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«THE NEW YORK TIMES» ABOUT CONTEMPORARY UKRAINE: CONCEPTUALIZATION ATTEMPT

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The purpose of the research is to determine the specificity of the media coverage of the European integration processes in Ukraine by the newspaper «The New York Times». The relevance of the research acknowledges the necessity to adjust the directions of the information and analytical support of Ukraine's European integration processes at the external level. A thorough analysis of the trends in the process of presentation of the country's communication arena in the international media is a top priority for both Ukrainian scholars and governmental institutions. The proposed study features an attempt to summarize the specificity of the coverage of Ukrainian events in 2013-2018 by one of the most influential global media - the newspaper "The New York Times" and its online version in particular. The image, formed by the analyzed resource, is impactful both at the global and national levels, which is based upon the citation and influence of nyt.com. The separation and review of each component of this image contributes to a better understanding of the geopolitical processes related to Ukrainian matters. The results demonstrate a significant shift towards the increase in a number of publications and the coverage level of Ukrainian issues after the US elections in 2016.

Key words: «The New York Times», Ukraine, eurointegration

«THE NEW YORK TIMES» ПРО СУЧАСНУ УКРАЇНУ: СПРОБА УЗАГАЛЬНЕННЯ

Мета публікації – визначити специфіку висвітлення євроінтеграційних процесів в Україні газетою «The New York Times». Актуальність дослідження полягає у нагальній необхідності скорегувати напрями інформаційно-аналітичного забезпечення євроінтеграційних процесів України на зовнішньому рівні. Ретельний аналіз тенденцій презентації комунікативного поля країни світовими медійними каналами є першочерговим завданням як для українських науковців, так і для державних інституцій. Запропоноване дослідження – спроба узагальнити специфіку висвітлення українських подій 2013–2018 рр. одним із найвпливовіших засобів масової інформації світового рівня – газетою «The New York Times». Образ, який формує аналізований ресурс, є впливовим як на світовому, так і на національному рівні з огляду на цитованість та впливовість ресурсу nyt.com. Виокремлення та вивчення складових цього образу сприяє кращому розумінню геополітичних процесів, що відбуваються навколо України. Отримані результати вказують на суттєву зміну акцентів у висвітленні українських питань після виборів американського президента у 2016 р.

Ключові слова: «The New York Times», Україна, євроінтеграція.

Introduction. The analysis of the specificity of the media coverage of the European integration processes in Ukraine by «The New York Times» is worth beginning from the understanding of the role of this media resource in the formation the process of influencing the global public opinion. The term «world public opinion» can be perceived in a skeptical manner, however a number of up-to-date scientific studies use it as a basic definition. In one of the studies, O. V. Yuryshva (2013) states that «the concept itself is still an artificial construct and in fact represents the definition of a common set of public opinions in different countries, which is used for the terminological convenience and to some extent serves the most influential international relations actors' interests» [1]. The term is also analyzed in the researches of Michelle Giacobbe Allendoerfer (2017)

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[2], Armin von Bogdandy, Matthias Goldmann, Ingo Venzke (2017) [3], Alberto Quian, Carlos Elías (2018) [4], Maxwell McCombs (2018) [5] etc. In this investigation, we base our study on the classical research of P. Tsygankov «Foreign Policy and Public Opinion», where the public opinion is divided into the international, global and world types:

«- international type is the one, which is formulated and distributed more often within the intergovernmental organizations;

- world type focuses on the opinion leaders as the vital subjects;

- the global one is represented by the numerous non-governmental organizations and non-profit associations» [6].

Beyond doubt, the «The New York Times» remains an active subject of the world public opinion. According to the «The Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2018», the resource is among the top 10 world-class news brands with the highest level of audience trust [7], as well as among the top ten most influential global media (see [8] for more). The information policy of «The New York Times» has been thoroughly investigated by Ukrainian [9; 10; 11] and foreign scholars [12; 13; 14; 15; 16]. The problem related to the newspaper's position towards certain issues of international politics are constantly raised in the scientific debate [17; 18; 19]. However, it should be noted that the Ukrainian scientists, conducting their researches in a communication sphere, have not provided a systematic analysis of the Ukrainian image, formed by the mentioned media.

The *purpose of the research* is to determine the specificity of the media coverage of the European integration processes in Ukraine by the newspaper «The New York Times». The *relevance of the research* acknowledges the necessity to adjust the directions of the information and analytical support of Ukraine's European integration processes at the external level.

Research Methods. The publications of the American newspaper «The New York Times», focusing on the coverage of the European integration process in Ukraine, were analyzed for the period from 2013 till 2018 with the application of the methods of linguistic analysis. The comparative approach allowed to distinguish the typical trends for «The New York Times», and the elements of the in-depth analysis helped identify a range of topics and issues, being raised at the media. The discourse analyses allowed for an attempt to interpret materials as products of communication activity, conducted in specific socio-political framework, cultural and historical conditions (see detail [20]).

The objective of the research is to determine the peculiarities of the coverage of the European integration processes in Ukraine by the newspaper «The New York Times». The following tasks are set by the authors in this regard:

1. selection of publications related to the coverage of the European integration processes in Ukraine in the newspaper «The New York Times» and its online resource [nyt.com](http://nytimes.com);

2. conduction of a linguistic analysis of the received texts;

3. generalization of the obtained results and determination of certain regularities.

Results and Debate. The analysis of «The New York Times» publications for the period of time from the non-signing of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement at the Eastern Partnership Summit in Vilnius in November 2013, the Revolution of Dignity, protests on Maidan, conclusion of Agreement in 2014 and to the time of the Document active implementation demonstrated that media actively focused on the coverage of the eurointegration-related topics in 2013-2014, caused by the resonance of the events and the US role in the conflict resolution in Donbass. However, starting from 2015, the Ukrainian theme begins to steadily disappear from the newspaper pages. At that time, the majority of articles focused more on the resolution of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict rather than on eurointegration course implementation in Ukraine.

In 2013 and 2014 «The New York Times» covered the Ukrainian news in the chronological order. In 2013, before the Eastern Partnership Summit in Vilnius – the event

where Ukraine had to sign the Association Agreement with the EU, the newspaper published analytical articles and columnists' op-eds, devoted to the analysis of the European choice of Ukraine, forecasting the development of Ukrainian relations with Russia, the US and EU, positive and negative consequences of the signing of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement etc. In particular, Slawomir Sierakowski in his article «Europe needs Ukraine» (18.11.2013) states: «On the table is an agreement under which Ukraine would move toward integration with the union. Many in Europe, in fact, doubt that full integration will occur, in the face of Russia's jealousy over its borderlands and questions about the bare-knuckle quality of democracy in Ukraine, where President Viktor F. Yanukovich's government has jailed a popular rival, the former prime minister Yulia V. Tymoshenko, on political charges» («The New York Times», 18.11.2013). The publication demonstrates the skeptic author's attitude towards the process of signing the Agreement, and contains both examples and parallel comparisons with Georgia, in which such political processes led to conflict and separatism movements spread. The journalist also expresses his concern about the possibility of repetition of such a scenario in Ukraine, while he also highlights that the country pays a high price for the Agreement than the Western European countries, which is beneficial for the European integration process of the Eastern European country for the prevention of a Customs Union establishment – a real political rival and competitor of the EU. Analyzing the material dated back to 2013, it is possible to assume that the journalist did not make a mistake, and to some extent predicted the political and social processes that currently occur in Ukraine. Consequently, we can sum up that the US Government (and, it is a well-known fact that «The New York Times» prefers to adhere to the pro-governmental position during the coverage of the foreign policy issues) pursues a policy, aimed at supporting Ukraine on its Eurointegration path, but also identifies some risks in the process.

Another publication, written by Serge Schmemmann «Waiting to See if Ukraine Tilts East or West» and published on November 16, 2013 in the paper's Sunday edition in the lead up to the Vilnius Summit, is dedicated to the analysis of the process of signing the Association Agreement between the EU and Ukraine, which «is far short of E.U. membership, or even candidacy for membership, but it includes a free-trade pact and promises of financial aid that Ukraine, in dire straits, desperately needs» («The New York Times», 16.11.2013). The author also emphasizes that Ukraine is in fact ready to sign the Agreement, but it may not happen: «The agreement is essentially ready, the Ukrainian Parliament has voted for it, and President Viktor Yanukovich says he is prepared to sign. But it may not be. President Vladimir Putin of Russia is fiercely opposed to the agreement. While a large majority of Russians seems to accept the idea that Ukraine is a separate country». The journalist also highlights that Eastern European EU-member states such as Poland and Lithuania fully support the European integration choice of Ukraine, but Western European countries are skeptical about the Ukraine's rapprochement with the EU primarily because of the high corruption level in the country. At the same time, «there is a shared sense in the EU that its members carry responsibility for extending the values of democracy, human rights and rule of law to countries still quite distant from these values», hence the formal signing of the Association Agreement and the start of the close cooperation with the EU is an opportunity for change achievement and a «remedial effect» for Ukraine. However, for this, the country should fulfill a number of commitments («The New York Times», 16.11.2013).

It is worth mentioning that almost all the publications that appeared before the Summit in 2013, containing a skeptical information about Ukraine, expressing doubts regarding the signing of the Agreement, focusing on the analysis of both negative consequences of the European integration choice for Ukraine, and the benefits that will emerge from the deepening of the ties between Ukraine and the EU while using the minimum number of its own and a large number of Ukrainian resources.

In the lead up to the Vilnius Summit on November 28-29, 2013, the «The New York Times» focused its publications on the German support of the Ukrainian integration processes («German Chancellor Makes Plea for Ukraine»), and on November 21 another material «Facing Russian Threat, Ukraine Halts Plans for Deals with E.U.» is published, informing on the refusal to conclude the Association Agreement with the EU and the beginning of negotiations regarding the process of joining the Customs Union. Representatives of the EU immediately expressed their concern about these matters, marking the beginning of a powerful political communication process from the European Union side to influence and change Kyiv’s decision. With regard to the main arguments, the following thesis was used: the change of the foreign policy course of Ukraine could lead to deterioration of the financial situation in the country, therefore the EU immediately offered financial assistance to Ukraine in exchange for a return to the European integration course, however it did not affect the radical shift and change in the decision of Ukrainian authorities («The New York Times», 21.11.2013).

The news from November 2013 till November 2014 mainly featured the detailed coverage of the protests in Ukraine against the refusal to sign EU-Ukraine Association Agreement, while the articles were written in information genres: «Protests after Rejection of EU Deal» («The New York Times», 27.11.2013), «Ukraine in Turmoil After Leaders Reject Major E.U. Deal» (27.11.2013), «Thousands Protest Ukraine’s Rejection of Trade Pacts» (29.11.2013), «Thousands Demand Resignation of Ukrainian Leaders» (2.12.2013), «Ukrainians Back in Street to Support E.U. Accord» (8.12.2013), «Protesters in Kiev Topple Lenin Statue as Rallies Grow» (9.12.2013), «Police Clash With Kiev Protesters» (1.12.2013), «Protests Continue in Downtown Kiev» (9.12.2013), «Protesters March to Ukrainian President’s Residence» (29.12.2013).

Since mid-January 2014, the situation in Ukraine is getting more tense, the protests intensify, leading to more emotional news headlines: «New Clashes Erupt in Ukraine After Trial» (11.01.2014), «Violent Clashes in Ukraine» (19.01.2014), «Unrest Deepens in Ukraine as Protests Turn Deadly» (22.01.2014).

The next resonant event featured the adoption of the laws on January 16, 2014, which referred to the simplification of the procedure for prisoners’ imprisonment, the introduction of media censorship, restrictions on the rights of meetings and gatherings conduction. As a consequence, Ukraine faced a significant escalation of the protests and their geographic expansion across the country. «The New York Times» again covered these events mainly in information genres, focusing on the following topics:

- adoption of the laws on January 16;
- protests intensification;
- attempts to regulate the political crisis;
- negotiations on the EU-US financial assistance provision for the new government formation in Ukraine.

The protests in Ukraine reached its peak at the end of February 2014, which was widely covered in the newspaper: «Ukraine’s Forces Escalate Attacks Against Protesters» (11.02.2014), «Violent clashes in Ukraine Kill at least 14 People» (18.02.2014). This period is also characterized by the process of imposing EU sanctions against some political leaders: «EU Weighs Sanctions against Russia’s Will» (20.02.2014), «EU Imposes Sanctions» (20.02.2014); as well as by the voting in the Parliament on February 22, 2014 for the Presidential impeachment («Ukrainian Parliament Votes to Oust President Yanukovch», 22.02.2014).

Thus, the content of «The New York Times» from November 2013 till February 2014 fully demonstrates the development of the Ukrainian situation. In parallel with the information materials, the newspaper also issued the analytical publications, providing an overview of the Ukrainian situation in the «Editorials» section, which presents the

views of the editorial board on certain political, economic, social and other range of issues. In an article, published on December 3, 2013, «A Moment of Peril in Kiev», the protests on Maidan are analyzed, caused by the non-signing of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement – «a deal that many ordinary citizens saw as critically important element of their economic future» («The New York Times», 3.12.2013). Considering the risk of protests' escalation, the authors believed that Ukraine, Russia and the EU should come to a common solution for their ending and «the message from Kiev's streets», regarding the fact that the majority of population supports the European integration course, is obvious and cannot be neglected hereof. Simultaneously, the EU and the US should take into account the Ukrainian realities (corruption, oligarchy), which set some barriers to the development of harmonious relations with Ukraine, but it is not beneficial for the West to step on a war path and stop their trading relations with Russia, hence the only solution, according to «The New York Times» op-ed, is the process of finding the ways of changing the provisions of the Association Agreement for the document to look less threatening for Russia.

In the material from December 11, 2013 «A Dangerously Divided Ukraine», the editorial board expresses the views that a political compromise and economic support from the EU side could help resolve the escalating conflict. However, at the same time the newspaper also publishes the contrary news stories, e.g. «Russia Offers Cash Infusion for Ukraine» («The New York Times», 17.12.2013), «Putin Is Expected to Offer Ukraine a Financial Lifeline» («The New York Times», 17.12.2013), covering the issues of Russia's provisional support to Ukraine in the amount of 15 billion dollars and reduction of the gas price, which receives approval of the Ukrainian authorities as allows to avoid the economic crisis, and followed by a press conference of Russian and Ukrainian leaders on confirmation of the «financial» agreement conclusion in December 2013 («Russia and Ukraine Defend Pact», «The New York Times», 18.12.2013), which was convicted by the IMF in the article from December 20, 2013 – «I.M.F. Criticizes Ukraine Plan for Economy» («The New York Times», 20.12.2013).

The special attention should be paid to the article «Kiev Isn't Ready for Europe», written by Samuel Charap and Keith A. Darden («The New York Times», 20.12.2013), in which the authors express an idea that for slightly more than 20 years of independence, no political leader has managed to reform the deeply corrupted political and economic spheres in Ukraine. Another publication «What the West Must Do for Ukraine» by John E. Herbst, William Green Miller, Steven K. Pifer and William B. Taylor Jr. («The New York Times», 20.12.2013) presents an idea that Washington and Brussels should increase pressure on Ukrainian President for crisis resolution.

Considering the rhetoric of the analyzed publications, the position of «The New York Times» with relation to the Ukrainian matters can be modeled:

- leaders of the protest movement should find a peaceful way of conflict resolution;
- a radical revolution change of power in the country cannot occur.

In parallel with the coverage of the events in Ukraine, «The New York Times» also studied the causes of the conflict: the analysis of democracy and its principles in general, the aging of the political system in Europe and the need for its revision. The publication «Europe's Vision for Ukraine» («The New York Times», 10.12.2013) presents an idea that Europe has carried out a certain experiment, tested Ukraine for devotion and forced the country to make a civic choice.

Since the end of February 2014, after the election of the temporary government of Ukraine, the analytical publications of the «The New York Times» focused on the disappointing forecasts for the country, in particular, the materials «Ukraine's Uncertain Future», «How Ukraine can be Saved», «Has the West already Lost Ukraine?» («The New York Times», 25.02.2014) featured that Europe, USA and Russia should prevent the war in a deeply divided country.

It is important to note that the materials of the postmaidan period are centered around the support of the European Union for a new Ukrainian course and concerns over the events in Crimea and Donbass. It is also vital to add that the US position was the observing one during the events' active phase. The leading role in the stabilization and resolution of the protests on Euromaidan took the European Union. However, with the conflict start in the East and the annexation of Crimea, USA began to intensify its active participation and involvement by condemning Russia's actions, which can be proved by the following publications in «The New York Times»: «Obama warns Russia against Ukraine» (28.02.2014), «US calls Russia «to stay away from Crimea» (28.02.2014), «Obama Warns Russia on Ukraine» (28.02.2014), «Obama warns Russia against any military intervention in Ukraine» (28.02.2014), «Obama Warns Russia Not to Use Force in Ukraine» (28.02.2014), «Russia wresting control of Crimea from Ukraine» (1.03.2014). Further materials focused on the condemnation of Russia's actions by the EU-member states, the United States, the UN, the imposition of sanctions against Russia.

Starting from April 2014, the majority of publications featured the allocation of financial assistance to Ukraine; resolution of the conflict in Donbass; imposition of sanctions against Russia as well as the presidential elections in May 2014. The presidential election were covered in the analytical publication «A Critical Election in Ukraine» (21.05.2014), which states that the elections should be won by a person who is able to overcome corruption and also solve the core political and social problems; as well as the following news: «Election puts Ukraine Future in Balance» (23.05.2014), «Election of President Seen as a Beginning to Repairing Ukraine» (25.05.2014), «Polls open in Ukraine» (25.05.2014), «Poroshenko, Tymoshenko Cast Votes» (25.05.2014), «Klitschko Brothers Vote in Ukraine Presidential Election» (25.05.2014).

With the victory of Petro Poroshenko in the 2014 presidential election, Ukraine begins a new stage in the process of preparation for the signing of the economic part of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement. It is worth highlighting that the political part of the Document was signed on March 21, 2014 and this event was not covered by «The New York Times» despite its importance for Ukraine. At the same time, there are several news articles, published at the end of June 2014 and devoted to the signature of the economic part of the Agreement.

During 2015–2017, European integration issues, specifically, the adoption of laws, the implementation of reforms, the introduction of a visa-free regime with the EU etc., were not covered by the American newspaper, although the news featuring Ukrainian themes occasionally appeared on the paper's pages and mainly focused on the conflict in the Eastern Ukraine, its resolution, the imposition of sanctions against Russia and provision of the US assistance to Ukraine.

In 2017 the Ukrainian news did not emerge in the newspaper, demonstrating a change in the political priorities of the United States after the presidential elections in 2016. The analytical material of Adrian Bonenberger «The War No One Notices in Ukraine» (20.06.2017) is demonstrative hereof due to its key thesis about the following fact: while Russia continues to support the conflict, the administration of the new President does not take any action for its ending. Under the op-ed section, the publication of Michael Kofman «For the U.S., Arming Ukraine Could Be a Deadly Mistake», published in August 2017, judges Ukrainian inactivity in the reforms implementation and inability to withstand Russian aggression, «the latter, incidentally, over the last two years, does not carry out active attacks and does not try to seize large territories of Ukraine» [21].

In 2018 a few articles featuring Ukrainian issues are published in the newspaper. Some critical materials deal with corruption, e.g. «In Ukraine, Corruption Is Now Undermining the Military» («The New York Times», 19.02.2018).

Conclusions and Perspectives. A thorough analysis of the publications of «The New York Times» from 2013 till 2018 demonstrated that active and almost daily (or even

publication of several articles per day) coverage of the Ukrainian events was a typical characteristic for the years of 2013–2014, making it a turning point in the geopolitical and civic choice of Ukraine. Starting from May 2014 – a period, characterized by the presidential elections and the determination of a concise foreign policy towards integration with the EU, Ukrainian issues disappear from the pages of the newspaper, and only a few articles, related to the description of the situation in the Eastern Ukraine, and the provision of the US financial and other assistance to Ukraine in resolving the conflict in Donbass, are published in the newspaper. It is possible to assume that fewer events, which deserve «The New York Times» coverage, happen in Ukraine. At the same time, the events, directly referring to the European integration, are almost absent.

Occasionally, «The New York Times» issues critical reviews that outline the country's prospects for development, criticizing the situation after the events of 2013–2014. A year after the presidential elections in 2014, «The New York Times» published an article M. Hercenhornen titled «In Ukraine, Corruption Concerns Linger a Year After a Revolution» on the website. In the printed version, the title was even more radical: «Ukraine has got stuck in the political and economic chaos a long time after the revolution» (17–18.05.2015). The author's main ideas considered to be expressed in the lead of publication: «The country is on the brink of bankruptcy. A number of politically motivated murders and mysterious suicides of former government officials sowed fear in the capital. The struggle began to split the pro-European coalition majority in Parliament. In addition, the constant threat of war is slowly stretching along the Russian-Ukrainian border» [22].

To sum up, it is worth mentioning that before the presidential elections in the United States in 2016, the key priority for America was the resolution of the conflict in the East of Ukraine, while the Ukrainian progress achieved in reforms introduction and other European integration issues were not high on the US agenda. With the election of the new US president in 2016, the focus has shifted. The low progress on reforming, political, economic and social problems along with the high level of corruption have emerged as the top themes to be covered about Ukraine in the media, leading to the forming of the negative world public opinion, one-sided global perception and the lack of understanding of the Ukrainian matters.

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«THE NEW YORK TIMES» ПРО СУЧАСНУ УКРАЇНУ: СПРОБА УЗАГАЛЬНЕННЯ

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Вступ. 2014 р. став визначальним для України, остаточно закріпивши за нею європейський шлях розвитку. Євроінтеграційні процеси, про які так чи інакше говорили й писали протягом усього періоду незалежності, не лише актуалізувалися, а стали приводом для суттєвих трансформацій у державі та суспільстві. Інформаційно-аналітичне забезпечення цих процесів протягом останніх п’яти років відбувалося не лише вітчизняними медіаканалами, а й через закордонні ЗМІ, у тому числі й загальноосвітні. Дослідження специфіки висвітлення громадсько-політичних процесів в Україні транснаціональною газетою «The New York Times» є безумовно актуальним з огляду на геополітичні зміни, що відбуваються останні роки. Мета дослідження – визначити специфіку висвітлення євроінтеграційних процесів в Україні газетою «The New York Times».

Методи дослідження. У ході проведеного дослідження за допомогою методів лінгвістичного аналізу вивчалися публікації транснаціональної північноамериканської газети «The New York Times», у яких висвітлювалися питання європейської інтеграції України за період 2013–2018 рр. Компаративістський підхід допоміг виокремити тенденції, притаманні саме «The New York Times», а елементи інтент-аналізу – визначити кола тем та питань, що обговорюються. За допомогою дискурс-аналізу зроблена спроба інтерпретації матеріалів як продукту комунікативної діяльності, що ведеться у конкретних громадсько-політичних обставинах та культурно-історичних умовах.

Результати. Аналіз публікацій на онлайн-ресурсі та у друкованій версії «The New York Times» продемонстрував, що до президентських виборів у США 2016 року ключовою українською темою для Америки було врегулювання конфлікту на Сході України, питання ж досягнення нашою країною прогресу в реформах та інших євроінтеграційних явищах не є пріоритетними. З обранням нового Президента США акценти змінилися. Відсутність успіхів у реферуванні, політичні, економічні та соціальні проблеми, корупція стали інформаційними приводами поговорити про Україну, відповідно формуючи світову громадську думку про стан справ у країні.

Висновки. У ході проведення дослідження з’ясовано, що «The New York Times» протягом 2013–2018 рр. змінила вектор висвітлення українських подій зі стримано-позитивного на відверто-критичний, що віддзеркалює ставлення офіційного Вашингтона до України.

Ключові слова: «The New York Times», Україна, євроінтеграція.

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