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REGIONAL HISTORICAL IDENTITIES IN UKRAINE: CASE STUDY OF LVIV AND DONETSK *

This article analyses variations in historical identities found on a regional level in Lviv and Donetsk. It focuses on analysis of major constituent elements of historical identity such as holidays (state-designed and local), historical personalities, main periods/events and the image(s) of Other(s) and the degree of identity variation in both regions. The author also provides a general overview and definition of such concepts as «historical identity» and «collective memory». Data for this study was obtained from examination of two regional newspapers Donetskiie Novosti (Donetsk) and Vysokyi Zamok (Lviv) for the 1998-2000 period and triangulation outcomes of newspaper analysis with available sociological surveys. These surveys included questions concerning different aspects of historical preferences of the inhabitants of regions under consideration.

Introduction

The problem of territorial integrity is of primary significance for new nation-states formed in the 20th century. Considering their political boundaries

as untouchable and objectively defined, the ruling elites often face lack of common national identity in their countries. Different historical legacies of particular regions and differences in collective memories are the chief factors of this issue.

* Ostop Sereda and Vitalii Talailo have collaborated with me on the various stages of this project.

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Since the influential study of Valerii Khmelko, which was conducted during the 1994 presidential and parliamentary elections [28, 17-18], most researchers have focused mainly on the correlation between linguistic practices and political opinions in different regions of Ukraine. Other scholars (Yaroslav Hrytsak) have partly amended this view stating that language/nationality indicator is less important determinant of mass attitudes than the region of living [13, 269]. In this paper I propose instead to focus on the historical identity as an important indicator of the cohesion/disintegration of the Ukrainians. As some scholars argue historical identities are interwoven with people's current political opinions and their vision of their society's future [10, 11, 15, 22]. Therefore analysis of historical identities dominant in Lviv and Donetsk regions might also shed some light on voters' current behavior and their political preferences.

To address above-described phenomena I formulated two broad initial questions:

- Are there any variations in historical identities to be discovered on a regional level in Ukraine?
- If yes, what are the major constituent elements and the degree of such variations?

Theoretical background

Although the concepts of collective and historical memory have been discussed by sociologists well before the Second World War [see, for example, discussion of the theoretical frameworks of the early 20th century French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in 6, 14], scholarly interest to the issues of memory and identity has visibly risen in recent decades with the development of more interdisciplinary fields and paradigms of research such as cultural anthropology [3, 12], new cultural history or cultural studies [4, 6, 11, 15, 18, 22], sociolinguistics [7, 20, 23], nationalism studies [2, 17, 24] or social psychology [5]. These new trends have been especially focused on the politically charged representations and/or identities and various cultural practices through which the former are conveyed. Therefore, the role of past and its representations have also become important field of scholarly inquiry.

The above-discussed disciplines use in their scholarly discourses a wide range of terms and concepts related to the processes of remembering and commemorations: «group/individual memory», «social memory», «collective memory», «public memory», «national memory», «oral history», «live history», «historical consciousness», «historical mentality», «remembering», «commemoration», «representation of the past» etc. But at the same time I

should notice that no single strand of theoretical or empirical literature encompassed the entirety of my research question. Most often the term «**memory**» is used to cover the whole variety of phenomena. As Alon Confino comments, «the notion of memory, more practiced than theorized, has been used to denote very different things, which nonetheless share a topical common denominator: the ways in which people construct a sense of the past». He argues that «we have to distinguish between memory as a heuristic device and memory as part of the mental equipment of a society, of an age. It is not always clear whether «memory» is used as an imposed methodological tool to analyze how a given society constructed the past» [4, 1386-1410]. Some other scholars are also struggling with the problem that the term «memory» is used for both lived experience (designated as «collective memory») and for representation of already «forgotten» past (designated as «historical memory»). Perhaps, the introduction of the concept of «**historical identity**» could help to overcome the problem. Also, while analyzing the relationship between historical memory and social identity, one may introduce the notion of «historical identity» in order to focus more precisely on how identification with particular historical figures or movements are instrumental in social self-identification and in creation of modern «imagined» communities.

«Historical identity» thus can be defined as a discursive product or structured set of relations between dominant paradigms of the understanding of history (a set of general opinions and attitudes on various past events or towards the past and historical process in general, imposed by ruling elite) and individuals' «personal» memory («more privatized sense of past that is generated within a lived culture» [3, 4]).

The introduction of the concept of «historical identity» alongside with that of «memory» allows us to differentiate between compassionate attitudes to historical figures/groups/events irrespectively of their time distance from the period of study, and a vision of the events that were experienced by the generation under study and/or recently transmitted to the next one. Consequently, historical identity should be studied on two main levels. The first one that can be defined as «history from above» consists of imposed attitudes towards past and historical process; the second one, which can be defined as «history from below» corresponds to historical memory maintained on a grass-roots level. Under «imposed historical identity» I understand a set of formulated opinions/views about «facts that took place» that are represented as «objective truth», aimed at influencing attitudes and judgements of various groups of receivers. One can name school/uni-

iversity historical education curricula, statements formulated by publicists and politicians of various orientations, and images of history presented in radio-, TV-programs or newspapers here. The grass-roots level memory consists of memories about particular historical events, as well as judgements and evaluations concerning history expressed by «average individuals». The grass-roots level historical memory can to a certain extent be influenced by the «official history» through mass media, political party ideologies and school education, but for research purposes I will keep these two levels of historical identity separate. First of all, people's attitudes towards history are also shaped by «unofficial» discussions in a family or between friends, as well as through influences from life-experiences, which at the same time might often be shared by the whole generation. Secondly, there are great structural differences between the imposed (propagated) historical identity and a grass-roots level memory. While the former represents a more or less systematized and homogenized pool that comes from a certain political ideology/ideologies or world-views, the latter is very often a pool of non-coordinated ideas and opinions. The construction of the historical identity is a highly selective activity rather than an «objective» rendering of «facts», when only certain facts or personages from the past are incorporated in the general discourse and become subject to acceptance and admiration, and the others are subjects to marginalization, exclusion and forgetting. Criteria for such selection processes usually are imposed by a nation's present-day situation and affected by the existing value-system, and the social, political and economic environment.

Selecting of the kinds of data

One may say that «historical identity» as a discursive structure can be conveyed and reproduced in all the usual socio-cultural ways - through socialization in the family and at school, and in particular through repeated exposure to images and texts in books, Internet, television and newspapers. In addition, every day Ukrainians confront a multitude of historical images and messages in television docudramas, paperback potboilers, newspapers, movies, museums, and historical houses, and even on restaurant placemats and sugar packets. Therefore, one can come up with a wide variety of potential sources for the exploration of above-mentioned phenomena.

The mass media belong to the important agency that can play significant role in expression and conveying of the «official» historical identity, since they belong to impersonal communication

sources that reach large audience and serve as important socialization agents. In addition, the media is an specially interesting and challenging site where dominant discourses are embedded. As Norman Fairclough argues, media discourse is able to exercise a pervasive and powerful influence in the production of social meaning because of the very scale of the modern mass media and «extremely high level of exposure of whole population to a relatively homogeneous output» [9, 54]. Taking into consideration all above-mentioned reasons I decided to limit comparison of historical identities in Lviv and Donetsk regions only to the analysis of regional newspapers (as the sociological survey conducted by the Politological center «Henezza» in 1996, «State of Ukrainian society on the eve of the 1998-1999 elections» [27], demonstrated 40 % of the respondents in Donetsk and 26 % of the respondents in Lviv gain their knowledge about history primary from the newspapers) - «Donetskiie Novosti», Donetsk, and «Vysokyi Zamok», Lviv for the period of 1998-2000.

A wide spectrum of newspapers that present different political opinions, sometimes extremely radical (although shared by a very small part of population), can be found in both regions. To avoid being misled by such polarization of views, I decided to focus on the newspapers most widely read in these respective regions. I limited my analysis to only two newspapers to keep the data within manageable boundaries. I chose to analyze all historical articles (describing particular events, personalities, periods), as well as articles devoted to the celebration of the certain state-defined or local holidays.

Since *Vysokyi Zamok* is issued several times per week and *Donetskiie Novosti* on a weekly basis I was not comparing them according to the quantity of articles found in each newspaper. Instead, I analyzed which historical periods, events or personalities were in focus in each newspaper, and the general discourse used for the description of these historical periods, events or personalities there. I also computed a share of certain «themes» in a total number of cases - for *Vysokyi Zamok* and *Donetskiie Novosti* separately.

Methods

Textual analysis strategy will be employed in this research. The use of this strategy often entails a specialized approach called content analysis. I have decided to use content analysis because this method «claims to offer an 'objective', 'systematic' and 'quantitative' analysis of documentary content» [1, 21]. Thus I wanted to examine how major elements or categories of historical identity are present and communicated by both newspapers

as well as to compare frequencies of such categories. However, content analysis does not allow researchers to uncover variability in the construction of different texts, to compare such variability and to assess the functions this variation is accomplishing. Nor does it take into account motives for the reproduction of specific themes or/and context in which these themes were reproduced. It also fragments and decontextualizes data [1, 29].

Therefore, I will include some elements of a discourse analysis, which alerts us to the intimate connections between meaning, power and knowledge. Following Fairclough's scheme I will try to focus on analysis of the social practice of which discourse is a part [8, 231]. Thus, I expected that triangulation of both methods should provide possibilities for comparing and validating findings obtained with the help of either content or discourse analysis and for approaching data from different angles.

The press analysis

Lviv and Donetsk are often seen as the centers of Ukrainian nationalism and communism respectively. The differences of historical opinions in the nationalist and Communist press is quite obvious, therefore I have chosen for my analysis two newspapers that do not represent either of these ideologies. Both (*Vysokyi Zamok* and *Donetskiie Novosti*) may be defined in the current political lexicon as «centrist-reformist», and both supported the current President against the Communist Symonenko in the 1999 presidential elections.

On the basis of these newspapers' articles I tried to reconstruct the following aspects of historical identity:

- 1) holidays (state-designed and local)
- 2) personalities
- 3) main periods, events

Holidays

One of the most important elements of the popular historical identity is the celebration of national holidays - either state-defined or locally recognized. Such a «national» calendar symbolizes the distinctiveness and uniqueness of the nation. It should be noted that celebration of national holidays unifies only the members of the group and sets them apart from the others. The function of the national holidays is to sustain the invisible inter-group boundary and to encode differences between the ethnic/national groups.

My first step in the analysis of newspapers was to find out which holidays are perceived as «national» or important for the group identity and celebrated in each region.

For the sake of analysis one may divide historical holidays described in *Donetskiie Novosti* and

Vysokyi Zamok into the three main groups: old Soviet, traditional Ukrainian and new Ukrainian.

It should be noted that the discourse used by *Vysokyi Zamok* and *Donetskiie Novosti* for describing celebrations of the old Soviet holidays such as Red Army Day, Women's Day, May 1st, Victory Day, November 7th differs radically. The Red Army and Women's days were not even mentioned by *Vysokyi Zamok*, while May Day and Revolution Day were described as turbulent events provoking conflict in society («Due to foreign revolution rights and lefts fought again», «celebration of another anniversary of the October overturn in Petrograd was marked by conflict again», «rights scanned: "Communists to the court!"», «5th column get away from Ukraine!» [30.- 1998.- 10 November, 1.- P. 5], Communists in their turn declared that Lviv is «the center of national-fascism» [29.- 1998.- № 43.- P. 5; 1999.-№ 45.- P. 3, 5]).

The Victory Day was the only post-Soviet holiday semi-accepted by the *Vysokyi Zamok* («The Victory day is, first of all, a holiday for those who survived this terrible war»). Since it was the only Soviet holiday, which had at least some connection (although ambivalent) to the historical memories of Lviv region inhabitants. However, the articles devoted by *Vysokyi Zamok* to this holiday, usually describe the acts of vandalism on the Soviet soldiers cemetery (what might be interpreted as of people's strategy of protest against the celebration of the Victory Day even in such an abstemious forms) or trying to deconstruct a myth about the great Soviet victory instead of describing celebrations. The article «Even Stalin did not celebrate the Victory Day» is calling the USSR's victory a «Pyrrhic Victory», arguing that the losses of the Soviet Union were incomparable to losses of Germany [30.-1999.-20April.-P. 1].

For *Donetskiie Novosti*, on the contrary, Victory Day is the most celebrated holiday - more than 31 articles (or 21 % all historical articles) were devoted to this event. According to an opinion poll conducted by the newspaper, Victory Day is defined by the respondents of various age groups (including youth) as «the brightest and most cheerful», «holy», as one that was «always celebrated in the family» and «could not be abolished» [29.- 1998.- № 18.- P. 3]. One young respondent said that «there are only two important holidays in my life - birthday and Victory Day» [29.- 1998.- № 18.- P. 3]. In addition one can notice that the articles in *Donetskiie Novosti* devoted to Victory Day employ discourse that is very much focused on sustaining nostalgic feelings about the former Soviet Union [29. - 1998. - № 8. - P. 3; see also 60. - 1998.- № 18. - P. 9]. *Donetskiie Novosti* also publishes veterans' memories, which often describe horrors

of the Nazis and «hench-men that joined them» in the Donbass region, and how «ours came» later and «all these horrors of occupation finished» [29. - 2000. - № 19. - P. 3; 1999. - № 18. - P. 1, 3, 7; 1999. - № 27. - P. 5; 1998. - № 17. - P. 9; 1998. - № 34. - P. 18]. On the other hand, *Vysokyi Zamok* publishes critical article about the coming of Soviet troops to Lviv in 1944 entitled «Liberators or occupiers?» [30. - 1999. - 27 July. P. 1, 5].

The Red Army Day and May 1st, which possessed an important place in the Soviet calendar of commemorations, are also still celebrated on a state level (although Red Army Day was renamed) and especially in Donbass. In addition, February 23rd was for journalists from *Donetskiie Novosti* another holiday when veterans of the World War II are greeted [29. - 1998. - № 8. - P. 3].

The article from *Donetskiie Novosti* entitled «We missed it for the last 7 years» continues the theme of the restoration of old Soviet holidays in the Donbass region. In 1999 Donetsk oblast authorities reintroduced the First of May official demonstrations, which were abandoned as an element of the Soviet legacy after Ukraine's independence. «The people accepted their initiative with the nostalgic feeling of deep satisfaction» [29. - 1999. - № 18. - P. 7]. Thousands of Donetsk inhabitants came to Lenin Square to greet the representatives of each district of Donetsk who proudly marched in columns with flags and balloons. Many small children got especially excited. «People who came to the holiday were very satisfied and this proves once more that not everything was bad in our Soviet past and we should not reject it» [29. - 1999. - № 18. - P. 7]. There were two more extremely enthusiastic and nostalgic articles devoted to the First of May published in *Donetskiie Novosti* in 1999 and 2000.

The only Soviet holiday described by the *Donetskiie Novosti* in negative terms was Revolution Day. The article «Revolution of November 7th did not happened in Donetsk» criticised demonstration organized by the Communists and opposed them to young supporters of Kuchma [29. - 1999. - № 45. - P. 3].

Traditional Ukrainian holidays are also presented differently in *Donetskiie Novosti* and *Vysokyi Zamok*. *Vysokyi Zamok* describes the celebrations of nine holidays devoted to Ukrainian history and culture that were reanimated after 1991: Mother's day [as an alternative to «Soviet» March 8th], Ivana Kupala, UNR Day, *Zluka* Day, Kruty commemoration, Shevchenko birthday celebration, ZUNR Day, June 30 Day, Franko commemoration. UNR, *Zluka*, Kruty, ZUNR and June 30th are described in *Vysokyi Zamok* as holidays that give us examples of «heroism and devotion», as lessons

«of courtesy» and «of high national spirit, its aspiration for independence and sacrificial willingness to follow this way till the end», as «immortal symbol of Ukrainians' aspirations for their statehood». The *Zluka* holiday was also used as an argument for a deconstruction of the Soviet myth about the great role played by the Soviet Union in the unification of West Ukrainian territories with the rest of Ukraine. The author of the article «The holiday of our maturity» argues: «Till recent times the official historiography tried to convince us that we should consider the unification of Ukrainian lands from September 17, 1939. But in reality it happened in this way...» [30. - 1998. - 21 January. - P. 1]. At the same time none of these events was even mentioned by the *Donetskiie Novosti* with the exception of the Shevchenko celebration which was followed by the critical article «The theatre of patriotism in front of Shevchenko monument» [29. - 1999. - № 10. - P. 1].

The last category encompasses those holidays that were invented after Ukraine's independence (e. g. Independence Day or the Day of the Ukrainian Constitution). Several articles were devoted to these events in *Vysokyi Zamok*.

One can say that newly constructed commemorations are successful when they are accepted by the majority of the population and included in their representations of the past. But new commemorations might fail to convince and unite people, when members of society become aware of their fabricated character. Such awareness may lead to doubts about the appropriateness and validity of their commemoration of the past. One can find examples of such rejection of the Independence Day in *Donetskiie Novosti* [29. - 1999. - № 32. - P. 5].

According to opinion poll conducted by *Donetskiie Novosti* the respondents' attitude (who were young people mainly) to Independence Day was the following: «several years ago Ukraine separated and became independent, but people lived better when it was a part of the Soviet Union» or «it is indifferent to me whether I am living in independent state or not». And only one respondent declared that «we needed independence as much as we need air to breath» [29. - 1999. - № 33. - P. 3].

Even though the purpose of calendarical change and commemorative revision in Ukraine was to try to forge a new, single, shared vision of the past, they nonetheless emerge as sites of discussion [25, 166]. The Donetsk and Lviv regions still do not have a single vision of common past shared in both regions. There exists a clear-cut discord not only about the holidays that are celebrated in Lviv and Donetsk, but also in narratives describing them. While traditional and new Ukrainian holidays are

described in positive terms, and occupy a central place in the historical calendar in Lviv, post-Soviet holidays are predominantly accepted and celebrated in Donetsk. Furthermore, in both newspapers holidays and commemorations are increasingly tied to regional experiences and historical memories. Such an attitude in *Vysokyi Zamok* and *Donetskiie Novosti* is encouraging differences in political orientation rather than eliminating them. Thus, celebration of different holidays in Lviv or Donetsk regions creates a sense of belonging, commonality, and mutual obligation among the inhabitants of those regions and separates them from those, who do not share the same experiences of commemoration. The calendar reform in Ukraine, which was aimed at creation of inclusive commemorations, in reality provided a window to diverse visions of national past and different political allegiances [25, 166].

Personalities

Every nation constructs a narration about its «own history» that consists primarily of descriptions of certain events and «national heroes». Any construction of the national past is a result of a highly selective process, when only certain facts or personages from a past become subjects of acceptance or admiration. Criteria for such selection processes are usually imposed by the nation's present-day situation and affected by the existing value-system, and the social, political and economic environment.

With the collapse of the communist regime in East-Central Europe Ukrainian society went through the process of demolishing the communist ideology and the reformulation of their national identity. Simultaneously historical figures that were considered as «bourgeois» or «aristocratic» and therefore inimical to socialism have been and are being rehabilitated and reinvented. Choosing certain personalities from the «available» list of personalities Ukrainian historians, journalists, as well as the whole society at large are trying to establish continuity with a suitable model of the historical past. One can attempt to sketch the model of a suitable historical past that is preferred by the inhabitants of the Lviv or Donetsk region by analyzing a list of Ukrainian historical and cultural personalities addressed by the regional newspapers.

For the sake of analysis one may divide all historical personalities described in *Donetskiie Novosti* or *Vysokyi Zamok* into 4 categories: Ukrainian, Soviet, Russian, and of other nationalities. As it turns out *Vysokyi Zamok* published 39 articles devoted to the Ukrainian historical or cultural personalities (72 % of all articles devoted to personalities), 7 articles about European personalities, 6

articles about Soviet personalities, and 2 articles - about Russian personalities. In *Donetskiie Novosti* were found 14 articles devoted to the Soviet personalities (58 % of all articles devoted to personalities), 6 - about Ukrainian, 3 - about Russian and 1 - about European personalities. Already at this stage of the analysis one can notice that the share of articles devoted to Soviet and/or to Ukrainian personalities differs greatly in both newspapers.

As the next step I compared the main historical personages described in historical narrations in both newspapers and the discourse used by them to characterize those people. In *Donetskiie Novosti* I found articles devoted to Pasha Angelina (a famous female-hero of socialist work), Lenin, Chapaiev and Makhno, but the majority of the narrations were describing heroic deeds of Soviet soldiers from the World War II. *Vysokyi Zamok* in its turn focused on heroic deeds of Cossacks, Ukrainian National Republic (UNR)/ West-Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR) activists, Kruty heroes and Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)/ Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) soldiers as well as on life stories of famous Galician families, describing them in positive terms.

At the same time *Vysokyi Zamok* published several articles devoted to such personages from Russian or Soviet history as Nicholas I and Nicholas II, Stalin and Khrushchov, but these articles had either neutral-informative or a critical character. Therefore one can not place them in the same range with the articles glorifying national heroes.

It appears that heroes and topics from the Soviet history play the same role in Donetsk as heroes and topics from Ukrainian national revival movement do in Lviv. If *Vysokyi Zamok* is rehabilitating and reinventing national heroes from the «Ukrainian model» of the past and tries to establish continuity with an «interrupted-by-the-Soviet-intervention» historical past, at the same time *Donetskiie Novosti* is instead supporting the so called «Soviet model» (or as some authors argue the «dual identity model» [26]) of the historical past which supports the key Soviet myths and heroes, but at the same time is gradually incorporating Ukrainian ones (although selectively).

As one can see, historical personalities also belong to a contested terrain. One can hardly find a figure which would be similarly described in the narratives of both newspapers and which would be able to unite both regions. Despite the public belief that historical personalities and national heroes should be a force for national unity, in Ukraine, a country with a weak sense of national unity, strong regional grievances, and an ethnically diverse population, they more often become flashpoints for disunity.

Main periods, events

In the previous section I illustrated which personalities were selected by *Vysokyi Zamok* and *Donetskiie Novosti* for the establishment of the continuity of the historical past and elaboration of the suitable model of each group's «own history». The same social mechanisms are involved in the process of the selection of historical periods and events; since the historical past and historical «facts» are subjects to people's evaluation and preference. It appears that the attention of group members is usually focused on periods, facts and processes that according to their opinion are articulating especially important values, which are related to the present time either by cause-and-effect relations or by analogy, and can be used as arguments for the legitimization of existing social institutions and agencies.

Tables 1 and 2 demonstrate the number of articles (for the 1998, 1999, 2000 and total) devoted by *Donetskiie Novosti* and *Vysokyi Zamok* to certain historical periods. The last column illustrates the share (in %) of the articles addressing selected historical periods in the total number of historical articles published.

As one can see, in *Donetskiie Novosti* emphasis is placed on the 20th century history - 81 % of the articles are devoted to this period, and more than half of them - to World War II. At the same time in *Vysokyi Zamok* all periods are represented more evenly and much less attention is paid to World War II. The major accent in *Vysokyi Zamok* is on 19th century history, the period when Western Ukraine belonged to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, that was often idealized by the authors of the articles. The first half of the 20th century (pre-Soviet history, when Lviv was a part of Polish Republic) is in the second place in *Vysokyi Zamok*. In *Vysokyi Zamok* stories devoted to both 19 century and the beginning of the 20th century are clearly opposed to the articles devoted to the period of the Soviet rule, portrayed as the period of occupation and Russification of West Ukrainian territories, which was accompanied by the terror, resettlement of thousands of Ukrainians to Siberia and many other traumatic experiences. Often two periods (19th century or the first half of the 20th century and the period of Soviet rule) are opposed in the same article to make the contrast even sharper.

As one can see, authors of newspaper articles in the West (*Vysokyi Zamok*) try to make a historical rupture with the Soviet past in order to weaken ties with the discredited cultural and political heritage of the Soviet Union and encourage the «revival» of some elements of national (often pre-Soviet) historical past as well as stress new post-Soviet ex-

periences. At the same time authors of newspaper articles in *Donetskiie Novosti* as well as respondents in Eastern regions select and signify those events from their past, which belong to the Soviet past and pay less attention to the elements (events, personalities, epochs) of Ukrainian national representation of the past.

The reconstruction of the three main aspects of historical identity (such as holidays, personalities, main period/events) on the basis of regional newspapers demonstrates that the institutionalization of the historical memory is tailored to regional experiences. Regionally based historical identities and localized historical experiences are most entirely represented during commemorations that reflect differences in political and national orientations of Lviv and Donetsk region inhabitants.

Table 1. Number of articles devoted by *Donetskiie Novosti* and *Vysokyi Zamok* to certain historical periods

«Donetskiie Novosti»	1998	1999	2000	Total number	Total share %
...- 14th cent. (Rus' principalities)	-	-	-	0	0
15th - 18th cent. (Cossacks)	1	1	2	4	3
19th cent.	4	4	2	10	7
first half of 20th cent.	8	11	9	28	19
World War II	21	22	25	68	46
second half of 20th cent.	4	13	7	24	16
other articles	6	3	4	13	9

Table 2. Number of articles devoted by *Donetskiie Novosti* and *Vysokyi Zamok* to certain historical periods

«Vysokyi Zamok»	1998	1999	2000	Total number	Total share %
...- 14th cent. (Rus' principalities)	10	2	7	19	6.5
15th-18th cent. (Cossacks)	13	12	15	30	10
19th cent.	19	22	21	62	21
first half of 20th cent.:	10	5	8	23	8
- fight for independence 1917-21	21	23	20	64	22
- other events					
World War II / OUN-UPA	9	10	7	26	9
second half of 20th cent.	26	11	19	56	19
other articles	10	0	2	12	4.5

Conclusions

One can conclude that the results of nation-forging processes in Ukraine seem to be not so successful as it appeared at the first look after the referendum voting and the 1999 presidential elections. The Donetsk and Lviv regions still do not have a single vision of common past shared in both regions. There exists a clear-cut discord not only about the holidays celebrated in Lviv and Donetsk, about personalities respected as national heroes and events recognized as important for the history of Ukraine, but also in narratives and discourses describing them. While traditional and new Ukrainian holidays, personalities and events from pre-Soviet Ukrainian narrative of national history are described in positive terms, and occupy a central place in the calendrical celebrations and historical memories in Lviv; the Soviet historical figures and events still occupy a central place in historical narratives in Donetsk and holidays from Soviet times (or their post-Soviet modifications) are predominantly accepted and celebrated there. Furthermore, in both newspapers articles devoted to

historical events, holidays and commemorations are increasingly tied to regional experiences and historical memories. As Wanner notes «When a group of people assume they hold certain memories in common because of shared experiences, this provides the underpinning that gives an imagined national community an existential reality» [25, 166]. Therefore, one can say, that since the notions of the common past and historical identity still differ greatly in both regions, it also might have an impact on people's current political preferences or their visions of Ukraine's future.

Notwithstanding all regional differences, the political unity of Ukraine will most likely be preserved due to the complex set of reasons that cannot be discussed in details here. The strong inner debate and discord may become acute, however, if the country is faced with having to move decisively in a European or Russian direction. The stubborn differences in historical and political opinions will remain then the main obstacle for elaborating and implementing clear and coherent domestic and foreign policy.

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РЕГІОНАЛЬНІ ІСТОРИЧНІ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ В УКРАЇНІ: ПРИКЛАД ЛЬВОВА ТА ДОНЕЦЬКА

У статті досліджуються особливості та відмінності історичної ідентичності, наявні на регіональному рівні у Львові та Донецьку. Авторка зосереджується на аналізі ключових складових елементів історичної ідентичності: святах (національних та локальних), важливих (для мешканців кожного регіону) історичних персоналіях, історичних періодах та датах, образі(ах) чужого(их), а також на тому, наскільки вони відрізняються у кожному з регіонів. Дослідниця також: визначає термінологічне поле та робить теоретичний огляд концепцій «історичної ідентичності» та «колективної пам'яті». Стаття базується на дискурс- та контент-аналізі двох регіональних газет - «Донецкие Новости» (Донецьк) та «Високий Замок» (Львів) за 1998-2000 рр. Результати аналізу періодичних видань триангулюються з доступними авторці матеріалами соціологічних опитувань, що включали запитання щодо деяких аспектів історичної ідентичності мешканців Львова та Донецька.