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«DECENTRALIZATION OF HISTORY» AS A COUNTER-DISOURSE OF «DECOMMUNIZATION» IN MODERN INFORMATION SPACE OF UKRAINE

The article examines the main content and modern communication models of discourse / counter-discourse of «decommunization» in the information space of Ukraine. The theoretical basis for the scientific comprehension of the informational content of «decommunization» in today's mass media discourse is not only the recent practice of its explication in the media, but also the problem of responsibility and compensation of «memory». Political manipulations in the Ukrainian symbolic space do not encourage the process of consolidation in its purification, but contribute to the parallel coexistence of different types of historical consciousness of the population (ethno-national and social).

In the modern communication space of Ukraine, in connection with the change of the political elite and the main priority directions of the state information policy, the media monitors the effect of the so-called «normalization» of the discourse of «historical memory», which is caused by the transition from national-cultural to social-humanitarian. the vector of constructing reality within the state program. In practical media activity, this process is characterized by the formation of an independent discourse stream of regional elites and «decentralization of history», using strategies of toponymical appealing decommunized titles and functioning of hidden discourses of renaming. The «decentralization of history» in regional communication models is, in fact, a modern form of counter-discourse of «decommunization» and is most prevalent in the information space of the Southern and Eastern regions of Ukraine. The content of the marked materials is mainly devoted to criticism of renaming, attempts to return the old name or double name change, toponymic appeal, lack of historical / cultural / social and other correlation of the name to the region, inconsistency of the history / heroics of the region and approval of the new ones.

Key words: *communication, decommunisation, discourse, identity, information space, historical memory, media.*

I. Introduction

In the Ukrainian version, the state has always been an influential actor in the formation of collective models of memory, which were realized through full involvement of the media into the process of distribution, regardless the change of power. It is its reproductive function. The state has also been an influential actor in the formation of historical memory. It is its productive function, because the media are the carriers and «places» of historical memory. They are also sources of its formation at the same time. Currently, the formation of Ukrainian historical memory discourse of high quality, its newest narrative representations is an integral part of the media culture of the media. These processes are caused not only by social and by communication changes in the system of information exchange. But also by mediatization of all spheres of social and interpersonal communication, by global technological progress, for example, the expansion of public platforms of community, an activation of the civil and cultural sector, openness of the research institutions, as populism of the Ukrainian politicians and the presidential priority of the state memory policy formation.

Media discourses differ from official information (legacy) by their intensive rooting in the society. Media discourses differ by their accessibility and relevance, genre-thematic representativeness and performance, numerous linguistic-communication techniques, and semiotic formulas, such as technological arsenal, influence social spirit in everyday life. They influence on interpersonal communication and religion, and education, so-called collective forms of identity.

Undoubtedly, this fact can be taken into account neither by active public, nor by the Ukrainian politicians and by the official authorities, who are the main subjects of the formation of historical memory and initiators of its public discourse in the media together with scientific institutes. The current state of communication relations makes it possible to state the existence of an open space for «history management». However, the lack of equitable institutional methods creates the preconditions for the deformation or even leveling of conventional communication strategies between the main participants of

public discourse. It also gives the increasing of numerous manipulations, which will cause the escalation of political, ideological, social, and cognitive conflicts. In general, low levels of civic and national consciousness, numerous regional, ethnic, linguistic, and cultural disputes, and the lack of culture of dialogue are the basis for the cultivation and dissemination of manipulation strategies.

In April 9, 2015, the latest information and accumulation resource for the formation of the media discourse of Ukrainian historical memory «decommissioning number» of laws has been approved by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. It calls for the state recognition of the fighters for independence of Ukraine in the twentieth century, the opening of archives of Soviet repressive organs, Nazi totalitarian regimes and the perpetuation of the victory over Nazism in World War II.

Firstly, in the Ukrainian information space there has been a unmasking of the discourse of historical memory, which has become official and purposeful at all levels of communication. The formation of a new discourse of «decommunization» began to be embodied based on such national-consolidating constructs such as «historical justice», «social justice», «national dignity», «responsibility» and others [4]. Decommunization in the public sphere has become an important part of the confrontation to the «Russian peace» in the middle of the country and Russian propaganda outside. It greatly expands the semiotic space of discourse, its strategic resource in the information war. For example, Soviet symbolism is used by Putin's Russia for its own propaganda purposes, and its prohibition and criminal responsibility for its production and distribution in Ukraine significantly reduces those who wish to identify their pro-Russian views.

The widespread involvement of media audiences into discussions has become one of the important forms of functional explication of discourse. The average Ukrainians have become full participants in the dialogue on renaming policy and changing the toponymic landscape of Ukraine along with scientists and experts. Audiovisual and interactive media resources made it possible to refine and, where appropriate, to display this process. We can state that «toponymics» and «symbolism» are the most stable constructs of discourse that still support it in the media. The rebranding of trademarks, product names, proper names, mostly ergonomics, and more has become other debatable space of «decommunization». Word play, as a communication technique, has become the main tool for arguing the implementation of the provisions of the law and, at the same time, a means of forming opposite communication strategies in the information space of Ukraine. The overall emotional tone of such material in the media was, at greater degree, negative. Sarcastic communication scheme was used among the common methods. For example, «*Sovkova (colloq. Soviet) Decommunization: «Soviet Champagne» was renamed into «Sovetskoye»*» (Galinfo, January 3, 2016). «*Bread Decommunization: in Mykolaiv «Stakhanovskyy Bread» was renamed»*» (AgroReview, April 5, 2016). «*Decommunization» of products is a fake for «domestic consumption»*» (112 Ukraine, May 17, 2016), «*Gastronomic decommunization: Is there any chance for Moscow sausage?»*» (True HERE, September 2, 2017), «*Poroshenko decommitted his enterprise. The plant «Lenins'ka Kuznaia» was decided to change its name»*» («ZN.UA», February 17, 2017), «*Not that Illich-called the plant»*» (LB.ua, April 27, 2016).

At present, independent studies have appeared in the international and Ukrainian scientific and theoretical fields, representing the general results of the process of decommunization in Ukraine, actualizing its problematic issues in the international, legal, political, ideological, social, cultural and other fields, in particular scientific research. P. Dolhanov, K. Kobchenko, S. Kononenko, Yu. Kotliar, O. Lytvynenko, P. Pokataiev, M. Riabchyk [6], M. Takhtaulova, V. Tsyba, O. Shevel, D. Marples [5] and others.

II. Problem setting and research methods

The purpose of the research is to analyze the already existing Ukrainian experience of the process of «decommunization» of symbolic and informational space. An important research task was also to analyze of current trends in renaming / reverting old names, re-branding and appeal in the national toponymic and symbolic space, practice of responsibility, punishment and avoidance of the direct effect of the decommunization packages of laws. In the article used empirical and theoretical methods: monitoring, discourse analysis and axiomatic method of information proving.

III. Results

The Revolution of Dignity was an intensive impetus for the national rehabilitation of the discourse of «historical memory» in the formation of the meaningful space of «decommunization». The discourse-stream «Leninopad», which represented the eventual segment of the content filling the discourse and began to inform it. code was its important accumulation factor. It was the change of symbolic space of Ukraine. The call for «decommunization» in the public discourse no longer didn't lead to the struggle against communist ideology. But it gained broader significance in the struggle against the Soviet heritage in symbolic space, practices, behaviors and worldviews, Soviet myths in general. In order to achieve fast positive response of the public the technologies of antithesis of the «Soviet» / «European» were used.

This dichotomy had to replace analytics with superficial argumentation and become an effective means of influencing on the emotional state of recipients of information, the average Ukrainian exactly. However, in a greater part of the population of Central, Eastern and Southern Ukraine, these processes have caused misunderstanding due to the lack of clearly articulated historical estimates, which has led to mass confrontations. Analyzing the conflict of the Ukrainian information space during the Revo-

lution of Dignity, O. Gayday notes: «Instead of decommunization, which has a blatantly negative color, I would rather speak on a positive meaning of the process of «joining to Europe», which emphasizes the moment of accession and creation, but not destruction and overthrow [2].

According to the report of the Head of the Ukrainian National Socialist Party V. Viatrovich, about 2.5 thousand monuments to communist leaders were dismantled in Ukraine, 987 settlements were renamed, 52 thousand place names were changed (May 19, 2019). In general, the memorial discourse-flow is still reflected within the media discourse of «decommunization». It is represented by analytical materials that represent clear articulations of historical evaluations of the process of dismantling the Soviet symbolic heritage, analysis of new monumental narratives, tracking of non-decommunicated memorial heritage, issues of protection of Soviet monuments belonging to works of art, questions of reorganizing individual monuments, revisions of dismantled monuments, problems of decommunization of local memorial space, etc. The subject matter of the problematic publications within the defined discourse stream shows that modern journalism performs one of its most important functions. It is the controlling one. In addition, it assumes the function of initiating and public control over the final purification of the symbolic space of Ukraine. Thus, in the publication «What the media and the state can do: discussion on decolonization» (Bookforum, September 20, 2019), emphasizing the need to eradicate not only the Soviet, but also the Russian-imperial stratum, journalists have estimated that 87 streets, named after Pushkin, and 89, named after Suvorov, are changed. Kherson renamed 67 names, related to Pushkin's name, 79 names, related to Suvorov, 28 names, related to Lermontov and others. Another problem, that the journalists point to, is the need to rename the Russian toponyms, numbering about 60, for example, the names of such settlements as: Pervomaisk, Malokaterynivka, Gorcogo, Znamianka and others remained unchanged. Such names as Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, or Rosa Luxemburg received special attention in the media. According to the law on «decommunization», they were not renamed because they were not members of the Soviet regime and their names were only used by the regime. On the initiative of local communities these place names were changed in many settlements, however, the names were not changed.

Thus, the theoretical basis for the scientific comprehension of the «decommunization» information content in modern media discourse is not only the recent practice of its explication in the media, but also the problem of responsibility and compensation of «memory». The notion of «liability», including criminal liability, is also included in the main content of the package of «decommunization laws». Therefore, it implies the reformation of the communication model of «memory» in public space. The scientific substantiation of the problem of «responsibility» in the process of «decommunization» is now represented by the researchers of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, who are directly involved in the production and promotion of its official interpretation in the Ukrainian and international information space. The media sector has an explanatory function in this area. In addition, the media assume the function of public control the implementation of the basic rules of the law, systematically informing on the legality or illegality of the decisions taken, the actions of subjects of different forms of economic activity, individuals, the fate of decommunized monuments and memorial signs, conflicting issues of changing the local toponyms, court decisions, etc. In October 2019, 60 cases were recorded in the State Register of Judgments according to the Article 436-1 of the Criminal Code. It forbids production, propagation of communist symbols, propaganda of communist and national socialist regimes. Monitoring of Ukrainian media approves to that one third of them is highlighted in Mass Media. According to the Czech historian Petr Vagner, marking the public space and fixing in it the state's success are an important stage of erasing the communist past country, embedded in the evolutionary content of the laws of «decommunization» [1, c. 29].

The process of «lustration» the media segment is still ongoing. So, on August 19, 2019, the district administrative court of Kyiv fully satisfied the claim of the Ministry of Justice as to suspend the publication of the newspaper «Robitnycha hazeta». The court agreed with the plaintiff's argument, that the newspaper violated the requirements of the law condemning the communist and national-socialist (Nazi) totalitarian regimes in Ukraine and prohibiting the propaganda of their symbols. This was based on the results of a comprehensive linguistic and art examination from October 4, 2018, which was ordered by the Security Service of Ukraine and Kyiv Oblast within the framework of criminal proceedings. Experts examined three issues of the «Robitnycha hazeta» (Workers' Newspaper), numbered 47, 48 and 50–51, 2018. They came across publications, that contained signs of inciting a change in the current Ukrainian government and establishing a socialist system in Ukraine in a revolutionary way. For example, the article «Marxist and Leninist doctrine, is claimed by modernity», taken from Petro Symonenko's speech, contains quotes from the works of V. Lenin, which have appeals and slogans, expressing the approval of the proletariat's victory over capitalism and nationalism, their overthrow and destruction; the unification of the proletariat of Russia and Ukraine for the common purpose of removing the capitalists from power, establishing a socialist system on the territory of these countries, and a global domination of socialism (Glavkom, 19 August, 2019).

In modern communication of Ukraine, the media monitors the effect of the so-called «normalization» or «neutralization» of the discourse of «historical memory», caused by the transition from the national and cultural to the social and humanitarian vector of constructing reality within the state program. It is done in connection with the change of the political elite and the main priority directions of

the state information policy; In general, «normalization» is a widespread technology of silence, an emphasis shift, a means of forming counter-discourses. The analysis of the modern media content of the main discourses of memory, leads to the conclusion that the Ukrainian informational space and the parallel coexistence of two types of historical consciousness (ethnic, national and social), which generally reflect the materialistic and post materialistic value orientations. In the context of communication theory, the existence of such phenomena indicates the predominance in the public consciousness of the values of mass culture over the mental within the model of «national historical memory». In practical media activity, this process is characterized by the formation of an independent discourse stream, so-called regional elites, and the «decentralization of history», so-called appeals to the Decentralization reform, using strategies of toponymically appealing against decommunized titles and the functioning of hidden renaming discourses. The political strategy of building regional identity based on historical memory is already a form of ideological model of «regional patriotism», which, unfortunately, was only a source of cultivation of social conflicts [7, с. 140]. From the point of view of the social and communication approach, «the regional identity» is a cognitive element of the territorial self-awareness of a community (personality), which forms an emotionally affective aspect of communication and defines an information shaped model of territorial identification.

The «decentralization of history» in regional communication models is, in fact, a modern form of counter-discourse of «decommunization» and is the most prevalent in the information space of the Southern and Eastern regions of Ukraine. Local Media Monitoring for 2016–2019 demonstrates the prevalence of journalistic labeled material of «decentralization of history» in Kharkiv, Odessa, and Zaporizhzhia region. The content of the marked materials is mainly devoted to criticism of renaming, attempts to return the old name or double name change, toponymic appeal, lack of historical / cultural / social and other correlation of the name and region, discrepancy between the history / heroics of the region and the approval of new ones. The toponymic appeal of decommunized titles remains the leading theme of the media reception of discourse / counter-discourse of «decommunization», in particular: «*Kamyanka vs Bilmak: Court pickets in Zaporizhzhia due to the name of the decommissioned district center*» (Depo.ua, May 16, 2017), «*Court refused to return the name of the Crimean name in Zaporozhye*» (News time / Vremia novostei, August 5, 2017), «*Court reversed renaming Decommissioned Streets in Bashtanka*» (Historical Truth / Istorychna pravda, June 16, 2018)), «*In Zaporizhzhia Oblast scandal fires due to decommunization*» (Today/ Sohodni, May 22, 2018), «*In Volyn, residents of the decommissioned village demand to return the old name*» (First Channel of Social News / Pershyi Kanal Sotsialnykh Novyn, March 7, 2019), «*Re-re-naming or back to Ktrmlivska*» (Topic day / Tema dnia, UA: Zaporizhzhia, 21 January 2020).

In the process of analyzing the media representations of the «decommunization» counter-discourse, the use of manipulative resource was revealed, in particular, in the following communication forms:

- «associative oppositions»: «*Residents of the decommissioned village in the Zaporizhzhia region consider the new name inaudible, abusive and unfavorable*» (Actually/ Aktualno, December 12, 2019), «*Moskal forced residents of the Transcarpathian village to become Beatles fans*» (Antikor / Antykor, September 28, 2016);
- «recommunization» as a technology of mobilization of political commitment: «*Recommunization. Why are Ukrainian streets returned to their previous names?*» (DW, July 11, 2019), «*Zhukov Avenue was returned to Kharkiv*» (Ukrainian Pravda / Ukrainska pravda, June 19, 2019), «*Kharkiv Zhukov Monument was returned*» (Today / Sohodni, July 11, 2019);
- transfer, as a technology to counteract the actions of the previous authorities: «*Odessa City Council returned part of the streets with Soviet names*» (Week.UA, April 26, 2017); «*Bandera and Shukhevych were communicated*» (Gazeta.ua, June 26, 2019); «*Cherkasy Rite renamed two decommissioned villages*» (Inform-UA, October 12, 2016);
- disorientation: «*Viewing Decommunization. How totalitarian idols can be returned through local referendums*» (QHA media, July 19, 2019);
- concurrent titles / names: «*We changed Artem Street to Artem Golub*» (Depo.ua, February 19, 2016), «*Nadiia Krupska Street was renamed Nadiya Street*» («Boyarka-inform», February 17, 2016), «*We corrected the error: People's Deputy renamed Mukachevo*» (TSN, May 23, 2017).

In mass communication, such a shift in the figuratively typified manifestations of reality in the social typed leads to a distortion of the cognitive receptions of the audience and acquires the value of social and communicative semiosis of discourse. The shift of emphasis to the social side of the problem is a characteristic feature of opponents' communication strategies, which have been applied from the very beginning of the formation of the discourse of «decommunization». The semantic context of such receptions generally boiled down to the following points: «*Decommunization is not current. More pressing problems need to be resolved. This is war, poverty, corruption, etc.*»; «*These laws divert public attention from economic and political reforms*». «*It takes a lot of money to rename streets and settlements, and people will have to change their documents, paying for it out of their own pocket*»; «*Society will not accept the change of street and city names - especially older people for whom the names of the Soviet times are sacred*»; «*The law will complicate scientific studies of the history of the Soviet period*»; «*Laws Restricting Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Belief*», etc.

Another widespread and current technology, which exists in the context of discourse or counter-discourse of «decommunization», is the parallel coexistence of various communication models, among the most common: «model of social nostalgia», «model of triumph-catastrophe», «model of progress tradition», etc. The model of «social nostalgia» is the main communication technology of critics of «historical laws», actually a source of cultivation of opposition discourse and a successful political platform of pro-Russian candidates and parties in Ukraine. According to a poll conducted by the Rating Group, 43% of Ukrainians are nostalgic for the USSR (Ukrayinska Pravda / Ukrainska pravda, July 29, 2019). The main topics of broadcasting in the model of «nostalgia» are «*great social stratification and unlimited arrogance of the so-called elite*», «*subsistence minimum, free education*», «*and social protection*», etc. Among the common techniques, used within this model, we find a communicative scheme such as «argue / persuade / persuade / discuss not with opponents, but with him». Despite such mental and political ambivalence, in the substantive argumentation of the analyzed discourse, the vast majority of materials are presented, nevertheless, in the model of «progress– tradition», where the analysis of the results of the process of decommunization in the symbolic space helps to clear the Ukrainian mental space. The main argumentative resource of this model of communication is: the European integration vector. It embedded in the thesis: «*Ukraine is returning to the European family*», «*farewell to the Russian and Soviet empire*», and «*Ukraine is a European visa-free space*»; the debunking of Soviet myths, when the opening of the archives made it possible to introduce into the information space new testimonies of the crimes of the Soviet imperial authorities, for example, «*the opening of the NKVD-KGB archives: Ukrainians need to know the truth*», «*open archives provided the returned names of repressed relatives*». Acquaintance with «history on the ground», represents the segment of analytical and research work of local lore, the public and journalists on restoration of historical toponymics. Primarily, journalistic communication is aimed at dialogue and represents the meaningful concept of «responsible memory» within this model.

IV. Conclusions

Thus, in the contemporary public plane of the Ukrainian information space the discourse of «decommunization» has an ambivalent influence on the construction of public opinion. Political manipulations in the Ukrainian symbolic space do not encourage the process of consolidation in its purification, but contribute to the parallel coexistence of different types of historical consciousness of the population such as ethnic, national, and social. Nevertheless, the decommunization of national toponymy is an integral part of the democratization of the political, social, and economic life of the country. Therefore it remains a strategic issue of nation building. The role of the Media in these processes is the formation of conventional communication relations in society, the implementation of the content of the package of «decommunization laws», the thematic filling of discourse in the field of his national interests. Systematic monitoring and constructive argumentation in the media are important resources for the formation of the newest qualitative discourse of Ukrainian historical memory, a means of combating its destructive manifestations. Its perspectives in the context of social communication theory are in further researches.

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Хітрова Т. В. «Децентралізація історії» як контрдискурс «декомунізації» в сучасному інформаційному просторі України.

У статті досліджено основний зміст і сучасні комунікаційні моделі репрезентації дискурсу / контрдискурсу «декомунізації» в інформаційному просторі України. Теоретичним підґрунтям наукового осмислення інформаційного змісту «декомунізації» в сучасному масмедійному дискурсі є не лише новітня практика його експлікацій у ЗМІ, а й проблема відповідальності та компенсаторності «пам'яті». Політичні маніпуляції в українському символічному просторі не спонукають до процесу консолідації в його очищенні, а сприяють паралельному співіснуванню різних типів історичної свідомості населення (етнонаціональної й соціальної).

У сучасному комунікаційному просторі України, у зв'язку зі зміною політичної еліти та основних пріоритетних напрямів державної інформаційної політики, у медіа відстежується ефект так званої «нормалізації» дискурсу «історичної пам'яті», що зумовлено переходом від національно-культурного до соціального-гуманітарного вектора конструювання дійсності в межах державної програми. У практичній медійній діяльності цей процес характеризується формуванням самостійного дискурс-потoku регіональних еліт – «децентралізація історії», з використанням стратегій топонімічного оскарження декомунізованих назв та функціонуванням прихованих дискурсів перейменування. «Децентралізація історії» в регіональних моделях комунікації, насправді, є сучасною формою існування контрдискурсу «декомунізації» й найбільше присутня в інформаційному просторі Південних та Східних регіонів України. Зміст маркованих матеріалів здебільшого присвячений критиці перейменувань, спробам повернення старої назви чи подвійній зміні назви, топонімічному оскарженню, відсутності історичної / культурної / соціальної та іншої співвіднесеності назви та регіону, невідповідності історії / героїки регіону ухваленим новим назвам його топонімічних об'єктів, декомунізації загалом.

Ключові слова: комунікація, декомунізація, дискурс, ідентичність, інформаційний простір, історична пам'ять, медіа.