2022, the European Parliament adopted a resolution recognizing the Holodomor, caused by the Soviet regime in Ukraine in 1932–1933, as genocide and condemned these actions, which led to the deaths of millions of Ukrainians. This testifies, in particular, to the effectiveness of the media as a component of Ukrainian humanitarian policy at the international level.

Therefore, in the context of the mediatization of history, the topic of the Holodomor can be considered as an attempt to organize the cultural memory of Ukrainians. According to the researchers, the success of the events at that time was related both to a certain model of the organization of cultural memory and the direction of historical policy, as well as to the needs of many Ukrainians to express their views and positions. If in 2003 only 40% of Ukrainians considered the Holodomor a genocide, in 2007 – already 63% (including 79% – in the western regions, 71% – central, 53% – southern and 33% – eastern), then in 2022 – 93%¹⁵.

¹⁵ Соціологічна група «Рейтинг» (2022) *Динаміка ставлення до Голодомору 1932–33 рр.* https://ratinggroup.ua/files/ratinggroup/reg_files/rg_holodomor_112022.pdf, Access 12.07.2023.

8. The role of the media in manipulating history

It should be noted that the media not only shape the life principles of a modern person and his cultural values, but also impose certain stereotypes, and the modern audience of the media, regardless of their preferences and their own level of culture, is forced to adapt and live according to the laws that exist in media space. As a result, it is possible to observe the manipulative influence of the media because "...the mass audience perceives media information as a product, without giving importance to its functional and semantic orientation, which turns the audience into an object of information attacks"¹⁶.

Mediatization of history as the influence of the media on the formation of the worldview of the public through the creation of political mythology became a common practice even in Soviet times. Modern Russia has adopted the tactic of distorting historical facts and using them to promote certain ideas. The Russian version of Ukrainian history began to be actively promoted in the media after the annexation of Crimea and the seizure of part of eastern Ukraine in 2014 to legitimize the country's aggressive policy, that is, it became the ideological basis of Russian policy, which was supposed to lead to the erosion of national consciousness, the destruction of Ukrainian statehood, and the imposition on Ukrainian society their values.

An example of the mediatization of hybrid history can be considered, in particular, the implementation of the disintegration projects "Crimea" and "Novorossiya", which were based on the concept of a "divided people" and the renewal of "historical justice", the concept of a triune "Russian people", which supposedly consists of Great Russians, Little Russians and Belarusians.

Thus, Russian manipulation of history within the framework of the "Crimea" project was supposed to justify Russia's right to the territory of Crimea. The main narratives include theses about Crimea as "originally Russian land", Sevastopol – a Russian city, or the Black Sea Fleet – Russian military glory. This was supposed to form the belief in the Ukrainian and international public that Crimea is part of Russia, that is, the Crimean peninsula, which was annexed to the Russian Empire in the 18th century together with the Crimean Tatar population, it is "Russian land", and the inclusion of Crimea in Ukraine in 1954 was illegal.

The launch of the "Novorossiya" project was aimed at clarifying Russia's claims on the territory of Eastern Ukraine, which were allegedly Russian lands, since their population is mainly Russian-speaking. The leadership of the Russian Federation recognized the "legitimate rights of ethnic Russians and Russian speakers" and declared the historical right to the existence of "Novorossiya" "from Kharkiv to Odesa", since the residents of the Southeast have a different self-identification, their national identity is an alternative to Ukrainian, and accordingly they should form a separate state¹⁷. The manipula-

¹⁶ Фролов П. (2007) *Стан і тенденції розвитку суспільної моралі в інформаційному суспільстві* // Соціальна психологія. Спеціальний випуск. – С. 37-43.

¹⁷ BBC (2014) П'ять гучних заяв Путіна про історію України. – http://www.bbc.co.uk/ukrainian/ukraine_in_russian/2014/11/141110_ru_s_putin_on_history_ukraine, Access 6.07.2023.

tion and distortion of facts is that Kharkiv region, or Slobozhan region, as well as most of Luhansk and Donetsk regions, were never part of Novorossiya, and a republic with such a name and borders never existed.

The tools of mediatization were especially actively used in the manipulation of the heritage of Kyivan Rus. The goal of this information campaign was to consolidate the opinion of the target audiences that the only heir of Kyivan Rus was medieval Russia, respectively, Kyivan Rus and Russia are identical concepts. In order to confirm this thesis, the myth of a single ancient Russian nationality of Kyivan Rus was spread, from which Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians later separated, that is, Russians and Ukrainians are one nation with a common history, culture, mentality and similar languages. According to NISD experts, the media coverage of this topic “explained and justified Russia’s right not only to interfere in the internal affairs of Ukraine, but also to pursue a policy of its full incorporation into the Russian state, since in the case of European integration, Ukraine leaves the sphere of influence of Russian civilization, which undermines the legitimization of Russia as thousand-year-old state and Russia is losing its historical basis”¹⁸.

Therefore, using the potential of mediatization allows Russia to implement its manipulative historical policy to justify its foreign policy. We can agree with O. Petrunko, who notes that the manipulation of history in the context of state policy with the use of media resources led to the polarization of Ukrainian society, when the southeastern regions became “a training ground where the techniques of splitting the country were tested, which became a significant factor in the military-political crisis and a threat to the territorial integrity and national security of Ukraine”¹⁹.

9. Conclusions

Media have become an integral part of society. The development of new media has increased people’s dependence on the information environment. This means that the means of mass communication not only influence the life of an individual, but also form a certain media opinion regarding that phenomenon, historical event, or fact. The increase in the role of traditional and new media in creating, interpreting and disseminating information about historical events of the past and the processes of the present is defined as the mediatization of history.

The analysis showed that the theme of national history is present in the Ukrainian media space, and a variety of media formats are used to disseminate historical narratives. In addition to traditional technologies, such as, in particular, the creation of documentaries and feature films, the development of new media, which expands access to

¹⁸ НІСД (2019) *Національна історія як об’єкт гуманітарної експансії Політика історичної пам’яті в контексті національної безпеки України: аналіт. доповідь* / [Яблонський В. М., Лозовий В. С., Валевський О. Л., Здіорук С. І., Зубченко С. О. та ін.] / за заг. ред. В. М. Яблонського. – Київ: НІСД, – 144 с.

¹⁹ Петрунько О. (2021) *Деконсолідувальні ефекти медіасоціалізації* – https://library.krok.edu.ua/media/library/category/statti/petrunko_0006.pdf, Access 9.05.2023.

information through the Internet and social networks to a large number of people of different age groups, is one of the most common trends in the mediatization of history. This also influenced the emergence of new formats of providing historical non-verbal and verbal information, in particular, the creation of specialized historical channels, author's projects, own historical projects of TV channels with an online version. Constantly updated and created historical media projects addressed to a wide audience contribute to the interpretation of social phenomena taking into account the interests of all public groups.

The Ukrainian audience's interest in historical topics is accompanied by a high demand for authenticity as an important requirement for historical information. It is authenticity that allows one to fully comprehend the past of the country and region, as the reproduction of true history should serve to restore ties within society and help create a common future. At the same time, the development of information technologies contributes to the greater use of methods of manipulation of history, falsification of the historical past, and the imposition of false mythology and stereotypes on mass consciousness.

So, mediatization of history, on the one hand, can be used for propaganda and manipulation of historical facts, creating a hybrid version of history, and on the other hand, mediatization of history provides opportunities for counterforces that, based on reliable information, can explain historical facts and debunk myths. Therefore, traditional and new media become mediators and a full-fledged tool for influencing public opinion, and the level of knowledge and understanding of the history of one's country, politics, culture and traditions will largely depend on the extent to which they adhere to the principles of objectivity, impartiality, and historical authenticity is important for the formation of a civic position and national identification.



Abstract: The article examines the phenomenon of mediatization, namely the mediatization of history, which is proposed to be considered as an increase in the role of traditional and new media in the creation, interpretation and dissemination of information about historical events of the past and the processes of the present, providing access to this information and formation at the personal, interpersonal and group levels interaction of the audience's attitude to historical events and modern facts. It is shown that the effectiveness of history mediatization technologies is explained by the powerful development of both traditional and new media. The author shows that the mediatization of history, on the one hand, has become a trend of the 21st century, when historical media projects are gaining more and more popularity and find their audience through documentaries, own documentary projects of TV channels, the Internet, social networks, YouTube, films on historical topics, and on the other hand, it is used as a tool of the political ideology of the state. A conclusion is made about the use of mediatization tools both for explaining historical events and facts and forming the civic position of the audience, and for falsifying the historical past, imposing false myths and stereotypes on the mass consciousness.

Keywords: Mediatization, media, history, manipulation, consciousness, public opinion, media environment.

Mediatyzacja historii: kontekst ukraiński

Streszczenie: W artykule przeanalizowano zjawisko mediatyzacji, a konkretnie mediatyzację historii. Zjawisko to zdefiniowano jako proces zwiększania roli tradycyjnych i nowych mediów w tworzeniu, interpretacji i rozpowszechnianiu informacji dotyczących wydarzeń historycznych oraz współczesnych procesów. Mediatyzacja historii zapewnia dostęp do tych treści i wpływa na kształtowanie stosunku odbiorców do przeszłości i teraźniejszości na poziomie indywidualnym, interpersonalnym i grupowym. Wykazano, że dynamiczny rozwój mediów tradycyjnych i nowych sprzyja efektywności mediatyzacji historii. Autorka zauważyła, że zjawisko to stało się jednym z trendów XXI wieku, co widać w rosnącej popularności historycznych projektów medialnych, takich jak filmy dokumentalne, autorskie produkcje kanałów telewizyjnych, treści internetowe, media społecznościowe, platforma YouTube czy filmy fabularne o tematyce historycznej. Jednocześnie podkreślono, że mediatyzacja historii bywa wykorzystywana jako narzędzie politycznej propagandy.

Podsumowując, stwierdzono, że mediatyzacja historii pełni dziś podwójną rolę: z jednej strony służy wyjaśnianiu i popularyzacji wiedzy historycznej oraz kształtowaniu postaw obywatelskich, z drugiej – bywa narzędziem do fałszowania przeszłości, kreowania fałszywych mitów i stereotypów, które oddziałują na masową świadomość.

Słowa kluczowe: Mediatyzacja, media, historia, manipulacja, świadomość, opinia publiczna, środowisko medialne.

Медіатизація історії: український контекст

Анотація: В статті розглядається феномен медіатизації, а саме медіатизації історії, який пропонується розглядати як підвищення ролі традиційних та нових медіа у створенні, інтерпретації та поширенні інформації щодо історичних подій минулого та процесів сучасності, забезпечення доступу до цієї інформації та формування на персональному, міжособовому та груповому рівнях взаємодії аудиторії ставлення до історичних подій та фактів сучасності. Показано, що ефективність технологій медіатизації історії пояснюються потужним розвитком як традиційних, так і новітніх медіа. Автор показує, що медіатизація історії з одного боку стала трендом 21 століття, коли історичні медіапроекти набувають все більшої популярності і знаходять свою аудиторію через документальні фільми, власні документальні проєкти телеканалів, Інтернет, соціальні мережі, You-tube, художні фільми на історичні теми, а з іншого використовується як інструмент політичної ідеології держави. Зроблено висновок про використання інструментів медіатизації як для пояснення історичних подій і фактів і формування громадянської позиції аудиторії, так і для фальшування історичного минулого, нав'язування масовій свідомості хибних міфологем та стереотипів.

Ключові слова: Медіатизація, медіа, історія, маніпуляція, свідомість, громадська думка, медіасередовище.

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