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## INTRODUCTION

In spring, 1997 H. Kissindger wrote “Any significant expansion of NATO will inevitably result in a displacement of the dividing line. That explains why the historical nations of Central Europe are striving to become NATO members. They are willing to join the old North Atlantic alliance rather than the new one” [1]. Under such circumstances refusal to participate in the contemporary integration processes will, most probably, foredoom the Newly Independent States (NIS) to the isolation from the European and world community. In 1993, following the withdrawal of the Russian military forces from Poland, membership in NATO grew into the principal aim of foreign policy of the states, former members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Apart from the fact that membership in the alliance guaranteed military and political safety of the above states, their new civilized identity, it also represented the most specific task which solution did not require such time-consuming special arrangements as those associated with the EC membership.

Both the world community and Ukraine are interested to an equal degree in a sufficiently rapid and, at the same time, absolutely painless and natural integration of Ukraine in NATO, EC, other European international structures. The concept of “painless and natural” integration implies the necessity to provide for a considerable correction of public consciousness among the bulk of population of Ukraine.

The above correction is necessitated by the following reasons:

1. Low general standards of living in Ukraine, inadequate state financing for the sphere of culture and education result in a loss of interests and spiritual demands among major population.

2. The process of public relationship transformation has been going on for nearly 15 years, i.e. the time long enough to implant a deformed world outlook in minds of a new young generation that was raised during the lingering crisis period.

3. The present corruption conditions existing in the sphere of economy and the system of state administration, criminalization of business, romanticization of the criminal mode of life and steady feeling of hopelessness displayed by insufficiently provided for population strata have brought about re-estimation (for the worse) of the values common to all mankind.

4. The prevailing part of the Ukrainian population is characterized by the traditionally negative attitude to the World Community in general and NATO in particular which was cultivated as early as in the “cold-war” times and has undergone no practical changes throughout the entire period of independence of Ukraine. Moreover, certain political powers endeavor to adopt those negative psychological stereotypes in the course of fulfillment of their strategic tasks with the aim to saturate the public consciousness with the idea of the West and, particularly, NATO and EC responsibility for all that which is happening in the country, instill a steady general image of an adversary represented by the European Community. Should the support of people be enlisted, such political powers would be able to attain a radical change in the home and foreign policy of Ukraine for confrontation with the West.

This is especially important during the present period of time when the power dependence on Russia presents an obstacle for materialization of the European and Euro-Atlantic official option of Ukraine. The need to harmonize the relations with Russia and West and, at the same time, maintain the European priorities compels Ukraine to take consistent and complicated action so that its foreign policy may stay balanced. Such unsteady equilibrium may be quite easily upset in favor of Russia through public consciousness manipulations. The whole situation is further aggravated by the fact that the lingering socio-economic crisis has spurred the generation of a spiritual crisis in Ukraine. The overwhelming majority of the population is not prepared at the moment to treat adequately the new idea of the “state of Ukraine”. Low living standards drove to a loss of feelings of patriotism and produced instead a strong feeling of nostalgia for the USSR and commanding system of administration. Consequently, one can hardly expect that any reforms not directly associated with an improvement of economic con-

ditions within the shortest time would be supported by the people. The idea of “Western welfare” is formed in public consciousness as a hardly attainable, vain dream, whereas the material wealth associated with Russia as the successor of the USSR appears to be within reach and quite tangible.

The information domain and appropriate mass communication means come out as one of the basic factors which form (or deform) public consciousness. A gradual but rather intensive development of the information society is vividly demonstrated by expansion of information streams, complication of their structure and intension degree, ongoing generation of data representation means which acquire the global character. In most cases the geographic and political bounds do not present obstacles for information streams. The information domain is becoming a basic mechanism of maintenance of all-embracing and universal communication both between individuals and states (unlike the power army-political mechanisms in the recent past).

The information domain which has taken shape in Ukraine does not generally conform to the tasks of integration in the world community and getting out of the political, economic and spiritual crisis:

1. Due to the commercial nature of most mass media sources, the latter have either developed into advertising matter or inexpensive publications oriented on common spiritual demands and not promoting the processes of thought, analysis, cognition.

2. Many information publications enjoying the financial support on the part of the state, other political or financial quarters are engaged and operate by the methods of information presentation in doses.

3. Independent information-analytical publications are of little profit, costly and consumed, first and foremost, by the socially active strata of the population possessing an adequate purchasing power and accounting for a minor portion of the Ukrainian population. Besides, due to a limited number of similar publications, they are not capable of producing any significant effects on public consciousness and maintain the state prestige of Ukraine.

4. No prestigious research and information-analytical institutions being able to adopt the methods of applied psychology and consider the regional specific features in the course of their operations within the information domain of Ukraine are practically available.

**The purpose of this study may be expressed as follows: comprehensive analysis of the information domain within north-eastern Ukraine and revelation of specific features of information effects on public consciousness and attitudes of broad strata of the Ukrainian population to the matters of integration in NATO and World Community.**

The printed mass media sources were singled out of the number of potential means of mass communication and analyzed within the framework of the study. In this case, all high-price magazines, journals and specialized mass publications (sports and motorists' magazines and newspapers, women's magazines, fashion journals, crossword puzzle collections, publicity matter, etc.) were dismissed.

Chapter I is addressed to a brief analysis of the geopolitical situation in Ukraine, as well as to the basic principles of the “information” approach to the matters of international security.

Chapter II sets forth the methodological fundamentals of the information domain comprehensive analysis, defines such categories as the “subject of study”, “objects of study”, “lines of study”, “analysis units”, “analysis categories”, “units of measurements”, as well as offers the method of stratification of population according to its information demands.

Chapter III provides for characteristics of the current state of the information domain in Ukraine, specific features of the mass readers in Ukraine, represents the results of the mass media comprehensive analysis in north-eastern Ukraine on the grounds of two base (at one year interval) and a number of intermediate experiments.

Chapter IV describes the results of the information coverage investigation that was carried out in seven north-eastern regions of Ukraine and, in particular, geographical distribution

of the printed publications according to such distinctive features as publication types, attitude to NATO, publication country and region, language.

Chapter V is addressed to the practical recommendations that may be made use of in the course of planning target-oriented information programs by Ukraine and NATO joint effort.

The project is based on the results that were obtained following the visit of the author to the NATO headquarters (Brussels), as well as on the work concerned with the preparation and publication of the "Ofitsialnyye Vedomosti" sociopolitical weekly (Kharkov, Ukraine).

The normative-legal basis of the project is as follows:

**1. Charter of Special Partnership Between Ukraine and North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (signed in Madrid on July 9, 1997) on the grounds of which Ukraine and NATO assume obligations to develop "... a crisis consultative mechanism intended to provide joint consultations under any circumstances when the territorial integrity of Ukraine, its political independence and safety will be, in its opinion, directly jeopardized" (p. 15, Section 5 "Cooperation to Promote Safety in Europe").

**2. State Program of Co-operation Between Ukraine and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for the Period to 2001** (approved by Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 1209/98 of November 4, 1998). Section 11 of the Program ("Cooperation in Sphere of Telecommunications and Data Systems") is addressed to the "development and implementation (jointly with NATO) of the system of information support of cooperation between Ukraine and NATO", while Section 15 ("Information Support of Cooperation between Ukraine and NATO") defines principal mechanisms and basic lines of information projects developed and implemented jointly with NATO.

**3. State Program of Co-operation Between Ukraine and NATO for the Period from 2001 to 2004** that was set into effect by Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 58/2001 of January 21, 2001 following termination of the previous Program.

The investigations were carried out with the financial assistance of the NATO headquarters (Brussels) and consultation assistance of the Office of Information and Press of the NATO headquarters.

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## CHAPTER I

### UKRAINE UNDER NEW EUROPE CONDITIONS

According to the modern politology [2], the Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) embraces the following European states of the former socialist system: 1) central European countries: Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia; 2) countries of South-Eastern Europe: Bulgaria, Romania; 3) three Baltic states. The states occupying this area are united by their strong will to be integrated in European and Transatlantic structures, i.e. achieve a gradual “re-entry” into Europe, obviate the need to discriminate between themselves and traditional European states, finally identify themselves with the West community. In some cases, a group of Balkan states (Yugoslavia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Albania) currently characterized by political instability is referred to CEE as a subregion. Following the formation of Newly Independent States (NIS) in the postsoviet area, a question of European identification was raised, i.e. the question of reference of the European states of the former Soviet Union (first and foremost, of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldova, Georgia and Azerbaijan) to the CEE region. The urgency of the matter of participation of the above states in the European and Euro-Atlantic structures continues to grow, thus leading to gradual changes in both regional and continental balance. Under these circumstances the role played by Ukraine in the course of formation of a new political equilibrium may grow and, even more than that, become decisive or, at least, rather important. In other words, Ukraine has a good practical chance to be involved in intensive participation in new European processes.

#### **1.1. GEOPOLITICAL POSITION OF UKRAINE UNDER CONDITIONS OF NEW RE-DIVISION OF EUROPE AND NATO EXPANSION TO EAST**

The Soviet Union collapse immediately followed by the collapse of the world system of socialism drove to a radical re-distribution of powers and emphases within the global economic and political domain, as well as initiated the process of the new re-division of Europe [3]. First, the military doctrine of the world community changed due to termination of the Warsaw Treaty that was recognized as one of the centers of geopolitical confrontation. Second, Russia still claims to be regarded as the leader around whom a new alliance might be formed. Thirdly, most former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, as well as former USSR countries turned out to be outside any political alliances. Ukraine which belongs to the above group has made its practical choice after having had declared that its integration in the European Union, NATO, other European international organization was the strategic task of the state. This decision is viewed as rather complicated and contradictory both under the social and internal political aspect (public opinion that is not today positively oriented on the integration in the world community) and under the aspect of a potential deterioration of relations with Russia, the closest eastern neighbor, whose geopolitical interests do not always impartially match the interests of Ukraine. In order to place the matter of positive or negative aspects of similar integration processes under consideration, it would be advisable to get an idea as to the timeliness of those processes for new Europe, in general and NATO, in particular.

Following breaking-up of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the attention of NATO was mainly focused on potential facts of instability (economic, social and political problems, ethnic conflicts, territorial clashes, propagation of mass destruction weapons, shortage of vital resources, terrorism, technogeneous and natural catastrophes), rather than on hazard of aggression against one of the alliance members. This attitude manifested itself in the adoption of the new Strategic Concept of the North Atlantic Alliance during the NATO summit which was held in Washington in April, 1999. The present-day geopolitical situation was taken into account by the above-mentioned concept.

**NATO purposes and tasks conforming to the new strategic concept are as follows [4]:** 1) assurance of freedom and security for all alliance members by political and military means in accordance with the principles set forth by the Charter of the United Nations; 2) assurance of a priority role of the peaceful (political) means to maintain stability and safety; 3) a large-scale approach to the safety problems which implies a special importance of the political, economic, social and ecological factors complementing the obligatory defense aspect; 4) joint and mutually complementing peace-making and anti-crisis activities carried out within the framework of program “Partnership for Peace”; 5) cooperation with other international organizations, first and foremost, with UN, OSCE, CE, WEU, EU, on the matters of collective security and settlement of crises; 6) promotion of the role of the alliance members represented by the European states and development of the European System of Safety and Defense (ESSD) being a part of NATO under WEU (Western European Union) political and strategic administration or in accordance with other agreements.

The process of NATO expansion is recognized under those conditions as the means of strengthening unipolar peace with the aim to assure international safety through integration. This approach may be regarded as an alternative to the strategy of mutual restraint through maintenance of equilibrium of forces of confronting parties [5]. The choice of new members (or strategic partners) is limited: Europe may only be re-divided in the eastern postsocialist direction. In this case, it may so happen that candidates for NATO will turn to be candidates for other alliances under the aegis of Russia which, in turn, could result in appearance of another potentially strong competitor apart from steadily developing China. Thus, the global strategy aimed at transformation of Europe (Western and, partially, Eastern Europe) into the uniform and stable economic and army-political community may only be implemented in case of NATO intensive expansion to the East.

Ukraine is one of the important Newly Independent States (NIS) from the standpoint of the development of consolidation and safety in Europe. W. Christopher, the State Secretary of USA, stressed back in 1996 [6] that “the purpose of integration of Ukraine and Europe is critical for the new Atlantic community... We are willing to make independence of Ukraine stronger by surmounting great economic difficulties through development of essential markets and intensification of relationship with NATO”. On the other hand, the task of integration in NATO, EC and world community is regarded by Ukraine as the matter of state identification and way to re-enter the group of Central and Eastern European countries.

## **1.2. UKRAINE AND NEW SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE SAFETY IN EUROPE**

One of the major trends of the international relations between USA and Europe in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is formed by a promotion of the role played by Europe in the matters of European collective safety and balancing of the existing conditions under which “there is not enough USA” and “there is little Europe” [7]. Those Europe-USA balancing processes along with the simultaneous NATO and European Union expansion have already grown into a practical decisive factor of development of international relationship.

The formation of new “instability factors” associated with the generation of a number of Newly Independent States (NIS) in Europe necessitated the development of a basically new system of collective safety [8,9,10]. Moreover, since the “instability factors” proved to be localized in the territories that border the countries belonging to EU and NATO members (former Yugoslavia, former USSR), the task to protect common interests implies the development of the so called European System of Safety and Defense (ESSD). The ESSD power and strength are promoted by the fact that a number of the most developed former socialist camp countries having vast population, occupying a very important political and geographical position under the aspect of Europe strategy tend to join ESSD. Thus, for example, Poland, Czech

Republic, Hungary and Slovenia may become full-fledged EU members in near future. Besides, Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic became NATO members on March 12, 1999.

It may happen that Ukraine bordering the extended western military-political-economic block at a long geographical distance will prove to become within the nearest decade the only state separating this block from the states that would remain outside the European Union. These are the Black Sea basin countries and, first and foremost, Russia which is regarded by the West as a source of instability and the most serious Euroasian competitor. Due to such intermediate position of Ukraine, it is forced to be involved into integration processes, irregardless of any viewpoints that may have powers supporting those processes or being opposed thereto.

The status of Ukraine in the “New Europe” (or outside it) should be considered first of all from the standpoint of its position within the collective safety system. Neither of the Ukrainian potentials, i.e. the agricultural, industrial, scientific, cultural potentials, will not be called for by the world community as they deserve for a long time to come due to the prolonged national economy crisis. Therefore, the principal opponents (West and Russia) exploit, more often than not, the following approaches in respect of Ukraine:

1) economic approach – Ukraine is recognized as the transit transport artery connecting the West and Russia, EU states and Near or Middle East via the Black Sea and Caucasus, as well as a potential sales market;

2) military-political approach – Ukrainian territory is regarded as the “buffer” zone, i.e. the operational area between the West and Russia, as well as the means of rivalry between Russia and the West.

Therefore, the struggle for a future military-political orientation of Ukraine forms one of the main sources of political clashes within the “West – Ukraine – Russia” triangle. In such a situation, location of the proper position within the world community would call for a well thought-out and thoroughly evaluated foreign policy ruling out the unilateral orientation of Ukraine on the West at the expense of the bilateral cooperation with the countries of the former Soviet Union.

### **1.3. INFORMATION CONSTITUENT OF INTERNATIONAL SAFETY**

Despite good outlooks for the development of international relations, the cessation of “cold war” processes gave rise to new problems, risk factors and threats associated with the integration processes in Europe and sociopolitical transformations in the postsoviet area [11,12,13]. NATO Strategic Concept that was adopted during the session of the North Atlantic Council on April 23-24, 1999 [14] describes the situation as follows: “Such threats involve the uncertainty and instability conditions within the Euro-Atlantic region and around it. Grave economic, social and political difficulties are faced now by a number of countries. Confrontation on the ethnic and religious grounds, territorial clashes, ineffective or unsuccessful attempts to implement reforms, violation of human rights and collapse of states may result in local and regional instability conditions. The resulting tension may give rise to crises that would affect stability in the Euro-Atlantic region”. The traditional approaches to solution of similar problems turn out to be inadequate under the existing conditions. Moreover, the classic methods of military-political and sociological analyses do not allow to evaluate precisely conflict-geneous differences in the post-soviet area which is associated, first and foremost, with a need to collect, process and analyze a vast volume of rapidly changing data being different in the nature and character.

One may conclude on the above grounds that a continuous monitoring of potential instability sources or the so called **INFORMATION CONSTITUENT** [15] must become one of the basic components of the European system of collective safety and defense.

It's quite evident that the task of determination, classification and investigation of the direct risk factors and sources of "new threats" is extremely complicated and, in some cases, unattainable. In order to find a way out of this situation, one should analyze the indirect factors (or indicators) of instability, i.e. select such objects of study that, on the one hand, would be available for the comprehensive analysis and, on the other hand, would indirectly relate to consequences of certain conflicts or precede them. According to the author, such all-embracing subject of study is formed by the **information domain** within the present-day society and, first and foremost, public sources of information, while the **indirect instability factors** are represented by information reports and techniques of information effects.

In order to analyze the information constituent of international safety, one should proceed from the general provisions of conflictology with the emphasis being laid on the following principal components of sociopolitical conflicts [16]:

1. **Conflict-geneous factors (indirect instability factors)** involve general trends and relations resulting in sociopolitical differences whereon conflicts are based. They generate the reasons for a conflict and give rise to the situation preceding the conflict, and, however, not to the conflict itself.

2. **Conflict reasons (direct instability factors)** involve the phenomena directly preconditioning a conflict and giving rise thereto. As a rule, such a reason manifests itself in some critical technological or sociopolitical **changes** like, for example, a change in public attitude to the object of attention due to conflict-geneous factor effects, direct disturbance of technological processes or taking military-political decisions.

3. **Conflict conditions** are represented by a combination of circumstances required for generation of reasons and initiation of a conflict situation. The circumstances under which conditions are formed or changed may either prevent a conflict or make it more evident. The conditions may be subdivided into the objective and subjective conditions. The objective conditions involve the geopolitical situation in the state, international and internal political situation, general economic conditions, economic and social conditions relating to the bulk of the population. The subjective conditions are socio-psychological by their nature and are directly associated with the information domain conditions and a fine structure of information streams. Such factors as public attitude to the object of attention, level of education and social consciousness, behavioral directives are among the subjective conditions.

Hence, information reports and techniques of information effects standing out as the indirect instability factors may result in a generation of conflict reasons (for example, sudden changes in public attitude to the integration processes in modern Europe). In addition, they may provide for subjective conditions under which the above conflicts would be either realized or averted (for example, promotion of conditions under which the population is being kept informed or, vice versa, manipulation by public consciousness).

The analysis of indirect factors allows to define **direct instability factors** being not available for public all-round investigations, since any practical event, down to the most insignificant one, is reflected in the mass media to a certain degree.

The process of determination of facts concerning application of information psycho-techniques serves, in turn, as an **indicator of society instability** demonstrating the demand for forced transformation (deformation) of public consciousness. As it was stressed by Yevgeniy Marchuk (former Head of the Security Service of Ukraine, the present Secretary of the Council of National Safety and Defense) in his book "Five Years of Ukrainian Tragedy" [17], "the information component of mental struggle is in its present-day alternative version a new civilization phenomenon that resulted from the development of mass communication means and improvement of techniques of psychological effects on the individual and mass consciousness. Psycho-techniques assisting in target-oriented transformations in mass consciousness contribute to the process of formation of certain information (ranging from commercial to ideological information)".

All this explains the demand for consistent monitoring and comprehensive analysis of the information domain both under the aspect of information effects psycho-hygiene and under the collective security aspect.

## CHAPTER II

### METHODOLOGY OF COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION DOMAIN IN UKRAINE

The present-day conditions are characterized by the growing importance of the quantitative (formalized) information domain investigation methods that, on the one hand, would minimize the significance of the investigator's subjective factor and, on the other hand, would allow to take into account the entire variety of the present-day information domain components with the purpose of analysis, modeling and prediction of social and psychological consequences of information effects.

Such quantitative methods should be classified as follows:

1) classification of mass media as a method of formalized description of the tools of information effects;

2) content-analysis as a method of formalized description and analysis of textual units and topical expressions in respect of the object of attention;

3) "correspondence method" consisting in a formalized description of information psycho-techniques and setting up singular relationship between the methods of effects, their aims and results; this method provides for classification of the techniques of information effects and determination of a range of potential responses to specific effects;

4) "production analysis" [18] as a method of combination of the results gained by three previous methods (mathematical principle of intersection of sets) with the help of a set of rules (productions system) connecting the information domain and objective reality by formula "IF – THEN".

The combination of those methods into **a uniform system of the information domain comprehensive analysis**, as well as replacement of statistic characteristics by integral ones may serve as an alternative to the traditional methods in the process of monitoring of the socially unstable society. This scientific approach was represented at the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Countries International Conference "Disasters in the Black Sea Region: Prevention and Liquidation of Consequences", Kharkov, May 22 – 25, 2000 [19]. Apart from it, according to the preliminary investigations, the proposed methods feature the following advantages:

1. A set of standardized parameters serving for a formalized description (coding) of the information domain is based on the experience of experts. This allows to avoid the mistakes associated with different levels of skills possessed by different investigators.

2. The formalized description enables, on the one hand, to consider a great number of information factors being not available for classic analytical methods. On the other hand, the correct choice of standardized parameters makes it possible to filter secondary factors and restrict the sphere of the study.

3. The comprehensive formalized analysis of the information domain allows to obtain a final result in the form of verbal expressions and specific recommendations (unlike the classic statistical methods whereby the final result is represented by a combination of digital data calling for further analytical processing and interpretation).

4. As the application of special methods oriented on the isolation of integral effects (i.e. the methods being capable of fixing the slightest changes within the information domain) has shown, the comprehensive analysis of information streams serving as the **direct factors** (or

indicators) of instability allows to solve, with a high degree of probability, both the direct and reverse tasks, namely: 1) make predictive evaluation of the actual intentions of a communicator or the actual status of the object of attention on the grounds of the analysis of information streams; 2) shape a required structure of information streams proceeding from the tasks to be attained.

## **2.1. TYPOLOGY OF PRINTED MASS MEDIA WITHIN CONTENT-ANALYSIS STRUCTURE**

Due to the fact that the social information is mainly supplied and spread in the present-day society via the mass media, the latter are regarded as the principal means of information effects and, therefore, should be submitted first of all to a special analysis on the part of investigators. The mass media generate for individuals and whole society the “subjective reality” whose effects are not less significant than those produced by the objective reality. It looks as if an event is not present in the actual life unless it is reported in the newspaper or transmitted by radio or TV [20].

Despite the fact that any information is mainly elicited by the absolute majority of citizens from telecasts, the printed mass media remain to be rather important. Such a situation is promoted by the following factors:

1) a reader is not bound by any time limits in the process of obtaining information as in the case of tele- or broadcasts, i.e. the printed mass media are available within the entire 24 hours rather than in the evening time or during week-ends, let alone the fact that printed mass media may change hands;

2) both printed mass media and telecasts are associated with the visual perception factor contributing to a better memorization;

3) unlike tele- or broadcasts, any newspaper text may be reverted to more than once which makes its influence on readers’ consciousness and subconsciousness more effective;

4) printed mass media are the optimum means of presentation of analytical materials the perception of which requires prolonged periods of time exceeding the time taken by a single telecast review.

This Section is addressed to classification of printed matter and mass media with the aim of their subsequent incorporation into the content-analysis structure and the system of the information domain comprehensive analysis. Such formal parameters of the information domain as the “objects of study” and “analysis units” are introduced for this purpose. The classification process is based on the principle of determination of the appropriate role and position in the techniques of information effects on public consciousness. The proposed method of classification is practically represented by a **formalized description of means of information effects** which contains basic laws of application of the above means.

### **2.1.1. Fundamentals, Essence and Purpose of Information Effects**

The methods of information submission to specific sections of the population take the central position among the factors of successful information effects. Since the society is inhomogeneous, different social groups have different demands and perceive information in different ways. Therefore, each printed publication is always oriented on a certain limited number of readers and is liable to adopt the information representation methods being optimum for such readers.

**The information effects are based on positioning.** The concept of positioning implies adaptation of information streams for peculiarities of perception by specific readers [20], in other words, translation of the information from the language of producers to the language of

consumers of this information. As far as positioning is concerned, two principal types of readers may be singled out:

1) **active readers** (analysts, scientists, managing officials, other socially active sections having critical attitude to the information consumed);

2) **mass readers** (the mass readers may, in turn, be subdivided into the **mass passive readers** who perceive information forced upon them, i.e. without analyzing underlying ideas of such reports, and the **mass active readers** represented by a portion of the mass readers who, by virtue of their education or a moderate but conscious participation in the social life, are interested in sociopolitical topics).

This classification of the readers actually forms a method of **stratification of the population depending on its information demands**. Such an approach is of special interest in respect of the transient-economy countries characterized by ongoing changes in quantity and structure of the population sections singled out according to their traditional features (social, material, professional, age and other features).

**The essential feature of information effects** consists in generation of a target-oriented information stream whose perception by specific readers would result in predictable effects.

**The ultimate purpose of information effects** consists in socialization and social control over readers through socialization. According to modern sociology, the concept of socialization (originating from Latin *socialis*, i.e. social) is understood as the process of individual assimilation of behavioral patterns, psychological mechanisms, social norms and values required for successful functioning of an individual in this society [21]. The behavior of people is monitored with the help of socialization in such a manner that such people perform their functions unconsciously, naturally, by virtue of traditions and habits. Therefore, socialization is recognized as one of the basic factors of social control. Any decision conflicting with those social norms that are perceived in the course of socialization appears to be incorrect and risky [22].

The printed mass media represent one of the principal means of socialization both under the aspect of the national, state-administration sphere and under the aspect of the international system of norms and values. The latter quality becomes especially important under conditions of public consciousness formation on the background of integration processes in present-day Europe. Similar participation of the mass media in a complex system of macrocommunication processes is subject to their classification as content-analysis structural elements (unlike the earlier attempts [23]). The content-analysis is based on definition of standardized (i.e. being similar for different investigators) parameters, including, in particular, the “objects of study” and “analysis units” [24].

### 2.1.2. Analysis Units, Classification of Textual Matter

The analysis units are represented by articles and other self-sustained textual matter. Any combination of the analysis units is based on classification of textual matter depending on the method of information effects (variable value  $u = 1,2,3,4,5,6,7$  is assigned to each analysis unit).

#### 1. Information reports ( $u = 1$ ).

The information reports are formed by small-sized texts wherein all information is reported as news. The news is quickly perceived and, therefore, willingly consumed. Its comprehension does not call for the need to investigate causal conditionalities of events. The specific features of any printed message psychological effects on mass readers and, specifically, the fact that they are not obliged to comprehend text fragments on the grounds of common sense and reason are taken into account whenever information reports are released. Depending on their contents, the information reports are capable of performing the following functions: 1) serve as an operational source of information; 2) serve as the means whereby the readers’ consciousness becomes saturated with stereotypes [24]. Basically, their effects extend to insufficiently provided for, socially passive strata comprising the overwhelming majority of the

Ukrainian population (mass readers). The main objective of the information reports is to form a stable (not based, however, on a thorough analysis) positive or negative attitude to the object of attention.

## **2. Analytical matter (u = 2).**

The analytical matter makes an efficient, although complex means of effects on public consciousness that may be characterized by the following features: 1) analytics is rather popular with the representatives of socially active strata of the population (active readers) who are frequently capable of forming opinions within certain groups of the population in the process of communication and professional activity; 2) analytics extends to a minor portion of readers and does not have any direct effects on the broad strata of the population (mass readers). Application of analytical matter allows to form a conscious attitude of the active readers to the object of attention.

## **3. Image-making articles (u = 3).**

The image-making matter is intended for information positioning through the spheres of activities that are well familiar to readers and do not frequently relate to the basic activities carried out by the object of attention (charity, the past, family, home pets, weaknesses, other domestic subjects). Similarly to the case of information reports, the effects produced by such materials generally extend to the socially passive strata of the population (mass readers). In addition, the image-making articles published in sociopolitical issues may act as a “substitute” to analytical matter for mass readers, thus creating an additional illusion of being well-informed. The image-making articles turn out to be the most efficient means of effects on public consciousness due to their rather pronounced emotional trace. The effect of image-making articles may be of a powerful explosive nature being capable of reversing views. The basic purpose of the image-making matter is to form either positive or negative attitude to the object of attention on the emotional level.

## **4. Sensation-making articles (u = 4).**

Any sensation-making articles, including any sensation-making information reports are intended to contribute to the results of information effects and promote readability of publications. The above sensation-making matter is comparatively easy to produce, since it may rely on unofficial data, as well as on the data that do not require any proof. In this case, the sensation-making matter may possess certain outward analytical features that may make it more trustworthy. All these factors contribute to interactive exchange of information and opinions spreading as rumors within broad sections of the population. Similarly to the case of image-making matter, sensation-making articles may be explosive by nature and be capable of changing drastically any image for the better or for the worse. A separate function of sensation-making articles is represented by circulation of rumors and generation of an illusion of actuality through distraction of attention from certain events. Such articles are intended first of all for socially passive strata of the population (mass readers).

## **5. Accompanying materials: photographic matter, pictures, titles (u = 5)**

Any photographic matter, pictures, titles are applied first of all as accompanying means of effects that are intended, first and foremost, for those mass readers who are not normally interested in the issues they must be attracted to. The accompanying materials act instantaneously and promote the factors of “memorization” and “recognition” of people and events in the appropriate context in the best possible way. The accompanying materials wherein the “simultaneous effects” are combined with the factors of recurrence of, for example, photographic matter may present one of the most effective means of public consciousness manipulation on a level of subconsciousness. The accompanying materials may facilitate visual perception of complex matter, draw interest to an article even before it is read, form certain associations.

## **6. Cognitive matter (u = 6)**

The cognitive matter may be intended both for the mass readers and active readers, as well as for all age groups, including children, depending on the level of its complexity. First

of all, the cognitive matter is a source of making the knowledge of individuals about the world around them more complete. This is important both under the general-education and social-psychology aspects, as far as the information effects on educated (perceiving all-round information) and **NON**-informed (or insufficiently informed) people are basically different [25]. An integral model of perception and comprehension of the objective reality is formed in sub-consciousness of individuals depending on the level of their education (i.e. the level of being kept informed) and serves as a foundation thereon the model of social behavior is built, the role and place in this reality being realized. According to the sociological polling results referred to in the paper [25], the crowd logic distinctive features (low-value categories, lack of self-confidence, accusation of others rather than oneself) are inherent in “insufficiently informed” individuals. Besides, the above results show that “well-informed” individuals are more self-confident, display selfhood and generally positive attitude to the world and, consequently, information streams following therefrom. This results in a positive feedback thereat the growth of the level of education (i.e. condition of being kept informed) brings about the growth of optimism and selfhood which, in turn, results in a higher level of education, etc. Therefore, the cognitive matter may serve as an efficient countermeasure against the most hazardous results of information effects, i.e. transformation of socially passive groups into a crowd. What is more, due to all-round education, an immunity is formed against public consciousness manipulation.

### **7. Entertaining matter (u = 7)**

As far as the easiness of perception and degree of effects on readers are concerned, the entertaining matter appears to be rather similar to information reports. In addition, the entertaining matter does not call for its re-interpretation, further analysis, as well as does not induce a considerable mental effort. Should a complexity of logical tasks exceed a certain, rather low threshold, the mass readers would subconsciously withdraw these materials from the entertaining range group and refuse to perceive them. An everlasting human demand for self-assertion and possession is realized by a passive individual who gains satisfaction when solving rather simple tasks. The entertaining matter is capable of provoking a sense of sheer pleasure being associated with extreme easiness of possession of the information (i.e. its comprehension) and distraction from actual problems (transition to an imaginary world of entertainment and holiday). In order to become open to general public, the entertaining matter should orient itself on the categories of the lowest values being similar for everybody (since the categories of the highest values are different in respect of each individual). As a result of it, the individual experience effects are reduced. The surrounding world is perceived by an individual responding to it “like everyone”. Lower, more primitive psychic layers are stirred to activity and, consequently, a group of individuals degrades to become a crowd [26]. Moreover, as far as psychology of the “sheer pleasure” effects is concerned, such effects are similar to the effects of alcoholic or narcotic intoxication giving rise to generation of a pathologic dependence on the source of “pleasure”. The entertaining matter may only serve as a source of information in the slightest degree. In case of its limited consumption, the entertaining matter may be regarded as a means of recreation. However, in case of its massive consumption, the entertaining matter grows into the means of cultivation of the crowd logic in individual minds in the lowest possible forms. In case of a special-purpose approach, the entertaining matter may be successfully applied in order to instill target-oriented world outlooks in mass readers’ minds.

### **2.1.3. Objects of Study, Classification of Periodicals**

The objects of study are associated with periodical publications covering the basic sections and age categories of the population of Ukraine (variable **m = 1,2,3,4,5** is placed in correspondence with each object of study). A combination of objects of study is based on classi-

fication of printed mass media which implies preferential applications of certain textual matter (analysis units) and its orientation on specific readers.

**1. Mass sociopolitical publications (m = 1).**

Such publications are characterized by a preferential usage of information reports, image- and sensation-making matter. They are intended first of all for mass readers.

**2. Analytical sociopolitical publications (m = 2).**

Such publications are associated with preferential applications of analytical articles and information reports. They are mostly intended for active readers.

**3. Cognitive periodical publications (m = 3).**

Such publications are concerned with the use of cognitive and entertaining matter. They are intended for all groups of readers.

**4. Entertaining periodical publications (m = 4).**

Such publications are characterized by a preferential usage of entertaining matter. They are intended first of all for mass readers.

**5. Children's periodical publications (m = 5).**

Such publications are characterized by a preferential usage of cognitive and entertaining matter. They are intended first of all for children and young people, that is for those readers whose information demands are in the phase of formation.

The above classification may be subsequently used as the basis for a formalized description of other channels of mass communication like, for example, television, radio, Internet, etc.

## 2.2. REVERSIBLE CONTENT-ANALYSIS

The integration processes wherein newly-born independent states (including Ukraine and Russia, its closest neighbour) are involved, as well as rapidly changing international conditions result in the public consciousness having no time to adapt to those changes. In such a situation it becomes essential to develop new methods of consciousness analysis and correction, both in respect of individuals and social groups. Furthermore, the ongoing transformation of the world geopolitical map and occurrence of new nontypical situations are calling for constant monitoring and construction of situation development prediction models both with the purpose of preventive action and operative interference.

The traditional analytical methods have already ceased to be adequate to process an enormous volume of international information. This kind of information has to be reviewed and analysed by more advanced techniques which would allow to minimize the subjective factor and adopt computer data processing systems to the maximum possible extent.

This Section is addressed to the so called **reversible content-analysis**. The specific problem covered by the Section involves simulation and prediction of the process of reformation of international law holders on the grounds of the analysis interrelationship within the **WEST — UKRAINE — RUSSIA** triangle. The mass socio-political publications of Ukraine have served as a source of the basis data.

### 2.2.1. Content-Analysis Methodological Fundamentals

The content-analysis concept represents a formalized method of textual interpretation [24]. Any text is a complicated system of semantic units. Each semantic unit (word, symbol, word combination, topical expression, photo, picture, etc.) bears a rather specific meaning perceived commonly with a high degree of probability to provoke a quite predictable response. Moreover, information effects always imply propagation of a finite (i.e. analysable) number of information categories (ideas, values, behavioural patterns, etc.). Therefore, any stream of information arouses circulation of certain information fragments which, due to their stereotype nature and recurrence, may be easily singled out and submitted to quantitative

analysis. Such an analysis involves determination of 1) the frequency of occurrence, 2) volume of a given fragment in respect of the general volume of information; 3) time interval within which such fragments manifest themselves.

On the one hand, the quantitative analysis allows to minimize the subjective factor in the course of information domain investigation. On the other hand, it enables to predict consequences of information effects by comparing quantitative results with the conditions of fulfilment of certain rules. The most common principle may be phrased as follows: “The higher is the frequency of recurrence of short information reports in mass sociopolitical newspapers, the stronger information effects are made on the mass (passive) readers with the purpose of formation of either positive or negative attitude to the object of attention”.

Ultimately, the method of content-analysis allows to trace the entire chain of the macro-communicative process according to formula [24]:

**INFORMER - INFORMATION - INFORMATION MEANS - INFORMED - INFORMATION EFFECTS,**

which enables to monitor the information domain, as well as timely respond to the process of public consciousness deformation.

The content-analysis method [24] is based on isolation of the following standardized (i.e. equivalent for different investigators) parameters:

1. **SUBJECT OF STUDY:** subjects having an important social value, socio-political problems, development trends, etc., the public attitude thereto is formed through mass media.

2. **OBJECTS OF STUDY:** a combination of publications, television channels, telecasts, set of printed mass media.

3. **ANALYSIS UNITS:** articles, text fragments, etc.

4. **ANALYSIS CATEGORIES:** a combination of concepts or topical expressions describing the subject of study.

5. **UNITS OF MEASUREMENT:** a frequency of occurrence of an analysis category, analysis category relative volume, time interval of analysis category occurrence.

The description of the information domain with the use of formalized parameters allows to minimize the presence of subjective factors in the study and is known as the **CODING** [26] process.

6. **SAMPLING:** the content-analysis is always preceded by the process of materials **sampling**, that is, the selection of texts to be applied in the course of studies. The reversible content-analysis implies the adoption of the following **multistage sampling technique**:

1) **topical sampling:** it is based on the qualitative analysis of singular issues of periodical publications; the analysis of this kind allows to pick out of a great variety of publications only those touching upon the subject of study;

2) **short sampling:** a limited number (for example, from 2 to 5) of issues belonging to one publication; this technique is applied on the first level of the content-analysis with the purpose of limitation of the objects of study;

3) **basis sampling:** the basic operational sampling technique (for example, 10 issues belonging to one publication);

4) **periodical basis sampling:** a sequence of basis sampling techniques being liable to certain laws (last 10 issues in each month, 10 issues following a given event, etc.).

### 2.2.2. Geopolitical Features of Ukraine within Content-Analysis Structure

This Section is addressed to the standardized parameters that were selected basing on the subject of study and the need to determine geopolitical characteristics of Ukraine within the triangle of “West – Ukraine – Russia” interrelationship, namely:

1. **Subject of study:** information domain in Ukraine and Ukraine - NATO integration.

2. **Objects of study:** the following periodical publications extending to the principal strata and age categories of the population of Ukraine (variable  $\mathbf{m} = 1,2,3,4,5$  is placed in correspondence with each object of study):

- 1) mass sociopolitical periodical publications ( $\mathbf{m} = 1$ );
- 2) analytical sociopolitical periodical publications ( $\mathbf{m} = 2$ );
- 3) cognitive periodical publications ( $\mathbf{m} = 3$ );
- 4) entertaining periodical publications ( $\mathbf{m} = 4$ );
- 5) children's periodical publications ( $\mathbf{m} = 5$ ).

3. **Lines of study:** each object (that is, each periodical publication) will be investigated along the two following lines proceeding from the formulation of the subject of study:

- 1) interrelationship between Ukraine and NATO;
- 2) interrelationship between Ukraine and Russia in the light of Ukraine - NATO interrelationship.

Subsequently, variables "n" will correspond to the first-line analysis categories, while variables "r" will correspond to the second-line analysis categories.

4. **Units of analysis:** a set of analysis units will depend on the following classification of printed matter according to the method of information effects (the value of variable  $\mathbf{u} = 1,2,3,4,5,6,7$  is assigned to each analysis unit):

- 1) information messages ( $\mathbf{u} = 1$ );
- 2) analytical articles ( $\mathbf{u} = 2$ );
- 3) image-making articles ( $\mathbf{u} = 3$ );
- 4) sensation-making articles ( $\mathbf{u} = 4$ );
- 5) photographic matter, pictures, titles ( $\mathbf{u} = 5$ );
- 6) cognitive printed matter ( $\mathbf{u} = 6$ );
- 7) entertaining printed matter ( $\mathbf{u} = 7$ ).

5. **Categories of analysis:** messages, concepts, expressions which form either positive ("+" sign) or negative ("- " sign) attitude to the subject of study:

5.1. Line "Interrelationship between Ukraine and NATO" ( $\mathbf{n} = \pm 1,2,3,4$ ):

- 1) attitude to Kosovo events ( $\mathbf{n} = \pm 1$ );
- 2) NATO role and status in ESSD (European System of Safety and Defence) ( $\mathbf{n} = \pm 2$ );
- 3) Ukraine role and status in ESSD ( $\mathbf{n} = \pm 3$ );
- 4) integration of Ukraine in NATO, European and World Community ( $\mathbf{n} = \pm 4$ ).

5.2. Line "Interrelationship between Ukraine and Russia in the light of Ukraine - NATO interrelationship" ( $\mathbf{r} = \pm 1,2,3,4$ ):

- 1) attitude to Chechnya events ( $\mathbf{r} = \pm 1$ );
- 2) Russia role and status in ESSD ( $\mathbf{r} = \pm 2$ );
- 3) orientation of Ukraine on Russia and other alliances in post-Soviet area ( $\mathbf{r} = \pm 3$ );
- 4) attitude of Russia to integration of Ukraine in NATO, European and World Community ( $\mathbf{r} = \pm 4$ ).

6. **Units of measurement:** values serving for quantitative description of analysis categories:

1) **volume of information** associated with a given category relative to the total volume of information pertaining to a given object of study in different analysis units; in general, the volume is a function of three variables:  $\mathbf{V}_n = \mathbf{V}(\mathbf{m}, \mathbf{u}, \mathbf{n})$  in respect of the 1<sup>st</sup> line of study,  $\mathbf{V}_r = \mathbf{V}(\mathbf{m}, \mathbf{u}, \mathbf{r})$  in respect of the 2<sup>nd</sup> line of study;

2) **time interval** of occurrence of a given category within a given object of study in different analysis units:  $\mathbf{t}_n = \mathbf{t}(\mathbf{m}, \mathbf{u}, \mathbf{n})$ ,  $\mathbf{t}_r = \mathbf{t}(\mathbf{m}, \mathbf{u}, \mathbf{r})$ ; the interpretation of the time interval concept may vary depending on a specific task and, therefore, it only seems reasonable to consider it in more detail with specific examples being given;

3) **frequency:** a number of occurrences of a given category within a common object of study (for example, in one issue of a mass socio-political newspaper):  $\mathbf{f}_n = \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{m}, \mathbf{u}, \mathbf{n})$ ,  $\mathbf{f}_r = \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{m}, \mathbf{u}, \mathbf{r})$ ; this value is based on the fact of occurrence of a specific category in a specific

analysis unit (article, etc.) and does not depend upon the number of recurrences of such category within one analysis unit (article);

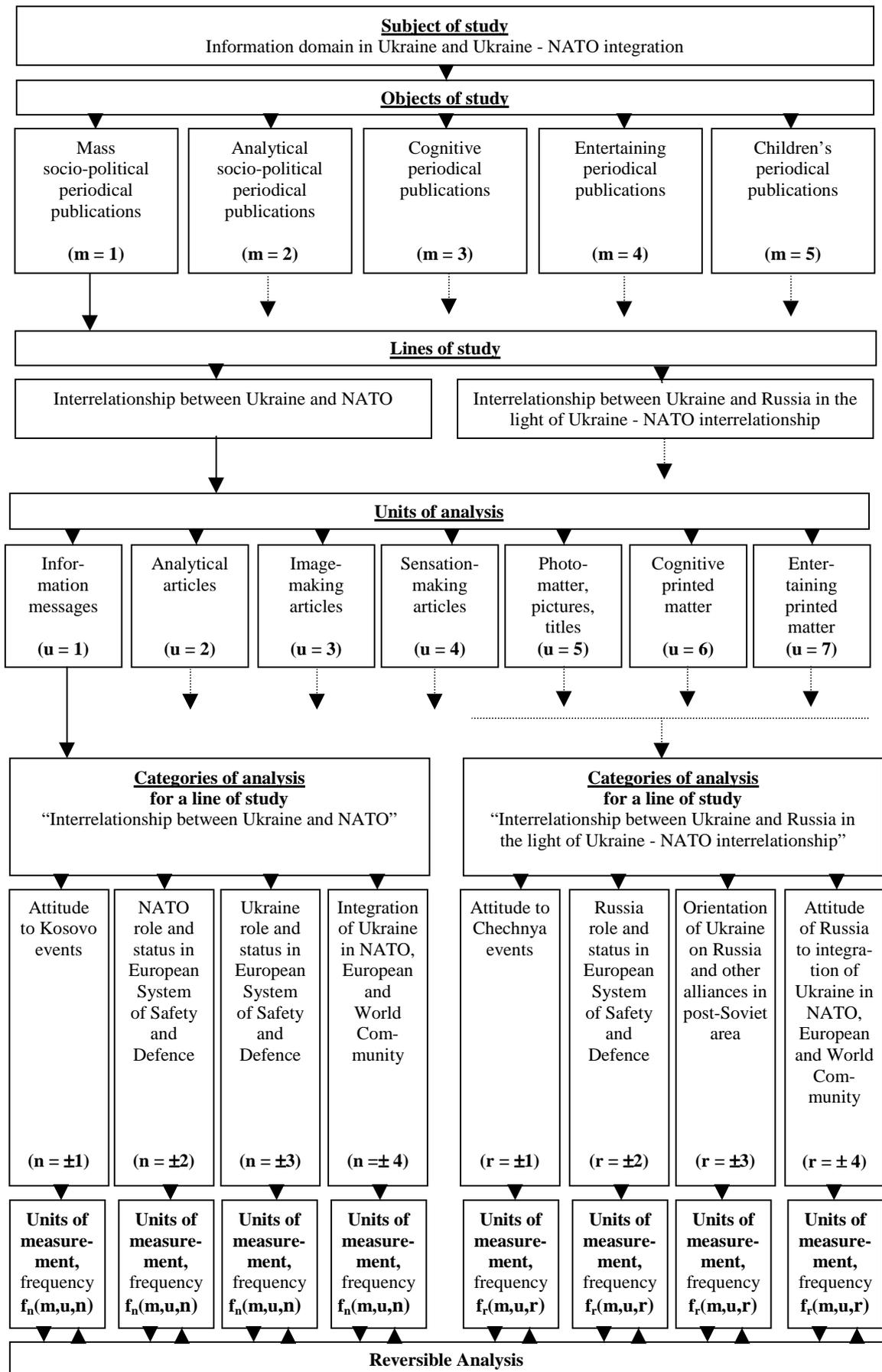
4) **normalized frequency**: principal content-analysis quantitative characteristic to be defined as the total number of occurrences of a given category in all sampled issues of the object of study which is divided by the sampled amount (number of issues):  $F_n = F(m,u,n)$ ,  $F_r = F(m,u,r)$ .

Henceforth, only one unit of measurement, i.e. frequency, which corresponds to the **frequency content-analysis** will be applied in order not to overburden the analysis with complicated functional dependencies.

Proceeding from the above, the frequency concept may be considered in more detail. It may be noted to begin with that, contrary to the physical frequency, the content-analysis frequency may have both positive and negative values corresponding to positive or negative messages. Should it be the case of one-day sampling (one issue of the object of study, that is, newspaper), then, for example, value  $f_n(1,1,-4)$  would indicate that only one negative report of the integration of Ukraine in NATO, European and World Community ( $n = -4$ ) was found in the information release ( $u = +1$ ) presented in a single issue of the mass socio-political newspaper ( $m = +1$ ). Should any particular sample be consisting of 10 newspaper issues with the total number of category "n" occurrences being equal to 11, value  $F_n(1,1,+4) = +1.1$  would indicate that 1.1 positive reports of integration of Ukraine in NATO, European and World Community ( $n = +4$ ) were found in the information release ( $u = +1$ ) presented, on the average, in 1 out of 10 issues of the mass socio-political newspaper ( $m = +1$ ). More general conclusions may be made following a reduction of variables. Thus, for example, in case of two-weeks sampling (10 issues of the object of study, that is, newspaper), value  $F_n(1,u,+4) = +2.2$  would mean that 2.2 positive reports of integration of Ukraine in NATO, European and World Community ( $n = +4$ ) were picked up from the whole amount of analysis units ( $u$  - arbitrary value) presented, on the average, in 1 out of 10 issues of the mass socio-political newspaper ( $m = +1$ ).

### 2.2.3. Reversible Content-Analysis of Printed Mass Media

The entire sequence of stages of the reversible frequency content-analysis may be conveniently demonstrated in the form of a block diagram (Fig.1). The reversibility nature is characterized by the **forward** (i.e. from the beginning to the end) going through all stages of the content-analysis (Fig. 1) in the case of information domain **quantitative** description and the **reverse** (i.e. from the end to the beginning) going through each stage in the case of **analytical** processing. This allows to single out the most essential characteristics (and dismiss the least essential ones), restrict the sphere of investigation, decide upon new subjects of study. For example, if category  $n = 4$  is indicated as one of the most important categories by the quantitative description process, such a category may be recognized as a new subject of study implying new introduction of objects, units and categories of the analysis. Hence, the method of the reversible content-analysis suggests an unlimited number of levels - the higher is the level, the greater is the depth of the analysis. It appears quite evident that an extension of parameters, complication of the content-analysis system (Fig.1), as well as a more precise consideration of information effect processes will, on the one hand, result in more profound and accurate conclusions and predictions, while, on the other hand, require a special mathematical software.



**Fig.1.** Block diagram of Reversible Content-Analysis.

### 2.3. “CORRESPONDENCE METHOD”

According to the results of a great number of applied and fundamental investigations in different spheres of science, all biological, psychological and social phenomena are based on the information processes. In particular, operation of the human brain depends to a considerable degree on the information inflow from the environment both during the period of its evolution and throughout the entire life time [27]. Such information dependence has a rather delicate structure and may result (which is highly probable) both in negative and positive consequences. On the one hand, it was stated by H. Delgado, the US neuropsychologist as follows: “Normal psychic functions will be disturbed if there is no sensory inflow from the environment. A mature mind possessing a reach past experience and skills is not even able to stay awake and respond, being devoid of its air, i.e. sensory information” [27,28]. Limitation of a normal information relationship with the medium may bring about functional abnormalities, down to psychic diseases [27]. And to the contrary, complication and perfection of the information domain would result in intensive effects on a human psyche both spontaneously and purposefully. The information effects psycho-techniques may be made use of unconsciously (owing to communicator’s incompetence), in commercial interests (advertising projects, promotion of readability and popularity of printed and electronic mass media) and pursue political or other aims. Therefore, the matters of information psychohygiene and ethics of information effects become extremely important. Consequently, the importance of quantitative methods of psycho-technique investigations within the system of comprehensive analysis of the information domain also grows.

The “**correspondence method**” proposed in this Section is a method of a formalized description of information effect techniques with the help of a set of standardized parameters or operators, i.e. the so called logic-mathematical characteristics. This brought about the need to develop a generalized classification of information psycho-techniques and define a spectrum of potential responses to specific effects. Potential negative consequences following the adoption of particular information representation methods are shown.

Examined below as the carriers of psycho-techniques are only printed publications. However, most conclusions based thereon are also correct for other channels of mass communication.

#### 2.3.1. Basic Logic-Mathematical Characteristics of Information Effects, Principle of Correspondence

Introduction of a set of logic-mathematical characteristics allows to formalize the principle of correspondence according to which each known information effect should be associated with specific and expected results based thereon.

1. **Parameters of effects:** logic concepts describing methods of effects (they are described in Section 2.3.2 as “features” or “methods” of certain information techniques). In case of mathematical modeling, each particular method is placed in correspondence with a certain effect parameter (**action**):  $\mathbf{a}_i = \mathbf{a}_1, \mathbf{a}_2, \dots, \mathbf{a}_j$ , where  $\mathbf{j}$  is the number of methods taken into account.

2. **Operators of effects:** logic concepts describing techniques of information effects. Each particular technique is placed in correspondence with a certain effect operator (**Technology**):  $\mathbf{T}_k = \mathbf{T}_1, \mathbf{T}_2, \dots, \mathbf{T}_s$ , where  $\mathbf{s}$  is the number of techniques taken into account (8 techniques are described in Section 2.3.2). Each operator (technique) is associated with the appropriate complete set of parameters of effects (methods). Thus, for example, certain technique  $\mathbf{T}_1$  is realizable with the help of methods  $a_1, a_2, a_3$ . When all three methods, i.e. the complete set, are used, the probability of realization of technique  $\mathbf{T}_1$  is maximum. Otherwise, if the set is incomplete (truncated), the probability will be reduced. Input of parameters  $\mathbf{a}_i$  may either be equivalent or non-equivalent (hierarchical).

3. **Response parameters:** logic concepts describing potential results of effects of certain information techniques. The response parameters incorporate two categories: 1) purpose of effects; 2) basic risk, i.e. potential catastrophic consequences. Each effect operator  $T_k$  is placed in correspondence with an appropriate response parameter (or parameters) (**purpose**):  $p_k$ .

4. **Response operators:** logic concepts describing the relationship between parameters  $a_i$ ,  $T_k$ ,  $p_k$  and the purpose of study, for example, as follows: determination of a source, tasks or potential results of information effects. One of the response operators is represented by the **conventional probability ( $P_k$ ) of technique  $T_k$  application**. If the number of parameters of effects  $a_i$  in the complete set of parameters of operator  $T_k$  is denoted as  $S_{k0}$ , and the number of parameters in the truncated set is denoted as  $S_k$ , the **conventional probability** will be calculated by expression  $P_k = S_k/S_{k0}$ . Value  $P_k$  is the comparative characteristic which allows to define the most probable technique of information effects and, consequently, calculate the most probable response  $p_k$  to those effects.

It's quite natural that the complete set of logic-mathematical characteristics exceeds the limits of this Section and may be extended considerably.

### 2.3.2. Techniques of Information Representation in Doses (Operators of Effects $T_k$ )

It does not seem possible to present the complete analysis of all methods and techniques within the limits of a single paper. Therefore, a generalized typology incorporating most other psycho-technologies of information effects is proposed. The experts specializing in the field of psychotherapy single out two basic tools of effects on individual consciousness and sub-consciousness, i.e. **image** and **word**, within the modern information domain. Consequently, two groups of psycho-technologies are isolated [29].

**The first group** involves neuro-linguistic programming. In this case, the mass communication channels stand out as the means of formation (or destruction) of certain **images** in individual subconsciousness, rather than a source of information on specific events. Under these circumstances, a stress is laid on the first signaling system of higher nerve activity (sensual stimuli) proceeding from the fact that the controlling force of images is much more powerful than verbal suggestions on which common hypnosis is based. This method allows to destroy the existing behavioral directives and form the new ones, the level of obsessive irrational ideas being included [27]. Due to its versatility, the method is capable of affecting all social strata without exception. Being the subject of a separate investigation, the aspect of neuro-linguistic programming will not be further referred to in this paper.

**The second group** involves multiple techniques being conventionally combined here into the method of information representation in doses. This method is most frequently used in the mass media and is based on the principle of regulation of topical (**verbal**) materials pertaining to the object of attention. Unlike neuro-linguistic programming, the process of information representation in doses may be submitted to analysis rather easily being assisted by a limited set of textual matter. Different combinations of textual matter form different techniques of information effects, including the basic ones described below.

#### 1. Object-Oriented Effects ( $T_1$ )

This is the principal technique enabling to achieve the ultimate purpose of information effects, i.e. formation of a steady positive or negative attitude to the object of attention and, hence, socialization resulting therefrom. All other techniques provide for the conditions being more or less favorable for its implementation. In case of object-oriented effects, special emphasis is laid on the reliability factor. As a rule, no reports known to be false are applied. The matter released by opposition or opponents is unavoidably applied.

**The optimum means** of object-oriented effects are represented by information reports, image- and sensation-making articles.

**Optimum object:** first and foremost, mass readers; active readers, to a lesser degree.

**Optimum carrier:** mass sociopolitical publications.

**Response parameters ( $p_1$ ):**

1) **purpose of effects:** formation of purpose-oriented value directives accompanied by a steady positive or negative attitude to the object of attention.

**Parameters of effects** (i.e. methods of effects, technique features):

1)  **$a_1$ :** arrangement of the object of attention within the limits of basically positive or negative perception (for example, a mention of the object with regard for the matters of struggle for peace or with regard for corruption, as well as its presentation in the circumstances to be known either positive or negative);

2)  **$a_2$ :** escape from the demonstration of the actual conditions and practical consequences and their replacement by the demonstration of sheer profits and advantages, or vice versa;

3)  **$a_3$ :** hushing-up feature (the maximum effect is observed as applied to new or forgotten individuals, events and tendencies);

4)  **$a_4$ :** re-orientation of the negative (more rarely, positive) attention on other objects by creating additional brighter images;

5)  **$a_5$ :** frequent recurrence of information reports pertaining to certain topics (on the one hand, this results in the effects of “recognition” and “habituation”; on the other hand, if the reports are made too frequently, the readers become inclined to ignore them or, even more than that, deny everything associated with those events). The “excessive recurrence” effect is not always produced by mistake; it allows to develop a steady negative attitude of the readers to the object of attention, their superficial loyalty thereto being maintained in this case.

**Response operators:**  $P_1 = (a_1 + a_2 + a_3 + a_4 + a_5) / 5$ , where values  $a_1, a_2, a_3, a_4, a_5$  are equal to 1 if appropriate methods  $a_1, a_2, a_3, a_4, a_5$  are used, and are equal to 0 if appropriate methods  $a_1, a_2, a_3, a_4, a_5$  are not used.

## 2. Information Monopolism ( $T_2$ )

The technique of information monopolism only calls for superficial likelihood and, at the same time, may make utilize facts or premises known to be false, since the very possibility of disproof is not there. In this case, it becomes possible to create different images, the so called simulacrs (from Latin *simulacrum*: image, picture; *simulo*: to make likely, similar) which are able to cause the public feeling of admiration or aversion due to their likely similarity [24]. Control over such images may be as tight as power pressure exerted by totalitarian structures and promote transformation of readers into sole consumers of semantic units which drives to distortion of the social reality and formation of the crowd logic inherent in the mass readers. The information monopolism is typical of closed-type societies, in particular, of the USSR and fascist Germany.

**The optimum means** of information monopolism are represented by information reports, image-, sensation-making articles and, to a lesser degree, analytical articles.

**Optimum object:** passive mass readers.

**Optimum carrier:** mass sociopolitical publications.

**Response parameters ( $p_2$ ):**

1) **purpose of effects:** creation of a likely illusion of the reality, complete elimination of opposition information effects, preparation of readers for perception of crowd logic;

2) **main risks:** features of public consciousness and social behavior being typical of a totalitarian society may manifest itself when information monopolism elements are present.

**Parameters of effects** (i.e. methods of effects, technique features):

1)  **$a_6$ :** presence in mass media of bright social and political images and stereotypes (simulacrs) that are not disputed and do not need any further argument, as far as public opinions are concerned;

2)  $a_7$ : no presence of opposition matter;

3)  $a_8$ : presence of aggressive response to any attempts to disprove simulacrs (for example, such simulacr is represented by the image of NATO as the world gendarme for most representatives of the mass passive readers; any other opinions or attempts to analyze the strategy of NATO in Europe run across aggressive incomprehension).

It may be noted that in certain cases (as in the case of the above example) those features are displayed with a delay when information monopolism is no longer present, which is typical, in particular, of public consciousness in the countries of the former Soviet Union.

**Response operators:**  $P_2 = (a_6 + a_7 + a_8)/3$ , where values  $a_6, a_7, a_8$  are equal to 1 if appropriate methods  $a_6, a_7, a_8$ , are used, and are equal to 0 if appropriate methods  $a_6, a_7, a_8$ , are not used.

### 3. Crowd Logic Cultivation ( $T_3$ )

The concept of a **crowd** implies a multitude of people not interconnected by common purposes but combined around the common center of attention and characterized by a similar emotional state [30].

The process of crowd formation involves application of the following basic mechanisms [30]: 1) circular response (mutual emotional “contamination” typical of such mass acts as panic or mass riots), i.e. the process of emotional interaction between group members which results in elimination of individual differences and formation of interrelationship on the psycho-physiological level (crowd logic is compared sometimes with a logic of a deranged person); 2) rumors that may cause or maintain circular responses.

There exist considerable differences between crowds and organized groups, as far as their social behavior and responses to outside effects are concerned [20, 30]. In the process of crowd formation the effects of personal experience and common sense on the individual behavior are reduced. Individuals become inclined to perceive information and respond thereto by the principle “like everybody”. Their ability to perceive outside impulses is reduced, while the ability to perceive psycho-physiological signals originating from within the crowd is increased. This drives to the formation of underrated value directives of the crowd, since the latter “becomes aligned” with lower responses being similar for everybody. The crowd lives in fears and hopes and is interested in ultimate purposes rather than in mechanisms of their attainment. Under those conditions it becomes rather easy to manipulate crowd behavior by addressing the lower value categories. In this case, it appears extremely hard to restrain the crowd or make change its mind, since the crowd acts as a single whole and responds rather poorly to any convincing reason from the outside.

Motivation of higher responses and development of individualism prevents an individual from joining the crowd. Both isolated individuals and those belonging to certain groups are in the state of a reasonable information exchange and conscious participation in social processes due to which their individualism is maintained and constantly grows.

The **optimum means** of crowd logic cultivation are represented by information reports, image- and sensation-making articles.

**Optimum object:** passive mass readers.

**Optimum carrier:** mass sociopolitical and entertaining publications.

**Response parameters ( $p_3$ ):**

1) **purpose of effects:** formation of elements of irrational public consciousness involving a limited and predictable set of responses to information effects, as well as underestimation of spiritual demands of mass readers and their withdrawal from the sphere of political life;

2) **main risks:** manifestation of lower behavioral responses and education of the crowd.

**Parameters of effects:** (i.e. methods of effects, technique features):

1)  $a_9$ : excessive information support of mass behavioral directives (nationalism, “witch hunting”, Kosovo and Chechnya events), especially during crisis periods;

- 2) **a<sub>10</sub>**: creation of the image of fear (for example, recovery of the “communist past”, stirring up hazards of terrorist acts);
- 3) **a<sub>11</sub>**: exaggeration of rumors;
- 4) **a<sub>12</sub>**: bringing up pressure (pessimism charges) or consistent charging the population with unsubstantiated optimism;
- 5) **a<sub>13</sub>**: application of rhetoric of struggle in information reports (the idea of struggle is most readily understood, does not require any analysis or conceptualization, assists in taking the appropriate decision by the “like-everybody” principle);
- 6) **a<sub>14</sub>**: adoption of the rule of simplification, i.e. reduction of problems down to the most common terminology on the level of the least educated strata of mass readers;
- 7) **a<sub>15</sub>**: reduction in number of information reports and other materials increasing the level of education (i.e. the condition of being kept informed) of each member of the mass readers and developing their individuality;
- 8) **a<sub>16</sub>**: usage of entertaining matter based on the lower mass reader responses provoking the sense of “sheer pleasure” and not calling for any considerable mental effort.

**Response operators:  $P_3 = (a_9 + a_{10} + a_{11} + a_{12} + a_{13} + a_{14} + a_{15} + a_{16})/8$** , where values  $a_9, a_{10}, a_{11}, a_{12}, a_{13}, a_{14}, a_{15}, a_{16}$  are equal to 1 if appropriate methods  $a_9, a_{10}, a_{11}, a_{12}, a_{13}, a_{14}, a_{15}, a_{16}$  are used, and are equal to 0 if appropriate methods  $a_9, a_{10}, a_{11}, a_{12}, a_{13}, a_{14}, a_{15}, a_{16}$  are not used.

#### 4. Information narcotization and hypnotic suggestion (T<sub>4</sub>)

The problem of information narcotization is addressed to in papers [20,27] and is reduced to overfilling individual consciousness with short information reports without any conceptualization of the latter. The process of rapidly changing news being not interrelated and having different subjects makes their uniform comprehension impossible and results in a gradual loss of logic ties. According to the experts [27], persons being subject to similar information effects “... generate a certain type of psychic state characterized by a low intellectual activity and a feeling of discomfort resulting from any mental effort. An ability to assess correctly the signaling value of environmental effects ceases to exist in time and, simultaneously, a tendency is acquired to consume willingly directive and regulating information of different kinds. A vicious circle is formed: deformed psyche can no longer maintain adequate interrelationship with the medium which makes such psyche still less active. When visiting a neuropathologist such persons look diffident, “puzzled”, impatiently trying to catch each pronounced phrase and repeating involuntarily separate words said by the doctor. Psychasthenia is the typical diagnosis made out in similar cases”.

Whenever a sense of reality is lost by an individual brought in this state through information narcotization, certain premises are **prepared for hypnotic suggestion of purpose information** on the background of stupefying information contamination. In this case, information intended for compulsory perception is presented in the form of a set of **logically interrelated** reports generating a preset integral image. Information narcotization can also be the case when entertaining matter is used. A variety of entertaining matter is capable of causing the feeling of sheer pleasure associated with extreme easiness of information possession (i.e. comprehension) and distraction from actual problems. As far as their physiology is concerned, the “sheer pleasure” effects may be compared with those of alcoholic or narcotic intoxication with abnormal dependence on the source of “pleasure” being generated.

The **optimum means** of information narcotization and hypnotic suggestion are represented by information reports and entertaining matter having low cognitive standards.

**Optimum object:** passive mass readers.

**Optimum carrier:** mass sociopolitical and entertaining publications.

**Response parameters (p<sub>4</sub>):**

- 1) **purpose of effects:** reducing the level of mass reader information demands, producing such information environment within which it would be impossible to built up cause-and-

effect relationship; increasing a degree of suggestibility; hypnotic suggestion of purpose directives;

2) **main risks:** suppression of individuality and development of crowd logic; “narcotic” dependence on similar information effects; inability to perceive information calling for mental efforts; discouragement of mass reader cognitive activity.

**Parameters of effects** (i.e. methods of effects, technique features):

1)  $a_{17}$ : a set of a great number of adjacent short information reports being not logically interrelated and having basically different subjects;

2)  $a_{16}$ : usage of entertaining matter based on the lower mass reader responses provoking the sense of “sheer pleasure” and not calling for any considerable mental effort.

**Response operators:**  $P_4 = (a_{16}+a_{17})/2$ , where values  $a_{16}$ ,  $a_{17}$  are equal to 1 if appropriate methods  $a_{16}$ ,  $a_{17}$  are used, and are equal to 0 if appropriate methods  $a_{16}$ ,  $a_{17}$  are not used.

### 5. Double-Stage Effects on Passive Readers ( $T_5$ )

There exist methods with the help of which the mass media are capable of stimulating the process of voluntary information exchange between members of the reading group and, therefore, acting on a particular social group from the inside [20] by mediation. As a rule, on the first reading of some information, for example, sensation-making information, separate members of the group begin to experience the need to convey such information to all around them. In this case, the use is made of the mutual requirement of individuals in self-assertion, as well as in assertion of individuality through demonstration of their knowledge.

The **optimum means** of double-stage effects are represented by information reports, sensation-, image-making and entertaining matter.

**Optimum object:** passive mass readers.

**Optimum carrier:** mass sociopolitical and entertaining publications.

**Response parameters ( $p_5$ ):**

1) **purpose of effects:** extension of the sphere of information effects to exceed the limits of the reading group; assurance of a high rate of propagation and large-scale discussion, desired value directives basing on opinions of authorities in this social group (for example, rumors and anecdotes circulate rather rapidly and penetrate readily in public consciousness, while the comments originating from informal leaders are frequently perceived as the truth);

2) **main risks:** excessive support of circulation of rumors may serve as a motivation for crowd logic formation, as well as reduce the significance of official information sources.

**Parameters of effects** (i.e. methods of effects, technique features)

1)  $a_{18}$ : presentation of brief information reports on the easily understood level or accompanied by sensationalism features;

2)  $a_{19}$ : mosaic deletion of information (each report is characterized, to a certain degree, by information excessiveness and, therefore, when certain information fragments are eliminated, hollows become instantly filled with fantasies growing subsequently into rumors, either positive or negative);

3)  $a_{20}$ : mentions of desired value directives in anecdotes and entertaining matter.

**Response operators:**  $P_5 = (a_{18}+a_{19}+a_{20})/3$ , where values  $a_{18}$ ,  $a_{19}$ ,  $a_{20}$  are equal to 1 if appropriate methods  $a_{18}$ ,  $a_{19}$ ,  $a_{20}$  are used, and are equal to 0 if appropriate methods  $a_{18}$ ,  $a_{19}$ ,  $a_{20}$  are not used.

### 6. Double-Stage Effects on Active Readers ( $T_6$ )

Unlike the case of the mass readers, double-stage effects on the active readers are characterized by the two following features:

1) exchange of information between individuals belonging to the group of active readers (any information obtained is transformed into new analytical articles, scientific-practical conferences, etc.);

2) effects by mediation on subdued structures (mass readers) and, first and foremost, within the sphere of professional activities: delivering lectures, writing articles for mass readers, army orders, talks, etc.

The **optimum means** of double-stage effects are represented by analytical and cognitive matter, information reports.

**Optimum object:** active readers.

**Optimum carrier:** analytical sociopolitical and cognitive publications.

**Response parameters (p<sub>6</sub>):**

1) **purpose of effects:** extension of the sphere of information effects to exceed the limits of the reading group; fixation in public consciousness of value directives supported by either informal (for example, scientific) authorities or administrative or commanding pressure;

2) **main risks:** may result in an excessively increased significance of informal leaders and reduced degree of confidence in official sources of information.

**Parameters of effects** (i.e. methods of effects, technique features):

1) **a<sub>21</sub>:** information support of social subject matter being preferred for a large-scale academic and scientific-practical discussion;

2) **a<sub>22</sub>:** publication of reference, methodical and cognitive matter intended to be conveyed to passive readers by mediation.

**Response operators:**  $P_6 = (a_{21}+a_{22})/2$ , where values  $a_{21}$ ,  $a_{22}$  are equal to 1 if appropriate methods  $a_{21}$ ,  $a_{22}$  are used, and are equal to 0 if appropriate methods  $a_{21}$ ,  $a_{22}$  are not used.

## 7. Enlightenment (T<sub>7</sub>)

Being the means of enhancement of the knowledge about the world around, the education is capable of promoting individuality, impeding the processes of crowd formation and contributing to the process of making individuals leave the group of mass readers and join the group of active readers.

The **optimum means** of enlightenment are represented by information reports, cognitive matter and, to a lesser degree, high-level entertaining matter stimulating mental activities.

**Optimum object:** passive mass readers.

**Optimum carrier:** mass sociopolitical and cognitive publications.

**Response parameters (p<sub>7</sub>):**

1) **purpose of effects:** arrangement of cognitive basis for self-identification of individuals and their switching over to socially active strata of the population;

2) **main risks:** utilization of cognitive matter as a shell intended for application of other methods of information effects (for example, the fact of attachment of sensational character thereto may result in circulation of rumors and sudden reversal of public opinion from the positive value to the negative one, or vice versa).

**Parameters of effects** (i.e. methods of effects, technique features):

1) **a<sub>23</sub>:** presentation of information reports in a logically interrelated sequence being suitable for uniform perception;

2) **a<sub>24</sub>:** presentation of cognitive matter on the level to be easily understood by the mass readers;

3) **a<sub>25</sub>:** utilization of the entertaining matter carrying helpful information and stimulating cognitive activities (for example, extension of knowledge in the sphere of geography or history through adventures, traveling, science fiction).

**Response operators:**  $P_7 = (a_{23}+a_{24}+a_{25})/3$ , where values  $a_{23}$ ,  $a_{24}$ ,  $a_{25}$  are equal to 1 if appropriate methods  $a_{23}$ ,  $a_{24}$ ,  $a_{25}$  are used, and are equal to 0 if appropriate methods  $a_{23}$ ,  $a_{24}$ ,  $a_{25}$  are not used.

## 8. Multi-Argumentation (T<sub>8</sub>)

The principal method of information effects on active readers is based on persuasion and over-persuasion on a conscious level. While trying to find answers to points of interests any

socially active individual applies to all potential sources of information (including mass, cognitive, entertaining and children's sources). Conclusions made by such individual are only based on a great number of arguments supplied thereto by different information channels. In this case, individuals proceed on the grounds of analytical matter that proves or disproves their basic assumptions and motivate the research and analysis processes.

The **optimum means** of multi-argumentation are represented by information reports, analytical articles.

**Optimum object:** active readers.

**Optimum carrier:** first of all, analytical sociopolitical publications, as well as all other sources of information.

**Response parameters ( $p_8$ ):**

1) **purpose of effects:** modification of value directives of active readers on a conscious level.

**Parameters of effects** (i.e. methods of effects, technique features):

1)  $a_{26}$ : utilization of comprehensive (i.e. through all possible channels of information effects) arguments expressing their "pro" and "contra" in respect of preset value directive.

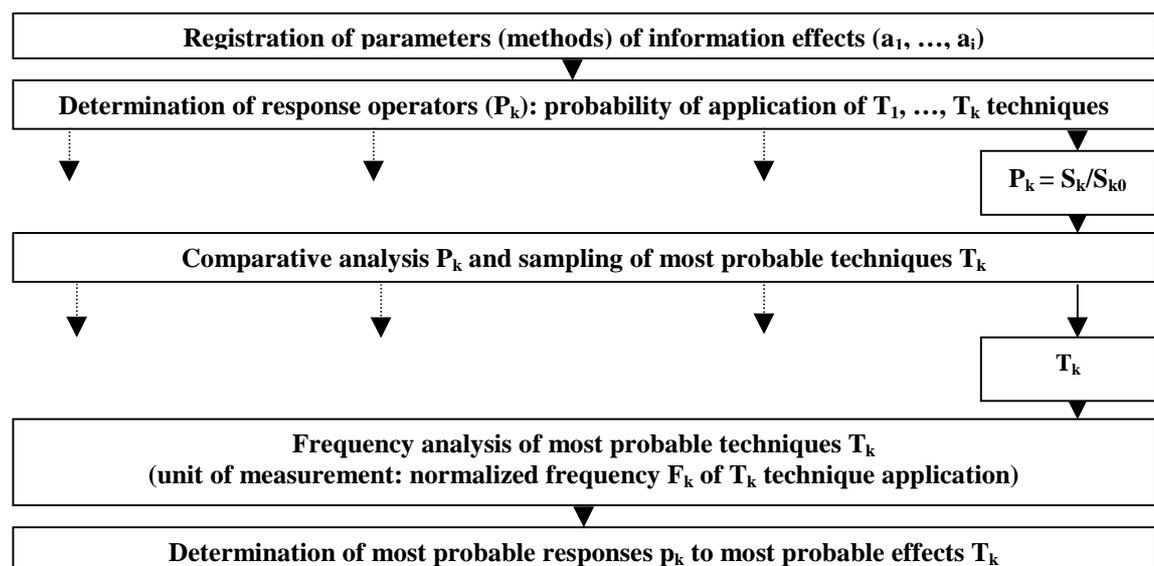
**Response operators:**  $P_8 = a_{26}$ , where value  $a_{26}$  is equal to 1 if appropriate methods  $a_{26}$  are used, and is equal to 0 if appropriate methods  $a_{26}$  are not used.

### 2.3.3. Analysis of Information Psycho-Techniques by "Correspondence Method"

The structure of the "correspondence method" is rather similar to that associated with the reversible content-analysis and, in addition, provides for the frequency analysis of textual materials. The general arrangement of the "correspondence method" is shown in Fig.2.

Shown in Fig.3 are the stages of study at which the "correspondence method" may be incorporated into the general content-analysis structure presented in Fig.1.

**Subject of study:** information domain in Ukraine and Ukraine-NATO integration.



**Fig.2.** General arrangement of "correspondence method".

As a rule, the "correspondence method" is characterized by the two analysis levels. The entire issue of a single publication as a whole is analyzed **on the first level**, since the combined information effects on readers are formed in the process of reviewing the entire issue

(including all its pages and information matter). In this case, information techniques being typical of a given publication are determined. The specific analysis category is investigated **on the second level**. In these case, textual materials on immediate pages are analyzed along with the article wherein this analysis category is fixed, since the particular information environment frequently provides for conditions under which one or another method of effects is implemented. In this circumstances the information techniques utilized in the process of formation of either positive or negative attitude to this analysis category are determined.

**Units of measurements** pertaining to the “correspondence method” involve the values serving for quantitative description of information psycho-techniques, namely:

1) the **fact of application** of methods of information effects  $a_j$  within a single object of study (for example, within a single issue of a mass sociopolitical newspaper) is intended for determination of the most probable technique of information effects ( $T_k$ ) which is applied within a **single** specific issue of the object of study;

2) the **normalized frequency** defining a total number of occurrences of this information effects technique  $T_k$  in all sampled issues of the object of study which is divided by the sampling length (number of issues):  $F_k = F(m, n)$ ,  $F_k = F(m, r)$ .

**The major prediction results based on the “correspondence method” are as follows:**

1) determination of the most probable information effects techniques applied in respect of a particular publication or specific topical expressions in a specific sampling of periodical publications;

2) determination of the most probable responses to the most probable techniques of information effects.

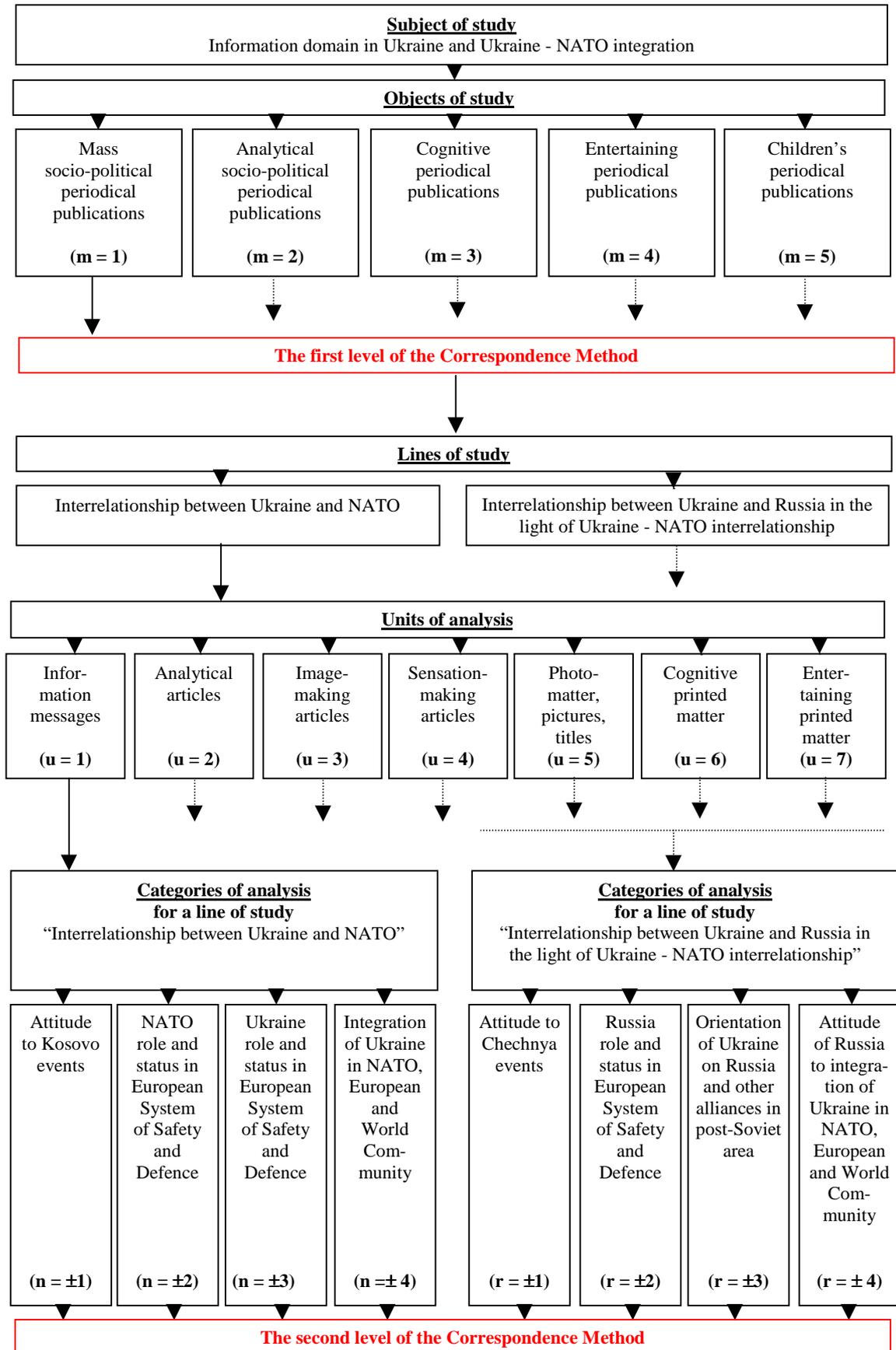
The subject of further study involves determination of the most complete set of logic-mathematical characteristics of information effects. However, it may be stated right away that outwardly innocent and customary enough textual matter may serve as an effective means of information psycho-techniques.

## 2.4. OTHER METHODS

The other methods that were additionally applied in the process of the comprehensive analysis of information domain in Ukraine are as follows:

- 1) expeditions to north-eastern regions of Ukraine;
- 2) pilot sociological polls;
- 3) seminars-discussions pertaining to the subject matter of the study, participation in scientific conferences;
- 4) preparation and publications of papers, reference, methodical and other printed matter;
- 5) initiation of scientific research along the lines closely associated with the subject of this paper;
- 6) individual work with heads and leading specialists of institutions of higher learning and research organizations;
- 7) individual work with managerial staff of printed mass media.

The above methods are applied with the following aims: collection of primary data, clarification of quantitative analysis results, attraction of attention to the subject of study (information domain in Ukraine and Ukraine-NATO integration).



**Fig.3.** “Correspondence method” into the general content-analysis structure.

## CHAPTER III

### COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION DOMAIN IN UKRAINE

Determination of the position of one's nation within a rapidly changing geopolitical domain, adequate perception of actual and imaginary threats to international safety, separation of close and distant neighbors into "friends" and "enemies" depend, first of all, on the level of education (i.e. the level of being informed) of the society, as well as on generation of the so called "high-level" and "low-level" geopolitical conceptions [31,32]. The "high-level" conceptions are formulated in the state authorities documents like the national safety concept, military doctrine, etc. The "low-level" conceptions are composed of a combination of images and myths suggested to individuals in the process of their socialization (socialization through mass media being included). As it is stated on the matter in paper [32], "Mass media form to a considerable degree geopolitical conceptions in the society and, on a larger scale, define a character of the new world geopolitical order, thus promoting its legitimization in the light of perception by the bulk of the population of the supremacy of the world center over periphery".

This Chapter is addressed to the results of experimental investigations of printed mass media under the aspect of cultivation within the Ukrainian population of "low-level" conceptions regarding NATO as one of the most influential military-political international organizations.

No investigation of the structure of information streams and prediction of consequences of information effects may be possible without public consciousness features being known. Therefore, the information domain comprehensive analysis is preceded by a brief review of social-psychological characteristics of Ukraine under lingering crisis conditions.

### 3.1. SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION OF UKRAINE UNDER LINGERING CRISIS CONDITIONS

#### 3.1.1. General Assessment of Deformation of Public Consciousness in Ukraine

The lingering crisis, extreme impoverishment and social defenseless of the bulk of the population, exceptionally high level of unemployment (latent unemployment level exceeds 50 %) resulted in **paralogism of social interaction** and deformation of public consciousness in Ukraine. Deep demographic changes are taking place in the state. The population grows old, the birth rate goes down steadily and, at the same time, the number of needy individuals, the level of unemployment or incomplete employment are increased. Observed are "considerable changes in mass psychology which, although being controversial, display, in general, increased social tension" [33]. According to the investigation results, **the features of crisis consciousness in a post-totalitarian society are characteristic of Ukraine at the present moment of time.**

First of all, this involves the concept of "**stress of social changes**", i.e. the conditions under which any drastic changes result in disorganization of life of an individual and the entire society. This concept was given an official status by the World Health Organization. As it was reported by the Russian Internet-publications, Russian psychiatrists cannot hide their anxiety now. The social situation in Ukraine is also rather grave. The large-scale stress consequences are daily experienced by each individual being forced to use public transport, buy products on markets and visit public places. Such a powerful flood of irritation, intolerance towards each other and cruelty experienced towards one's neighbour were not known ten years ago. According to psychiatrists, the above conditions are caused by the rapidly changed entire system

of coordinates: power, ideals, values thereto the mentality of an average statistical citizen of the former USSR proved to be completely unprepared.

Another feature of the Ukrainian society which has taken shape historically [34] may be expressed as the “**social solidarity lack**” resulting from a great concentration of the forced social power that one individual has had over another one. The power that combined the Soviet people into the society originated from the outside, i.e. from the state or other sources of compulsion and, however, least of all, from the ability of people for self-organization, voluntary unification with the aim to protect their long-term interests and prospects. The society was formed by the state with the preference being given to all-round regulation. No counterweight to the state absolutism was available. Any embryos of such social counterweights as independent churches, local autonomies, unrestrained private business were severely suppressed.

Inadequate psychological ability for self-organization results in an increased need of an individual to be controlled from the outside, i.e. by the state. Therefore, as early as in the Soviet Union area a complex of feelings took shape in mass psychology which justified the existence of the superpower, the so called **state conformism**, i.e. worship of power and force, contempt of selfhood, obedience, instinctive demand for a tough, nearly totalitarian system of state administration [34].

**Infantilism** [34] is another typical feature of mass consciousness in Ukraine. The people who lived under the state super-custody conditions over decades are foredoomed to acquire pronounced features of infantilism. The specific symptoms of the complex of infantilism are as follows:

- 1) waiting for some help from the outside in a difficult situation without consideration of one's own strength;
- 2) looking for other persons or bodies guilty of social and personal problems;
- 3) lack of a sense of responsibility, duty;
- 4) behavioral and consciousness imitations.

The feeling of nostalgia for the socialist system of the uniform distribution of material wealth may be set as one of the examples of infantilism.

The “**ideas of comparative communism**” [35] implying the common notion that “... we used to live better” still dominate in the Ukrainian society. This particular feature drove to a certain disintegration of the Ukrainian society characterized by the conditions under which one portion of the population orients itself on the socialist past, while the other portion is oriented on the development and improvement of the present-day society, despite all its disadvantages.

This disintegration is further aggravated by the **absence of “integrative ideology”** that would explain and justify the current transformations and difficulties surmounted by the population of Ukraine. The multinational group of people occupying the common geographical area would not be capable of **identifying themselves as the Ukrainian people** without such ideology. Hence, Ukraine is facing the problem of national integration apart from the problem of integration in the foreign (world) geopolitical domain. The criteria (national, territorial and other criteria) of “integrative ideology” formation can hardly be found in a situation when the socially unprotected strata of the population do not enlist any practical support on the part of the state. Therefore, the idea of integration of Ukraine as an independent state in the world community is basically interpreted by public consciousness through personal material interests and, to a lesser degree, through interests of the whole country [37].

Such a situation resulted in a number of social divergences a certain portion of which is normally disproved by a stable society and, more than that, in a reduced social control through socialization and increased social control through group pressure, material compulsion or material dependence. In other words, a new system (however, rather similar to the Soviet system) of interrelationship between the population and state which is characterized by conscious rejection of any active position has taken shape in Ukraine. The steady feeling of dete-

rioration of individual social and financial positions, passive rejection or even disrespect of acts of authorities are typical of the majority of the population. **Multiple social groups and individuals are oriented first of all on purely material, momentary egoistic interests. Therefore, no measures undertaken by the state authorities and not resulting in a quick improvement of the financial position can normally enlist support on the part of broad strata of the population.** As soon as such phenomena become to manifest themselves on a mass scale, they grow into the basic forms of oppositionism.

### 3.1.2. Typology of Social Divergences

The concept of “social divergence” implies such behavior of an individual or a group of individuals that does not conform to generally accepted norms [22]. The social divergences displayed in the form of activities carried out for the purpose of development of generally accepted values, i.e. the divergences of **stabilizing character** are maintained and remunerated in a stable society. Violations of moral (ethical) norms and laws are criticized and severely punished. Social divergences play a dual, controversial role in a transformable, steadily changing society where a uniform and permanent system of norms does not exist, while numerous moral and cultural values conflict with each other. On the one hand, diverging behavior is one of the ways of adaptation for social changes. On the other hand, they may **present a threat to stability** in those cases when social divergences disapproved by a stable society become customary and even approved. In these circumstances the generally accepted moral norms cease to control the behavior of individuals belonging to separate strata or even the bulk of the state population. Thus, for example, if the law is frequently violated by the representatives of practically all social groups (including representatives of state authorities), the following question is raised: is the diverging behaviour typical of criminals or non-criminals in this society?

**Ukraine as a socially unstable society under the lingering economic crisis conditions is characterized to a considerable extent by destabilizing social divergences criticized by the dominating moral of the world community, which include the following:**

**1. ANOMY.** The presence of a great number of conflicting norms in the daily practice makes the unique choice of a behavioral line impossible, i.e. results in anomy [22] implying no-norm conditions. As it was stressed by Parsons T, a well-known sociologist, “unreliable behavior is a normal response to those conditions” [38]. One of the anomy reasons lies in impossibility to comply with the norms being habitual for individuals. Contradictions existing between purposes and legal means of their attainment may be set as an example thereto. Mass non-payments and low wages, disproportionally high cost of public utilities and prices for the goods of urgent necessity, as well as many other anomalies characteristic of present-day Ukraine serve as a stimulus making many members of the society look for illegal ways to solve their problems, i.e. diverge from the generally accepted moral behavioral patterns.

**2. JUSTIFICATION NORMS.** This concept represents another phenomenon being brought to life whenever certain actions desired to be taken by many individuals are forbidden by moral norms. Justification norms involve value criteria with the help of which people can justify existence of any forbidden desires and deeds [22]. In most cases, the presence of justification norms is associated with frequent violations of norms that is not followed by any punishment. Justification norms are only subject to the existence of a model of violation that is recognized and sanctioned by one of the society groups. This particular model will be regarded then as a justification norm. Numerous models of sanctioned violations brought about the conditions under which such phenomena as petty theft of the state property, corruption, economic crimes, individualism and egoism are approved by sufficiently numerous Ukrainian social groups oriented on personal material interests.

**3. MARGINALIZATION.** Marginalization or social withdrawal is understood as a situation in which people withdraw from participation in social exchange, are deprived of the

chance and right to display their social activity and social recognition due to poverty, inequality and structural transformations in the society [39]. As far as Ukraine is concerned, marginalization is recognized as the result of transient processes which gave rise to the conditions under which some people could adapt themselves and those incapable of doing it formed socially passive strata of the population. Social apathy, feeling of hopelessness, readiness to support any, most reactionary forces being capable of bringing people out of this state represent the basic distinctive feature of such strata.

### 3.2. GENERAL CHARACTERISTIC OF INFORMATION DOMAIN IN UKRAINE

According to a number of experts, the process of formation and utilization of the national information domain in present-day Ukraine is accompanied by mistakes and non-professionalism. No initiative is practically displayed by the state to contribute to the process of integration of Ukraine in the world information domain. New information techniques (first and foremost, computer techniques) are not all-embracing (according to the data obtained from different sources, the share of the Ukrainian population making regular use of Internet services accounts for about 2 %).

Insufficient profitability of most sociopolitical printed publications renders them dependent on financial and political quarters. Other opportunities for illegal restriction of information streams and mass media are frequently used. All this presents ample opportunities for practically uncontrolled manipulation of public opinion. Furthermore, corporative interests and a low level of inherent political culture frequently displayed by mass media often result in negative effects on public consciousness and psyche of separate citizens. Lower spiritual demands are intensively exploited by multiple inferior entertaining publications for commercial purposes with generally accepted systems of values being affected.

The processes and tendencies characteristic of the information domain are not practically monitored for the purpose of placing it in correspondence with the national interests of the state which is especially important under conditions of massive external information effects. Ukraine of today is in no position to fill its market with home information products. The Ukrainian mass media are often incapable of withstanding competition with foreign mass media even on the home market both under the economic and professional aspects. These gaps are filled first of all with Russian mass media: printed publications, television channels, radio broadcasting stations, Internet-resources. As far as the market interests are concerned, re-translation or resale of the Russian information products are more profitable than production of the Ukrainian ones. Russian news reports are translated by most television channels. It may be interesting to note that, unlike Ukrainian television news reports, the Russian news reports are more meaningful and lengthy. The only exception is made of separate Ukrainian television channels (for example, "1+1"), separate central mass sociopolitical newspapers (for example, "Dien", Fakty i Kommentarii"), as well as regional television channels and printed publications. As far as the regional mass media are concerned, they belong to the sphere of highly profitable business. Being of entertaining commercial character, they are intended first of all for satisfaction of the most common mass information demands. However, in this case too the materials are based on Russian or other foreign publications which are not often referred to.

**Basing on the above, some factors forming the present-day domain of Ukraine may be singled out:**

1. Sociopolitical mass media of **Russian origin**. They are distinguished by a high professional level and popularity. As far as effects on public consciousness are concerned, they are notable for the absence of extremism and form, most likely, pro-Russian philosophy of life. Although negative statements in respect of NATO and West are not decisive, they are characterized by a sufficient degree of criticism.

2. Sociopolitical all-Ukrainian mass media of **Ukrainian origin** intended for the **socially active** part of the population of Ukraine. They do not belong to the most common mass media but, nevertheless, are able to form a positive attitude to the West and a critical attitude to Russia.

3. Sociopolitical all-Ukrainian mass media of **Ukrainian origin** intended for the **socially passive** part of the population of Ukraine. The mass media of this kind involve the printed publications representing a rare exception, i.e. the situation in which the Ukrainian products are as popular as the Russian ones. Their popularity is associated first of all with a rather low price attributed to the financial support on the part of quarters involved, as well as with a selection of the matter being easily understood by the most uneducated strata of the population. These publications (for example, "Fakty i Kommentarii", "Siegodnya") can be hardly referred to the ones forming public consciousness of a certain orientation. Most likely, the situation is just the opposite, i.e. they render public consciousness commonplace, not oriented on any specific points and priorities. They are distinguished by orientation on the problems of home policy and absence of any pro-Russian or pro-Western lines.

4. Sociopolitical **regional Ukrainian** mass media. They are distinguished by a rather low professional level and popularity as compared with Russian or all-Ukrainian publications, as well as by small circulations. They may represent most different political quarters, including pro-communist, pro-fascist, Russian nationalistic and Ukrainian nationalistic quarters. Therefore, they sometimes permit extremely negative statements both in respect of the West and Russia. In a situation when those negative reports are not opposed by any neutralizing information, they may, in principle, cause a considerable deformation of public consciousness in this region.

At the present moment of time those factors are poorly governed and are not used properly. No system scientific approach to their analysis and control is available. One has grown to understand just lately that the conditions of the national information domain are directly related to the matters of national safety and European identification of Ukraine.

### **3.3. FEATURES OF INFORMATION EFFECTS, ORIENTED ON FORMATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDE TO UKRAINE-NATO INTEGRATION**

The methods of the information domain comprehensive analysis were adopted for investigation of distinctive features of information techniques in Ukraine. The above methods were described in Chapter II. First of all, three groups of printed publications were singled out for this purpose, including the following:

#### **Publications taking considerable effects on public consciousness:**

1. All-Ukrainian mass sociopolitical publications: "Fakty i Kommentarii", "Siegodnya", "Dien", "Kiyevskiy Viedomosti". They are characterized by a similar political orientation and express the interests of the active President of Ukraine.

2. A number of entertaining publications oriented on the mass readers. The purposes of these entertaining publications are purely commercial. Their information intension is oriented on the lowest and most common value categories. This matter is represented first of all by the following categories: 1) eroticism, including evident pornography, in youth publications, as well; 2) mysticism; 3) criminal subject matter frequently romanticizing a criminal mode of life; 4) mass culture. As a rule, those publications are not used with political aims. However, they bring about a considerable deformation of public consciousness, promote crowd logic formation under conditions of the lingering crisis and general reduction of the level of spiritual demands of the Ukrainian population.

#### **Publications promoting and strengthening existing directives:**

1. These publications are first of all represented by the Russian mass sociopolitical publications ("Komsomolskaya Pravda", "Izvestiya", etc.). Those Russian publications are rather

popular in Ukraine which explains why they serve as the principal source of negative views in respect of NATO.

2. Separate regional publications. These publications normally maintain negative directives in respect of NATO being traditional for the former Soviet Union. However, they rather pay a tribute to the tradition and are not involved in any special information campaign.

**Publication taking poor effects on public consciousness:**

1. Publications of the Communist Party of Ukraine and Russia which are characterized by a downright anti-NATO and anti-Western position. Those publications have a low purchasing capacity, while their readers are extremely limited.

2. Most regional mass sociopolitical publications. As a rule, these publications do not have their own image and face great material problems. They are characterized by a low professional level, information famine, readiness to contain practically any finished materials proposed thereto and make any compromises (especially provided financial support is granted). Nevertheless, such publications should be taken into account, since they may become the means of joint regional information policy of Ukraine and NATO due to their availability and relative controllability. Despite low circulation and popularity, these newspapers are still sellable, first and foremost, due to their low prices and a chance to read local gossip columns.

**The investigation results described below are referred to the publications taking considerable effects on public consciousness.** They are based on the results of two basis and a number of test experiments: the 1<sup>st</sup> basis experiment: December, 1999; the 2<sup>nd</sup> basis experiment: December, 2000. Subject of study: “Information domain and Ukraine-NATO integration”.

A topical sampling of mass socio-political publications circulating in the area of Kharkov and Kharkov region was made proceeding from the formulation of the subject of study (Fig.1). Selected for the content-analysis of the first level were the following daily newspapers being similar in their political orientation: 1) “Siegodnya”; 2) “Fakty i Kommentarii”; 3) “Dien”; 4) “Kiyevskiye Viedomosti”. The two former newspapers are intended for the most popular readers, even those belonging to the poorly educated and insufficiently provided for population strata, while the two latter newspapers are oriented both on popular readers characterized, however, by a higher degree of interest in information (including analytics within their reach) and a group of more active readers (analysts, scientists, managing personnel, etc.). The first three newspapers are published 5 days a week, while the “Kiyevskiye Viedomosti newspaper is published 6 days a week. In addition, the “Golos Ukrayiny” and “Uryadovy Kuriyer” newspapers expressing the official views of the Supreme Council and Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, respectively, were chosen to find out the official position of the state authorities.

**The first basis experiment was carried out on the background of the following events:** 1) the European Union summit (Helsinki, December 10, 1999) which was addressed, first and foremost, to the problems of contemporary transformations in Europe; 2) the agreement on the establishment by Russia and Byelorussia of an allied state was ratified by the State Duma of Russia (Moscow, December 13, 1999); 3) the meeting between the Foreign Ministers representing the NATO countries (Brussels, December 15, 1999); one of the crucial matters which were discussed at the meeting concerned the formation of a military corps of fast-deployment European forces and, beside it, the session of the “Ukraine - NATO” Committee was held within the framework of this meeting; 4) V. Yushchenko was appointed to the post of the Prime Minister of Ukraine by the Decree of the President of Ukraine (December 22, 1999).

A short 5-day sampling (i.e. 5 issues of each publication) from December 14 to December 18, 1999 was made to reduce the number of newspapers under study (content-analysis first level). In this case, the total number of references to each category “n” and “r” in all of

the issues (combined frequency  $f_n$  and  $f_r$ ) was taken as the evaluative characteristic in respect of the short sampling.

**The first level** of the content-analysis showed a stereotype distribution of the number of references to the analysis categories (Fig.4 and Fig.5): 1) in respect of a pair of “Siegodnya” and “Fakty i Kommentarii” newspapers; 2) in respect of a pair of “Dien” and “Kiyevskiye Viedomosti” newspapers. Consequently, such a situation enables to remove one newspaper from each pair. However, only the “Siegodnya” newspaper was practically removed to guarantee the reliable investigation results. The selection was made according to the criteria of circulation, purchasing capacity and a possibility to buy the newspapers at each random trading outlet, i.e. the distinctive features making those publications an effective means of the information effects on the mass strata of the population in a specific region of Ukraine.

**The second level** of the content-analysis was based on three publications (“Fakty i Kommentarii”, “Dien”, “Kiyevskiye Viedomosti”). The basis sampling was represented by the length of 10 issues published within December 14 - 25, 1999 (two weeks, each containing 5 issues), the frequency was normalized for 10.

The second-level results are represented in Fig.6 and Fig.7. The Fig.6 diagrams presenting the values of normalized frequency  $F$  for each category “n” and “r” bring about the following conclusions:

1. The basis sampling supported the results which were obtained in respect of the short sampling.

2. The information of category  $n = 4$  (integration of Ukraine in NATO, European and World Community), category  $r = 1$  (attitude to events in Chechnya), category  $r = 3$  (orientation of Ukraine on Russia and other alliances in the post-Soviet area) could be most frequently found in all three publications.

3. The “Fakty i Kommentarii” newspaper contains a more or less **similar** number of positive and negative reports of “Euro-Atlantic” and “Russian” orientation.

4. The “Euro-Atlantic” orientation reports published in the “Dien” and “Kiyevskiye Viedomosti” newspapers are mainly **positive**, while the “Russian” orientation reports are mainly **negative**.

The Fig.7 diagrams show the combined (i.e. for all analysis categories) value of normalized frequency  $F$  for each analysis unit “u”, that is, for a specific type of printed matter. Those diagrams enable to conclude the following:

1. The “Fakty i Kommentarii” newspaper mostly represents each analysis category in the form of **information reports**, the photographic materials and titles also being used.

2. A considerable portion of **analytical** matter supplements the information reports, photographic materials and titles in the “Dien” and “Kiyevskiye Viedomosti” newspapers.

The content-analysis of the second level provides sufficient grounds for making certain analytical conclusions and singling out new subjects for a more thorough study.

#### **Second-level conclusions:**

1. Each publication applies the optimum means of presentation of materials for a given group of readers (“Fakty i Kommentarii” - information messages for mass readers; “Dien” and “Kiyevskiye Viedomosti” - a combination of information reports and analytical matter for more active readers).

2. No direct influence is currently exerted on the public consciousness of mass (passive and mostly prevailing) readers with a view to generating a positive or negative attitude to the “Euro-Atlantic” or “Russian” problems (the “Fakty i Kommentarii” newspaper serving as a tool for such influence).

3. The information intended for effecting a more active reader may be characterized, first and foremost, by the positive “Euro-Atlantic” and negative “Russian” approach (in this case, the “Dien” and “Kiyevskiye Viedomosti” newspapers).

4. Basing on point 2 and 3 one may conclude that the governing bodies of Ukraine are not prepared under the present economic and geopolitical conditions to make a public declaration

before the mass audience as to the final official choice of the “Euro-Atlantic” trend in the foreign policy. This may imply that the “Euro-Atlantic choice” is being brought to life with utmost care and tact, thorough consideration of “anti-West” (and, especially, “anti-NATO”) state of predominating public opinion in Ukraine and dependence (first of all, energy dependence) on Russia.

5. Proceeding from point 2 and 3 (as well as from the results of public pilot polling) a conclusion may be made that the extreme “anti-NATO” and extreme “pro-Russian” attitudes on the part of the absolute majority of the mass (passive) readers and a considerable portion of more active readers took shape as early as under the Soviet Union information monopolism.

6. The direct information influence exerted with the purpose of generation of reasonable, conscious attitude to the problems of “Euro-Atlantic” and “Russian” orientation is focused on the most active and educated reader possessing an ability of mobile perception. The passive readers are effected today by mediation, i.e. through the active readers.

7. Given below are some new subjects of study singled out with the purpose of initiation of a more profound investigation of the basic subject (“Information Domain and Ukraine - NATO Integration) and transition to the third, deeper level of the content-analysis:

- 1) Integration of Ukraine in NATO, European and World Community.
- 2) Orientation of Ukraine on Russia and other Alliances in Post-Soviet Area.

The results of the content-analysis of the official mass media (“Golos Ukrayiny” and “Uryadovy Kuriyer”, basis sampling length coming to 10 issues from December 14 to December 25, 1999) support the above conclusions. The Fig.8 diagrams presenting the values of normalized frequency F for each category “n” and “r” result in the following conclusion: 1) there is no explicit “positive” or “negative” attitude to Russia which gives another evidence of a thoroughly considered and careful approach to the Ukrainian-Russian problems; 2) the “positive” attitude to NATO, European and World Community indicating the priority tendencies of the foreign policy of Ukraine is rather explicit indeed.

**Application of the “correspondence method” alongside with the content-analysis enabled to assess the effectiveness of the lines of information effects described above.** As it was noted in Section 2.3., each group of readers is associated with optimum information psycho-techniques. The effectiveness of effects is maximum, provided the above optimum conditions are met.

The “correspondence method” is rather complicated in use and demands for a special software to enter data by computer means and process experiment results. Therefore, this paper is first of all addressed to **the first level of analysis** (see Fig.3). It certainly proves correct since the specific psycho-techniques are typical first of all for a specific publication as a whole, rather than for a specific analysis category and rarely vary from issue to issue. Proceeding from the content-analysis results described above, the “correspondence method” was applied to two mass sociopolitical newspapers: “Fakty i Kommentarii” and “Dien” during the period from December 14 to December 18, 1999 (sampling length: 5 issues of each edition).

The quantitative analysis has shown that the following methods of effects were applied for the publications specified above:

**“Fakty i Kommentarii”**: a<sub>1</sub>, a<sub>2</sub>, a<sub>3</sub>, a<sub>5</sub>, a<sub>6</sub>, a<sub>7</sub>, a<sub>10</sub>, a<sub>14</sub>, a<sub>15</sub>, a<sub>16</sub>, a<sub>17</sub>, a<sub>18</sub>.

**“Dien”**: a<sub>1</sub>, a<sub>2</sub>, a<sub>4</sub>, a<sub>5</sub>, a<sub>22</sub>, a<sub>23</sub>, a<sub>24</sub>, a<sub>26</sub>.

The features of discovered methods which indicate their presence in printed matter are described in detail in Section 2.3.2.

These data allow to define the most probable techniques of information effects distribution of which is shown in Table 1.

$P_k$ : conventional probability of use of Technique $T_k$	“Fakty i Kommentarii”	“Dien”
$P_1$ : object-oriented effects	0.80	0.80
$P_2$ : information monopolism	0.67	0
$P_3$ : crowd logic cultivation	0.50	0
$P_4$ : information narcotization and hypnotic suggestion	1	0
$P_5$ : double-stage effects on passive readers	0.33	0
$P_6$ : double-stage effects on active readers	0	1
$P_7$ : enlightenment	0	0.67
$P_8$ : multi-argumentation	0	1

**Table 1**

Probable consequences of similar information effects are described in Section 2.3. Appropriate formulas specified in Section 2.3.2. were applied for calculation of the  $P_k$  values.

The additional **second-level** analysis allowed to isolate the techniques adopted in the process of publication of materials pertaining to the subject of study “Information Domain in Ukraine and Ukraine-NATO Integration”:

1. The “Fakty i Kommentarii” newspaper makes use of the elements of “information narcotization”; in this case, this technique is not target-oriented in respect of the “West-Ukraine-Russia” triangle (the number of positive and negative references is more or less similar) and is rather the basic technique applied by this publication. Besides, the factors of “information monopolism” and “crowd logic cultivation” are present. To state it differently, the techniques being most optimum for the mass passive readers for whom the “Fakty i Kommentarii” newspaper is intended prevail in this publication.

2. The “Dien” newspaper applies “multi-argumentation”, “enlightenment”, “double-stage effects on active readers” with the aim of effects on passive readers by mediation. Those techniques are optimum for the **active** readers for whom the “Dien” newspaper is intended.

The object-oriented effects ( $P_1 = 0.8$ ) are typical of both newspapers. This shows that the information effects features found with the help of the content-analysis and “correspondence method” are not occasional. Each of these newspapers implements its own information program oriented on attainment of a specific task.

**The second basis experiment was carried out during the period from December 1 to December 14, 2000. The objective of this experiment is to trace modifications of the features of information effects oriented on the formation of population attitude to the problem of Ukraine-NATO integration.** The basic factors that might result in potential changes are as follows: 1) the extensive time period which has passed from the initiation of the peace-making operation in Kosovo; 2) substitution of the governing bodies in Yugoslavia and re-entry of this state in the World Community; 3) replacement of the Foreign Minister of Ukraine.

The latter factor is of special interest from the viewpoint of likely changes in the foreign political priorities in Ukraine. In October, 2000 Boris Tarasiuk, the Foreign Minister of Ukraine and the person recognized as the supporter of Euro-Atlantic integration who gave a special consideration to interrelationship with USA, was made to submit his resignation. Certain politicians found him responsible for aggravation of relations with Russia. The position of the Foreign Minister was taken instead by Anatoliy Zlenko (who was the Ambassador of Ukraine in France at the time). It may not be completely dismissed that those events could forebode the change in the foreign political priorities within the “West – Ukraine – Russia” triangle of interrelationship. On October 23, 2000 A. Zlenko paid a visit to Russia. That was his first visit as the Foreign Minister. His meeting with V. Putin, the President of Russia, was

denoted by the Russian mass media as the “diplomatic break-through”, since A. Zlenko declared at the meeting that a new phase of Ukraine-Russia interrelationship was initiated.

Landmarks of foreign policy and, consequently, programs of target-oriented information effects on the population may not be changed overnight. Therefore, the second basis experiment was carried out in early December, 2000, i.e. some time following the above events. The “Dien” and “Fakty i Kommentarii” newspapers were chosen as the object of study. According to the first experiment results, the above newspapers were found to be among the most efficient tools of information effects. The “Golos Ukrayiny” and “Uryadovy Kuriyer” newspapers being the official publications of the state authorities were also brought to analysis. The basis sampling consisted of 10 issues of each publication.

The additional information background was provided for the second experiment by the following events: 1) on November 17, 2000 the negotiations between Viktor Yushchenko, the Prime Minister of Ukraine, and Mikhail Kasiyanov, the Prime Minister of Russia, were carried on in Moscow; those negotiations were addressed to the matters concerning the delivery of Russian gas to Ukraine and, in the opinion of Russian and Ukrainian mass media, were a “complete failure” for Ukraine; 2) on November 20, 2000 the discussion of programs for formation of the European Rapid Deployment Force was completed in Brussels at the special meeting of the Defense Ministers of countries belonging to the European Union; 3) on December 1, 2000 the CIS summit was held in Minsk (Byelorussia); 4) on December 7, 2000 the EU summit was open in Nice; the prospects of EU expansion to the East, as well as interaction between the EU-developed Rapid Deployment Force and NATO were among the key issues at the summit.

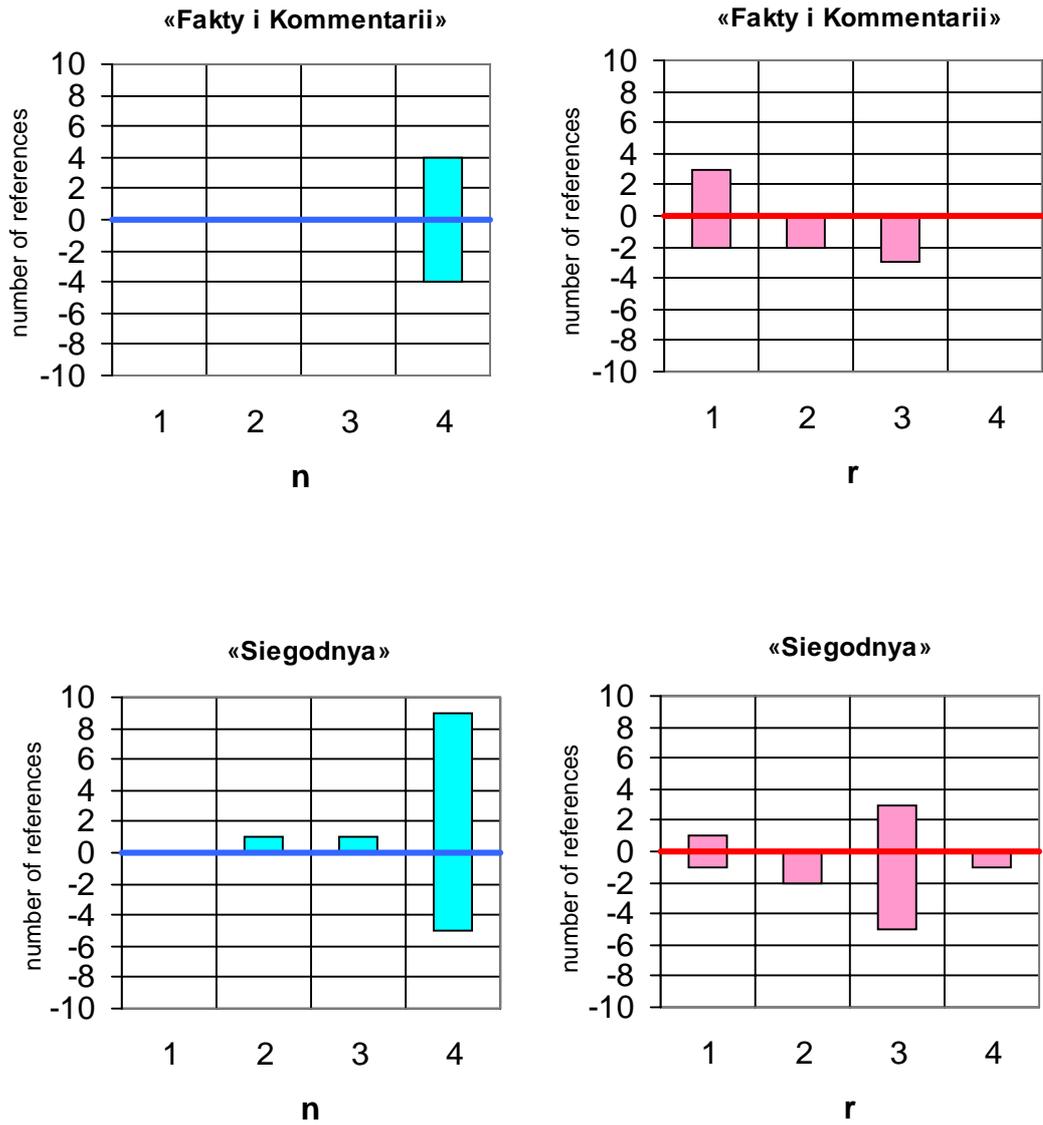
The results of the latest study are represented in Fig.9 where the values of normalized frequency  $F$  are given in respect of each category “n” and “r”. This Figure does not show the diagram for the “Fakty i Kommentarii” newspaper, since there is not any basic difference between this diagram and the similar one for December, 1999. The nearly **similar** quantity of positive and negative reports of “Euro-Atlantic” and “Russian” orientation is still characteristic of this newspaper. This proves that the most common (passive) strata of the population continue to be withdrawn from the sphere of effects of information programs molding public opinion in respect of foreign policy of Ukraine.

The target-oriented information effects on the active strata of the population may be clearly seen in the diagram for the “Dien” newspaper. **Positive** topical expressions of category  $n = 4$  (integration of Ukraine in NATO, European and World Community), as well as **negative** topical expressions of category  $r = 3$  (orientation of Ukraine on Russia and other alliances in the post-Soviet area) prevail in this publication. It is characteristic that the Kosovo subject is not touched upon by any of the publications.

The content-analysis of the “Golos Ukrayiny” and “Uryadovy Kuriyer” newspapers shows that any negative statements are avoided by official powers. The positive statements refer first of all to categories  $n = 4$  (integration of Ukraine in NATO, European and World Community) and  $r = 3$  (orientation of Ukraine on Russia and other alliances in the post-Soviet area). The official stand may be characterized best of all by the following citation from the “Golos Ukrayiny” newspaper, No. 229, December 12, 2000: “It was emphasized by the head of the Ukrainian parliament that Ukraine announced to be heading for integration *in World Community (author’s remark)* and in EU. At the same time, he stressed that he did not regard “cooperation of Ukraine within the EU and CIS framework as movement in opposition”.

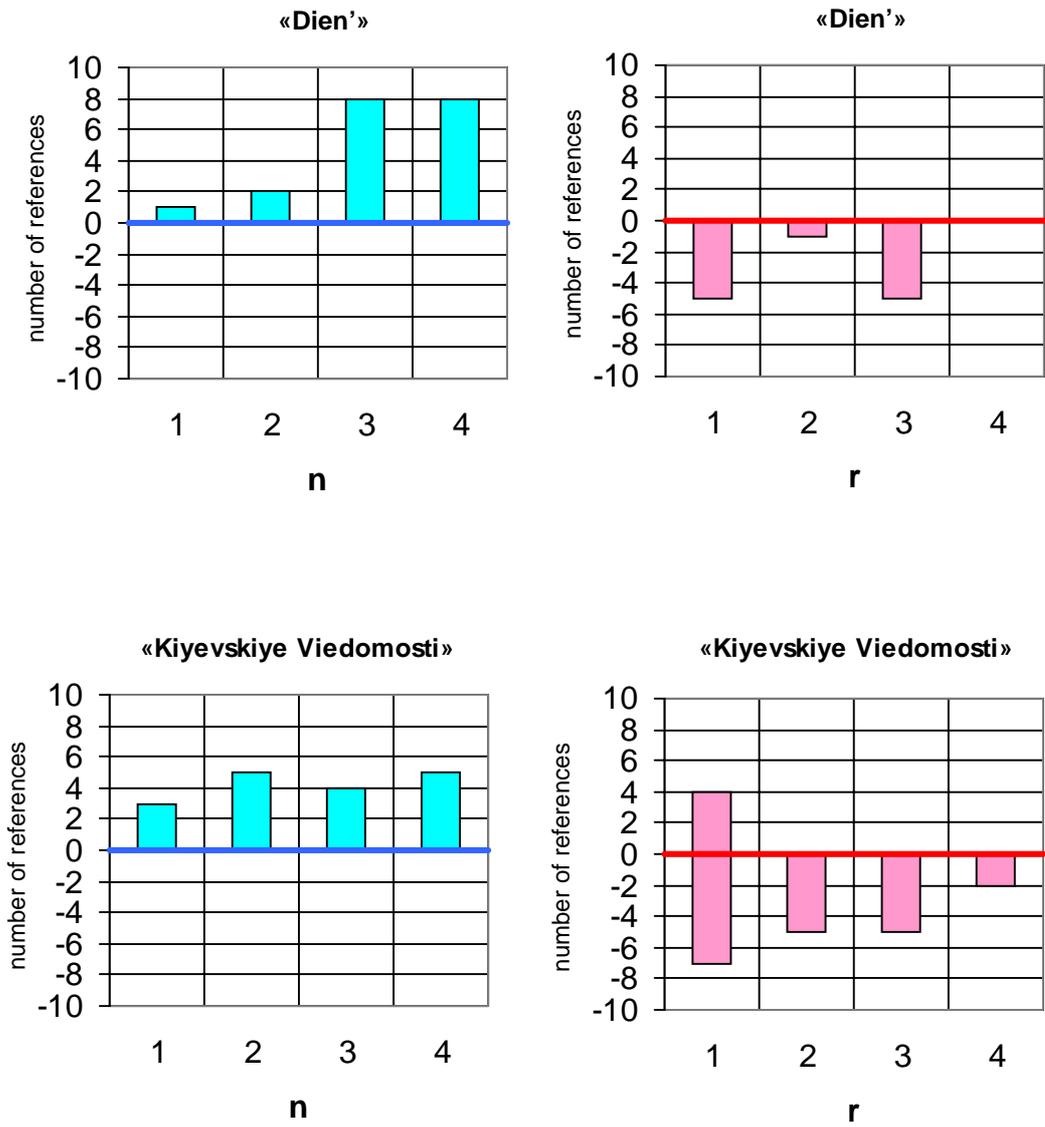
Therefore, the state information programs relating to the sphere of foreign policy and oriented on the population of Ukraine underwent no basic changes during the past year. This, in turn, signifies the absence of a precise foreign policy pursued by the state leaders, permanent state of balancing between Russia and West, as well as the fact that a search for “steady equilibrium conditions” within the triangle of “West-Ukraine-Russia” interrelationship is still going on.

- interrelationship between Ukraine and NATO
- interrelationship between Ukraine and Russia in the light of Ukraine - NATO interrelationship

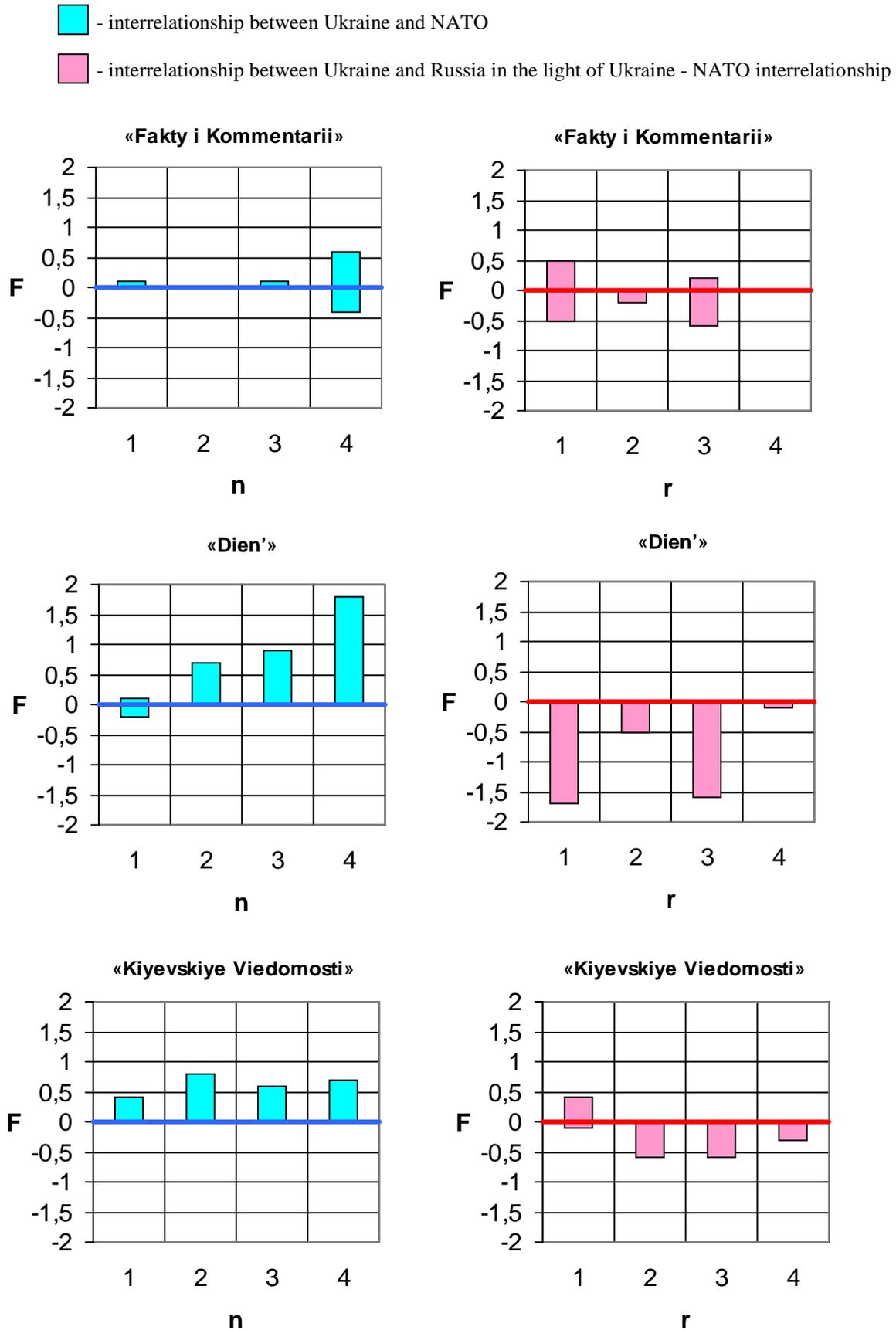


**Fig.4.** The short (5 issues) sampling (the first level of the content-analysis) from December 14 to December 18, 1999. The total number of references to each category «n» and «r».

- - interrelationship between Ukraine and NATO
- - interrelationship between Ukraine and Russia in the light of Ukraine - NATO interrelationship

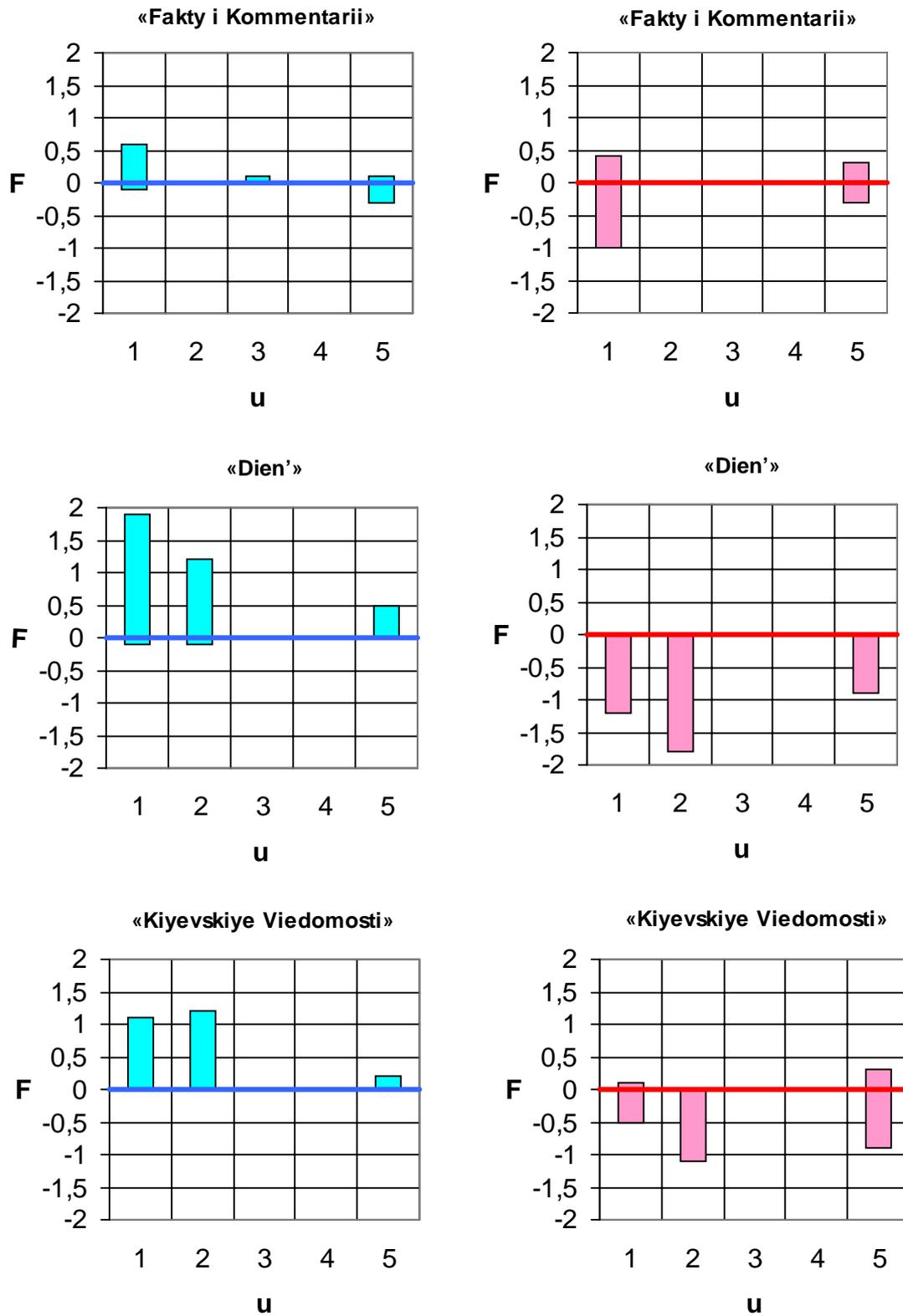


**Fig.5.** The short (5 issues) sampling (the first level of the content-analysis) from December 14 to December 18, 1999. The total number of references to each category «n» and «r».



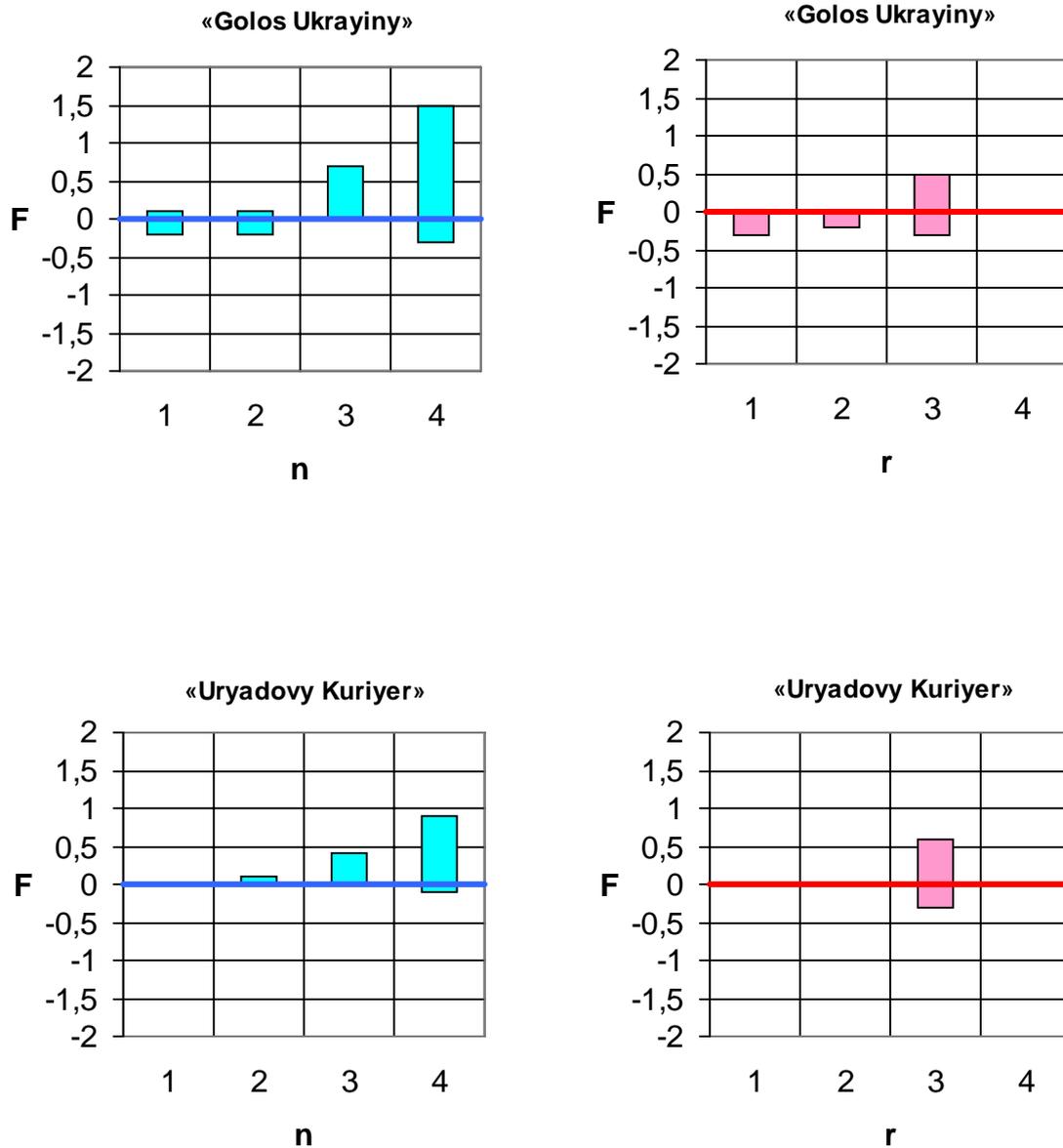
**Fig.6.** The basis (10 issues) sampling (the second level of the content-analysis) from December 14 to December 25, 1999. The values of normalized frequency  $F$  for each category «n» and «r».

- - interrelationship between Ukraine and NATO  
■ - interrelationship between Ukraine and Russia in the light of Ukraine - NATO interrelationship

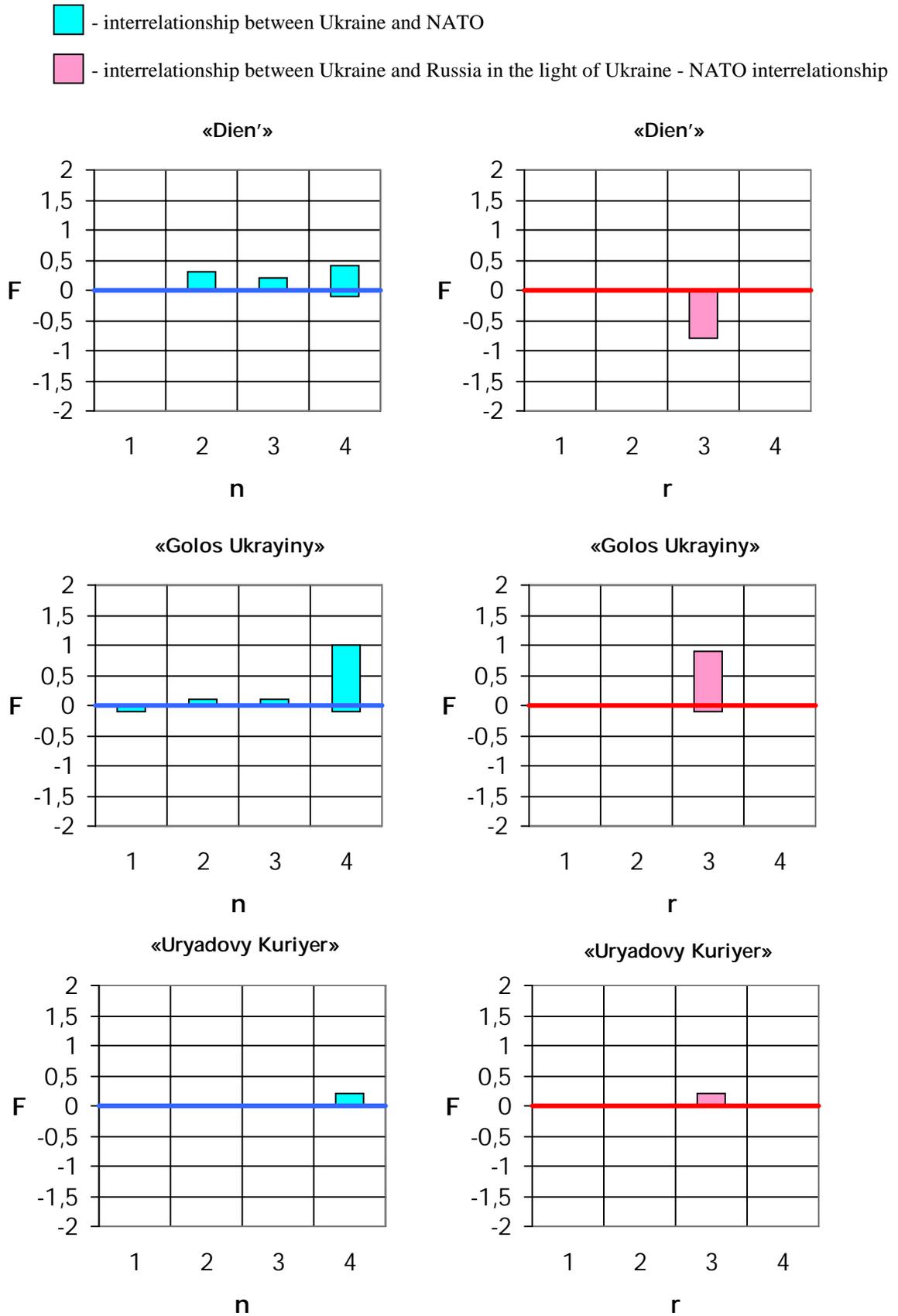


**Fig.7.** The basis (10 issues) sampling (the second level of the content-analysis) from December 14 to December 25, 1999. The combined value of normalized frequency  $F$  for each analysis unit « $u$ ».

- - interrelationship between Ukraine and NATO  
■ - interrelationship between Ukraine and Russia in the light of Ukraine - NATO interrelationship



**Fig. 8.** The basis (10 issues) sampling (the second level of the content-analysis) from December 14 to December 25, 1999. The values of normalized frequency  $F$  for each category « $n$ » and « $r$ ».



**Fig.9.** The basis (10 issues) sampling (the second level of the content-analysis) from December 01 to December 14, 2000. The values of normalized frequency  $F$  for each category « $n$ » and « $r$ ».

## CHAPTER IV

### INFORMATION COVERAGE OF NORTH-EASTERN REGIONS OF UKRAINE

According to the results of a number of investigations [32], it were the mass media which, while giving most serious consideration to the tragedy of Albanian refugees, were able to mold public opinion in the West in favor of the necessity of the NATO military action against Yugoslavia in spring, 1999 (according to the public polling results, it was only approved by 37% - 38% of the French people at the initial stage of bombardment and nearly 70% by the end of April). These data show clearly high results of the target-oriented information programs of timely correction of public consciousness in the territories being critical from the strategic point of view.

Such strategically important territories within the triangle of “West-Ukraine-Russia” interrelationship are represented by the north-eastern regions of Ukraine which, on the one hand, stand out as the industrial and intellectual base of the country, while, on the other hand, maintain the steady relationship with Russia which has taken shape historically.

In order to get the general picture of geographical distribution of information coverage of these territories, test investigations were carried out in 7 regions of Ukraine in autumn, 1999 and autumn, 2000. Six of them (Kharkov, Donetsk, Sumy, Lugansk, Zaporozhye, Poltava regions) are the members of the Council of Heads of Border Regions of the Republic of Belarus’, Russian Federation and Ukraine. The seventh Dniepropetrovsk region has close production ties with Russia and Ukrainian regions located along the border.



Map of Ukraine

Periodical publications were sampled in each particular region (single-time purchase) and the public pilot polling was carried out. All publications were entered in the electronic data base and submitted to the content-analysis according to the arrangement shown in Fig.1. The data base generation was based on the “Primasoft” company program software. Costly magazines and specialized mass publications (sports and motorists’ journals and newspapers, woman’s magazines, fashion magazines, crossword puzzle collections, advertizing matter, etc.) were withdrawn from consideration. Since the analysis results relating to two purchases at a one-year interval do not have any basic differences, only data for October, 1999 will be presented below. October, 1999 may be notable for the elections of the President of Ukraine which were held at the time. This peculiarity allowed to trace the significance of international subject matter in the struggle for the votes of electorate.

The information background pertaining to the above-mentioned seven regions of Ukraine is represented in Fig.10 – 16 a,b,c,d in the form of the table data classifying printed publications according to the following parameters: 1) type of publication; 2) language; 3) newspaper publication territory; 4) attitude to NATO. The results of the combined content-analysis consisting in a single-time purchasing of the newspapers in each region are also presented here (Fig.10 – 16-e,f) in the form of the diagrams. In those cases, the analysis objects were represented by the entire combination of the newspapers bought in each particular region. Frequency normalization was based on the number being equal to the number of publications in this combination. As in the previous cases, variable “n” corresponds to the line of study “Interrelationship between Ukraine and NATO”, while variable “r” corresponds to the line of study “Interrelationship between Ukraine and Russia in the light of Ukraine-NATO interrelationship”.

This Chapter presents a detail description of the results of investigations that were carried out in the Kharkov region. The information coverage of the remaining regions is represented first of all in the table and graphical forms that do not require any further comments.

#### **4.1. GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF ATTITUDE OF POPULATION OF NORTH-EASTERN REGIONS OF UKRAINE TO MATTER OF INTEGRATION IN WORLD COMMUNITY, EU AND NATO**

Each of the seven regions of Ukraine was submitted to the pilot sociological polling procedure by interviewing. The number of those polled was represented by 20 persons who belonged to the buyers of periodical publications. Since no substantial difference between separate regions was present, presented below are generalized results only.

The attitude to the questions asked is of special interest. The initial questions were purposefully phrased in a relatively complicated form and asked as follows: 1) “What is your attitude to the problems of integration of Ukraine in NATO?”; 2) “What do you think of the role played by NATO in the European system of collective safety?”. It turned out that those questions were correctly understood by not more than 30% of the people polled. That is, practically, the bulk of the population was not familiar with the subject. Proceeding from this, the following question that could be understood by most persons polled was experimentally found: “What is your attitude to NATO?” “Negative” – that was the answer given by from 80% to 90% of the respondents. As a rule, they were in no position to provide any logic reasoning in this case. The only argument given with an air of sightless conviction was like this: “NATO exterminates peaceful population”. According to the results of additional study (see Section 3.3.), the negative attitude to NATO on the part of the absolute majority of mass readers had been formed under conditions of information monopolism back in days of the Soviet Union; in this case, the Kosovo events present in practice an only new “negative” supporting this directive nowadays.

The investigations were continued in more detail in the Kharkov region where numerous latent polls were made in the process of discussion of the articles that had been specially se-

lected for this purpose. In order to achieve this, several seminars-discussions including those described below were held for socially active young people.

1. Discussion of the Kosovo events and article “Ukraine and New System of Collective Safety in Europe” which was published by I.A. Sergiyenko, the author, in newspaper “Ofitsialnyye Viedomosti”, No. 38, July 13 – 19, 1999. Place of discussion: “Ofitsialnyye Viedomosti” newspaper editorial office. Time of discussion: July, 1999. Participants in discussion: editorial office employees represented, to a considerable extent, by humanitarian students.

2. Discussion of the lecture at the National Law Academy (Kharkov, Ukraine, March 2, 2000) which was delivered by Andzey Tovpek, the Ambassador of Poland in NATO, and Karel Kovanda, the Ambassador of Czech Republic in NATO. Place of discussion: “Ofitsialnyye Viedomosti” newspaper editorial office. Time of discussion: March, 2000. Participants in discussion: editorial office employees.

Unanimous rejection of the NATO military action against Yugoslavia was clearly displayed during the first discussion. However, this rejection was combined with the readiness to hear and discuss any other opinions. In principle, there were no negative statements in respect of NATO while the major interest was displayed in the international safety general matters during the second discussion, i.e. nearly one year following initiation of the peace-making operation in Kosovo.

Similar latent polling operations were also performed for intelligentsia of the older age categories. The basic portion of this group (about 80%) is ready for constructive discussions of the international safety matters, the common disproof of the NATO military mission in Kosovo being present. However, the policy of NATO in Europe is supported (in a cautious form) by about 20% of this group having a positive attitude to the idea of further development of partnership between Ukraine and NATO. And only separate individuals refuse to participate in any discussions of the above subjects and express an extremely negative attitude to anything associated with NATO.

**Hence, the following conclusions may be made:**

1. The bulk of the population (socially passive strata) of Ukraine is characterized by a negative attitude to NATO on the level of subconsciousness proceeding from those political directives that had been implanted in the people’s consciousness back in days of the Soviet Union.

2. The major portion of the Ukrainian intelligentsia has a critical attitude to NATO but, at the same time, is prepared for discussion of the matters of Ukraine – NATO integration.

3. The portion of the Ukrainian population approving the policy of NATO in Europe is referred first of all to the socially active strata of intelligentsia.

## 4.2. KHARKOV REGION

Beginning from the 18<sup>th</sup> century a special status of the city of Kharkov (and the entire Kharkov region) has been taken shape historically. This status may be characterized as follows:

1) beginning from the Russian Empire times, throughout the entire era of the Soviet Union and till the present time Kharkov has been one of the largest scientific, cultural and industrial centers;

2) as far as its geographical position is concerned, Kharkov has always been a frontier city: in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Kharkov represented the buffer between Russia and nomads and, later on, between Russia and the Central and Eastern Europe states; today, Kharkov is recognized as the largest city located at the border between Ukraine and Russia and maintaining strong historical and related ties with residents of the border-adjacent areas.

As a result of it, a specific mentality characterized by the presence of a considerable share of people being sufficiently independent in their thinking has taken shape in consciousness of

the Kharkov region residents. Furthermore, due to high average intellectual standards being typical of the population, no practical features of political and nationalistic extremism manifest themselves in the Kharkov region. That was in Kharkov where the “Oriyentir” publication being one of the first private advertizing-and-information publications began to come out in the territory of the Soviet Union in 1988.

The number of different printed publications coming off the press nowadays in the city of Kharkov is great. However, many of those publications are made “with the help of scissors, glue and Internet”, i.e. represent the digests of printed and electronic sources of information from Russia and more distant foreign countries. Basically, such publications are represented by entertaining newspapers and magazines. The editorial offices of such newspapers employ a limited number of personnel, that is from 3 to 10 people.

The sociopolitical Kharkov publications are represented by the following few newspapers: “Vriemya”, “Slobidsky Krai”, “Sobytiye”, “Viecherniy Kharkov”, “Panorama”, “Sloboda”, “Gorodskaya Gazieta”, “Ofitsialnyye Vedomosti”.

The “Vriemya” newspaper is of the best standing. The newspaper maintains the group of its readers, has a circulation of about 20,000. The “Vriemya” newspaper characterized by moderately conservative attitudes comes out three times a week. The basic category of its readers is represented by pensioners and people approaching their age. The newspaper enjoys the financial support, is potentially interesting for joint information programs of Ukraine and NATO.

The “Slobidsky Krai” newspaper belonging to the Kharkov Regional Council of the People’s Deputies of Ukraine sells badly and is mainly distributed within the region by subscription.

“Sobytiye” is a weekly newspaper that may be conventionally referred to the sociopolitical publication characterized by a considerable share of entertaining matter. This newspaper has a circulation of about 12,000. It functions, first and foremost, by the principle of a digest. Its readers are represented by the youth and average-age category. The newspaper is of potential interest for joint information programs of Ukraine and NATO.

The “Viecherniy Kharkov” newspaper surmounting great difficulties has suffered losses in readers and circulation, ceased to be the daily publication and no longer conforms to its name.

“Panorama” is the weekly newspaper belonging to the Kharkov Regional Council of the People’s Deputies of Ukraine. The newspaper is notable for the absence of its own image, any interesting matter or that being helpful in the course of practical activities. Its popularity is extremely low.

“Sloboda” is the newspaper belonging to the Kharkov City Council of People’s Deputies. Due to its low cost being affordable for people of most scanty means, the newspaper sells well to pensioners. The newspaper is on budgetary subsidy.

“Gorodskaya Gazieta” is the newspaper issued by the Municipal Publishing House and subsidized from the city budget. As of today, the newspaper has reduced in volume and circulation. However, its sociopolitical orientation has been maintained and become still more expressed. The newspaper sells rather well, has its own group of readers from most different strata and age categories, is of potential interest for joint information programs of Ukraine and NATO.

The common problem faced by all those Kharkov newspapers consists in the absence of bright features that would allow to draw basic distinctions between different publications. Therefore, an average reader is inclined to buy regional publications spontaneously being guided either by the price or the presence of television programs or crossword puzzles.

The “Ofitsialnyye Vedomosti” newspaper was arranged for by the author of this project as an alternative version. “Ofitsialnyye Vedomosti” is the only Kharkov sociopolitical publication intended for the political and financial-industrial elite. The publication adopts special methods of generation of information streams thereon the investigations carried out within the

scope of this project are based. The newspaper gained recognition of the above-mentioned elite groups within a short period of time. However, due to the lingering crisis being common to the entire state, the nonprofit character of the newspaper brought about the conditions under which the newspaper was inadequately financed, while its circulation was very small.

The Kharkov market has been lately entered by the Kiev and all-Ukrainian Russian-language news-providing publications representing the interests of the active President of Ukraine (“Fakty i Kommentarii”, “Siegodnya”, “Kiyevskiye Vedomosti”). Despite their considerable volume, these newspapers subsidized by the interested financial or political quarters have a very low price (being lower than the production cost value) and are available for the most insufficiently provided for strata of the population. Those and other similar newspapers should be subsequently given special consideration, since enormous (by the Ukrainian criteria) circulation, low prices, great volume of diverse information presented in a simplified and easily understood form make such publications the optimum ones, as far as the effects on public consciousness are concerned.

In general, according to the investigation results shown in Fig.7-a, the absolute majority of the publications (about 48%) is represented by entertaining newspapers being, as a rule, of a rather low intellectual level. They are followed by the mass sociopolitical publications (about 38%). The unit weight of analytical publications matches the existing social structure of the population (about 9%). Thus, distribution of the newspapers according to the types of publications is nearly optimum. An exception is made for children’s and cognitive publications which number is evidently insufficient and makes about 3% and 1%, respectively.

Due to its nearness to the Russian border, Kharkov is among of the few Ukrainian cities daily provided with mass media of Russia. Practically any publications ranging from “Moskovskiye Novosti” to “Mir Kriminala” and “Pravda” Russian communist newspaper are sold out from the stands and newspaper booths. Apart from it, as it is shown by Fig.7-b, the Kharkov region is the only one among the 7 above-mentioned regions where the number of Russian publications may be compared with the number of Ukrainian publications (about 47%). A special mention should be made of the information program pursued by Russia in Ukraine, i.e. publications of popular Russian newspapers specially intended for Ukraine. These newspapers are, for example, represented by “Komsomolskaya Pravda v Ukrayine”, “Izvestiya v Ukrayine”, etc. This category is denoted in Fig.7-b as “Russia for Ukraine”.

The share of the Russian-language publications distributed within the Kharkov region accounts for about 90% (Fig.7-d). However, despite strong Russian information effects, the general information background of the Kharkov region is neutral both in respect of NATO and Russia. This is both proved by the analysis of contents of materials published in the newspapers (Fig.7-c) and combined content-analysis of the entire set of publications that were acquired in the course of a single-time test purchase operation (Fig.7-e and 7-f).

In these circumstances, any one all-Ukrainian sociopolitical newspaper, one Kharkov newspaper and any Russian newspaper for choice (represented, as a rule, by “Komsomolskaya Pravda” or “Izvestiya”) are bought by an average citizen of Kharkov and Kharkov region. A special position is taken by two all-Ukrainian newspapers that sell the best both in the Kharkov region and other regions of the north-eastern Ukraine (“Fakty i Kommentarii” newspaper and “Art-mozaika” entertaining publication), as well as by some analytical newspapers (“Zerkalo Niedieli”, “Stolichnyye Novosti” Ukrainian newspapers and “Moskovskiye Novosti” Russian newspaper) having permanent readers’ group and purchased purposefully.

In general, the distinctive features of information coverage of the Kharkov region are also characteristic to a certain extent of other regions of north-eastern Ukraine.

**1. SUMMARY BY: TYPE OF PUBLICATION**

<i>TYPE OF EDITION</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Analytical public political	8	9,0
Children's	3	3,4
Cognitive	1	1,1
Entertaining	43	48,3
Mass public political	34	38,2
<b>Total:</b>	<b>89</b>	

7-a

**3. SUMMARY BY: TERRITORY**

<i>TERRITORY</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Kharkov region	15	16,9
Other	1	1,1
Russia	38	42,7
Russia for Ukraine	4	4,5
Ukraine	31	34,8
<b>Total:</b>	<b>89</b>	

7-b

**2. SUMMARY BY: ATTITUDE TO NATO**

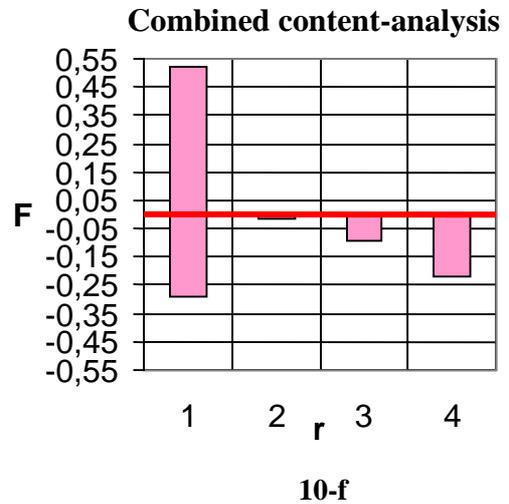
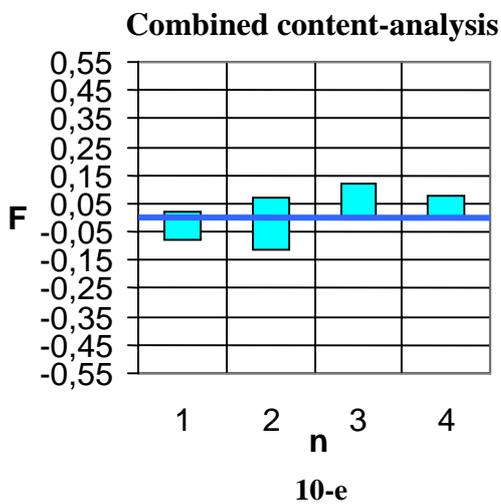
<i>ATTITUDE TO NATO</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Negative	5	5,6
Neutral	78	87,6
Positive	6	6,7
<b>Total:</b>	<b>89</b>	

10-c

**4. SUMMARY BY: LANGUAGE**

<i>LANGUAGE</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Russian	81	91,0
Russian, Ukrainian	2	2,2
Ukrainian	6	6,7
<b>Total:</b>	<b>89</b>	

10-d



**Fig.10.** Kharkov region, October, 1999.

### 4.3. SUMY REGION

#### 1. SUMMARY BY: TYPE OF PUBLICATION

<i>TYPE OF EDITION</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Analytical public political	4	11,1
Children's	2	5,6
Entertaining	8	22,2
Mass public political	22	61,1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>36</b>	

11-a

#### 3. SUMMARY BY: TERRITORY

<i>TERRITORY</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Russia for Ukraine	3	8,3
Sumy region	12	33,3
Ukraine	21	58,3
<b>Total:</b>	<b>36</b>	

11-b

#### 2. SUMMARY BY: ATTITUDE TO NATO

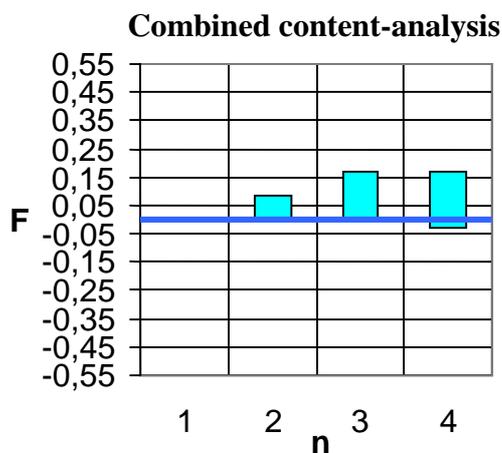
<i>ATTITUDE TO NATO</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Negative	1	2,8
Neutral	29	80,6
Positive	6	16,7
<b>Total:</b>	<b>36</b>	

11-c

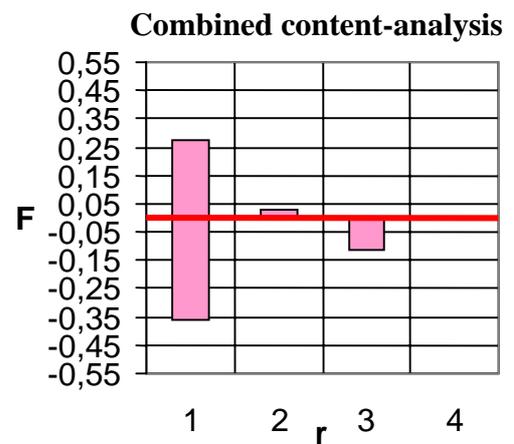
#### 4. SUMMARY BY: LANGUAGE

<i>LANGUAGE</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Russian	21	58,3
Russian, Ukrainian	6	16,7
Ukrainian	9	25,0
<b>Total:</b>	<b>36</b>	

11-d



11-e



11-f

Fig.11. Sumy region, October, 1999.

#### 4.4. POLTAVA REGION

##### SUMMARY BY: TYPE OF PUBLICATION

<i>TYPE OF EDITION</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Analytical public political	2	3,2
Children's	2	3,2
Entertaining	26	41,3
Mass public political	33	52,4
<b>Total:</b>	<b>63</b>	

12-a

##### 3. SUMMARY BY: TERRITORY

<i>TERRITORY</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Poltava region	9	14,3
Russia	17	27,0
Russia for Ukraine	5	7,9
Ukraine	32	50,8
<b>Total:</b>	<b>63</b>	

12-b

##### 2. SUMMARY BY: ATTITUDE TO NATO

<i>ATTITUDE TO NATO</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Negative	3	4,8
Neutral	56	88,9
Positive	4	6,3
<b>Total:</b>	<b>63</b>	

12-c

##### SUMMARY BY: LANGUAGE

<i>LANGUAGE</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Russian	44	69,8
Russian, Ukrainian	4	6,3
Ukrainian	15	23,8
<b>Total:</b>	<b>63</b>	

12-d

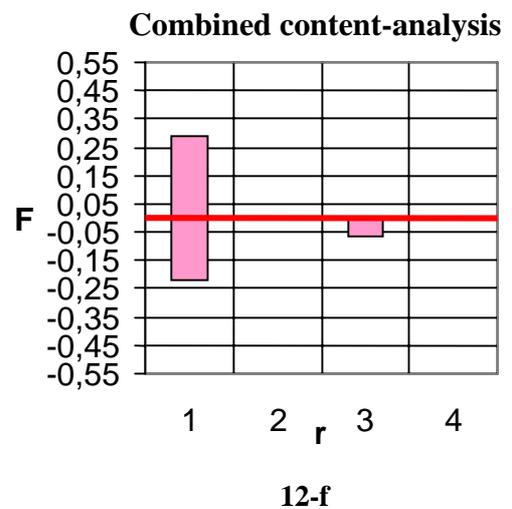
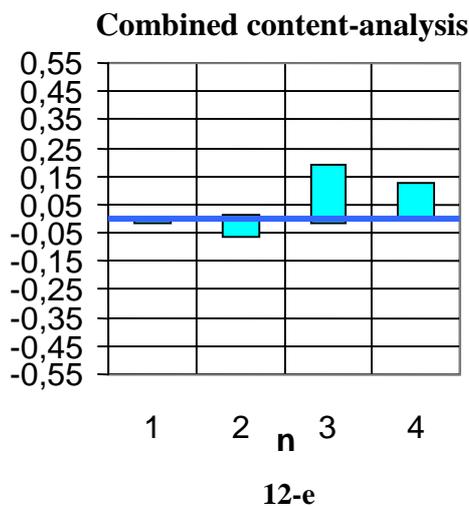


Fig.12. Poltava region, October, 1999.

## 4.5. ZAPOROZHYE REGION

### 1. SUMMARY BY: TYPE OF PUBLICATION

<i>TYPE OF EDITION</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Analytical public political	2	6,5
Entertaining	10	32,3
Mass public political	19	61,3
<b>Total:</b>	<b>31</b>	

13-a

### 3. SUMMARY BY: TERRITORY

<i>TERRITORY</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Other	1	3,2
Russia	2	6,5
Russia for Ukraine	2	6,5
Ukraine	16	51,6
Zaporozhye region	10	32,2
<b>Total:</b>	<b>31</b>	

13-b

### 2. SUMMARY BY: ATTITUDE TO NATO

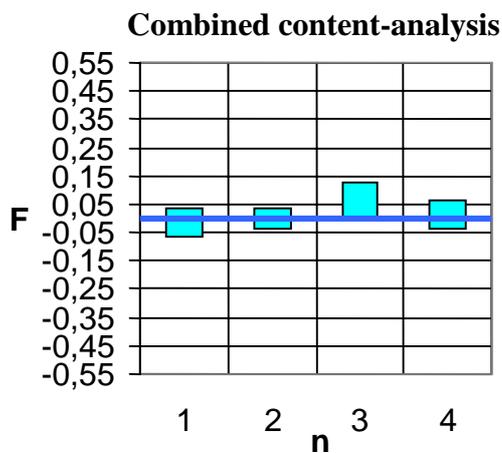
<i>ATTITUDE TO NATO</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Neutral	27	87,1
Positive	4	12,9
<b>Total:</b>	<b>31</b>	

13-c

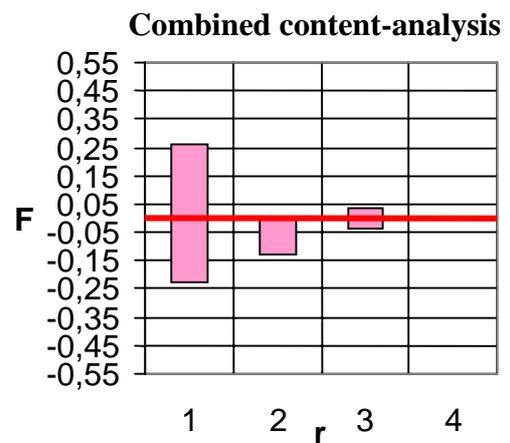
### 4. SUMMARY BY: LANGUAGE

<i>LANGUAGE</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Russian	24	77,4
Russian, Ukrainian	2	6,5
Ukrainian	5	16,1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>31</b>	

13-d



13-e



13-f

Fig.13. Zaporozhye region, October, 1999.

### 4.6. DNIETROPETROVSK REGION

#### 1. SUMMARY BY: TYPE OF PUBLICATION

<i>TYPE OF EDITION</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Entertaining	9	25,0
Mass public political	27	75,0
<b>Total:</b>	<b>36</b>	

14-a

#### 3. SUMMARY BY: TERRITORY

<i>TERRITORY</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Dnipropetrovsk region	13	36,1
Russia	1	2,8
Russia for Ukraine	4	11,1
Ukraine	18	50,0
<b>Total:</b>	<b>36</b>	

14-b

#### 2. SUMMARY BY: ATTITUDE TO NATO

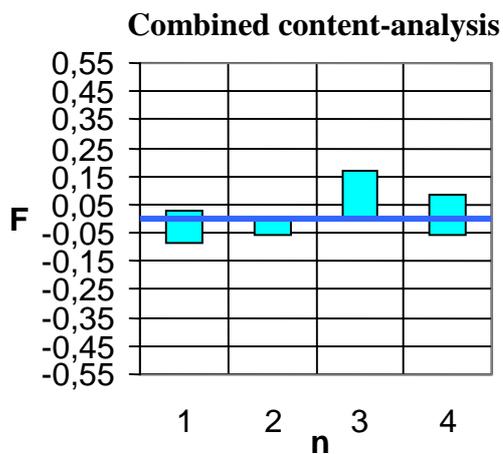
<i>ATTITUDE TO NATO</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Negative	2	5,6
Neutral	30	83,3
Positive	4	11,1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>36</b>	

14-c

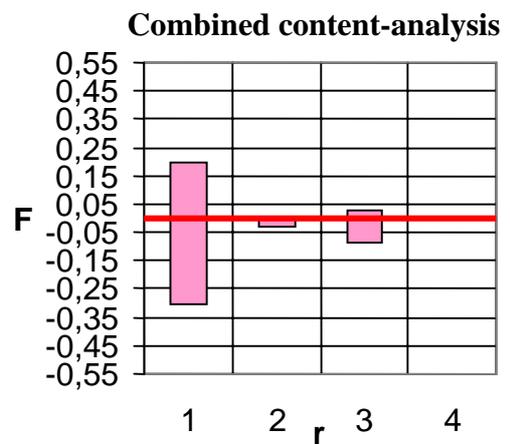
#### 4. SUMMARY BY: LANGUAGE

<i>LANGUAGE</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Russian	28	77,8
Russian, Ukrainian	3	8,3
Ukrainian	5	13,9
<b>Total:</b>	<b>36</b>	

14-d



14-e



14-f

Fig.14. Dnipropetrovsk region, October, 1999.

### 4.7. DONETSK REGION

#### 1. SUMMARY BY: TYPE OF PUBLICATION

<i>TYPE OF EDITION</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Analytical public political	4	11,1
Entertaining	12	33,3
Mass public political	20	55,6
<b>Total:</b>	<b>36</b>	

15-a

#### 3. SUMMARY BY: TERRITORY

<i>TERRITORY</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Donetsk region	13	36,1
Russia	5	13,9
Russia for Ukraine	4	11,1
Ukraine	14	38,9
<b>Total:</b>	<b>36</b>	

15-b

#### 2. SUMMARY BY: ATTITUDE TO NATO

<i>ATTITUDE TO NATO</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Negative	3	8,3
Neutral	29	80,6
Positive	4	11,1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>36</b>	

15-c

#### 4. SUMMARY BY: LANGUAGE

<i>LANGUAGE</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Russian	32	88,9
Russian, Ukrainian	2	5,6
Ukrainian	2	5,6
<b>Total:</b>	<b>36</b>	

15-d

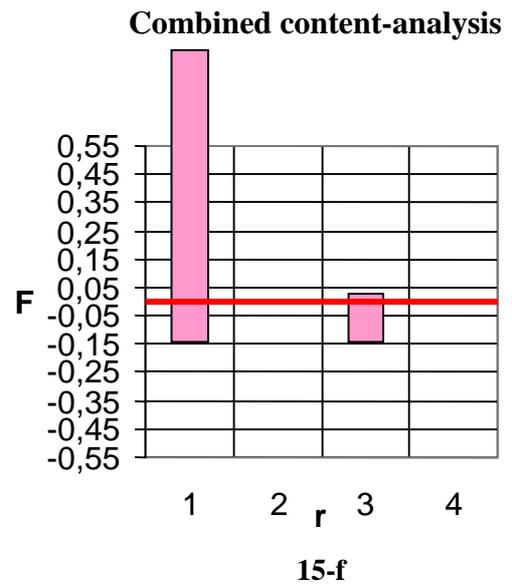
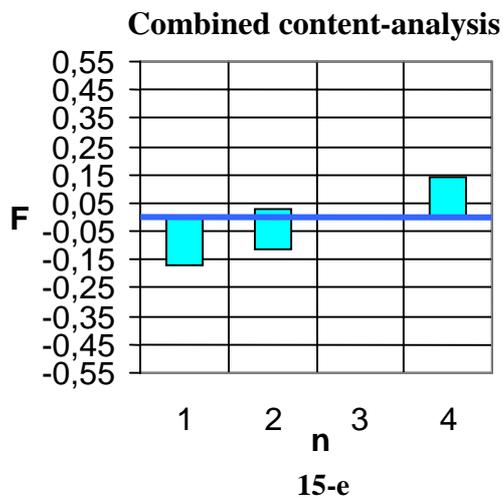


Fig.15. Donetsk region, October, 1999.

## 4.8. LUGANSK REGION

### 1. SUMMARY BY: TYPE OF PUBLICATION

<i>TYPE OF EDITION</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Analytical public political	3	7,1
Entertaining	14	33,3
Mass public political	25	59,5
<b>Total:</b>	<b>42</b>	

16-a

### 3. SUMMARY BY: TERRITORY

<i>TERRITORY</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Lugansk region	11	26,2
Other	1	2,4
Russia for Ukraine	4	9,5
Ukraine	26	61,9
<b>Total:</b>	<b>42</b>	

16-b

### 2. SUMMARY BY: ATTITUDE TO NATO

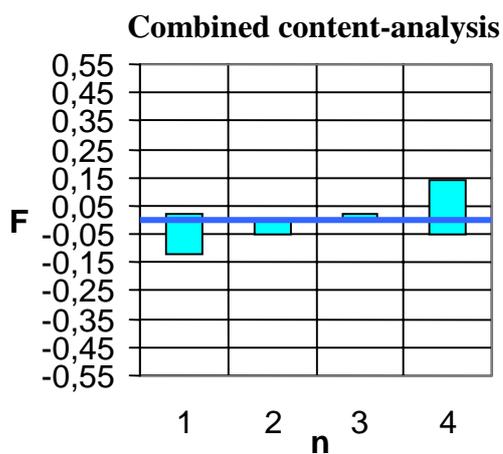
<i>ATTITUDE TO NATO</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Negative	2	4,8
Neutral	37	88,1
Positive	3	7,1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>42</b>	

16-c

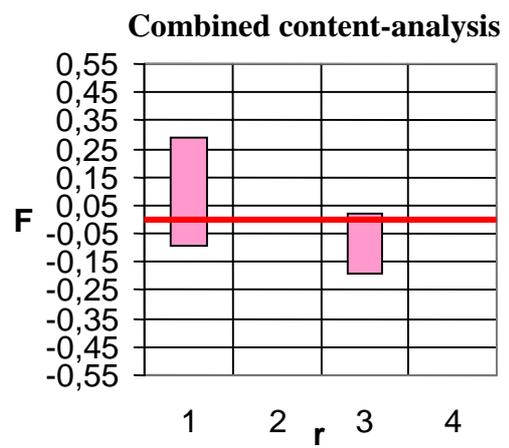
### 4. SUMMARY BY: LANGUAGE

<i>LANGUAGE</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
Russian	38	90,5
Russian, Ukrainian	2	4,8
Ukrainian	2	4,8
<b>Total:</b>	<b>42</b>	

16-d



16-e



16-f

Fig.16. Lugansk region, October, 1999.

#### 4.9. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMATION COVERAGE

The information coverage geographical distribution represented in Fig.17-a and Fig.17-b appears interesting first of all under the aspect of cultivation of the “outer world” image and, particularly, NATO image in the minds of the population of north-eastern Ukraine. According to the additional analysis of textual matter, these processes are most effectively participated by the all-Ukrainian and Russian publications that mold appropriate images proceeding from their national interests. Regional publications are not practically used for this purpose; they report international events poorly and irregularly and are mainly concentrated on news items addressed to local events.

Basing on Figures 17-a and 17-b one may conclude the following:

1. The market of periodical publications is represented in the north-eastern areas of Ukraine by more than 60% of the Russian-language newspapers (above 90% in the Kharkov and Lugansk regions). The Sumy region is the only one where the number of the Russian- and Ukrainian-language publications is more or less similar.

2. The absolute majority of the publications is represented by the mass sociopolitical publications (from 52% to 75%). An exception is made for the Kharkov region where the leading part is played by entertaining publications (above 48%).

3. The majority of all publications is represented in all regions by all-Ukrainian publications (from 38% to 62%), except for Kharkov where the number of Russian publications is the largest one (above 47%). The minimum shares of Russian publications refer to the Sumy region (about 8%), Zaporozhye region (about 13%), Dniepropetrovsk region (about 14%) and Lugansk region (about 9%).

4. The share of regional publications in the Sumy, Zaporozhye, Dniepropetrovsk, Donetsk and Lugansk regions is rather considerable and accounts for 26% - 36%. Moreover, the number of regional publications exceeds, to a considerable extent, the number of Russian publications in those regions. An exception is made for the Kharkov and Poltava regions where the regional publications are in minority (from 14% to 17%).

5. A neutral attitude to NATO is expressed by more than 80% of the publications. A positive attitude to NATO is expressed by the publications ranging from 6% (Poltava region) to nearly 17% (Sumy region). The largest number of the publications expressing negative attitudes to NATO may be referred to the Donetsk region (about 8%) while their smallest number is typical of the Zaporozhye region (below 1%).

**Therefore, information coverage of north-eastern Ukraine may be characterized by the following common features:** 1) neutral attitude to NATO; 2) prevalence of Russian-language publications; 3) prevalence of all-Ukrainian publications (with the exception of Kharkov); 4) prevalence of mass sociopolitical publications (with the exception of Kharkov).

**In all other respects, north-eastern Ukraine may be split into the following sectors:**

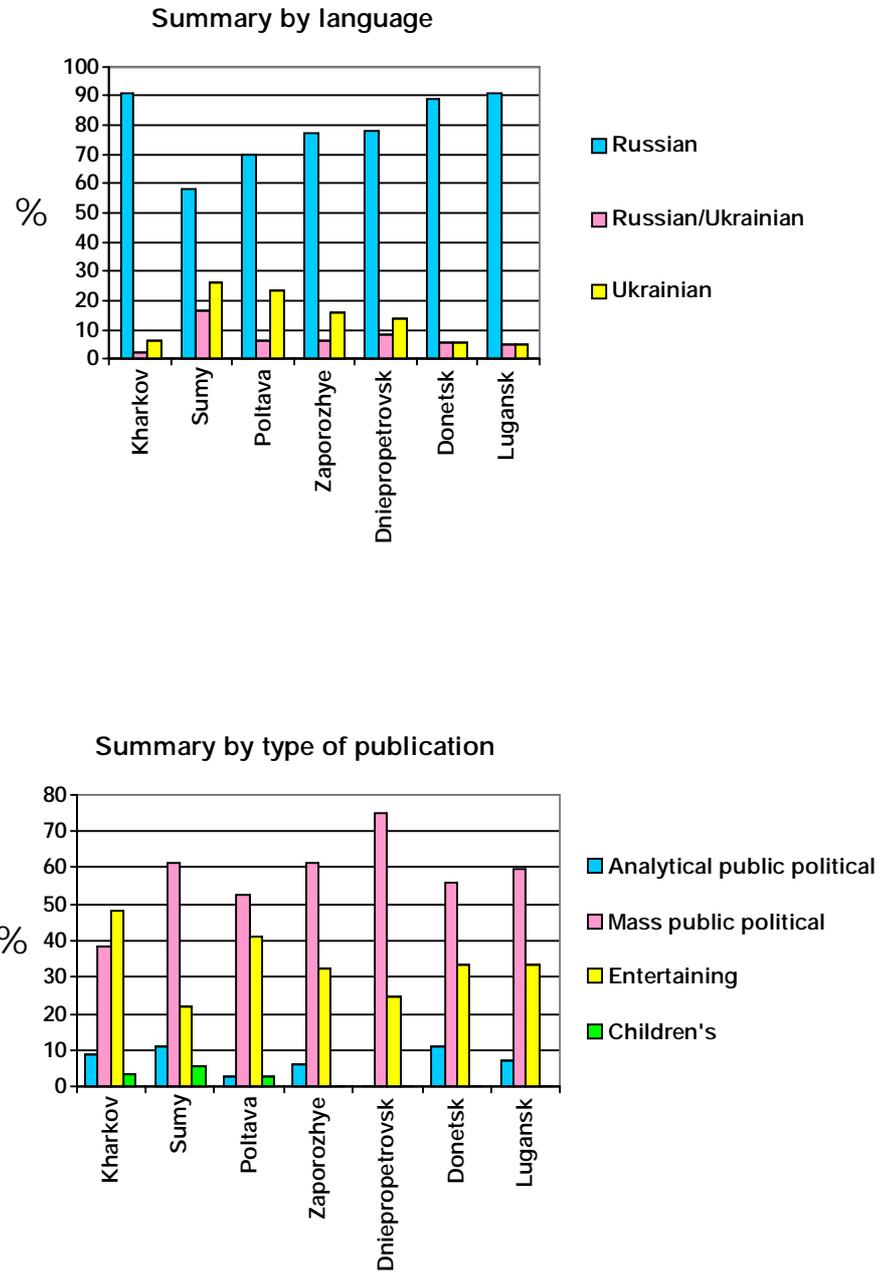
**Sector 1:** regions experiencing the strongest information effects on the part of Russia (Kharkov, Poltava and Donetsk regions).

**Sector 2:** regions experiencing the minimum information effects on the part of Russia (Sumy, Zaporozhye, Dniepropetrovsk, Lugansk regions).

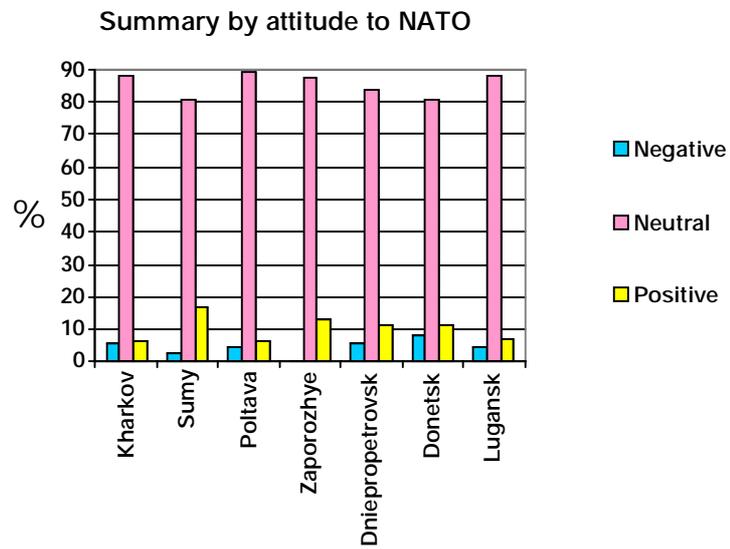
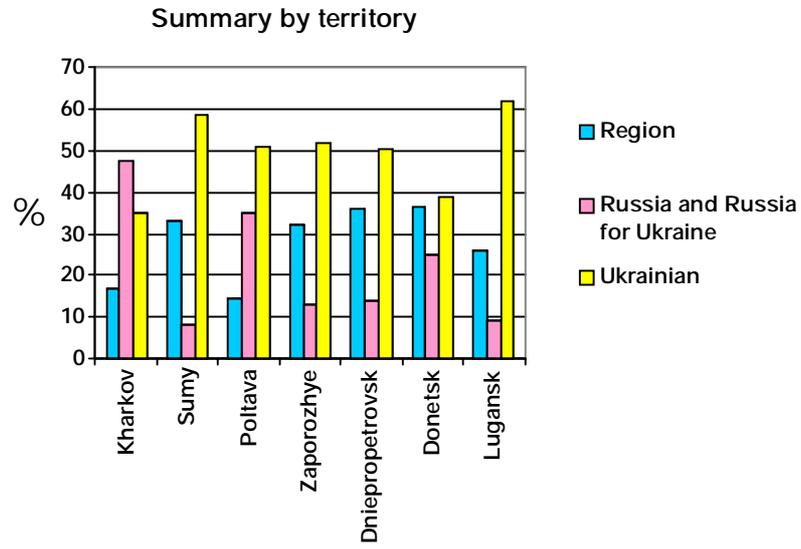
**Sector 3:** regions where regional publications contribute, in the least degree, to the process of “outer world” image cultivation (Kharkov and Poltava regions).

**Sector 4:** regions where regional publications may contribute greatly to the process of “outer world” image cultivation, provided a special information intension of those publications is ensured (Sumy, Zaporozhye, Dniepropetrovsk, Donetsk and Lugansk regions).

It may be interesting to note that the largest share of regional publications (sector 4) is typical of the regions characterized by the minimum “Russian effects” (sector 2).



**Fig.17-a.** Geographical distribution of printed mass media.



**Fig.17-b.** Geographical distribution of printed mass media.

It may be noted that the first experiment on the information coverage investigation was carried out during the elections of the President of Ukraine (autumn, 1999). According to the results of the additional textual matter analysis, the “Russian” and “Euro-Atlantic” issues were not among the key ones in the pre-election program of L. Kuchma, the active President of Ukraine, and many other candidates. It appears that those few statements that were made by L. Kuchma and transmitted by TV or published in the mass newspapers neutralized each other. Thus, for example, the following statements were made practically simultaneously: 1) integration in the European structures is the basic line of the foreign policy of Ukraine; 2) strategic partnership with Russia presents one of the principal lines. This conforms in full to the results of the combined content-analysis (Fig.10e,f – Fig.16e,f) which roughly indicate a similar quantity of positive and negative topical expressions in respect of Russia and NATO. In addition, it gives another proof of the comprehensive analysis results (Section 3.3) with a special emphasis being laid on the non-readiness of the state leadership of Ukraine to declare their precise choice of foreign policy, on the one hand, and non-readiness of the population of Ukraine for a large-scale discussion of this problem. Therefore, the election results are least of all related to the foreign political affections of the Ukrainian population. According to the views of Russian experts [40], “the L. Kuchma’s victory during the second round of the elections was due, first and foremost, to the fact that Ukrainian society was not interested in restoration of the communist power system”. In other words, the elections of 1999 may not be regarded as an indicator of public opinion as to the matter of integration of Ukraine in NATO, European and world community.

#### **4.10. PRINTED MATTER BASIC SUBJECTS GENERATING NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TO NATO**

Negative attitudes to NATO are most frequently encountered in the Russian mass media, as well as in regional Ukrainian publications. The total volume of the negative information is rather small and, as the investigation results show (Section 3.3.), may not drastically affect the process of public opinion generation. However, in the situation when such reports are not neutralized, they may support to a considerable degree the negative directives in respect of NATO which were implanted in the minds of the Ukrainian population as early as in the Soviet Union times. As a rule, the orientation of negative printed matter is reduced to the following subjects:

##### **1. Accusation of NATO experts of incompetence or attempts to mislead public**

1.1. While commenting the meetings between Ukrainian journalists and NATO representatives an attempt was made by the “Vriemya” newspaper (Kharkov region, July 1, 1999) to present the discussions in the form of “very smart” questions on the part of mass media representatives and “rather poor and unconvincing” counter-arguments on the part of NATO representatives. The principal argument of opponents to the Kosovo military operation was expressed as follows: “NATO violated their own “North Atlantic Treaty” and international law norms and, more than that, NATO representatives appeared to be in no position to justify this deed”.

1.2. The information according to which the NATO losses proved to be much heavier than those officially alleged was published in the “Izvestiya” Russian newspaper on April 25, 2000.

1.3. **“Was there any genocide?”** A special emphasis should be laid on the discussion of this issue by Russian mass media, since it turned out that this particular subject had taken the strongest effect on public opinion in respect of NATO. The most significant “negative” factors were introduced in 1999 by newspaper publications and TV reports associated with the conclusions that were made by UN experts and independent experts on the grounds of the Kosovo burial places excavation results. Those reports were concentrated on exaggeration of a number of “ethnic purge” victims with the purpose of moral justification of “NATO humanitarian intervention”, “conscious misinformation” of public opinion. “The Britain powers lied to

their fellow countrymen. The number of “ethnic purges” in Kosovo was exceeded by London by 40-fold” (“Izvestiya” newspaper, Russia, publication for Ukraine, November 2, 1999).

## **2. Presentation of negative information on behalf of people or experts from states belonging to NATO members.**

2.1. This concerns first of all the above-mentioned subject **“Was there any genocide?”**. As it is referred to in Russian mass media, it were the experts from the states belonging to NATO members who could not reveal any practical evidence of large-scale crimes of Serbians against Albanians (“Trud”, November 12, 1999; “Izvestiya”, November 2, 1999). The information reported by “Gorodskaya Gazieta” (being far from the most popular newspaper) on November 18, 1999 was the only compensating alternative. This report referred to mass burials of victims from among the Albanian population of Kosovo which had been discovered by the specialists of the International Criminal Tribunal.

2.2. It was cited by the “Argumenty i Fakty. Ukrayina” newspaper, No. 45, 1999, as follows: “Vast protest demonstrations and meetings against the NATO-unleashed war never died down in the NATO states throughout the entire Balkan operation”.

2.3. The “Hartington’s List” article that was published in the “Stolichnyye Novosti” newspaper, No. 41, October 26 – November 6, 1999, referred to the views of Samuel Hurtington, the Director of the Harvard University International Problems Center, according to which Ukraine did not have to join NATO proceeding from its own national safety considerations.

## **3. Concentration of attention on peaceful victims during Kosovo military operation. In this case, those victims are not regarded as occasional ones.**

3.1. It was cited by the “Argumenty i Fakty. Ukrayina” newspaper, No. 45, 1999, as follows: “When the column of Kosovo refugees was bombed on their way home by the American pilot having “Charli Bravo” call sign, 75 persons died. Previously, the Belgrad – Saloniki train passengers died following the NATO raid”.

## **4. Adoption of stereotype enemy images being accustomed to since the Soviet Union time, as well as of common Soviet-time terminology.**

4.1. It was cited by the “Pravda” newspaper of Russian communists, October 22-25, 1999, as follows: “Bombing targets are chosen shamelessly by NATO; Americans and NATO members have their own **“Barbaross and Blitzkrieg programs”**, “Today, the purposes and slogans are borrowed by Americans and NATO members from **Hitler** along with appropriate scenarios...”.

4.2. Piotr Simonenko, the leader of the communists of Ukraine, gave the following description of the Euro-Atlantic integration supporters in his speech that was published by the “Pravda” newspaper of Russian communists on October 22-25, 1999: **“they are licking the boots of the West** and, first and foremost, of USA and NATO...”. Furthermore, he applies subsequently such word combinations as “overcoming the resistance of **foreign imperialistic forces**”.

## **5. Attempts to demonstrate uselessness (or harmfulness) of the military operation in Kosovo as it is, as well as incapability of the KFOR forces of maintaining peaceful conditions.**

5.1. Brief information notices reporting that the situation in Kosovo has been sooner deteriorated, rather than improved have kept to appear regularly in most diverse Russian and Ukrainian publications throughout the period of 1999 and 2000. The most diverse examples of disorders have been set.

## **6. Substitution of purposes of Kosovo military operation.**

6.1. Such objective as “prevention of humanitarian catastrophe” is being hushed up. Instead, either implementation of the “USA world supremacy program” or direct economic interests of the Western military-industrial concerns in this operation (“Pravda” newspaper of Russian communists, October 21, 1999) are mentioned.

The features of information psycho-techniques intended for taking effects on the passive strata of the population (Section 2.3.) were discovered in the process of the analysis of the above negative topical reports.

By the middle of 2000 the number and variety of negative reports lowered down considerably and were reduced, as a rule, to unsystematic alteration of the information on successes and failures of the KFOR peace-making forces. However, in early 2001 the Russian publications turned out to contain the matter supported by TV reports on potential health hazards associated with utilization of depleted uranium by the NATO armed forces.

As far as positive reports are concerned, they seem to be most frequently reduced to the information on a successful work of the “Ukraine – NATO” committee, as well as to other matters being solved on the intergovernmental level. However, considering the fact that **Ukraine is characterized by the features of crisis consciousness in the post-totalitarian society** (Section 3.2.1.), in which presence any acts of the state authorities not resulting in a quick improvement of financial position do not enlist support on the part of socially passive strata of the population, such “positive” form is not optimum. Furthermore, despite the NATO-positive information background, certain misbalance is observed. Such misbalance involves first of all the situation in which negative effects (despite their minor intensity) are oriented on the socially passive part of the population of Ukraine, whereas positive effects are mainly oriented on the active readers.

## CHAPTER V

### FEATURES AND PROSPECTS OF JOINT INFORMATION POLICY OF UKRAINE AND NATO

The State Program of Cooperation between Ukraine and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for the period to 2001 (approved by Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 1209/98, dated November 4, 1998) provides for (Section 15) such line of the activity as “Information Support of Ukraine-NATO Cooperation”. The purpose of this line consists in “... a broad and objective reporting all aspects of Ukraine-NATO cooperation, as well as cultivation of a unbiased attitude to this international organization in the Ukrainian society”. This proves especially timely under conditions of unilateral information effects on the part of Russia (see Chapter IV) which the mass media of Ukraine are unable to compete adequately at this stage. In order to remove this disproportion and overcome “anti-West” stereotypes, it would be necessary to develop the national information domain, as well as to provide the population of Ukraine with an opportunity to become familiar with alternative viewpoints. One of such alternatives may be represented by the information programs implemented under the aegis of international structures.

The results of the investigations that were carried out allow to single out certain peculiarities to be taken into account in the process of planning the information policy in the territory of Ukraine jointly with NATO. It should be noted first of all that no target-oriented information campaigns having anti-NATO orientation are carried on in Ukraine today, which provides for favorable conditions for cultivation of a positive image of the North Atlantic alliance in the consciousness of the broad strata of the population. In other words, the joint information policy should be oriented on the struggle against negative stereotypes which took shape as early as in the Soviet Union era, rather than on counteraction against negative information streams. At the same time, no work on tracing and timely neutralization of those mass media reports that support such stereotypes has been carried out in Ukraine. A significant part is played by the process of liquidation of information imbalance representing the international subject matter which orients public consciousness on integration in the world community, EU

and NATO, is intended, first and foremost, for active strata of the population and does not practically involve the most common (passive) strata characterized by a negative attitude to NATO based on stereotypes of the “Cold War” time. A separate information program is to be developed for this particular category of the population of Ukraine. Young people and children are not embraced too. Besides, it seems important to note that the negative attitude to NATO on the part of passive strata is associated with defense aspects and employment of armed forces. Therefore, no effects to be taken on those strata should directly pertain to the NATO military-political activities. Such effects should be characterized by image-making, cognitive and even entertaining features.

**Proceeding from the above, one may single out the following promising lines of the joint information policy:**

1. Continuous monitoring of the information domain of Ukraine and efficient correction of the information situation through application of the entire variety of “spin-doctor” methods [41,42].
2. Special information support of the Ukrainian mass media with the aim of consistent cultivation of a NATO positive image on the level being easily understood by all strata of the population, including youth and children.
3. Development of a specialized complex system of printed mass media in Ukraine that would allow to embrace all strata of the population within the uniform information program.
4. Implementation of programs of social contacts with states belonging to the NATO members, through promotion of trans-border information activity among other things.

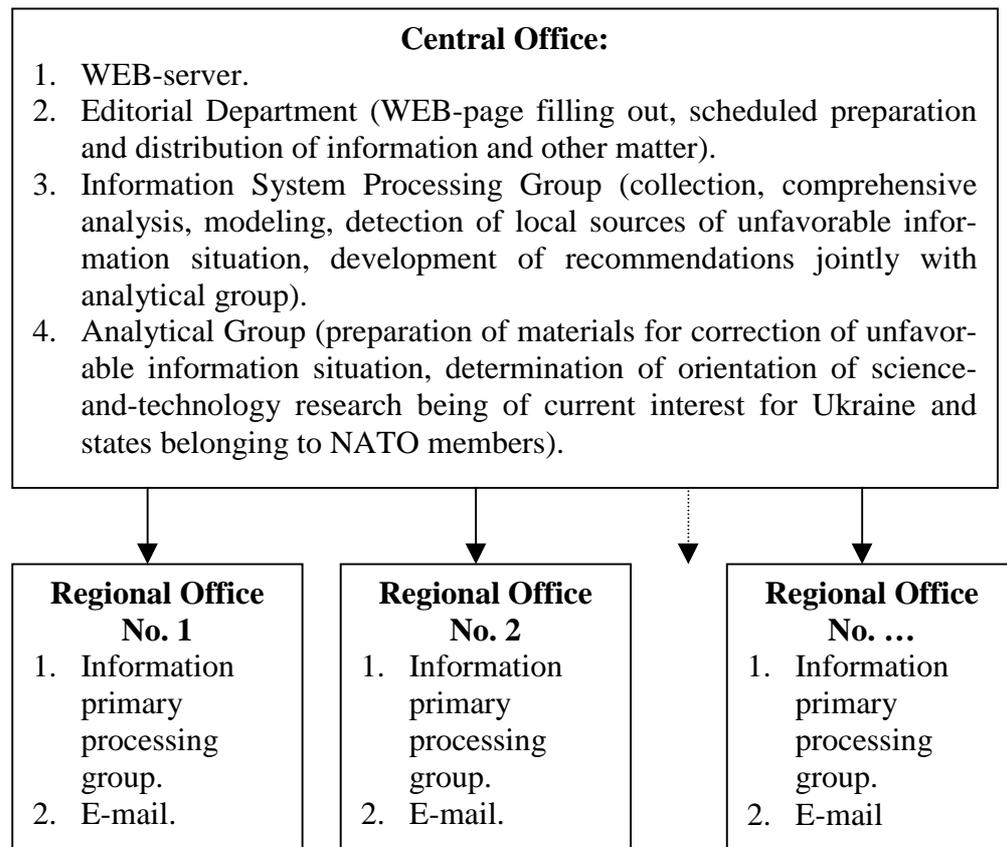
## **5.1. INFORMATION SITUATION MONITORING AND EFFICIENT CONTROL**

### **5.1.1. Information Office**

Continuous monitoring of the information domain of Ukraine is induced by the need to control information coverage of the areas and information effects on particular strata of the population. Efficient correction of the information situation based on the monitoring results will allow to generate well-balanced information streams and neutralize negative publications. In order to solve those tasks, it appears advisable to set up the “Information Office” jointly with the NATO Information & Documentation Center, Ukraine. The organizational structure of the “Information Office” (Fig.18) implies application of the “mechanisms of implementation of information projects jointly with NATO” that are provided for in Section 15 of the above-mentioned State Program of Cooperation of Ukraine with North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

**The tasks to be solved by the Information Office are as follows:**

1. Monitoring of the information domain and risk factors in various areas of Ukraine.
2. Preparation and distribution of information reports and other printed matter between appropriate regional and central mass media of Ukraine.
3. Information on running activities of NATO and NATO Information & Documentation Center, Ukraine, as well as on the problems and trends of science-and-technology investigations being the matter of current interest for Ukraine and states belonging to NATO members.
4. Development of an integrated interregional data base for Ukrainian mass media.
5. Information-analytical support of taking spatial decisions to be taken with the purpose of correction of the regional information domain.
6. Combination of e-mail addresses of the regional and central mass media of Ukraine into the uniform system of information address distribution.
7. Simulation of sociopolitical, economic and ecological consequences of certain risk factors.



**Fig. 18.** Information Office Structure.

**Basic methods of work:**

1. Information exchange between regional and central mass media of Ukraine.
2. Independent comprehensive analysis of information sources being open to public (mass media, departmental press-releases, information agency materials, reports from independent experts and organizations on environmental protection, etc.).
3. Investigation of geographical distribution of information coverage.
4. Isolation of territories characterized by an unfavorable information situation in respect of NATO. Determination of local sources of such unfavorable situation, its features and periodical publications supporting it.
5. Determination of methods and lines of correction of information streams. Example: if, according to the results of content-analysis of newspapers in one of the Ukrainian regions, the particular region is provided, to a considerable degree, with the publications throwing doubt upon advisability of NATO peace-making operations, a decision is taken as to address distribution of information reports neutralizing those “negatives”. As a rule, the addressees should be represented by regional newspapers being frequently in want of author’s materials and ready to cooperate with any sources of information, let alone the competent ones. Consequently, it would seem advisable to apply the discourse-analysis [43] of some printed matter in the process of investigation of information instability local sources.
6. Application of Internet techniques for address distribution of the information and arrangement for public-open access to the information on NATO activities in the Russian and Ukrainian languages.

### **Central office functions:**

1. Preparation of editorial assignments for regional offices. Those assignments define subject matter, form and structure of the information to be submitted to the central office.
2. Concentration and comprehensive analysis of the information acquired from the regional offices, making decisions as to orientation and methods of information domain correction.
3. Planning of, and control over, regional information programs.
4. Information address distribution.
5. Data base and WEB-page filling and technical support.
6. Information and reference services.

### **Functions of regional offices:**

1. Information collection and primary processing by the methods and along the lines recommended by the Central Office;
2. Submission of this information to the Central Office for final processing.
3. Routine cooperation with regional mass media.
4. Collection of the information on predictable or actual emergency situations and its submission to the Central Office.

This paper is addressed to the development of the Information Office methodological base (Chapter II and Chapter III). A simplified data base for regional printed publications was constructed to allow determination of geographical distribution of information coverage at this particular stage (Chapter IV). Each publication was analyzed in the data base according to the following parameters: editor's reference to a particular territory; periodicity; reader; type of publication; language; presence of international subject matter; attitude to NATO; sales level; degree of attention to be paid to a publication. The data base also presents additional details, including telephones, faxes, editorial office address and e-mail, WEB-page, etc. Compatibility between this data base and Internet allows to facilitate address distribution of materials. It appears advisable to provide further on for visualization of these data in a cartographic form adopted in the modern political geography [44, 45].

Advisability and ability to develop special software for information domain comprehensive analysis and construction of appropriate **knowledge bases** were proved by additional consultations that were provided jointly with specialists in the field of intellectual mathematical modeling.

### **5.1.2. Formulation of Task of Intellectual Mathematical Modeling of Information Domain**

A great number (although, not infinite number) of parameters should be taken into account in the process of the comprehensive analysis of the present-day information domain.

First and foremost, this concerns setting up relationship between numerous methods of information effects and potential purposes and consequences of such effects. In a similar situation construction of a model and its analysis with the help of logic conclusions or on the basis of manual processing of data and their representation in a tabular or graphical form appears either impossible or extremely complicated which normally results in mistakes and subjective factor considerable effects. One of the ways out of this situation consists in application of logic programming methods. The logic programming languages allow to set the task described in logic terms and calculate a **solution in the form of logic conclusions** basing on the use of an assigned set of facts and rules. This implies, on the one hand, construction of an intellectual data base (knowledge base) considering multiple cause-and-effect relations and, on the other hand, availability of a program system for generation of calls to this data base. The development of expert systems and decision-making systems optimized by experts and

making use of their knowledge for formulation of conclusions concerning the preset problems is based on the above approach.

Proceeding from the above, formulation of the tasks of logic programming and mathematical analysis of the information domain may be reduced to the following basic problems:

- 1) detail classification and formalized description of information domain characteristics;
- 2) generation of the intellectual data base taking into account every possible technique of information effects and their consequences;
- 3) adaptation of the call generation system for peculiar features of the method of information domain comprehensive analysis.

Approaches to solution of the first problem are suggested in Chapter II and Chapter III. The solution of the second and third problem is the subject of a separate research work.

## 5.2. SPECIAL INFORMATION SUPPORT OF UKRAINIAN MASS MEDIA

Financial difficulties and, consequently, the lack of skilled specialists and information support problems are experienced by most sociopolitical publications in Ukraine (especially, those of the regional level). Those newspapers prefer to use finished materials supplied either by outside authors, or information agencies or Internet. Proceeding from this, it appears advisable to provide such publications with finished articles or textual units being able to fill the gaps existing in a particular sector of the information domain of Ukraine, namely:

- Following one year upon termination of military operations in Yugoslavia, the subject matter associated with NATO ceased to be regular and formed no longer a general idea of this international organization.
- Information matter and analytical articles are generally published nowadays to address the problems being solved on the intergovernmental level and only represent interest for a limited group of readers.
- The matter specially intended for neutralization of “negatives” is published exceptionally rarely.
- The matter describing NATO activities closely associated with the interests of mass Ukrainian readers and easily understood by them, as well as image-making matter and matter romanticizing an image of NATO soldiers and NATO at large are practically absent.

Application of the Information Office techniques (Section 5.1.1.) allows to supplement the number of addressees by a wide range of central and, first and foremost, regional periodical publications.

Such an approach will enable to program target-oriented pointed information actions. In this case, it appears relevant to set one of the multiple examples of “**lost opportunities**”. On the eve of 2000 Lord Robertson sent the Ukrainian people his best New-Year greetings by his letter messaged to all Ukrainians. However, the text of the message was not published. Instead, a brief report of this message was published in the “Uryadovy Kuriyer” newspaper, No. 243, December 25, 1999, that is not read by the most common (passive) strata of the population of Ukraine. At the same time, in case of a target-oriented address distribution, a number of central and regional newspapers would publish this message in their holiday issues.

Another example may be represented by a **successful operation** on cultivation of a FBI positive image. The FBI image was cultivated, to a considerable degree, by the journalists [20] to whom an access to the archives of this organization was granted by Edgar Cooper. As a result of it, a few books, film scripts and a lot of stories were written. In this case, separate publications, radio serials and comics on FBI were even sponsored by this organization. The distinctive features of the Ukrainian mass reader mentality provide for favorable grounds for arrangement of similar information campaigns.

### 5.3. DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIALIZED COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM OF PRINTED MASS MEDIA IN UKRAINE

Any pointed information actions should stand out as the elements of the combined (mass) effects embracing all strata of the population. Thus, for example, during the Soviet Union time the mass character was attained by increasing the number of communicative chains in the maximum possible way [42]. The “Pravda” newspaper was read by each communist, while the “Pionier” and “Komsomolskaya Pravda” newspapers were read by the children of the average and older school age, respectively. And, due to the fact that all these publications were coordinated by the common center with the purpose of solution of common information tasks, they provided for the development of the integral communicative network connecting both separate individuals and entire families to the central “communication generator” [42]. Considering high effectiveness of this approach, as well as distinctive features of public consciousness of the Ukrainian population, it appears reasonable to **develop a similar system of printed mass media with the purpose of implementation of joint information programs of Ukraine and NATO**. This system is based on the principle of population stratification according to information demands (Section 2.1.1.) into two categories:

- 1) **active readers;**
- 2) **mass readers.**

The separate **third category** involves children and youth joining either active or mass reader groups, depending on conditions of education (as well as, on the level and orientation of information effects).

Proceeding from the above, the suggested mass media system embracing all strata of the population and complying with the above-mentioned purposes comprises the following components:

**1. Regional weekly information-analytical newspaper (magazine) for socially active strata of the population (“Ofitsialnyye Viedomosti” newspaper).** This publication is distinguished by a high level of representation of materials; reference, first of all, to official sources of information; a considerable volume of nationwide, regional and international subject matter; availability of information required in the course of practical activities of potential readers (normative and reference materials). Information streams are generated by the “vertical” hierarchical principle. This principle involves presentation of information on every level of state power “from top to bottom” (rubric titles: “President”, “Supreme Council” “Cabinet of Ministers”, “Region”, “City”). Information regarding the state is supplemented by world news (“World News” rubric), as well as by the news from adjacent states (first of all, from Russia the interests of which are often at variance with integration interests of Ukraine and NATO). In case of such approach, information and analytical matter is supposed to provide readers with the most complete and all-round description of events, materials for further analysis and allow them to arrive at their own conclusions. Approximate volume: 20 pages of A4 format. Object of effects: active readers. One of the principal tasks: attainment of a high level of confidence on the part of active readers.

**2. Cognitive magazine (operating title: “The Quest”).** This magazine will allow to embrace the maximum possible group of readers with the help of the subject matter being easily understood by all strata of the population. This is due to the fact that the socially important information presented in an adapted form attracts the socially active groups and, apart from it, appears interesting and understandable to those not normally belonging to consumers of such information, i.e. to the mass readers. The magazine comprises the following rubrics: “Travelling and Adventures”, “History of Civilizations”, “Detective”, “Animated Nature”, “Science Fiction”, “Anomalies”, “Do You Know that ...?”, “Smile!”. Basic subjects: cognition of the contemporary world, travelling, adventures, science fiction. One of the publication tasks: correction of public consciousness through publication of specially chosen cognitive

matter originating from NATO member states, as well as materials concerning NATO and other international organizations. Approximate volume: 48 pages of A4 format. Object of effects: first of all, mass readers.

**3. Children's magazine for average school age group of "scout" orientation (operating title: "Sientyabr"/September).** The magazine of this type will allow to mold active attitudes to life during the most critical period of physiological and psychological development of children, as well as be able to stand out as an effective counterweight to inferior children's publications (with erotic or criminogeneous emphases being laid therein). The magazine contains the following rubrics: "Bulletin Board", "Hyde Park", "Nice Looking Girl's", "Young Man Only", "Detective", "X-Files for All", "Computer Club", "King Solomon's Mines/Priceless Abundance of Knowledge", "Let's Read English", "Adventures, Science Fiction", "Art-Union", "Story". Approximate volume: 20 pages of A4 format. Object of effects: children and youth.

The distinctive feature combining all three publications may be described as application of a **special system of information presentation** which consists in the following: 1) precise rubrication cultivating habituation to assigned structures of information streams and modeling the most probable sphere of information requirements on the part of a specific group of readers; 2) logic interrelationship between all rubrics which is oriented on formation of a complete picture of the world around on the basis of separate information fragments. They are united by the common task of cultivation of world outlook being typical of the NATO member states. All publications imply application of such psycho-techniques of information effects (Section 2.3.2.) as "Double-Stage Effects on Passive Readers (T<sub>5</sub>)", "Double-Stage Effects on Active Readers (T<sub>6</sub>)", "Enlightenment (T<sub>7</sub>)", "Multiargumentation (T<sub>8</sub>)".

The "Ofitsialnyye Viedomosti" weekly newspaper, the first one of those publications, has been functioning since September, 1998. The matter regularly published in the weekly concerns the problems of international safety and integration processes. However, due to an exceptionally grave financial situation, this publication has remained to be on the pilot project level. Concepts and master copies were developed in the "Page Maker" system for the "Sientyabr" and "The Quest" magazines. Experimental filling and testing were carried out. At this stage, the partners for publication of magazines are being searched. However, the search has not been successful so far owing to the fact that the Ukrainian market is oversaturated with Russian publications. Great quantities of printed copies of Russian publications being released for practically all countries of the former USSR allow to make those publications less expensive and more colorful as compared to the Ukrainian ones. Thus, the publishing business in Ukraine is rendered noncompetitive as compared to Russia due to the presence of purely commercial interests and absence of the program of state support of Ukrainian publications.

According to the results of the experimental attempt to implement the pilot project of the printed mass media comprehensive system, its adequate operation is subject to the purposeful financial, information and staff support within the framework of Ukraine-NATO joint information programs.

#### **5.4. PROGRAMS OF SOCIAL CONTACTS WITH NATO MEMBER STATES**

In general, public consciousness undergoes changes in the process of socialization. Socialization may take place both spontaneously and purposefully under the action of a variety of tools the importance of which varies under different outer conditions. The general purpose of those tools is characterized by arrangement of an appropriate social environment for individuals or social groups. Despite elimination of the "iron curtain", direct social contacts with NATO member states and submersion in the social environment being typical of those states are still hindered in present-day Ukraine. First of all, this is due to low living standards of the

bulk of the Ukrainian population and relatively high cost of foreign trips. In these circumstances, a special importance is attached to such tools of socialization as the system of education, literature, arts, mass media, Internet-projects that may be combined within the framework of a wide range of programs of social contacts with NATO member states.

**General mechanism of implementation of similar social contact programs: increasing trans-border information intensity.** The consistent process of keeping the population well-informed of the experience and results of the activities carried out by international organizations (in the territory of Ukraine, as well) will promote socialization of the population of Ukraine for the conditions of “probable enemy” absence and, as a result of it, cultivate public consciousness positively oriented on integration in the world community.

**Basic trends of these programs are as follows:**

**1. Development of educational techniques in Ukraine.** In this case, it proves reasonable to arrange for permanent feedback between educational establishments of Ukraine and NATO headquarters. This relationship is required in order to obtain essential information and reference materials and their subsequent incorporation in the courses of lectures and textbooks of methodics, NATO being also referred to as the competent source. It appears advisable to practice the exchange of teachers, students, pupils with NATO member states.

**2. Permanent presence of NATO within different sectors of information domain of Ukraine on different communicative levels.** Implementation of this program will allow to cause a stable effect of habituation to NATO. In the present-day circumstances, the bulk of the population of Ukraine can hear of NATO occasionally, only during the periods of armed conflicts treated by different mass media in different ways. As a result of it, the North Atlantic alliance becomes most frequently associated in public consciousness with combat operations. Other kinds of NATO activities are either forgotten or completely unknown. This program may comprise some of the following subprograms:

- Mass media operations, including the following: 1) regular information filling of Ukrainian publications (see Section 5.2.); arrangement of a specialized group of publications (see Section 5.3.); 3) “NATO Review” open release, its popularization through saturation with additional cognitive information being available for mass readers, as well as provision of Ukrainian authors with a chance to be published in this publication.
- Literature and feature films. It may be interesting to note that the popularity of USA soldiers is rather high in Ukraine and is maintained by a wide range of factors, including feature films (action films) and literature. However, it is not the case, as far as the NATO soldier image is concerned. This problem could be solved in the following ways: 1) importation or publication in Ukraine of appropriate literature; 2) promotion of writing literary works by Ukrainian authors, for example, by supplying the appropriate materials; 3) encouragement of films generating a positive NATO soldier image to enter the Ukrainian cinema production market.
- Propagation of NATO symbolism, for example, in periodical publications, on clothes, stationary products, youth accessories. Unlike the USA army symbolism, the NATO symbolism is completely absent in Ukraine.

**3. Development of active growth centers**, i.e. groups of people which may subsequently give rise to formation of social groups having their own subculture adapted for the Euro-integration conditions. In this case, a special importance is attached to the missions of NATO representatives to Ukraine. The author’s personal participation in one of such visits resulted in the conclusion that such meetings arouse great interest. However, despite their strong psychological effects, those missions, as well as counter-visits to the NATO headquarters example single-time actions. As a rule, such contacts are not maintained. Original positive effects are not consolidated and developed afterwards. Therefore, it appears advisable to take the following action: 1) arrange a special service through which personal contacts with NATO could be maintained by Ukrainian citizens being interested; 2) set up “clubs” that would be participated by those persons who had made contacts with NATO in one or another form. A

good example of it may be represented by the USA International Research and Exchange Board “IREX”, as well as its system of alumni.

The elements of the social contact program are implemented today within the framework of project “Information Domain and Ukraine – NATO Integration” (jointly with “Constanta” Publishing House; 26, Kosmicheskaya str., office 113, Kharkov, 61145, Ukraine; Gennadiy Ulianich, the Director; phone + 380 572 17-55-21, e-mail: guennadi@altavista.net). The first move has been already made in the form of a test publication of the journal for Ukrainian youth in the French language. The journal is titled “Journal Francophone d’Ukraine”. The next move providing for pursuit of a partner for joint information filling and materialization of a specific information and publishing program is planned to be made in the form of project development and its representation in the NATO headquarters.

All above and other lines of social contact programs may represent the subject of a separate study and, in particular, be interesting for specialists in the field of present-day educational techniques and mass media.

## CONCLUSIONS

While taking stock of the work on project “Information Domain and Ukraine – NATO Integration”, the following conclusions may be made:

1. The investigation results perfectly fall within the conceptual approach to new non-traditional threats to the national and international safety which was formulated in the Strategic Concept of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), as well as in papers of a great number of investigators. The idea of this approach may be expressed as follows: under the present-day conditions, the probability of military threats on the part of other states is reduced and, instead, a combination of new factors that may result in economic stagnation and political instability is brought to the forefront.

2. Potential manipulation of public opinions and deformation of public consciousness should be referred to the number of basic non-traditional threats. Therefore, the information domain at large and in Ukraine, in particular, should be regarded as an important and indispensable constituent of international safety.

3. The fact of emergence of new threats calls for the development of new methods of their study and means of struggle against them. The classic methods of military-political and sociological study are unable to describe clearly conflict-geneous contradictions manifesting themselves, first and foremost, in the post-soviet area. This is associated, first of all, with the need to collect, process and analyze an enormous volume of rapidly changing data being different in their nature and character.

4. The methods of information domain comprehensive analysis which are proposed in this paper allow to solve the above multiple-factor problem. In this case, the information domain is regarded as a potential instability source and, simultaneously, as the all-round object of study containing the information on direct and indirect sources of threats. Adoption of the coding principle (quantitative description of analysis categories), consideration of psycho-techniques of information effects, as well as stratification of the population according to its information requirements enable to regard those methods as an alternative to the traditional statistical methods in the course of monitoring of a socially unstable society.

5. These particular methods of comprehensive analysis were applied for the information domain investigations in Ukraine. According to the results of those investigations, the state of the Ukrainian information domain may be generally characterized as the passive one, as far as the matter of integration in NATO is concerned. The information background is of neutral, even positive character in respect of NATO. Publications of positive orientation are intended, first of all, for socially active strata accounting for a minor portion of the present-day popula-

tion. At the same time, the international subject matter is not practically covered by the publications intended for the basic (socially passive) mass of the population that has been traditionally characterized by a negative attitude to NATO (since the “cold war” times). All this provides for sufficiently favorable conditions for implementation of joint Ukraine and NATO information programs to be oriented, first and foremost, on the struggle against negative stereotypes in public consciousness, rather than on counteraction against negative information streams.

6. Negative reports in respect of NATO are released, as a rule, by Russian publications. Although such publications are not decisive ones, they may not be completely disregarded due to the fact that the information effects of Russia on the north-eastern regions of Ukraine are strong enough. The absolute majority of printed mass media being sold in this part of Ukraine is published in the Russian language, while the share of Russian publications accounts for 8% - 47% in different regions.

7. According to the results of pilot sociological polls by interviewing and latent polls through participation in discussions, the bulk of the population of Ukraine (socially passive strata) is characterized by a negative attitude to NATO on the level of subconsciousness based on those political directives that were implanted in people’s minds back in Soviet Union times. The major and practically only factor maintaining those directives today is represented by the Kosovo events (spring, 1999). Although NATO is critically perceived by the basic part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the latter is ready for discussion of the Ukraine – NATO integration problems. The part of the Ukrainian population approving the policy of NATO in Europe is represented by a minor section of the socially active intelligentsia. The above conclusions are correct, first of all, for the north-eastern regions of Ukraine.

8. The investigations that were carried out within the framework of this project allow to formulate the basic potential lines of the joint information policy of Ukraine and NATO. These lines are, first and foremost, represented as follows: 1) information domain monitoring; 2) development of an electronic atlas of information coverage of territories; 3) detection of local sources of unfavorable information situation and their efficient neutralization. The information domain correction is expected to be made through provision of regional mass media with finished matter within the framework of joint information programs. Addresses for distribution of information between 7 regions of Ukraine (Kharkov, Poltava, Sumy, Lugansk, Zaporozhye, Donietsk, Dniepropetrovsk regions) have been already entered into the electronic data base. This data base is compatible with Internet and allows to define basic characteristics of the information background geographical distribution. However, it is still to be improved.

9. Advisability of implementation of such information strategy implies the development of the following promising lines of further study:

- development of software for information domain comprehensive analysis;
- development of specialized data bases of printed publications for each region of north-eastern Ukraine, combination of those data bases into a uniform geographical information system adapted for the methods of information domain comprehensive analysis;
- application of logic programming methods for development of the system of calls to those data bases and the system of taking spatial decisions on control over information situations
- additional sociological discourse-analysis of local sources of unfavorable information situations;
- development of social contact programs with NATO member states by increasing trans-border information intensity.

The process of formulation of the specific task and initial action that was taken in respect of the above five lines of study were described in this paper. However, their adequate materialization is subject to involvement of additional highly skilled specialists and a wide range of independent investigations.

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## APPENDIX

### Preparation of Articles and Participation in Conferences

1. I.A. Sergiyenko. Ukraine and New System of Collective Security in Europe // *Ofitsialnyye Viedomosti* / - 1999 – No. 38(53). - Consultant: V.Ye. Shedryakov, Chief Consultant of National Institute of Strategic Research.

2. I.A. Sergiyenko. Information Constituent of International Safety - newspaper version // *Ofitsialnyye Viedomosti*. - 2000 – No. 13(80) - 14(81). - Reviewer: A.P. Golikov, Dr. of Geography, Professor, Head of International Economic Relations Department of Kharkov National University.

3. International Economy Terminology Reference Book / Edited by A.P. Golikov, I.A. Sergiyenko – K.: Kharkov National University, Publishing House “Fort”, 2000. – 264 p. This Reference Book contains the definition of NATO along with other international organizations, the new Strategic Concept of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization being taken into account. The review report concerning the above definition was presented by Mr. John Lough, the representative of the NATO Office of Information and Press.

4. A.P. Golikov, I.A. Sergiyenko. Geopolitical Situation in Ukraine under Conditions of European Union Reformation and New Redivision of Europe // *Bulletin of Kharkov National University*. – Economic series. – Kharkov. – 2000. – No. 482. - p. 155 - 157.

5. I.A. Sergiyenko. Information Constituent of International Safety // *Business-inform.* - 2000 – No. 6. – p. 3 - 5.

6. A course of lectures on subject: “International Organizations - Traditions of Present-Day Geopolitics” with the description of 21 organizations, including NATO, EU, WEU. The course was published as an editorial article (editor-in-chief: I.A. Sergiyenko) in the “*Ofitsialnyye Viedomosti*” weekly. - 1999 – No. 13(28) - 16(31), 18(33) - 20(35), 27(42) – 39(54) and 2000 – No. 21(88) - 22(89).

7. A.G. Yushchenko, I.A. Sergiyenko. Information Monitoring and Information Correction of Regional Instability Sources // Report at the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Countries International Conference “Disasters in the Black Sea Region: Prevention and Liquidation of Consequences”, Kharkov, May 22 - 25, 2000.

### Articles sent to the press

1. V.A. Kolosov, I.A. Sergiyenko. Information Psycho-Techniques and “Correspondence Method” in System of Information Domain Comprehensive Analysis // *Politeia*. - 2001 - No. 3. *Journal of Political Philosophy and Sociology of Politics*. Published by the Russian Public Policy Centre Foundation.

### Apart from it there was participation in:

1. Discussions with Andzey Tovpek, the Ambassador of Poland in NATO, and Karel Kovanda, the Ambassador of Czech Republic in NATO, at the meeting which was held at the National Law Academy (Kharkov, Ukraine), March 4, 2000.

2. Discussions with the members of Political Council of NATO and Natalie Melnyczuk, the Head of NATO Information and Documentation Center in Ukraine, at the meeting which was held at the Kharkov National Technical University and Military University (Kharkov, Ukraine), October 5 - 6, 2000.

3. Formulation of tasks on the development of mathematical methods to analyse geopolitical categories of the information domain in Ukraine within the triangle of “NATO - Ukraine - Russia” interrelationship”. The seminar was participated by the group of Bachelor students from the Department of Information Systems of the Kharkov National Technical University, as well as Dr. Aleksandr Yushchenko, their supervisor.