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POLITICAL CULTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES IN CONTEXT OF CITIZENSHIP PHENOMENON

The article examines political culture of the democratic society according to the peculiarities of the citizenship and voting rights for non-nationals and citizens of European Union.

Keywords: political culture, citizenship, voting rights, European Union.

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MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF THE DEPORTATION OF THE CRIMEAN TATARS OF 1944: POLITICAL STRUGGLE OVER MEANING

The article examines media representations of the Crimean Tatars' deportation of 1944 in the national (Ukrainian) and Crimean media. The findings demonstrate the competition between the two dominant historical meta-narratives (Ukrainian national-democratic and post-Soviet) and the prevalence of the utilization of politically neutral terms, which omit responsibility or refer to tragic character of this historical event, hindering the detailed public discussion of its nature and consequences.

Keywords: deportation, media discourse, collective memory, the Crimean Tatars.

Introduction

The collective memory of the Second World War remains among the most disputed periods in the Ukrainian history. For the population which

shares post-Soviet sentiments it is remembered as a patriotic struggle with the Nazi invaders followed by a heroic victory of the Soviet people. But for many – memory of the War also embraces massive repressions conducted by the Stalin's regime

against a number of small ethnic minority groups of the USSR. Each year on May 18 Ukraine officially commemorates the victims of the Soviet totalitarianism, but for the Crimean Tatars it is a day to remember the violent deportation, which took place on May 18, 1944, a few months after the Red Army has liberated the Crimean peninsula from the German troops.

The central argument of the current study is that for the Crimean Tatar people the 18th of May is not only a possibility to bring forward the tragic memory of deportation, but it has significant implication on the nowadays political dispute over the current status and rights of this ethnic minority group after their return to the Crimean peninsula from deportation. In this context the discursive struggle over the meaning of the term “deportation” used in the media, bears ultimate significance for the imposing of the respective ideological frameworks on the political elites, decision-makers and the Ukrainian society in general.

Corpus of media data

Current study is based on the analysis of the corpus of the media texts of the mainstream national and Crimean media during the period of 6 years 2007–2012. The timeframe which has been chosen for analysis involves all deportation-related media materials dated between May 15 and 20 each year, in order to embrace the media coverage of the commemoration practices and political discussions related to the May 18. As a result of data collection process, the massive of 184 media texts from the national media and 167 media materials from regional Crimean media has been obtained. Among the national media, which cover the topic of deportation of the Crimean Tatars most regularly are the following: newspapers – “Den”, “Ukraina moloda”, “Dzerkalo tyzhnia”, “Kommersant Ukraina”, “Rabochaya gazeta”, “Uriadovy kurrier”, TV channels – “Inter”, “5 kanal”, “1+1”, “TRK Ukraina”, internet media – “Ukrainska Pravda”, “Korrespondent” and UNIAN information agency.

The set of the Crimean media includes newspapers “Krymskaya Pravda”, “Krymskaya Gazeta”, “Krymskiye Izvestiya”, “Pervaya Krymskaya”, “Krymskiy Telegraph”; information agencies “E-Krym” and “Crimean information agency”.

Theoretical framework

Theoretical framework used in this analysis lies at the intersection of the media and memory studies. The subject of the current study is not the history of

deportation, but the discursive practices of media representations of the history, examined within a given historical meta-narrative. Meta-narrative here means discursively constructed set (or a number of sets) of ideas and judgments about the past within the given society [5].

Motti Neigel [16] argues that the process of shaping the collective memories of the past happens in the process of construction and selection of the historical events. Scholar claims that in the process of *construction* the main goal is to provide a product (a news item or a commemoration ritual) for the society to utilize within the given political and cultural context, while the actual authenticity of the historical facts is of the secondary importance. The process of *selection* happens in similar way, when due to the present day purpose certain events are emphasized and others are concealed. The nature of both processes is ideological and often serves the political needs of nations.

Current research shares critical view of the role of media in representing history [14; 16; 18]. Generally speaking, the analysis of historical meta-narratives is no longer possible without embracing of the analysis of the representation of history in the media discourse. The mass media in the democratic societies are still a public space for competition between the different social interests and versions of the historical meta-narratives. Under these circumstances, the media possess their own sense of agency: from one hand they provide a space for discussion of the competing versions of the past, but from another – they are the actors themselves, often imposing their own ideological and political affiliations on their audiences [18].

Taking on board the fundamental “mediated” nature of the collective memory, we argue that it makes sense to study the collective memories of deportation and their impact on the construction of the Crimean Tatars national identity through the analysis of the media representations of this historical event.

Struggle over meaning of the status of the Crimean Tatars in the World War II: “collaborators” or “victims of totalitarian regime”?

Deportation of the Crimean Tatars – as an integral part of the broader collective memory of the World War II – belongs to the highly disputed memories of the 20th century and is being actively discussed both in public and media discourses of the contemporary Ukraine. The Crimean Tatar political leadership and representatives of the Ukrainian na-

tional democratic political elite frame the deportation in terms of Stalin's repressions against the Crimean Tatars and other small ethnic groups of the USSR; the terms like "genocide" and "crime against humanity" are being used to define the nature and the scope of the mass violence. At the same time, bearers of the post-Soviet, pan Slavic sentiments publicly justify deportation by accusing Crimean Tatars in treachery against Soviet state by collaborating with the Nazis. The ethnically-driven term "narod-collaborationist" ("the traitor-nation") is used to refer to the Crimean Tatars and to deny their right to return to their lost homeland as well of the right for political rehabilitation. Moreover, Petro Symonenko, leader of the Ukrainian Communist Party called deportation a salvation act for the Crimean Tatars: "They [The Crimean Tatars] have turned to Hitler and gave an oath... they ruined the basis of the partisan movement in the Crimea... they guarded the concentration camps». "In order to save the Crimean Tatar people the dislocation act has been conducted. Why? Because these crimes would inevitably lead to civil war" [11].

Pierre Nora [10] argues that conflicts over the memory happen in the post colonial societies, where the memories of the oppressed groups have been excluded from the "official" memory for a long time. In our case, during the Soviet period the forcibly displaced Crimean Tatars living in Central Asian countries have been deprived of their right for ethnic self-determination during the Soviet times, their memory of unfair accusation of treachery and unfair deportation had been completely silenced. In addition to that, based on these accusations they were denied the right to return to their homeland.

After Ukraine's independence the Crimean Tatars started to return en masse to the Crimea and put forward a demand for incorporation of their national version of the memory of deportation into the new memory of the Ukrainian democratic state, as well as for the respective reconsideration of the "official", Soviet history of this period.

As the dispute over the meaning and the reasons of deportation unfolds in the Ukrainian public discourse, the Crimean Tatar national minority media, historians and public figures use the personal memoirs of the survivors of deportation as a counter-argument to construct an alternative memory on the Second World War, its real face and consequences for the small ethnic groups in the USSR. The personal recollections of deportation, published in the Crimean mainstream media not only show the inhumane conditions of the forced deportation, but are also aimed at stressing the unfairness of the accusations.

Meaning of deportation: "genocide" or "resettlement"?

The definition of deportation's nature and character is an important part both of its media representation and implications on politics around it. Use of particular wording to describe this historical event, the choice of synonyms informs political context of the discussion and reflects ideological stance of the author [20].

In general, there is no single conventional way to define the term "deportation" (in the relation to the Crimean Tatars' deportation of 1944) in the Ukrainian media. Both journalists of the national and regional media, as well as the speakers, whose quotes are reported by the media use various strategies to define this historical event.

The analysis of the media representations of deportation at the level of the national media has revealed the following characteristic features.

Certain media utilize terms as synonyms to the word "deportation", which refer to the large scale violence and imply criminal responsibility, like: "Act of crime without time limits", "Crime against humanity" [9].

From the other hand, when the term "genocide" in referral to the deportation is used in the media, its legal meaning is barely discussed. The general convention of the Ukrainian media is to report the Crimean Tatars' call to recognize the deportation the "genocide" as one of the central political demands of the Crimean Tatars, but to avoid this wording in other contexts, which require more details.

In the meantime, the majority of the national mainstream media use comparatively general terms, which do not imply any political responsibility like: "wandering" or the ones, which imply only idea of forcible displacement for an unspecified reason: "Forcible resettlement from homes" [13], or the ones expressing grief and mourning: "one of the hardest episodes in history of the Crimean Tatar people" [13], "tragedy" [2].

Also these terms lack ethnic markers and can be applied to any social group of people, while the historians prove the deportations of 1944 has a clear ethnic marker and has been targeted solely against the small ethnic groups of the Crimean peninsula.

Annual commemoration statements of the President of Ukraine, reported by both national and regional media, are an important part of the public discourse on deportation. However, these statements of President Viktor Yushchenko and later of Viktor Yanukovich, issued annually on May 18, omit using the term "genocide" and often do not refer specifically to the Crimean Tatars, including

them into a larger group of “victims of Stalin’s totalitarian regime”: “The Ukrainians who have lived through Holodomor, deportation to Syberia, deeply mourn together with the Crimean Tatars and all nationalities, which have been deported from the Crimea. The memories of that cruel times – is a common memory of our nation. You pain – is our common pain” [7].

Moving further to the analysis of the Crimean mainstream media and their representation of the deportation, it should be stated that population of the Southern regions of Ukraine and Crimea share predominantly Post-Soviet or Pan-Slavic historical meta-narratives: around 60 % of the population of this region believes that the history of Ukraine is an integral part of the common history of the great Slavic people together with the history of Russia and Belarus [15]. As a result, the dominant historical meta-narrative of the Crimea leaves a marginal place for the Crimean Tatars’ history and provides little or no historical legitimation for their historical ties with the Crimean land. As a result, the alternative historical narrative is being constructed by the Crimean Tatar community of the Crimea, which is aimed at restoration of historical justice and promotion of the forcibly silenced memory of deportation of 1944 in their own national version of it.

Greta Uehling, argues that views of the past of the Russian Slavic majority and the Crimean Tatar community compete in the public sphere, each one trying to impose its own interpretation of the historical events [19].

Crimean politicians, reported by the local media, also tend to avoid the use of the term “genocide” in their public rhetoric. Instead, they use terms which generally refer to mourning, grief and collective pain, but not to political responsibility and historical injustice, or omit any specific definitions: “Deportation... is a tragedy of millions. It is our common pain, it is thousands of devastated lives of people” [1].

Pro-Russian non-government organization “Union of left forces” also joined public discussion on this matter strongly opposing the use of both terms “genocide” and “deportation”. The quotation of the group’s leader Baranov is reported, as follows: “Nobody from leaders of mejlis-kurultay not one state

institution have proved a single fact, which meet the definition of the international legal term genocide, which could have taken place in the Crimea during the resettlement” [12]. Using the term “resettlement” (“vyselenije”) rather than “deportation” deliberately, Crimean pro-Russian NGO not only discursively shifts the nature of this historical act committed against the ethnic group, but also aims to deprive the Crimean Tatars of the wide range of commemoration practices and political demands grounded in the memory of this act of mass violence.

In general the use of terms like “eviction”, “forced removal”, and even more neutral “relocation” instead of “deportation” could be considered one of the characteristic features of Crimean media representation of this historical events during all 6 years under analysis.

Conclusions

The collective memory of deportation of the Crimean Tatars remains marginal for the Ukrainian society and is not a priority topic for the national and Crimean media. Within the general framework of the two competing historical meta-narratives (Ukrainian national-democratic and post-Soviet), the most commonly used terms to characterize the deportation of 1944 include rather politically neutral terms, which aim to omit the actual public discussion of the real scope and historical consequences of deportation for the Crimean Tatar people. In this context, Crimean Tatar community has been promoting an alternative discourse of deportation, which involves personal recollections of the mass violence.

For the Crimean Tatar community today the struggle over the meaning of deportation has become a struggle over the right to political influence, social, cultural and economic benefits. In other words, the dominant ideological meaning of the word “deportation”, which it conveys to the Ukrainian public and decision-makers, directly informs the way in which the public policy towards the Crimean Tatars is shaped as well as the way, in which this ethnic group is treated in the Crimea and in the Ukrainian society in general.

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Безверха А. О.

МЕДІЙНІ ПРЕДСТАВЛЕННЯ ДЕПОРТАЦІЇ КРИМСЬКОТАТАРСЬКОГО НАРОДУ 1944 РОКУ: ПОЛІТИЧНА БОРОТЬБА ЗА СУТНІСТЬ

У статті проаналізовано медійні представлення теми депортації кримськотатарського народу 1944 р. в загальноукраїнських та кримських медіях за період з 2007 р. по 2012 р. Аналіз продемонстрував ідеологічну конкуренцію між двома домінуючими історичними метанаративами – національно-демократичним та пострадянським. У цьому контексті найтиповішими формами медійного представлення депортації кримських татар залишаються загальні терміни, що уникають політичної та юридичної відповідальності, а також слова, що позначають трагічність цієї історичної події та не деталізують її характер і наслідки.

Ключові слова: депортація, медійний дискурс, колективна пам'ять, кримські татари.

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