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# **SLOVAK PRESS IN ZAKARPATTIA AS THE REVIVAL OF NATIONAL IDENTITY**

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## **Abstract**

The author analyses the positive influence of the contemporary vernacular media of Zakarpattia on the rebirth of national identity of the Slovak minority in the region. He also touches upon the reasons of the decline of the Slovak information and communication fields in Zakarpattia in the middle of the XX<sup>th</sup> century which have led to a significant assimilation of this nation. The informative strategy and the thematic content of the 'Podkarpatskiy Slovak' and 'Slovenske slovo' newspapers and the 'Dovera' journal are analyzed. These carry out the regenerative process of the Slovak information and communication segment in Zakarpattia which has formed only during the contemporary history after declaring the independence of Ukraine. Since then the Slovak ethno-national rebirth has been characterized by intensive development. It has been under the direct influence of the Slovak national cultural and educational institutions of Zakarpattia. The department of Slovak studies has become independent, the Uzhhorod National University and the Slovak media in the region as well.

*Keywords:* information, printed media, national identity, ethnic, intercultural communication

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## **1. Introduction**

Notwithstanding the global tendencies in economics, politics, the energetic 'McDonaldization' of the mass-media, the total penetration of the information technology and the Internet in all the areas of life, **the relevance of the scientific research** is obvious. Hence it is based on the question of national and cultural identity of different nations including those living in foreign language environment. The media plays an essential role in this process supporting and stimulating the way to a comprehensive awareness of one's ethnicity. The Slovak ethnic group of Zakarpattia is not an exception as far as this world tendency is concerned. However, this question has not been researched by the scientists, including those studying the influence of the journalism and information on social processes.

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## **2. Analysis of scientific sources and publications**

The main aspects of the problem of identity have been studied by a great number of scientists. The first scientists to process the problem of identity were from the West, among them E. Erickson [1, 2], Ch. Taylor [3], A. Giddens [4], P. Ricœur [5], A. MacIntyre [6], J. Habermas [7], R. Robertson [8], Z. Bauman, M. Castells, N. Luhmann, A. Smith [9] and others. The scientists of the post-socialist era took an active part in researching the problem of national identity after the fall of the communist ideology. Ukrainian and Slovak scientists are not the exception in this matter. H.A. Zaichenko [10], T.S. Voropay [11], O.M. Korh [12], P.I. Hnatenko [13], L.Y. Vasylyk [14] were among Ukrainian researchers who investigated this. The publication of ‘National identity and its historical profile in the Slovak community’, a book by a Slovak researcher Milan Stanislav Ďurica has become a scientific event [15]. However, the problem of the influence of the mass-media on the development, transformation or rebirth of national identity still remains a in the focus of scientific interest.

The following methods were used during the research: discourse, comparative historical, complex and quantitative analysis combined with the methods of generic scientific knowledge - analysis, synthesis, deductive and inductive, system and historical. Methodologically we rely on principles of social constructivism.

## **3. Results and discussion**

The Slovak periodical press in Zakarpattia meets the informative needs of one of the smallest ethnic groups of the region. Two main newspapers: ‘Podkarpatskiy slóvak’ (PS) and ‘Slóvenske slovo’ (SS) and a journal – ‘Dóvera’ (D) along with the vernacular radio and television programmes broadcasted by ‘Tysa – 1’ of the Transcarpathian Regional Television and Radio Company meet the media demands of the Slovak ethnic group of Zakarpattia. The essence of our scientific hypothesis lies in the following: the Slovak media of Zakarpattia were analyzed by the help of publications, which popularize both the ethnic group and the social-cultural identifications. Media stimulate the national identity of the Slovaks and contribute to the rebirth of ethnic self-awareness among the Slovaks of Zakarpattia. With the help of information, including media, identification covers dynamic, processual aspects of the formation of identity. It was Erikson who made an attempt to correlate both terms. He wrote that the development of identity lies in the synthesis of the identification [1, p. 12; 2, p. 6]. The process of reanimation of ethnic identity among the Slovaks of Zakarpattia induced them to create an own media-product, in return the mass-media among their usual functions, perform the role of the spokesman and propagandist of this identity among a wide range of readers today.

According to the All-Ukrainian population census (2001), the Slovak minority in Zakarpattia makes up 5695 person which is 0.5% of the total population of the region. The number of Slovaks decreased in 2001 compared to

that of 1989. This fact can be explained by the emigration of a number of Slovaks to Slovakia or other EU countries. According to the last census, almost 90% of all the Ukrainian Slovaks as the sixth largest nation reside in Zakarpattia. Nearly half of the Slovaks of Zakarpattia (2.500) resides in Uzhhorod and makes up 2.2% of the population (3.3% – in 1989, 12% – in 1959). Here they cede in quantity only to Ukrainians, Russians and Hungarians. Approximately 1200 (1.6% of the population) Slovaks reside in the Uzhhorod district. Smaller groups of the Slovak ethnic group reside in the Svalyava district (400 people), Velykobereze, Irshava, Perechyn districts (300 people), Mukachivo district (200 person). 702 Slovaks reside outside Zakarpattia, including 83 people in Kyiv, 81 in the Rivne region, 66 in Lviv region and 61 in Dnipropetrovsk region. It is interesting that only 43.9% of Slovaks of Zakarpattia recognize their national language as mother tongue, while 42.1% recognize Ukrainian, 1.8% Russian and 12.2% other languages [16].

There are two main reasons why Slovaks appeared in Zakarpattia. Firstly, this region is “a peculiar historical and geographical area of the Ukrainian ethnic group, located in the zone of ethnic and political border with Romanians, Hungarians, Slovaks and Poles” [17]. Therefore a number of Slovaks of Zakarpattia have initially resided the Eastern border area, neighbouring with the representatives of the Ukrainian ethnic group which made up the majority of the region. The ethnic groups periodically comprised part of different governments during the period from the X<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the XX<sup>th</sup> century. Secondly, a part of Slovaks moved to the inlands of Zakarpattia (mostly from Liptovský Mikuláš District) as lumberjacks and metallurgists in the first decades of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, Slovak minorities have been formed in Velykyi Bereznyi, Perechyn, Tur’i Remety, Onokivtsi, Polyans’ka Huta, Kamyans’ka Huta, Storozhnytsya, Dravtsi, Serednje, Antonivka, Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Rodnykova Huta, Dovhe, Kushnytsya, Lysychovo. The number of Slovaks in Zakarpattia has been quickly increasing since “there were from 9 to 14 children in each family” [17, p. 148]. However it is hard to tell the real number of the Slovak ethnos in Zakarpattia of that time, because even during the first Czechoslovak Republic the censuses (of 1921 and 1930) mentioned Slovaks and the Czech under one common name – Czechoslovaks.

The information and communication along with the cultural, educational and legal situation of the Slovaks of Zakarpattia has changed several times during the XX<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the XXI<sup>st</sup> century. Thus, Slovaks together with Czechs belonged to the core-state ethnic groups and occupied the leading positions in the newly-established Czechoslovak Republic. They extended their possibilities concerning vernacular communication and education. As early as in 1921 there were 17 Czechoslovak schools in Zakarpattia and in 1938 – 188 additional schools were opened in Ukrainian villages. The teaching process was mostly conducted in the Czech language but individually some subjects were taught in Slovak. The Slovaks’ situation changed when Hungary occupied Zakarpattia in 1939 [17, p. 148]. The Hungarian government eliminated all the Czechoslovak schools. No Slovak school or class was opened during the USSR

rule in Zakarpattia (1944–1991) either [18]. At the same time the Soviet government tried to worsen the situation of the Slovaks of Zakarpattia. Hence, for example, in the ‘Protocol to the Treaty between the Czechoslovak Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning the Trans-Carpathian Ukraine’ of 29.06.1945, the following was stated: “...persons of Slovak and Czech nationality living (having their permanent residence) in the territory of the Trans-Carpathian Ukraine shall be entitled to opt for citizenship of the Czechoslovak Republic...persons of Ukrainian and Russian nationality living in the territory of Czechoslovakia (in Slovak areas) shall be entitled to opt citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics” [19]. The local government tried to fight back the free choice of citizenship. Meanwhile the Ukrainian families who did not want to live in the USSR began to leave for the neighbouring country pretending to be Slovaks of Zakarpattia. According to the lords’ main argument the residents of Zakarpattia who were Greek Catholics could not be Slovaks.

Ever since, the attempts of the Slovak minority to migrate have not ceased. “The Slovaks have left some settlements entirely. Their departures to the homeland became more frequent in the 1980s when the borders got more ‘transparent’ and when the social-political crisis gained actuality, both in the world and in the Soviet empire” [17, p. 150]. Although the so-called ‘Slovak issue’ was ‘closed’ by the government as early as “in 1945-1947 when all the Slovak schools, social-political organizations, newspapers and journals were also closed; all forms of national-political and religious life were eliminated” [17, p. 150]. Of extreme repression were characterized the actions against the Church; till the 1950s conducting services in Slovak was prohibited, all Slovak churches were closed and turned into stores, gyms, clubs, etc. during the 1960s [20].

The process of the denationalization of the Slovak ethnos was sped up by the restriction in the usage of the mother language. It resulted in the fact that in 1989 only 35% (2555 person) out of 7329 ethnic Slovaks of Ukraine stated Slovak as their mother language while 33% (2433) – Ukrainian, 26% (1890) – Hungarian, 5.3% (388) – Russian, 0.7% (53 person) – other languages. For example, the census of 1979 fixed 8200 Slovaks in the territory of our country, 42% (3464) of which considered Slovak, 28% (2309) Ukrainian, 4% (316) Russian, 26% (2107) some other languages as their mother language. However, the number of Hungarian-speaking Slovaks was not fixed during this census. The assimilation process slowed down after the announcement of the Independence of Ukraine when a certain Renaissance began among the ethnic groups of Zakarpattia. A significant number of Slovaks still immigrated to their historical motherland at that time taking advantage of the fall of the Iron Curtain in the USSR. Thus, according to the last census (2001) the number of Slovaks has decreased by 2505 person in comparison with the census of 1979. The number of those who considered Ukrainian as their mother language as a percentage of has increased to 41.6% (2369) while those stating Hungarian has decreased to 11.3% (644) [*The distribution of the population by nationality and*

*the native language, according to the 2001 census. Transcarpathian region. Every population. Table 5.1. Resident population. Absolute information, Current Archive Transcarpathian Regional Department of Statistics].*

The assimilation tendencies among the Slovak minority were intensified by the adverse information landscape, the intrusive propaganda of the Soviet lifestyle as the only just, false national-cultural policy aimed at creating the surrogate Soviet internationalist person. Although the assimilation processes among the Slovaks of Zakarpattia also connected with objective reasons like: “the closeness of the Ukrainian and Slovak languages, the education of Slovaks predominantly in Ukrainian schools, lasting coexistence between Ukrainians and Slovaks and the absence of ethnic, religious and politic conflicts between them, the closeness of cultural and household traditions along with festive and ritual culture and folk art” [17, p. 151]. In addition, the fact that for the last decades the ethnic group has not been living apart, but among Ukrainians can be named as a significant reason of using Ukrainian in Slovak environment. It led to tight contacts with the latter, furthermore, even resulted in interethnic marriages. Thus, for example, only 20 families out of 90 are entirely Slovak, while 70 are Ukrainian-Slovak in the village of Tur’i Remety [21].

Modern journalism acquires more institutional features of subject formation and consolidation of national identity and regulation of the intercultural. The regeneration of the Slovak information and communication segment in Zakarpattia has been intensified after the announcement of the Ukraine Independence. Since then it has been directly influenced by the national cultural and educational institutions, by the re-established faculty of Slovak Philology at Uzhhorod National University and by the Slovak mass-media of the region. It is worthwhile mentioning that the importance of the ethnic periodical press, as the instrument of regulating the national and cultural policy, has been increasing more and more recently.

The process of the decline of the vernacular information and communication field of the Slovaks of Zakarpattia has been conditioned by several other problems except the invasive aspects of the Soviet policy. Firstly, to adapt completely and socially in the Ukrainian environment and to achieve future perspectives in employment, Slovaks have adjusted to the new communication environment themselves. Secondly, the minimal vernacular information need of the minority has been met by the closeness of the Slovak border. Thus it receives radio and television signals from the East Slovak district.

The information and communication element of the national rebirth of the Slovaks of Zakarpattia, unlike other ethnic groups’ of the region, has for a long time been weak even after Ukraine declared its Independence. For example, except the 5 newspapers which have been printed till 1991 in the region, there appeared about ten more, registered by cultural and educational or scientific institutions and by individuals as well [12]. ‘Pidkarpatskyi Slovak’ (‘Podkarpatský slovak’) being the first periodical publication during the era of independence appeared only in 1999 in Zakarpattia. The newspaper was

established by the 'Matica slovenská' cultural and educational organization, its head – Jozef Hajniš has been fulfilling the position of Editor-in-Chief ever since the establishing. According to its periodicity PS is a monthly with a circulation from 500 to 1500 copies. The circulation was lower or higher depending on the financial situation of 'Matica slovenská'. The quality and colour also depended upon the fortune of the newspaper: the publication might be full-coloured or black and white.

The public and politic quarterly 'Dovera' ('Dôvera') appears in Zakarpattia in 2000. It was established by the cognominal Organization of Slovak women in Zakarpattia. Unlike PS this edition is published in two languages – Ukrainian and Slovak – and full-coloured printed. Nataliya Herceg-Pash, Editor-in-Chief submits her own column in almost every edition.

On 16 April 2012 the presentation of one more newspaper – 'Slovenske slovo' ('Slovenske Slovo') – took place in the Press Club of Uzhhorod. The newspaper was published by the 'Slovak information agency in Ukraine' ('Slovenská informačná agentcia na Ukraine') and was established by the Institute of the Slovak intelligence of Zakarpattia (head – Eric Horvat). The aim of the agency is to inform the citizens about the cultural and social events of the life of Slovaks in Ukraine and beside its borders. The publishing of the quarterly 'Časopis Slovakov' has to facilitate the highlighting of such events.

The presented first edition of SS mainly contained articles of lecturers and students of the Faculty of the Slovak Philology and Department of Journalism of the Uzhhorod National University and pupils of Slovak – Ukrainian secondary school No. 20. The main editor of the prime edition was Dr. Pavlo Chuchka junior - a well-known businessman and patron of Zakarpattia. The establishers' plans are quite ambitious: publishing 8-paged, full-coloured monthly including information in Slovak, Ukrainian and Czech. Circulation – 1000 copies. No such editions exist actually in Ukraine or Slovakia. According to the plans of the publishers the newspaper is expected to have utility functions as well – to be educational and practical facilitating professional growth for students of Slovak and journalism studies.

On the behalf of the Institute of the Slovak intelligence of Zakarpattia an application of estimation was presented and a petition was sent to the Slovak government. It concerned sponsorship of the edition and the support of the site of the Slovak information agency in Ukraine. However, the newspaper is still being published by the establishers. It is worth mentioning that the newspaper is being printed so to be interesting not only for ethnic Slovaks but for all residents of Zakarpattia, along with the residents of Kyiv, Rivne, Lviv. The journal contains such topics as: 'Culture', 'Our education', 'Slovaks in the world', 'Legislation news', 'Child page', 'Chalamada' (salty meal), 'Humor', etc. Among the further plans of the editorial board are the extension of the partnership with the periodical publications of Slovakia: 'Život' – 'Life', 'Plus 7 dni' – 'Plus 7 days', 'Korzar' – 'Corsair', 'Vychodoslovenske novyny' – 'East Slovak news' and television channels (TV Zenplin, TV Markiza, TV Joj) along with training of the members of the editorial board and journalists in Slovak

mass-media [*In Transcarpathia began to be published the newspaper, Slovenske slovo*‘, Site Evropeyskogo media center, [http://www.mediacentr.info/The\\_newspaper\\_Europa\\_Center/v-zakarpate-stala-vyhodit-gazeta-slovenske-slovo\\_\\_35782](http://www.mediacentr.info/The_newspaper_Europa_Center/v-zakarpate-stala-vyhodit-gazeta-slovenske-slovo__35782), accessed on 13 March 2015].

We note in passing that the Slovak periodicals of Zakarpattia raise most of the urgent problems of the region on the content level. Hypothetically, they are to meet the most versatile tastes of different segments of society according to the audience level: from nationally and culturally. The editorial board does not focus on any party which makes possible to touch upon any subject. Thus the Slovak periodicals have joined the process of creating the multisystem media of the region, because most of the printed media of Zakarpattia could have been called a single system before the declaration of the independence considering their ideological direction.

However, the appearance of these periodicals gave an access to vernacular information for the local Slovaks extending the multilingual information spectrum of Zakarpattia. It also made a significant contribution to the strengthening of the process of national identity. The following, problems on the pages of the Slovak periodicals, facilitated this process: 1) persecution of the representatives of the ethnic minority and applying of repressive and punitive policy by the Soviet totalitarian regime; 2) the tragic fate of the Slovak national, cultural and spiritual heritage which remained in the Soviet regime; 3) the rebirth of the national schooling and science; 4) rehabilitation of repressed Slovak cultural and religious doers; 5) the function of journalism and national culture in the process of forming identity and ways of overcoming the crisis of identity with the help of mass media. It is important to emphasize that in their media all the Slovak periodicals follow the principle of positive intercultural communication.

While speaking about the process of rebirth of national identity of Slovaks via their periodicals, we cannot omit the problem of cultural memory of this ethnos; however it has not been entirely lost but is quite forsaken. For example, the PS newspaper has been actively publishing articles about national and spiritual folk traditions of Slovaks, the doers of Slovak literature, culture and religion ever since its establishment. As the newspaper is aware of the fact that the history does not disappear without trace but supports the connection with today, it addresses to the readers purposefully and constantly and accentuates on the importance of the link with the historical motherland in the articles devoted to ethnic and cultural subjects: ‘Spomienka na Slovenský Betlehem 2009’ (‘Remembering the Slovak vertep 2009’, PS, January 2010, P. 1), ‘IX. Reprezentačný fašianový ples zakarpatských slovakov’ (‘Presentation of the 9<sup>th</sup> Easter Ball of Slovaks of Zakarpattia’, PS, February 2010, P. 2), ‘Zimné prázdniny na Slovensku’ (‘Winter Holidays in Slovakia’, PS, March 2010, P. 3), ‘Vel’konočné symboly’ (‘Easter symbols’, PS, April 2010, P. 4), ‘Zlatý Slavik – 2010’ (‘Golden Slavik – 2010’ (Children’s Festival of Slovak folk songs in Serednie Uzhgorod district), PS, May 2010, P. 5), ‘Škola v prirode v Tatranských Matliaroch’ (‘School in nature in Tatranské Matliare’, PS, June 2010, P. 6), ‘XI.

Matičný svetový festival slovenskej mládeže' ('11<sup>th</sup> World festival of Slovak youth', PS, July 2010, P. 7), 'Dakovná svätá OMSA o. Petra' ('Thanksgiving to Fr. Petro', PS, August 2010, P. 8), 'Tradičná slávnosť slovenského ľudového umenia – Slovenská veselica 2010 na Ukrajine' ('Traditional celebration of Slovak folk art – 'Slovak-2010 fun'', PS, September 2010, P. 9), 'MONS. biskup Jan Vojtaššák v Hlbokom na Zakarpatskej Ukrajine' ('Bishop Jan Vojtaššák in Hlyboke in Ukrainian Zakarpattia', PS, September 2010, P. 10), 'Seredňanska slovenká na medzinárodnom folklornom festivale' ('Seredňanska slovenká' at the international folklore festival', PS, July 2012, P. 7).

Subjects included in the newspaper are of utter importance if the context of ethnic identification is concerned, because they underline the strong link with the historical motherland and demonstrate the care of the Slovak Republic about their fellow citizens who live outside the country. One of such information is the publication 'Prečo mám rád slovenčinu, prečo mám rád Slovensko' ('Why I love Slovakia, why I love Slovak', PS, September 2010, P. 11). In fact the following articles are titled poetically as well: "The 19<sup>th</sup> annual general Slovak literary competition with international participation, dedicated to the 1150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the decease of Pribina, the prince of Nitra, the first known prince of the Slavic tribe on the territory of modern southwestern Slovakia", "The 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 'Memorandum of the Slovak nation' (a declaration of the representatives of Slovak towns and villages which was adopted on 6-7 June 1861 at the meeting in Turchanskyi St. Martin - Martin now - which demanded from the Hungarian kingdom the creation of the Slovak autonomy with its own government bodies, Slovak schools, church, cultural and educational organizations, periodicals, etc.), "The 130<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the journal 'Slovenské pohľady' ('Slovak views')".

Among the permanent topics of PS, the following ones attract attention: the religious-spiritual 'Z hĺbiny duše' ('From the depths of the soul'); the social-economic 'Správu zo Slovenska' ('Message from Slovakia'), 'Slováci v širom svete' ('Slovaks in the wide world'), 'Slávni slováci' ('Prominent Slovaks'). Thus the rubric 'Slovaks in the wide world' contains material about the Slovak diaspora in Romania (PS, February 2010, P. 2), Serbia (PS, March 2010, P. 3), France (PS, April 2010, P. 4), Czech Republic (PS, May 2010, P. 5), Hungary (PS, June 2010, P. 6), Poland (PS', July 2010, P. 8), Croatia (PS, September 2010, P. 9), Austria (PS, October 2010, P. 10), Germany (PS, November 2010, P. 11), etc. The editorial office of the newspaper clearly understands the indissolubility of ethnic, spiritual, cultural and social matters, and the desire to enrich the reader via education can be traced in traditional rubrics like 'Krásy Slovenska' ('Sights of Slovakia') and 'Jaskyne Slovenska' ('Caves of Slovakia'), which comprise information about the architectural ancestries and the uniqueness of nature of the historical motherland. Therefore the readers could discover one of the finest architectural sights of the Baroque period in Slovakia – the monastery in Jasov, built in the first half of the VIII<sup>th</sup> century (PS, February 2012, P. 2), the oldest (VIII<sup>th</sup> century) Saint Emmeram's Cathedral in the town of Nitra (PS, April 2012, P. 4), the architectural ensemble of the XV<sup>th</sup> century 'The

town of Saint Anton', enlisted by the UNESCO as an architectural site (PS, May 2012, P. 5), the oldest Gothic building in Slovakia – Saint Jacob's Church in Levoča (PS, June 2012, P. 6), Basilica of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Levoča on Mariánska hora (PS, July 2012, P. 7), The (Blue) Church of Saint Elizabeth in Bratislava (PS, August 2012, P. 8), the Basilica of Our Lady of Sorrows in Šaštín-Stráže (PS, September 2012, P. 9), the Spišská Kapitula of the XI<sup>th</sup> century, which is also often called as 'The Slovak Vatican' (PS, November 2012, P. 11), the Church of Saint John the Baptist in Trnovo (PS, December 2012, P. 12), etc.

The geographical knowledge of the historical motherland develops the communicative links as well via the perception of the national values and valuable orientations as a pivotal component of balanced and sustainable ethnical and cultural consistency. In this respect characterological are the materials of PS which acquaint readers with the unique, one of the three in the world, 'Ochtinská Aragonite Cave not far from Rožňava' (PS, January 2010, P. 1), 'Jasovská Cave not far from Košice' (PS, December 2010, P. 2), 'Gombasek Cave in Rožňava District', one of the most important caves in the Slovak Karst National Park - it is famous for its narrow drops and was enlisted by the UNESCO world heritage in 1968 (PS, March 2010, P. 3), 'Važecká Cave, situated in the Liptov Basin between the cities of Liptovský Mikuláš and Poprad' (PS, April 2010, P. 4), 'Drina Cave on the slope of the Little Carpathians', not far from Smenice (PS, May 2010, P. 5), etc.

The process of ethnic identification of the children audience is facilitated in PS by the permanent rubric 'Aunt Virka's tales' ('Rozprávky tety Vierky'). It worth mentioning that the samples of the fiction literature, printed in the newspaper, are a field of conditional urgency on the one hand, and an effective means of artistic influence on the young readers on the other. We agree with the opinion of the researchers that "the artistic and conceptual-semantic features of a work" that are 'hidden' in its style as a set of 'genes', "spiritual principles of the combination of its different parts" [23], not only reflect the features of the national-stylistic culture but also involve the reader in it. This problem becomes of prior importance under the circumstances of globalization and the person's being in a foreign language environment; when among the contemporary cultural patterns, the mass-media give prerogative to models of the consumer culture and modern image of carefree life, which is being actively imposed by the information and cultural flows.

An important means of increasing the national self-awareness is the folk song as the phenomenon of certain integrity in the representation of ethno-cultural occurrences. The song concentrates the manifestation of the comprehensive spectrum of the peoples' national and ethnic being in their dependence on a certain environment, through folk-poetic images and music. Archetypes providing succession and determining the continuation of popular culture in the present are reflected and reinforced in the minds of people. Mainly folk songs are printed in PS: 'Hey, that, that' ('Ej, totú, totú', March 2010, P. 3), 'One rose, two roses' ('Jedna ruža, dve ruže', April 2010, P. 4), 'One daughter's

mother' ('Jednej dcéry matka', May 2010, P. 5), 'Village in the valley' ('Dedinka v údolí', June 2010, P. 6), 'Hilly, hilly, hill' ('Horička, horička, hora', July 2010, P. 7), 'Girl, girl, swallow bird' ('Dievča, dievča lastovička', August 2010, P. 8), 'Rises the Sun from behind a sharp rock' ('Vychodi slniecko spoza ostrej skaly', September 2010, P. 9), 'My darling, let me inside' ('Mila moja, pusc me dnuka', November 2010, P. 11), 'Hey, Slovaks' ('Hej, slováci', January 2012, P. 1), 'Easter Pentecost' ('Fašiangi, Turice', February 2012, P. 2), 'I'm a fellow from Kapušian' ('Ja parobok z Kapušian', May 2012, P. 5), 'Come, Johnny, the nicest' ('Pridi, Janik premilený'), etc.

The publication of each edition of PS contains such songs together with their musical notes and not only extends the ethnic knowledge of the readers but also deepens the following ethno-differential features as poetic language, historical memory, folk mythology, picture of homeland, national character, spiritual kinship, aesthetic, moral and ethnic sensitivity.

The journal 'Dovera' ('Dôvera') promotes national identity among the Slovaks of Zakarpattia. It also pursues the policy of gender equality, thus supporting one more type of identification. The fact that the periodical prints its materials in Slovak and Ukrainian as well can be treated as a significant advantage, at least in the area of intercultural communication. It broadens the reader-audience and allows other ethnic groups to get to know the national cultural traditions and the heritage of Slovaks. This is also confirmed by the letter sent to the editorial office and written by an Ukrainian reader in which she points out the materials which were especially interesting and useful for her in the process of acquainting with the Slovak ethnos (D, October-December 2001, Č. 4, str. 1). The eagerness of the editors to acquaint their readers with the representatives of other cultures is seen in the articles entitled 'Roma in Ukraine' ('Rómovia na Ukrajine', D, October-December 2001, Č. 4, str. 9), 'His pictures are the sisters of the Japanese ikebana' ('Jeho mal'by sú sestrami japonských ikebán', D, October-December 2001, str. 10–11), 'A doll is not only fun' ('Bábika – nie je len zábavka', D, October-December 2001, str. 12).

The rubric 'Scientific horizon' attracts the attention which includes the following materials: 'The ties between scientists are becoming stronger' (about the scientific conference 'Ukrainian-Slovak relationships in the field of language, literature and history' which took place at the base of the Uzhhorod National University) along with 'Congratulations to the new head of the department' (about the scientific activity of Ljubitsa Babota, who led the Department of Ukrainian Language and Literature of Philosophical Faculty of the University of Prešov). The national cultural societies are of important role in the process of the national cohesion of the ethnicity, that is why the material entitled '10 years of the Organization of Slovaks of Uzhhorod' ('10 rokov Spolku Slovákov v Užhorode', D, October-December 2001, Č. 4, str. 4–5) is very actual and is represented in the form of an interview with the head of the organization – Ivan Latko.

Some of the articles of the newspaper 'Dovera' are of advising or joking character and according to their content, they are international to attract a greater number of readers: 'The child has fever, what are you going to do?' ('Diet'a má teplotu – čo urobíte?', D, October-December 2001, Č. 4, str. 20); 'Peanut butter in glass' ('Oreškový krém v pohárogh', October-December 2001, Č. 4, str. 21); 'Cake with cherry and nut' ('Višňovo-oreghová torta', D. October-December 2001, Č. 4, str. 21).

The 'Slovak word' newspaper looks the most professional and mass publication according to its thematic content, quality of materials, illustration level, technical design (18 pages of A×3 format) and its stated circulation. The use of info graphics and photo illustrations, the professional selection of fonts, colour and the overall good layout support the statement.

The majority of the materials inserted in the 'Slovak word' (7 April 2012, № 1) has a bright national and cultural or cultural communication colouring. However, considering the fact that the newspaper did not become regularly published, because it had not find a financial support, we will not go into deep analysis of materials and generalizations. To our mind, this publication could potentially have an immense effect on the formation of the ethnic awareness of the Slovaks of Zakarpattia. This fact has been confirmed by the level of the materials of the first and, unfortunately, yet the last copy of the newspaper.

#### **4. Conclusions**

The analysis of the Slovak press of Zakarpattia confirms its positive effect on the rebirth and formation of the own ethnic identity. These mass-media often appear as means of learning of the historical past, the achievements of culture, are a means of native language and intercultural communication. At the same time the periodicals facilitate finding of national and cultural marks, finding one's own identity in the global, oversaturated with information of unstable world. However, the process of the facilitating the rebirth of national identity, by the mass-media, popularization of mutual understanding through getting known with other cultures, respect and peaceful international cohabitation request not only understanding on the level of governments but also repeated financial support of such mass-media, since the mentioned issues belong to the problems of producing intercultural strategy along with national and information safety.

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