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TRANSPARENCY AS A COMPONENT OF THE POLICY OF “PERESTROIKA” IN THE KYIV REGION

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This article examines the process of shaping the policy of glasnost (transparency) in the Kyiv region during the period of “perestroika” (perebudova); analyzes the factors that influenced its development; and identifies the characteristic features, peculiarities, and consequences of glasnost’s development in the region.

The aim of the study is a comprehensive scientific analysis of the tasks and goals that the Soviet authorities set for themselves when implementing the policy of glasnost, as well as society’s reaction to these changes. **The methodological basis of the study** consists of the general scientific principles of historicism and objectivity, as well as retrospective, comparative-historical, and analytical approaches. The principle of historicism allows us to examine the process of glasnost in the Kyiv region within the context of the prevailing historical circumstances, namely the policy of “perestroika” under the leadership of M. Gorbachev. The principle of objectivity reveals to us the true picture of the highly contradictory and complex circumstances of the second half of the 1980s, in which the Ukrainian SSR, and specifically the Kyiv Oblast, found themselves. The retrospective method allows us to extrapolate the process of expanding freedom of speech and government communication, along with its challenges, onto contemporary sociopolitical trends. The comparative-historical method reveals the distinctive features and characteristics of the glasnost policy in the Kyiv Oblast and other regions of Ukraine. The analytical method allows us to identify the causes and factors that influenced glasnost in the Kyiv region. Scientific novelty. The policy of glasnost, as a component of the perestroika policy initiated by M. Gorbachev, is highly relevant and has been covered in the works of a considerable number of scholars in more general terms. However, the regional specifics of this process remain insufficiently studied. Therefore, the study of the policy of glasnost in the Kyiv region under perestroika is highly relevant and of significant scientific interest.

Results and Conclusions. The characteristic features and specific aspects of the implementation of the policy of glasnost in the Kyiv region during the period of perestroika included, on the one hand, traditional measures that were in line with all-Union and republican initiatives: establishing communication channels between the authorities and the public through the organization of “round tables,” “hotlines,” open-house days, informal meetings within work collectives; conducting various types of surveys to gauge public sentiment and opinion; implementing and/or simulating changes in the openness of party and state structures; strengthening the role of the press to increase public awareness and reduce the information vacuum; and expanding and deepening the process of rehabilitation, etc. On the other hand, the implementation of the policy of glasnost in the Kyiv region had its own peculiarities, which were due to the fact that the Kyiv region, as a region close to the capital of the Ukrainian SSR, had the opportunity to accelerate, in the context of social-political processes due to the high concentration of elites, including opposition figures, while simultaneously hindering them because of their proximity to the decision-making center at the republican level, where conservative figures constantly sought to slow the pace of social transformation. A specific factor influencing the development of glasnost in the region was the Chernobyl tragedy, which effectively became a kind of litmus test – for a long time, silence and disinformation served as the framework for information about the accident. As a result, the energy disaster quickly transformed from an environmental factor in public life into a powerful political one. Furthermore, during the implementation of glasnost policies, the Kyiv region was characterized by territorial heterogeneity and a variety of models for permissible actions in the information sphere – ranging from the liberal capital to the restrictive provincial – which significantly limited full freedom of speech.

Keywords: characteristics, distinctive features, political center, information gaps, rehabilitation, freedom of speech, communication.



ГЛАСНІСТЬ ЯК СКЛАДОВА ПОЛІТИКИ ПЕРЕБУДОВИ НА КИЇВЩИНІ

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У статті проаналізовано особливості та характерні риси політики гласності на Київщині в період перебудови, проаналізовано чинники, які вплинули на процес формування гласності на Київщині, а також його наслідки.

Метою дослідження є комплексний науковий аналіз завдань, цілей, які ставила перед собою радянська влада, а також реакція суспільства на ці зміни. **Методологічною основою дослідження** є загальнонаукові принципи історизму, об'єктивності, а також ретроспективний, порівняльно-історичний, аналітичний. Принцип історизму дає можливість розглядати процес гласності на Київщині в контексті тих історичних обставин, які відбувалися, а саме, політики перебудови під керівництвом М. Горбачова. Принцип об'єктивності розкриває нам реальну картину тих доволі суперечливих та складних обставинах другої половини 80-х рр., в яких опинилася УРСР та Київщина, зокрема. Ретроспективний метод дає нам можливість екстраполювати процес розширення свободи слова та комунікації влади, її проблематику на сучасні суспільно-політичні тенденції. Порівняльно-історичний метод розкриває нам особливості та характерні риси політики гласності на Київщині та в інших регіонах України. Аналітичний метод дає змогу нам з'ясувати причини, фактори, які вплинули на гласність на Київщині. **Наукова новизна.** Політика гласності як складова політики перебудови ініційованої М. Горбачовим є досить актуальною та висвітлювалася у працях досить великої кількості науковців більш комплексно. Натомість, регіональна специфіка даного процесу залишається малодослідженою. Тому дослідження політики гласності на Київщині в умовах перебудови є дуже актуальною та становить значний науковий інтерес.

Результати та висновки. Політика гласності мала свої особливості на Київщині. Разом з тим, процес політики гласності в УРСР був доволі складним та не зовсім однозначним. Головними складниками процесу були: реабілітація, розширення комунікації суспільства через його поступове та адаптивне наближення до управління державою, разом з тим, щоб не допустити вихід процесу з-під контролю. Крім того, важливу роль відігравали розсекречення архівних матеріалів та дослідження «білих плям». Політика гласності на Київщині відбувалася в умовах, коли політичний центр намагався балансувати та поступово часто на формальному рівні дозвано підпускати суспільство до формального управління державою без виходу процесу за рамки, які б, на думку, радянського керівництва призвели б до колапсу. Разом з тим, суспільство все чіткіше почало апелювати до змін та формувати власний порядок денний все частіше, незважаючи на владні директиви та накази.

Ключові слова: особливості, характерні риси, політичний центр, білі плями, реабілітація, свобода слова, комунікація.

1. Introduction

Statement of the Problem

The relevance of studying the issue of glasnost in the context of the perestroika policy initiated by M. Gorbachev is determined by a number of factors. One of the key factors is the process aimed at improving the mechanism of interaction between the government and society by changing the communication model, which was intended to become more open and streamlined in order to improve the system of public administration. An analysis of the content, essence, and structure of glasnost as a key component of the perestroika process occupies a central and pivotal place in this study. On the other hand, an important factor is the examination of glasnost as a procedure that shaped the culture of communication and interaction between society and the state, as well as the extrapolation of its practical outcomes to the present day. To a significant extent, a detailed analysis of glasnost and an examination of all

aspects of this issue will allow us to rethink and gain a clearer understanding of the interconnected contours of all the historical circumstances and changes of the 1980s and 1990s. At the same time, the lack of attention from scholars to the analysis of the process of implementing the policy of glasnost at both the national and regional levels prevents us from fully rethinking, examining in greater detail, and evaluating the picture of socio-political changes during the era of perestroika.

Historiographical and Source Review. The relevance of the issue of the proclamation and development of the policy of glasnost stems from significant scholarly interest in the socio-political transformations of the perestroika era. In the current context, understanding their causes, specifics, characteristics, features, and consequences takes on particular significance. One of the central and fateful reformist steps taken by Gorbachev's leadership was the introduction of the policy of glasnost,

which significantly expanded society's access to information and became one of the key factors leading to the collapse of the USSR and the emergence of an independent Ukraine on the world political map. Certain aspects of this issue have been explored in the works of Y. A. Alekseev, S. Kulchitsky, and A. Slyusarenko (Y. Alekseev, S. Kulchitsky, A. Slyusarenko, 2000), O. Boiko (O. Boiko, 2002, 2021), O. Garan (Garan, 1993), V. Danylenko (Danylenko, 2018), A. Kaminsky (Kaminsky, 1990), and others. However, at the regional level

2. The Policy of Openness in the All-Ukrainian Context

One of the most important components of the perestroika policy was glasnost. It was precisely the factor of glasnost that became one of the defining factors in the final stage of the Soviet Union's existence, which may have accelerated the fall of the "Evil Empire." The policy of glasnost was proclaimed at the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Its main objectives were to intensify criticism and self-criticism of the leadership, discuss problems existing in society, encourage proposals "from below," rehabilitate those unlawfully convicted, and generally address the mistakes the Soviet government had made over decades of rule (Gordina, 2010:204). Glasnost is a transitional state of the information space on the path from total state control and the silent unanimity of society to freedom of speech. The essence of the domestic version of glasnost encompasses two aspects: ensuring a certain degree of openness and accessibility of party and state institutions, as well as the existence of limited freedom of information (Boiko, 2021: 70). The policy of glasnost was implemented at a time when, in essence, the Soviet state apparatus was in a rather serious state of crisis. Therefore, to avoid a large-scale catastrophe, the Soviet party leadership decided to gradually change the model of communication between the authorities and the people in order to continue using the masses in large-scale socio-political transformations.

During this period, government institutions became more accessible to citizens. People increasingly sought dialogue with the authorities and addressed them in both written and oral form. In 1986, the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine received 27,400 written appeals, and 23,200 citizens attended in-person meetings. Such democratic forms of communication as "open letter" days, "open reception" days, and meetings between party and state bodies and the public at their workplaces and places of residence (Tsdagoy, F-1, Op. 32, SPR 2367:5,6,7; F-1, Op. 11, SPR 1427:69), through which "Service-05" became part of the Soviet system by responding to citizens' inquiries by telephone. It first appeared in the Donetsk Oblast, and by early 1987 was operating in

635 executive committees of city and district councils. Thanks to it, in 1986 alone, everyday issues raised in 261,400 citizen inquiries were resolved (Tsdagoy, F-1, op. 32, SPR 2362:29–30). The establishment of this service made it possible to resolve issues related to the population's livelihood more quickly, strengthen executive discipline within state structures, and to some extent enhance the authority of state bodies.

However, it should be emphasized that these positive changes in the sphere of relations between the authorities and the people had serious shortcomings. First, as a rule, they were the result of one campaign or another announced from above and took place within a clearly defined framework.

The party leadership feared that the situation might spiral out of control, so it tried by every means possible to limit publicity and establish certain boundaries that could not be crossed. For instance, in the all-Ukrainian In this context, the Communist Party constantly sought to demonstrate that glasnost should occur exclusively within certain limits that did not exceed the boundaries of the prevailing ideology, while simultaneously, to some extent, easing the pressure on society – that is, it was a form of political stretching. In particular, it manipulatively portrayed certain nationalist forces as allegedly seeking to expand these boundaries of glasnost in the context of rehabilitating individuals who had suffered political persecution in the 1960s and 1970s, and, in the event these demands were not met, promised to create informal associations that would produce illegal literature and publish materials abroad with the aim of influencing foreign states (12, 2011: 30).

In the context of the development of the policy of glasnost, issues related to the national aspects of policy were of considerable importance. For example, in July 1987, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine considered the issue "On measures to implement the guidelines of the 27th Party Congress in the republic regarding national relations and the strengthening of international and patriotic education of the population." The report prepared for this meeting by the leadership of the Communist Party states: a) Between 1976 and 1986, the republic's film studios produced 200 feature films, 126 of which were dubbed into Ukrainian, but the number of copies of these films accounted for only 13% of the total. The film archive of that period contained only 16,917 copies of feature films in Russian, of which only 1,783 were in Ukrainian. During the 11th Five-Year Plan, 42,336 titles of books and brochures were published with a total print run of 758,436.1 thousand copies, including 10,264 titles in Ukrainian (24.2%) and 72.5% in Russian. b) The share of socio-political literature in Ukrainian was 34.7%, in Russian – 60.0%; for scientific and technical literature – 12.8% in Ukrainian and 86.0% in Russian. (Lytvyn, 1994, 82–83). These statistics clearly

demonstrate that the problems that had accumulated in Ukraine regarding the use of the Ukrainian language in public life were quite serious and therefore could not be ignored, especially against the backdrop of an economic crisis that was becoming increasingly evident.

Another rather important issue facing the ruling elite was the problem of rehabilitating individuals who had suffered unlawful repression and been unlawfully convicted in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s; a commission was established, headed first by M. Solomentsev and later by O. Yakovlev; in effect, the commission continued the work that M. Khrushchev had begun in his time; the result of these efforts was the rehabilitation of over a million people during the period from 1988 to 1990 alone. A striking example of how the glasnost process to some extent changed the consciousness of party members is the case of L. Kravchuk, who said: “It was a farce, a falsification, a crime; if I had known all this in 1958, I would never have joined this party. That is what I can briefly say about the turning point in my consciousness” (9:591).

In the all-Ukrainian context, the glasnost process had its own distinctive features and characteristics; on the other hand, at the regional level, some of these were repeated, while others had their own specific features.

As a region located near the capital of the Ukrainian SSR, the Kyiv Oblast had the potential both to accelerate socio-political transformations and, at the same time, to hinder them. This dynamic was largely due to the high concentration of elites, particularly the Ukrainian intelligentsia, a segment of which opposed the authorities. The slowdown was often due to the region’s proximity to the republican-level decision-making center, whose conservative figures constantly sought to slow the pace of social change to prevent the situation from spiraling out of control.

3. Features of the Implementation of the Policy of Glasnost in the Kyiv Region

In carrying out directives from above regarding the implementation of glasnost and in attempting to establish communication channels with society, the party bodies of the Kyiv region utilized various forms and tools – roundtables, telephone hotlines, open letter days, informal meetings within work collectives, and so on. During these events, pressing social issues were discussed, as well as problems related to improving the state of criticism and self-criticism within government structures (DAKO, F-5, vol. 117, Spr. 3:12). At this time, certain changes were also taking place within the structures of the Communist Party itself, initiated by the leadership at the 27th Congress of the CPSU; in particular, initiatives were encouraged to hold internal party discussions on various issues, and the active expression of opinions

by rank-and-file communists was stimulated (DAKO, F-5, Op. 117, Spr., 666:6). It is characteristic that in the course of these communicative contacts, the communist leadership at the local level sought, on the one hand, to “let off steam” – formally giving ordinary citizens and ordinary communists the opportunity to express their own opinions – and on the other hand, to gauge public sentiment with the aim of preventing the emergence of negative trends in society and ensuring their own self-preservation. In this context, it is significant that various surveys aimed at gauging public opinion at different levels were becoming widespread at this time. In an effort to demonstrate to society that changes were taking place within the party ranks under the influence of glasnost and that public opinion was being taken into account, the first secretaries of the city party committees of Fastiv and Pereiaslav-Khmelnytskyi, L.B. Khodakovsky and G.G. Domnych, were dismissed for “sabotaging” the perestroika processes (DAKO, F-5, op. 117, Spr. 3:19-20). The elections, held for the first time as an official alternative to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, became a key catalyst for the development and spread of glasnost. It was these elections, conducted on the principles of glasnost and democratization, that ushered in a new phase in the development of society. In this pre-election atmosphere, a significant number of discussion clubs began to form in the Kyiv region, which eventually became centers of dissent. For instance, in the Brovary District alone and in the district center itself, five election clubs were established and 6,000 meetings were held with candidates for the USSR People’s Deputies, where issues important to the local population were frequently discussed and potential candidates provided answers, creating an atmosphere of competition and debate (DAKO, F-5, Op. 117, Case 743:13). A distinctive form of glasnost during the electoral process was the widespread practice of citizens writing comments and criticism directed at the authorities, as well as their free opinions and assessments of candidates, on the ballots (DAKO, F-5, Op. 117, Case, 3:42).

The press played a significant role within the policy of openness. The publication and distribution of newspapers and magazines became a tool for expanding citizens’ awareness and reducing the information vacuum during the years of perestroika.

At the legislative level, the new trends in the development of the media during the Perestroika era were enshrined in the USSR Law “On the Press and Other Mass Media” in June 1990. It is worth emphasizing that in the information sphere during the perestroika era, there were not only radical quantitative changes (during the first three years of perestroika, the total circulation of newspapers and magazines in the USSR grew by over 61 million copies and reached nearly 490 million), but also

profound qualitative changes – the press became increasingly free and, step by step, emerged from under party control (Central State Archives of the USSR, F-1, Op. 32, SPR 2446:108)

It is worth emphasizing that the expansion of the press's influence on society was already taking place on an informal level even before the law was passed. It is characteristic that over time, the influence and authority of state (especially party) media declined, while that of informal media grew. Thus, in 1988, the total circulation of newspapers and magazines in the Kyiv region was 2,734,400 copies, which was 118,800 copies more than in 1987. Circulation in rural areas increased by 59,700 copies. Per 1,000 people, the circulation of newspapers and magazines increased by 93 copies and, as of 1988, stood at 1,448 publications;

The population of the region increased the number of subscriptions to magazines such as "Robitnytsia", "Selyanka", and others; at the same time, the number of subscriptions to central-level newspapers decreased by 16,000. Public attention to newspapers, magazines, and publications controlled by party bodies, such as "Communist", "Agitator", and "Party Life", significantly decreased (DAKO, F-5, Op.117, Spr, 542:28–29). As a result, the press, especially the opposition press, became not only a means of information but also a powerful lever of influence both in the center and in the localities. Thus, in particular, during the rallies in Kyiv in the second half of the 1980s, which increasingly began to influence the socio-political situation, newspapers and magazines were actively used to directly or indirectly influence public consciousness (Free Word, 1990:6). It is worth emphasizing that the expansion of the influence of the press on society occurred at an informal level even before the law was passed. In particular, a number of opposition publications appeared in the Kyiv region – Visnyk Brovarshchyn, Vilne Slovo, Vybor, and Kyivskiy Chas – which became an alternative in the information space for society in the Kyiv region (7, 12, 15:1-3). In addition, newspapers, magazines, and other periodical and non-periodical publications began to play the role of means that actively helped disseminate necessary opposition information, which accelerated the communication and consolidation of opposition cells after long years of societal information isolation (TSDAGOY, F-1, Op.32, SPR.2555:175).

Following the proclamation of transparency and openness by the authorities, communist leadership at various levels could no longer ignore the emergence of journalists as specialists who now had the opportunity to communicate openly on various topics and, most importantly, to receive information about the authorities' further steps in reform policy and objectively cover the activities of party structures without ideological embellishments. (TSDAGOY, F-1, Op.32, SPR.2658:57). Over time,

the authorities realized that communication with society was important for informing the population about their actions to ensure that processes initiated by party structures at the local level did not get out of control. An active role in this process was played by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L. Kravchuk, who at the republican level initiated the television programs "Deputy Hour" and "Political Tribune". Through these programs, the authorities attempted to present their activities from a more open perspective; these steps were later copied and repeated at the Kyiv regional level (TSDAGOY, F-1, Op.32, SPR.2555:258).

Perhaps the most important pain point of glasnost was its territorial heterogeneity – the multivariateness of models of permitted actions in the information sphere – ranging from the permissive metropolitan model to the restraining provincial one, which significantly limited full freedom of speech. As one of the readers of "Ogonyok" quite reasonably noted in this regard: "... all this glasnost is concentrated somewhere in Moscow. For Kyiv, it is already the second glasnost. For Cherkasy, it is the third, very modest one. And for Myrhorod, Smila and Konotop, only a tiny bit remains. But "there is no sturgeon of second freshness"! If there is Glasnost-1, Glasnost-2, etc., this means that unfortunately there is no glasnost at all, but only the appearance" (Lubensky:5). A rather significant niche in the implementation of the glasnost policy was occupied by the process of rehabilitation of those who were illegally repressed and accused of various crimes. Starting in 1987, a commission on this issue of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, headed by the Second Secretary of the Central Committee V. Ivashko, began its work. The rehabilitation process became especially active after the issuance of the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU of July 11, 1988, "On additional measures to complete the work related to the rehabilitation of persons unjustly repressed in the 30s-40s and early 50s", on the basis of which rehabilitation commissions were formed at the Kyiv City Committee and 24 regional committees of the party of the republic, including in the Kyiv region; the prosecutor's office was involved in the rehabilitation process; from July 1988 to April 1989, criminal cases were reviewed for 15 thousand people, of whom 9 thousand were rehabilitated (Boiko, 2004:52). The rehabilitation process in the Kyiv region can be divided into two stages: The first stage (1955-July 1988). At that time, a total of 678 out of 714 former party officials were rehabilitated through judicial proceedings; the number of those who were reinstated in the ranks of the CPSU was 196, and the number of those who were denied was 95 (DAKO, F-5, Op.117, Spr, 441:2). Based on these facts, it can be concluded that the rehabilitation process was largely selective in nature, as it focused mainly on restoring

the reputation of the Communist Party rather than on a general change in approaches to restoring the good name of people who had suffered from Soviet justice in the past.

The second stage (July 1988 – July 1991): The issuance of the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU on July 11, 1988, “On additional measures to complete the work related to the rehabilitation of persons unjustly repressed in the 30s, 40s, and early 50s”, became a catalyst for the rehabilitation process. However, in the initial phase of this stage, rehabilitation in the Kyiv region proceeded slowly. For instance, during a three-month period in which 12 cases were considered, decisions were made on all 12; of these, only one case concerned a former member of the CPSU, none were restored to party membership, and one person was rehabilitated posthumously. Over time, the rehabilitation process became more active. From July 1988 to January 1990, 7,235 people were rehabilitated, while 1,000 were denied rehabilitation, including 18 former party officials. Among those rehabilitated posthumously were 196 former party members; as was typical, the largest number were high-ranking party officials and economic workers, and the smallest were Komsomol workers and military personnel. By July 1991, a total of 7,235 people had been rehabilitated. The fact that the number remained unchanged suggests that the rehabilitation process was provocative and caused public resonance. Consequently, further deepening the process and clarifying new facts about the Soviet past was, to some extent, threatening to the regime’s existence. Additionally, the intensification of socio-political processes could have led to catastrophic consequences for the regime; therefore, the process was gradually curtailed (DAKO, F-5, Op.117, Spr. 441:5,6,8,9,10,11,12,13).

4. Conclusions

Thus, the characteristic features of the implementation of the policy of glasnost in the Kyiv region during the perestroika era consisted, on the one hand, of traditional actions aligned with all-Union and republican policies: the establishment of communicative relations between the authorities and society through “round tables”, “hot” telephone lines, open letter days, and informal meetings within labor collectives; the use of various polls to study public mood and opinion; the implementation (or imitation) of changes regarding the openness of party and state structures; the strengthening of the press to increase citizen awareness and reduce the information vacuum; and the expansion of the rehabilitation process. On the other hand, the implementation of glasnost in the Kyiv region had its own peculiarities. Because the region was close to the capital of the Ukrainian SSR, it had the potential to both accelerate socio-political processes due to the high concentration of elites (including the opposition) and slow them down due to its proximity to the republican decision-making center, where conservative figures constantly sought to hinder social transformations. A specific factor influencing the development of glasnost in the region was the Chernobyl tragedy, which served as a litmus test; for a long time, information about the accident was suppressed or distorted. As a result, the energy disaster quickly evolved from an environmental issue into a powerful political factor. In addition, the implementation of glasnost in the Kyiv region was characterized by territorial heterogeneity and a multivariate range of permitted actions in the information sphere, varying from a permissive metropolitan model to a restrictive provincial one, which significantly limited full freedom of speech.

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TRANSFORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE TERNOPIL VOIVODESHIP (1930–1939)

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The aim of the article is to provide a comprehensive study of the transformation of the secondary education system in the Ternopil Voivodeship in 1932–1939 within the context of the implementation of the nationwide educational reform of the Second Polish Republic. In particular, it focuses on identifying structural, substantive, organizational, and personnel changes, as well as determining their impact on the development of the regional educational environment. Special attention is paid to the analysis of the introduction of the two-tier model of secondary education, the role of lyceums as a new type of educational institution, and the specific features of the functioning of state and private educational institutions in the multiethnic environment of the voivodeship.

Research methods are based on a combination of general scientific and specialized historical approaches. The principles of historicism, objectivity, and systematicity have been applied, making it possible to consider educational processes within a broad socio-political context. The study employs methods of source analysis, comparative-historical, problem-chronological, and structural-functional approaches. The source base consists primarily of materials from educational periodicals, which made it possible to reconstruct both the regulatory foundations of the reforms and the practice of their implementation at the level of the Ternopil Voivodeship.

The results of the study have shown that the transformation of the secondary education system in 1932–1939 was comprehensive and encompassed all key elements of the educational system. It has been established that the implementation of the Jędrzejewicz reform led to a transition from the eight-year gymnasium to a model consisting of a four-year gymnasium and a two-year lyceum, which ensured differentiation and specialization of education. In the region, there was an active expansion of the network of lyceums in district centers, contributing to broader access to secondary education. The modernization of the curriculum has been analyzed, particularly the introduction of applied subjects and the development of vocational education oriented toward labor market needs. Significant changes in teacher training have been identified, including the liquidation of teacher seminaries and the establishment of pedagogical lyceums. Particular attention is also given to the role of the private education sector and the specifics of national policy, manifested in the implementation of bilingualism (utrakwism) and the functioning of Ukrainian educational institutions under state supervision.

Conclusions. The transformation of the secondary education system in the Ternopil Voivodeship in 1932–1939 was an integral part of the nationwide process of educational modernization and, at the same time, reflected regional socio-economic and national specificities. The reform contributed to the unification of the educational system, the improvement of the quality of student training, and the expansion of the functional capacities of secondary education, although it was accompanied by contradictory tendencies in the sphere of national policy. Overall, the educational transformations of this period laid the foundation for the formation of a new model of secondary education oriented toward combining general cultural training with the practical professionalization of youth.

Keywords: secondary education, Ternopil Voivodeship, interwar period, educational reform, gymnasium, lyceum, educational policy.

ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЯ СИСТЕМИ СЕРЕДНЬОЇ ОСВІТИ В ТЕРНОПІЛЬСЬКОМУ ВОЄВОДСТВІ (1932-1939)

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Мета статті полягає у комплексному дослідженні трансформації системи середньої освіти в Тернопільському воєводстві у 1932–1939 рр. у контексті реалізації загальнодержавної освітньої реформи Другої Речі Посполитої, зокрема з'ясуванні структурних, змістових, організаційних і кадрових змін, а також визначенні їхнього впливу на розвиток регіонального освітнього середовища. Особлива увага приділяється аналізу впровадження двоступеневої моделі середньої освіти, ролі ліцеїв як нового типу навчальних закладів та специфіці функціонування державних і приватних освітніх інституцій у багатонаціональному середовищі воєводства.

Методи дослідження ґрунтуються на поєднанні загальнонаукових і спеціально-історичних підходів. Застосовано принципи історизму, об'єктивності та системності, що дозволили розглядати освітні процеси у широкому соціально-політичному контексті. Використано методи джерелознавчого аналізу, порівняльно-історичний, проблемно-хронологічний та структурно-функціональний методи. Основу джерельної бази становлять матеріали освітньої періодики, які дали змогу реконструювати як нормативні засади реформ, так і практику їх реалізації на рівні Тернопільського воєводства.

Результати дослідження засвідчили, що трансформація системи середньої освіти у 1932–1939 рр. мала комплексний характер і охоплювала всі ключові елементи освітньої системи. Встановлено, що впровадження реформи Єнджесевича спричинило перехід від восьмирічної гімназії до моделі, що складалася з чотирирічної гімназії та дворічного ліцею, що забезпечувало диференціацію та профілізацію навчання. У регіоні відбулося активне розгортання мережі ліцеїв у повітових центрах, що сприяло розширенню доступу до середньої освіти. Проаналізовано модернізацію змісту навчання, зокрема впровадження прикладних дисциплін і розвиток професійної освіти, орієнтованої на потреби ринку праці. Виявлено суттєві зміни у системі підготовки педагогічних кадрів, пов'язані з ліквідацією вчительських семінарій і створенням педагогічних ліцеїв. Окремо розкрито роль приватного сектору освіти та специфіку національної політики, що проявлялася у впровадженні утравізму та функціонуванні українських освітніх закладів в умовах державного контролю.

Висновки. Трансформація системи середньої освіти в Тернопільському воєводстві у 1932–1939 рр. була складовою загальнодержавного процесу модернізації шкільництва та водночас відображала регіональні особливості соціально-економічного і національного розвитку. Реформа сприяла уніфікації освітньої системи, підвищенню якості підготовки учнів і розширенню функціональних можливостей середньої школи, однак супроводжувалася суперечливими тенденціями у сфері національної політики. Загалом освітні перетворення цього періоду заклали підґрунтя для формування нової моделі середньої освіти, орієнтованої на поєднання загальнокультурної підготовки з практичною професіоналізацією молоді.

Ключові слова: середня освіта, Тернопільське воєводство, міжвоєнний період, освітня реформа, гімназія, ліцей, освітня політика.

1. Introduction

The relevance of studying the transformation of the secondary education system in the Ternopil Voivodeship in 1932–1939 is the need for a comprehensive understanding of the regional specificities in the implementation of the nationwide educational policy of the Second Polish Republic amid profound socio-political changes of the interwar period. The educational reform of 1932, known as the “Jędrzejewicz reform,” marked a key stage in the modernization of the Polish school system, aimed at its unification, centralization, and the enhancement of the effectiveness of youth preparation for participation in the social and economic life of the state. For the Ternopil Voivodeship, as a component of the Lviv School District, these processes were of particular importance, as they unfolded within a multinational environment shaped by established educational traditions of the Austrian period, while simultaneously being accompanied by the integrative policies of the Polish state.

As a result of the 1932 reform, a fundamental restructuring of the secondary school system took place, involving the transition from the traditional eight-year gymnasium to a two-tier system consisting of a four-year gymnasium and a two-year lyceum. This model was designed to ensure continuity between different levels of education and to create conditions for curricular specialization. In the Ternopil Voivodeship, the implementation of the new system gained particular intensity in the second half of the 1930s, as evidenced by the establishment of various types of lyceums in key county centers, the modernization of curricula, and the strengthening of state control over educational institutions.

An important component of the transformation processes was the reform of the teacher training system, which involved the abolition of teacher

seminaries and the establishment of a new type of pedagogical lyceums. At the same time, the content of education was modernized through the introduction of applied disciplines, the development of vocational secondary education, and the use of modern technical teaching aids. A special role in this process was played by state policy toward the integration of national minorities, which was reflected in the implementation of utrawizm (bilingual education), the regulation of Ukrainian educational institutions, and the functioning of bilingual classes.

In contemporary Ukrainian historiography, the works of M. Halay occupy an important place in the study of the educational policy of the Second Polish Republic, offering a comprehensive analysis of transformation processes in secondary and vocational education during the interwar period (Halay 2011a). In particular, in his study devoted to state policy in the field of secondary technical education in 1919–1939, the author emphasizes the gradual institutionalization of vocational schooling, driven by the needs of industrialization and economic modernization. At the same time, in his work on the reform of the education system in the early 1930s, the researcher reveals the content and consequences of the 1932 reform, highlighting its unifying character aimed at creating a centralized and hierarchically structured educational model. Special attention is paid to structural changes in secondary education, particularly the introduction of the two-tier system “gymnasium – lyceum,” which became a key element of school modernization and an important factor in shaping a new educational paradigm.

No less significant for understanding the transformation of the educational environment are the studies of M. Halay devoted to the system of teacher training and the condition of Ukrainian secondary schooling in 1932–1939 (Halay 2011b). The author

substantiates the thesis of a substantial restructuring of pedagogical education, which consisted in the liquidation of teacher seminaries and the transition to a model of pedagogical lyceums that ensured a higher level of professional training for teachers. At the same time, within the context of national policy, the researcher emphasizes the contradictory nature of educational reforms, which combined modernization trends with assimilationist practices toward the Ukrainian population (Halai 2012). These conclusions are complemented by the work of S. Vasylyshyn (Vasylyshyn, 2026), which, using the example of the Vincent Pol State Gymnasium in Ternopil, traces specific mechanisms of institutional transformation in secondary education, including the standardization of the educational process, кадрову політику, and the implementation of new educational norms. Taken together, these studies form a conceptual foundation for analyzing the regional features of the development of secondary education in the Ternopil Voivodeship in 1932–1939.

2. Presentation of the main research material

The transformation of secondary education in the Ternopil Voivodeship in the 1930s was an integral part of the nationwide reform known as the “Jędrzejewicz reform,” based on the law of March 11, 1932. The main goal of the new system was to create a unified and coherent structure that would eliminate the gap between primary and secondary education. The new arrangement envisaged the division of the former eight-year gymnasium into two stages: a four-year general gymnasium and a two-year lyceum aimed at specialization and preparation for higher education.

The process of structural reorganization in the district entered an active phase in 1937, when the mass opening of first classes of general-type lyceums at existing state gymnasiums began. In the Ternopil Voivodeship, this process encompassed all key county centers, including Brody, Berezhany, Buchach, Chortkiv, Kamianka-Strumylova, Ternopil, Terebovlia, Zbarazh, and Zolochiv (Z terenu Podola, 1937). This indicated the authorities’ intention to ensure relatively even access to full secondary education throughout the region, despite economic difficulties.

A distinctive feature of the new lyceums was their specialization, which allowed students to choose a field of study in accordance with their abilities. According to the curricula, institutions within the voivodeship operated humanities, natural sciences, mathematics and physics, and classical tracks. For example, in Ternopil, a classical track functioned at the First State Gymnasium, a humanities track at the Second Gymnasium, and a mathematics and physics track at the Third Gymnasium named after M. Copernicus. Such a distribution contributed to the rationalization of the city’s educational network.

The transformation also affected the system of teacher training. According to the reform, former teacher seminaries were gradually abolished or transformed into pedagogical lyceums. In Ternopil, a state pedagogical lyceum was established on the basis of the male seminary, intended to supply primary schools with qualified teaching staff (“Ognisko pracy społecznej na wsi”, 1937). The new model of pedagogical education required applicants to complete a four-year gymnasium and undertake a three-year course of study, which included substantial psychotechnical training (Panstw. licea pedagog. i pedagogium w okr. szkol. Lwowskim, 1937).

Male seminaries in Chortkiv and Zalizhchyky were scheduled for liquidation by the end of the 1935/36 academic year. Instead, it was planned to establish pedagogical lyceums or independent four-year gymnasiums on the basis of the dissolved institutions, as occurred in Zalizhchyky, where a State Gymnasium was opened (Likwidacja seminarjów nauczycielskich, 1936).

A special place in the reform of the secondary level was occupied by the modernization of vocational education. According to the decree of June 3, 1935, the liquidation of old types of vocational schools began, alongside the establishment of vocational gymnasiums – mechanical, commercial, tailoring, and others. In the Ternopil Voivodeship, this process was reflected in the activities of the Ternopil State School of Locksmithing and Mechanics, as well as commercial schools in Brody, Zolochiv, and Ternopil, which were gradually integrated into the general system of specialized secondary education (Termin i sposób reorganizacji niektórych państwowych szkół zawodowych, 1935). A vivid example is the transformation of the State School of Machine Locksmithing in Ternopil into a State Mechanical Gymnasium, in accordance with the Ministry’s decree of July 3, 1936 (Reorganizacja niektórych państwowych szkół zawodowych w 1936 roku, 1936). Sources also record the establishment of a state mechanical lyceum and gymnasium in Ternopil, as well as commercial (merchant) gymnasiums in Zolochiv and Brody (Organizacja roku szkolnego 1937/38 w szkolnictwie zawodowym, 1937). These changes involved not only an elevation in institutional status but also an expansion of the theoretical foundations for training personnel for the region’s industry.

The development of private secondary education, particularly under the auspices of the Society of Public Schools (Towarzystwo Szkoły Ludowej, T. S. L.), became an important complement to the state network (Kronika, 1934). In Ternopil, the Co-educational Commercial Gymnasium of T. S. L. and the private women’s gymnasium of T. S. L. operated actively, training specialists for the economic life of the region. The construction of new, modern facilities

for these institutions – for example, on Kachala Street in Ternopil – testified to the high dynamics of the development of vocational secondary education (Z terenu Podola, 1937).

An important aspect of language policy in secondary education in the Ternopil region was the opening, in the 1937/38 academic year, of parallel classes with Ukrainian as the language of instruction at the State Third Gymnasium in Ternopil. This step responded to the educational needs of the Ukrainian population of the voivodeship within the framework of the state secondary school system (*Dla młodzieży Ukrainkiej w Tarnopolu*, 1937). In addition to Ternopil, similar bilingual or national sections were planned in Berezhany (humanities and classical classes).

The content of secondary education was modernized through the introduction of applied disciplines intended to enhance graduates' competitiveness in the labor market. From the 1937/38 academic year, secondary schools in the voivodeship introduced compulsory courses in accounting and stenography. The authorities viewed these subjects as essential tools for young people who did not plan to continue their studies at universities but sought qualified employment in administration or trade (*Kronika*, 1937).

To ensure the unity of the educational process, the practice of interschool conferences was introduced, aiming to foster closer cooperation between teachers of primary and secondary schools. In Brody, such conferences, led by gymnasium director V. Soltysik, became a platform for discussing methodological shortcomings that hindered students' transition from one level of education to another. Educators sought to overcome the social barrier whereby gymnasium students were perceived as an "elite caste," while primary school pupils were regarded as a "lower stratum" (*Dla młodzieży Ukrainkiej w Tarnopolu*, 1934).

The introduction of coeducation (joint education of boys and girls) constituted another aspect of the system's modernization. The authorities encouraged the gradual merging of gender-segregated institutions in centers where only one general secondary lyceum was planned (*Organizacja roku szkolnego w szkolnictwie ogólnokształcącym*, 1936). This approach allowed for a more rational use of human and material resources, although it required the adaptation of school facilities and special training of the teaching staff.

Admission rules to the new type of secondary schools became more stringent and regulated. Candidates for lyceums were required to present a certificate of completion of a four-year gymnasium and to pass entrance examinations, which included both written and oral tests in specialized subjects (Regulamin przyjmowania uczniów do państwowego liceum ogólnokształcącego, 1937; Regulamin

przyjmowania uczniów do państwowych liceów zawodowych w roku szkolnym 1937/38, 1937; Regulamin przyjmowania uczniów do państwowych gimnazjów zawodowych, 1939). Admission to vocational lyceums (for example, administrative or technical) required knowledge of mathematics, the Polish language, and physics, and in some cases also passing a medical examination to confirm physical suitability for the profession (*Badanie lekarskie kandydatów do państwowego gimnazjum i liceum ogólnokształcącego*, 1937).

Social policy in the field of education was aimed at expanding access to secondary schooling for rural youth. The Ministry initiated the establishment of scholarships at the level of rural gminas to enable the most capable children of peasants to continue their education in gymnasiums and lyceums of the voivodeship. In addition, gymnasiums were obliged to support underprivileged students through a system of boarding houses (bursas) and exemption from administrative fees, provided they demonstrated satisfactory academic performance (*Pomoc w kształceniu wybitnie zdolnych uczniów – dzieci rolników*, 1936). In Berezhany, the Gymnasium Ruthenian Bursa named after T. Shevchenko and the Peasants' Bursa operated, providing accommodation and pedagogical supervision for students from rural areas (*Berezhanska zemlia*, 1970). These institutions became centers for the formation of national identity, where senior student-instructors assisted younger pupils not only in their studies but also in the development of self-awareness.

3. Conclusions

The conducted analysis makes it possible to conclude that the transformation of the secondary education system in the Ternopil Voivodeship in 1932–1939 was complex and multidimensional, encompassing structural, curricular, personnel, and organizational-administrative aspects of the functioning of the educational system. The implementation of the Jędrzejewicz reform became the determining factor in these changes, aimed at the unification of schooling and the integration of the region into the all-Polish educational space.

It has been established that the key outcome of the reform was the formation of a new model of secondary education based on the division into a four-year gymnasium and a two-year lyceum, which ensured both a basic general education and the possibility of curricular specialization. In the Ternopil Voivodeship, this model was implemented through the development of a network of lyceums of various types in county centers, which contributed to expanding public access to full secondary education.

An important direction of transformation was the modernization of the content of education, which involved combining classical humanities-based training with practically oriented disciplines such as

accounting, stenography, and technical subjects. This corresponded to the needs of the region's economic development and contributed to increasing the competitiveness of graduates in the labor market. At the same time, a system of vocational secondary education was taking shape, including mechanical, commercial, and agricultural institutions.

The reorganization of the teacher training system, in particular the liquidation of teacher seminaries and the establishment of pedagogical lyceums, contributed to raising the professional level of teachers and the unification of qualification requirements. The strengthening of administrative control through a system of inspections, the introduction of new mechanisms for evaluating teachers' performance, and the standardization of curricula ensured the effective implementation of reform measures.

At the same time, the transformation of secondary education took place under complex national

circumstances, which determined the contradictory nature of educational policy. The introduction of *utrakwizm* (bilingual education), restrictions on the development of Ukrainian state schooling, and the increasing role of the private education sector indicate a combination of integrative and assimilationist tendencies in the activities of the Polish authorities.

Thus, the transformation of the secondary education system in the Ternopil Voivodeship in 1932–1939 was a complex and contradictory process reflecting the general trends of modernization of schooling in the Second Polish Republic. It contributed to the formation of a new educational infrastructure, the improvement of the level of professional training, and the expansion of the functional capacities of secondary education, while simultaneously remaining an important instrument of state policy in the socio-cultural and national spheres.

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WNISEF'S ACTIVITIES IN SOUTHERN UKRAINE FROM (2015–2021)

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The aim of this article is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the impact of international technical assistance programs implemented by the American Western NIS Enterprise Fund (WNISEF, which currently operates as the Ukraine-Moldova American Enterprise Fund) on the socioeconomic development and profound transformation of local communities in the southern regions of Ukraine (Mykolaiv, Odesa, and Kherson regions) in 2015–2021.

The methodological basis of this study is grounded in the fundamental principles of historicism, scientific objectivity, and a systematic approach. To achieve the set goal, general scientific methods of analysis, synthesis, and comparison were actively employed. In addition, a modern interdisciplinary approach was applied to comprehensively study the complex mechanisms of interaction between international financial institutions and local authorities, business representatives, and civil society organizations within the framework of implementing innovative initiatives.

The scientific novelty of the article lies in its detailed focus on a little-studied aspect – the regional specifics of the Fund's work directly in southern Ukraine. This work introduces, for the first time, up-to-date and systematized data on the actual effectiveness of economic and social reforms in Ukrainian communities in the period prior to the full-scale invasion, revealing a unique mechanism of how international technical assistance influences local development. The purpose of this article is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the impact of international technical assistance programs implemented by the American foundation Western NIS Enterprise Fund (WNISEF, which currently operates as Ukraine-Moldova American). The paper provides a detailed analysis of WNISEF's key areas of activity after 2014, when comprehensive support for decentralization and institutional strengthening became a strategic priority. It is demonstrated that the Fund played a significant role in modernizing the educational infrastructure of the South by funding hub rural schools under the “Pilot 24” initiative. A substantial contribution to urban development is highlighted through the example of institutional support for the Mykolaiv Development Agency. The successful implementation of large-scale educational programs was noted: the establishment of the Mykolaiv branch of the Ukrainian Academy of Leadership (UAL) and support for free IT training for schoolchildren. Significant attention was paid to stimulating innovative business through investments in technology startups, as well as the DREAMactions microgrant initiative for social projects.

The author concludes that cooperation between influential international organizations, local government bodies, and community representatives has become an extremely effective tool for stimulating sustainable regional development. And the innovative projects implemented by WNISEF serve as a vivid example of effective collaboration that ensures the irreversibility of transformational processes and can be fruitfully utilized in shaping future reconstruction strategies.

Keywords: WNISEF, Southern Ukraine, local self-government, technical assistance, socioeconomic reforms, Mykolaiv Development Agency, USAID, regional development.

ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ WNISEF НА ПІВДНІ УКРАЇНИ У 2015–2021 РОКАХ

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Метою запропонованої статті є комплексний аналіз впливу програм міжнародної технічної допомоги американського фонду Western NIS Enterprise Fund (WNISEF, який нині функціонує як Ukraine-Moldova American Enterprise Fund) на

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соціально-економічний розвиток і глибоку трансформацію місцевих територіальних громад у південних регіонах України (Миколаївська, Одеська, Херсонська області) у 2015–2021 роках.

Методологічна база представлено дослідження ґрунтується на фундаментальних принципах історизму, наукової об’єктивності та системного підходу. Для досягнення поставленої мети активно використано загальнонаукові методи аналізу, синтезу й порівняння. Крім того, застосовано сучасний міждисциплінарний підхід для всебічного вивчення складних механізмів взаємодії міжнародних фінансових інституцій із місцевими органами влади, представниками бізнесу та організаціями громадянського суспільства в рамках реалізації інноваційних ініціатив.

Наукова новизна статті вирізняється детальним фокусом на малодослідженому аспекті – регіональній специфіці історії роботи Фонду безпосередньо на Півдні України. Робота вперше вводить у широкий науковий обіг актуальні й систематизовані дані про реальну результативність економічних і соціальних реформ в українських громадах у період до повномасштабного вторгнення, розкриваючи унікальний механізм впливу міжнародної технічної допомоги на локальний розвиток. У роботі детально проаналізовано ключові напрями діяльності WNISEF після 2014 року, коли пріоритетом стратегії стала всебічна підтримка децентралізації та інституційного зміцнення. Доведено, що Фонд відіграв значну роль в модернізації освітньої інфраструктури Півдня, профінансувавши опорні сільські школи у рамках ініціативи “Пілот 24”. Виокремлено вагомий внесок у міський розвиток на прикладі інституційної підтримки “Агенції розвитку Миколаєва”. Відзначено успішну реалізацію масштабних освітніх програм: створення миколаївського осередку Української академії лідерства (УАЛІ) та підтримку безкоштовного IT-навчання для школярів. Значну увагу приділено стимулюванню інноваційного бізнесу через інвестиції у технологічні стартапи, а також ініціативи мікрогрантів DREAMactions для соціальних проєктів.

Автор приходить до **висновку**, що співпраця впливових міжнародних організацій, органів місцевого самоврядування та представників громадськості стала надзвичайно ефективним інструментом для стимулювання сталого регіонального розвитку. А реалізовані інноваційні проєкти WNISEF слугують яскравим прикладом дієвої взаємодії, яка забезпечує невідворотність трансформаційних процесів і може бути плідно використана для формування майбутніх стратегій відбудови.

Ключові слова: WNISEF, Південь України, **міське самоврядування**, технічна допомога, соціально-економічні реформи, Агенція розвитку Миколаєва, USAID, регіональний розвиток.

1. Introduction

Following the events of the Revolution of Dignity in 2014, and against the backdrop of Russia’s invasion of Crimea and its waging of war in the East, Ukraine embarked on a path of profound institutional transformation. During this period, international technical assistance, particularly from the U.S. government, became systematic in nature and was refocused on strengthening Ukrainian institutions, supporting key reforms, deepening decentralization, and developing civil society. The American Western NIS Enterprise Fund (WNISEF) played a leading role in these processes. Given the current challenges associated with the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war, a thorough analysis of WNISEF’s experience allows us to identify the most viable tools for supporting communities while planning the country’s future reconstruction. This paper highlights a little-studied aspect of Ukraine’s recent history concerning the mechanisms of cooperation between international donor institutions and local governments in the context of implementing nationwide reforms. This allows for the systematization of empirical data and the enrichment of domestic historiography with new factual materials.

The aim of this study is to examine the role of the American Western NIS Enterprise Fund and the specific features of its international technical assistance programs for Ukraine in supporting regional reforms in the Mykolaiv, Odesa, and Kherson regions during the period 2015–2021.

The methodological basis of the article is the general scientific principles of historicism, objectivity, and systematicity; methods of analysis, synthesis, and comparison were employed. The study also relies on an interdisciplinary approach to analyzing the

interaction of international financial institutions with local authorities and civil society organizations.

2. History and Evolution of WNISEF

The Ukraine-Moldova American Enterprise Fund (UMAEF), formerly known as the Western NIS (New Independent States) Enterprise Fund (WNISEF), has been supporting reforms in Ukraine’s economically and politically unstable environment for over 30 years (Gomonjuk E., 2025). Its history began in 1994, when the U.S. government provided \$150 million through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to establish the Fund, which would provide debt, financial, grant, and technical assistance, as well as other forms of support to portfolio companies operating in Ukraine and Moldova, to help these countries transition from a Soviet command economy to a modern market economy.

WNISEF was established as a result of the U.S. government’s “new” policy to support democracy and the free market in Central and Eastern Europe following the collapse of the Soviet bloc. Based on the 1989 “Support for Eastern European Democracy Act” (SEED Act, 1989) and the 1992 “Freedom Support Act” (FREEDOM Support Act, 1991), it became part of an ambitious project to transform Ukraine’s economy. Both laws provided for technical and financial assistance, investment promotion, the organization of educational and training programs, the establishment of venture capital funds to finance business development, and more.

The fund became part of a network of ten similar organizations established to support market reforms in 18 countries of the former Eastern Bloc. The uniqueness of this model lay in combining public capital with private-sector expertise. Although the funds were

established by a decision of the U.S. President, they operated as independent private entities, which ensured flexibility and effectiveness in working with local entrepreneurs. This made it possible to involve prominent representatives of business and civil society in their management. For example, from February 2001 to December 2014, Ukrainian public figure and entrepreneur Natalie Ann Jaresko held the position of President and Chief Executive Officer of WNISEF. Since January 2015, lawyer Yaroslava Zelinska-Johnson has held the position.

While U.S. assistance prior to 2014 focused primarily on humanitarian and democratic programs, following the Revolution of Dignity, Russia's invasion of Crimea, and its funding of the war in eastern Ukraine, it became systematic and aimed at strengthening Ukrainian institutions, supporting reforms, decentralization, and the development of civil society. In this context, the U.S. government is encouraging WNISEF to implement new international technical assistance programs for Ukraine as one of its strategic priorities, allocating the first \$35 million in long-term investments to the Foundation for human capital development – essential for fostering private sector growth and supporting local initiatives across Ukraine's regions, particularly in the south.

Effective March 30, 2015, following the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding and Cooperation (RBC-Ukraine, 2015) between the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine and WNISEF, the Foundation began implementing the international technical assistance project “Ukraine: Leadership, Export Promotion, Attracting Investment and Development Program” (ULEAD), whose main components are: export promotion, local economic development, social investment, and economic leadership. Two of these components were implemented in Mykolaiv, Odesa, and Kherson regions between 2015 and 2021.

3. Support for Local Economic Development

As part of a short-term pilot Local Economic Development Program, WNISEF, in collaboration with the Ministry of Finance of Ukraine (at the time, the position of Minister of Finance was held by the former President and CEO of the Fund, Natalie Ann Jaresko) and the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, supported the creation of 24 hub schools, one in each region of Ukraine, which became models of a new approach to local school education (KMU, 2016). In implementing the “Pilot 24” project, the Foundation allocated approximately 6.3 million hryvnias in the spring of 2016 for the development of educational institutions' infrastructure (UMAEEF, 2017). The goal of the pilot project was to improve the quality of education for children living and studying in villages and small towns, as well as to increase the efficiency of public funds allocated for education. The selected

pilot schools were intended to become educational and cultural hubs that would fully meet the educational needs of children from under-enrolled schools, as well as those from schools that were closed or reorganized as a result of school network optimization within the framework of the decentralization reform.

Thanks to support from an international donor, three educational institutions in southern Ukraine received resources to upgrade their facilities, including building renovations, new educational equipment, and information and computer technologies, in order to ensure high-quality secondary education for children in rural areas. Specifically: Sukhoelanets Secondary School (Grades 1–12) in the Novo-Odeskyi District of Mykolaiv Oblast (village of Sukhyi Yelanets) (Decentralization, 2016), Velyka Lepetykha Secondary School No. 2 in the Velyka Lepetykha District of Kherson Oblast (town of Velyka Lepetykha), and the Zhovtnevy Educational Complex “Secondary School (Grades 1–12) – Preschool” in the Shyryaivsky District (since July 17, 2020 – Berezivsky District) of Odesa Oblast (village of Zhovten (since 2016 – Petrovirivka). Independent representatives of the “Pilot 24” project conducted the selection of educational institutions. Preference was given to schools that, as part of optimization efforts, were preparing for consolidation by merging with smaller schools (KMU, 2016).

The first phase of the project focused on improving the material and technical infrastructure of the hub schools – WNISEF allocated funds for the modernization of school science laboratories. Next, the emphasis shifted to the professional development of teaching staff. To this end, in collaboration with the Center for Innovative Education “Pro.Svit” (Kotvitska, K., 2017), principals and teachers were trained in project management, the basics of team and budget management, innovative teaching methods, and more.

4. Urban Development and Institutional Support

Furthermore, with the aim of fostering responsible, proactive communities at the local level, the Foundation provided institutional support to the activities of Mykolaiv City Council's municipal institution “Mykolaiv Development Agency”, from the very beginning of its existence, granting over \$120,000 in August 2016 to implement a series of urban development projects in the following areas: the city's investment attractiveness; urban planning; cooperation with civil society; and the creation of public spaces for residents (MMR, 2016). In particular, using funds from the Western NIS Enterprise Fund, analytical materials and a presentation package for investors titled “Invest in Mykolaiv” were developed, which included an investment passport, a promotional video, and a web portal featuring available real estate properties that could be attractive to businesses (MDA, 2017; Tysiachnyi, V., 2017). An information campaign titled

“Investor Support Office” was also conducted in collaboration with the editorial teams of the English-language publications KyivPost (Grytsenko, O., 2017) and Business Ukraine (Kutsolabskiy, A., 2017), which resulted in the publication of special print editions about Mykolaiv and the organization of business visits to Mykolaiv for representatives of the American Chamber of Commerce (ACC) and the Norwegian-Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce (NUCC).

In addition, with the support of WNISEF, the project “Reconstruction of the Central Part of Mykolaiv” (MMR, 2017) was implemented; as part of this project, experts from the “Pivden” Center for Sociological Research conducted a survey of the opinions and attitudes of the city’s residents, while representatives of the architectural firm “Zotov&Co” provided proposals for the reconstruction of Soborna Square and Soborna Street, drawing on Ukrainian and international experience. In fact, the founders of the CANactions School of Urbanism, another project funded by the foundation, were contracted to work on the concept for the reconstruction of the central part of Mykolaiv.

In addition, Mykolaiv architects developed the “Soborna Design Code” concept, which contains recommendations regarding the rules for placing advertising signs on building facades in the city’s historic center. Additionally, an architectural competition was held to determine the concept for the reconstruction of Mykolaiv’s main square, with a prize fund of 85,000 hryvnias provided by the Foundation (MDA, 2017).

Similarly, in October 2017, WNISEF allocated \$25,000 for comprehensive monitoring of Mykolaiv’s development trends through the so-called City Progress Index – an important strategic planning tool designed to not only evaluate and analyze the performance of local government but also to provide specific recommendations. Experts from Deloitte, GfK, Baker Tilly, Joint Efforts Agency, and the Center for Economic Strategy to evaluate municipal programs developed its methodology. Mykolaiv then became a pilot city for testing it – the results of measuring key performance indicators were presented at the International Mayors’ Summit (IMS) in Kyiv.

In fact, IMS itself, held from 2016 to 2021, was also initiated and funded by the Foundation, bringing together city leaders from Odesa, Kherson, and Mykolaiv regions, international experts, and members of local communities to jointly seek solutions to municipal challenges. The event served as a platform for tracking urban development trends and municipal innovations, establishing business partnerships, and initiating collaborations and new projects that would yield tangible results (Johnson et al., 2020: 24). Thanks to the summit’s unique format, participants had the opportunity to share inspiring stories and forge strong connections with prominent leaders of urban transformation from around the world, as well as meet urban development

visionaries, mayors of other cities, experts, and change agents in civil society and business.

In 2017, IMS launched the “Ranking of Innovative Ukrainian Mayors” project (UP, 2017), which included two mayors from the southern region: Volodymyr Mykolayenko, mayor of Kherson, and Vitaliy Lukov, mayor of Voznesensk in the Mykolaiv region. The project’s goal is to display successful case studies of innovation implementation in cities with populations of up to 500,000 and to rank the mayors leading these changes. Their activities were analyzed based on 10 criteria aligned with those of the global European Capital of Innovation ranking. These include urban planning, public services, culture, healthcare, ecology, safety and security, communication, entrepreneurship, the startup ecosystem, and the city’s brand. The jury members focused not only on the application of technologies in these areas but also on creative solutions to routine challenges.

5. Support for Technological Innovation

Equally noteworthy was the Fund’s next initiative – the business-social television project “Community for a Million”, in which Ukraine’s amalgamated territorial communities competed for a 1 million hryvnia investment from the Western NIS Enterprise Fund to be used for their own development. Five out of 665 amalgamated territorial communities (ATCs) participated in the project. The team represented the south from the Buzka ATC in Mykolaiv Oblast, which is actively developing its agricultural potential (UMAEEF, 2018).

To support the emergence of technological innovations, WNISEF launched the U.ventures fund in 2017, which has become one of the three most active investors in early-stage startups in Ukraine. The initiative aims to develop technological talent by supporting a range of educational courses, training centers, and hackathons, and is designed to encourage Ukraine’s key IT teams to remain in the country.

For example, in May 2018, the Fund invested \$1.15 million in three Ukrainian startups, one of which is based in Odesa (Johnson et al., 2020: 49). This is 3DLOOK, which offers a cutting-edge mobile app with scanning technology for the apparel industry. Odesa entrepreneur Vadym Rogovskyi founded the company in 2016. It develops technology for scanning and measuring the human body using two smartphone photos, leveraging artificial intelligence, neural networks, and the latest 3D technologies. Financial support has helped the young company develop its products, create new jobs, and enter new markets.

In addition, WNISEF launched the DREAMactions microgrant program from the CANactions School of Urban Studies for local leaders, which provided opportunities to implement small but sustainable urban projects in their communities. For example, using a grant of

\$3,000, the “Public Transportation for People with Disabilities” project was implemented in Mykolaiv, which improved mobility for people with limited mobility. The main idea of the project was to ensure the efficient use of urban passenger transport adapted for transporting people with disabilities using modern electronic technologies. Therefore, using the grant funds, a special mobile app called “UkrWay: Mykolaiv” was created, which allows users to track trolleybuses and buses equipped with folding ramps in real time via GPS navigation (AIN, 2016).

6. Supporting Leadership and Human Capital

Local educational programs supported by WNISEF as part of the Economic Leadership Program have brought some of the best modern international practices and knowledge in the field of education to the Mykolaiv region. Schoolchildren and students became the main target groups in the region, which determined the need to establish a Mykolaiv branch of the Ukrainian Leadership Academy (ULA), for the opening of which the Foundation provided funding in the spring of 2016. This was a flagship project for the city. At the same time, leadership academies were established in Lviv, Poltava, and Kharkiv. The ULA’s concept involved preparing young people aged 16 to 18 to help transform Ukraine into a modern nation. The Israeli “mechina” model served as a template – a program that prepares young leaders to serve their country using the 600-year-old English educational programs of Oxford and Cambridge (Johnson et al., 2020: 40).

As in other cities, the academy’s educational program in Mykolaiv lasted 10 months and was free of charge for students who passed the selection process. The curriculum was based on three areas of development: physical, emotional, and intellectual. Here, young people were taught to become leaders in any field – business, governance, or civic engagement. Over the six years of the ULA Mykolaiv’s existence, from 2016 to 2021, 177 young men and women graduated (ULA, n.d.). The academy’s students organized a significant number of public events, attracting up to 3,000 participants per year.

In its early years, the academy was housed on a lease basis in the Korabelny District at the Metallurg Hotel, and later in the Zavodsky District at the Tourist Hotel. However, in 2020, with co-funding from the city budget, plans were made to create a modern, comfortable ULA Mykolaiv campus featuring a lecture hall, dining hall, kitchen, gym, library, laundry room, a lounge area, and a sports field in the building of the former “Pivden” Housing and Utilities Company in the Ingulsky District on Parkova Street, which is municipal property. To this end, WNISEF funded a concept for adapting the former housing and utilities complex into a center for full-fledged training and accommodation for 40 young leaders (Zotov&Co,

2020). However, with the onset of Russian aggression against Ukraine, these plans were not implemented, and the center itself was initially relocated to Lviv and later ceased to exist.

Another educational initiative is support for the Technology Nation Kids program, which provides free IT training to teenagers and children aged 9–11 in cities across southern Ukraine (Den, 2016). (Mykolaiv, Kherson, Odesa, Mariupol, and Zaporizhzhia). The program was launched by the BrainBasket Foundation in partnership with the Coding Academy and Miratech, with support from the Western NIS Enterprise Fund (UMAEEF, 2017). In 2017, the Foundation funded the creation of a video course on robotics, which covered the basic principles of robot design – 3D modeling, microcontrollers, sensors, ready-made robotics solutions, and open-source solutions; paid for the work of mentors for children’s learning groups, consisting of IT specialists and computer science teachers; equipped the educational hubs of the Technology Nation project (Mayak, 2016) with computers and furniture in three regional centers of Ukraine’s Southern region – the O. Gonchar Kherson Regional Universal Scientific Library, the Mykolaiv Regional Universal Scientific Library, and the M.S. Hrushevsky Odesa Regional Universal Scientific Library.

The educational programs were based on CodeClub courses from the world’s top universities (Harvard, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Stanford). Children learned programming in the visual, dynamic Scratch environment and were introduced to the basics of HTML/CSS and Python. The courses were conducted as an after-school enrichment program at educational centers located in libraries. A total of 200 students were trained.

7. Conclusions

In this way, the Foundation supported innovative, highly effective, reform-oriented projects in the region that created opportunities for sustainable change and encouraged local activists, entrepreneurs, and nongovernmental organizations to directly implement reforms on the ground and take an active role in rebuilding their country. They also helped nurture a new generation of leaders capable of transforming the vision for Ukraine’s future. WNISEF’s experience in southern Ukraine serves as a prime example of effective collaboration that ensures the sustainability and effectiveness of transformational processes. The practical value of this experience lies in its potential for use in developing effective models of international technical assistance and regional development strategies. Further research in this area holds significant potential and is linked to the following key areas: an analysis of the profound transformation of the Foundation’s activities and priorities immediately following the outbreak of

the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war in 2022, and a comprehensive assessment of the long-term impact of the innovation and education centers established

with the Foundation’s support on the viability and resilience of the regional economy under martial law.

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LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN SOUTHERN UKRAINE IN THE 19TH CENTURY: INTELLECTUAL PRACTICES OF MUNICIPAL ELITES IN THE PROCESSES OF MODERNIZATION AND THE FORMATION OF THE URBAN PUBLIC SPHERE

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The aim of this study is to examine the intellectual activities of local government representatives in southern Ukraine during the 19th and early 20th centuries as a means for shaping public opinion. Scientific novelty. This article analyzes the activities of local government in southern Ukraine from a social perspective. Within the framework of this study, the historical process is examined not as the evolution of political institutions, but through the lens of the intellectual history of the activities of local government representatives in the 19th and early 20th centuries. **Research methodology.** Methodologically, this study is based on a human-centered approach, which was applied to analyze the individual of municipal employees through the lens of the diversity of their experiences, allowing for the exploration of self-government as a personal phenomenon. The human-centered approach is complemented by a local research method, which makes it possible to highlight the uniqueness and individuality of each local government unit and outline its spatial configuration at the social level, thereby shedding light on the cultural dimension. Within the framework of local history, the concept of microhistory is employed, which helped explain the work of specific historical figures in unconventional contexts. The study focuses primarily on analyzing and reinterpreting the experience of self-governing institutions in southern Ukraine. **Conclusions.** The findings indicate that the intellectual work of local government deputies in southern Ukraine deserves attention, as it embodies the experience of the practical implementation of municipal work at the local level. Their work, for the most part, is not purely academic but applied. They convey information and draw upon sources that, unfortunately, have not survived to the present day. Various aspects of practical self-governing activities are conveyed and characterized through the prism of the authors' personal perceptions of the period under study.

Keywords: Southern Ukraine, urban self-government, municipality, representatives, intellectual history, microhistory.

МІСЬКЕ САМОВРЯДУВАННЯ ПІВДНЯ УКРАЇНИ У ХІХ СТ.: ІНТЕЛЕКТУАЛЬНІ ПРАКТИКИ МУНІЦИПАЛЬНИХ ЕЛІТ У ПРОЦЕСАХ МОДЕРНІЗАЦІЇ ТА ФОРМУВАННЯ МІСЬКОЇ ПУБЛІЧНОЇ СФЕРИ

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Мета дослідження полягає у розкритті інтелектуальної діяльності депутатів міського самоврядування Півдня України в XIX – початку XX ст. як інструменту формування громадської думки. **Наукова новизна.** Стаття присвячена проблемі розгляду діяльності міського самоврядування Півдня України на соціальному рівні. В рамках визначеного дослідження історичний процес розглядається не в якості еволюції політичних інституцій, а крізь призму осмислення інтелектуальної історії діяльності представників самоврядування XIX – початку XX ст. **Методологія дослідження.** У методологічному плані основою роботи став людиновірний концепт, який застосовувався з метою аналізу індивідуального навантаження практик співробітників муніципалітетів крізь призму багатоваріативності їх досвідів, що дало змогу дослідити самоврядування в якості особистісного феномену. Концепт людиновимірності доповнений локальним методом дослідження, за допомогою якого можна відзначити неповторність та індивідуальність кожної самоврядної одиниці і окреслити просторову конфігурацію на соціальному рівні, що дозволяє підсвітити культурний шар. В рамках локальної історії виділявся концепт мікроісторії, який допоміг пояснити творчість конкретних історичних постатей у нестандартних досвідах роботи. Головна увага в дослідженні звертається на осмислення/переосмислення досвіду діяльності самоврядних структур Півдня України. **Висновки.** У висновках відзначено, що інтелектуальна робота депутатів міського самоврядування Півдня України заслуговує уваги, оскільки несе в собі досвід практичної реалізації муніципальної роботи на місцях. Їх роботи, здебільшого, носять не суто наукове значення, а прикладне. Вони передають інформацію і звертаються до тих джерел, які, на жаль, до нашого часу не збереглись. Передані та охарактеризовані різні сторони самоврядної практичної діяльності крізь призму особистісного сприйняття авторів досліджуваного періоду.

Ключові слова: Південь України, міське самоврядування, муніципалітет, депутати, інтелектуальна історія, мікроісторія.

1. Introduction

The relevance of this study stems from the ongoing reform of local self-government institutions and their alignment with the principles of decentralization, particularly in the context of Ukraine's resistance to Russian aggression. Ukrainian history provides a precedent for decentralized self-government in the late 18th to early 20th centuries. Therefore, the experience of the practical experience of self-governing institutions is of considerable interest to historians seeking to study mechanisms and practices of municipal governance.

Thus, the authors aim to examine the intellectual activity of local government deputies in southern Ukraine in the 19th and early 20th centuries as a tool for shaping public opinion.

The intellectual work of local government deputies in southern Ukraine took shape primarily in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and thus did not become part of the historiographical or source-based legacy of their contemporaries. Their works were overlooked during the Soviet period for ideological reasons, as they did not fit into the Marxist-Leninist concept. At the current stage of historical science, many researchers are focusing on the experience of pre-revolutionary self-government, including the example of Southern Ukraine. In O. Marchenko's work (Marchenko, 2019), the fundamental ideas behind the reforms for Odessa in 1863, 1870, and 1892 are subjected to comparative analysis. The work by V. Krot and V. Shabunina (Krot, Shabunina, 2019) is devoted to the analysis of historical sources that reflect the activities of the Kremenchuk Zemstvo in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

In general, contemporary historical scholarship frequently cites the works of representatives of local self-government in southern Ukraine, but these works are not utilized comprehensively; rather, they are mostly treated as part of the source base for research. For example, among these works, those by L. Tsybulenko (Tsybulenko, 2001), A. Dorosheva (Dorosheva, 2009), G. Zlenko (Zlenko, 1997), and others stand out. In the studies by these researchers, materials from the works of local government deputies are presented selectively and are mostly tied to an examination of the problem-chronological sequence of the political or socio-economic development of government institutions. Therefore, given the fragmentary nature of the use of the intellectual legacy of local government representatives from the period under study, an attempt is made to examine their works more systematically.

2. Local Elites of the 19th Century and Representational Politics

Since the establishment of civil self-government institutions to southern Ukrainian cities in the late 18th century – operating within the imperial model of limited decentralization – urban social groups gradually gained experience in collective administrative activity and corporate representation of interests. The introduction of elements of municipal governance met the empire's pragmatic needs for the effective administration of newly incorporated lands and their integration into the national economic sphere. At the same time, the formation of city councils, magistrates, and estate-based institutions facilitated the emergence of local decision-making centers, which stimulated the

development of urban corporate self-perception and a sense of administrative agency.

Despite the persistence in the first half of the 19th century of a powerful system of administrative patronage and control by the governor's office and the ministerial bureaucracy, the urban environment of Southern Ukraine demonstrated growing activity in the sphere of self-governance practices. City councils gradually expanded the scope of local initiative within the imperial regulatory framework and became an instrument for articulating the corporate interests of the urban population, a trend that was particularly evident in the commercial and economic spheres.

Imperial economic policy had the most significant impact on the merchant class, which constituted a key segment of the region's urban economy. It was among the merchant class that organized groups of critics of the imperial center's customs and tariff policy emerged, which, in their view, hindered the development of Black Sea trade and the transit potential of southern ports.

Merchant guilds and city councils repeatedly initiated collective appeals to central authorities demanding a review of tariff schedules, an expansion of local self-government powers, and a reduction in administrative interference in economic processes. These petitioning practices should be viewed as a form of legitimate communication between the periphery and the center.

Representatives of the local administrative level in Southern Ukraine consistently advocated for the expansion of decentralization principles, viewing them as a tool for improving the efficiency of urban administration. They documented instances of administrative arrogance on the part of imperial officials, which was perceived as a violation of the corporate dignity of municipal authorities. In this context, the rhetoric of local elites appealed to the principles of legal balance and institutional respect within the existing system of governance.

In the mid-19th century, local elites in Southern Ukraine increasingly began to formulate the programmatic foundations for reforming municipal administration, drawing on the principles of liberal modernization, which included expanding representative functions and streamlining of bureaucratic procedures. It is important to emphasize that these discussions did not reflect opposition to the empire, but rather a desire to optimize administrative mechanisms in the interests of regional development and economic efficiency.

The region-wide civic upsurge of the 1840s–1860s, linked to the crisis of the serfdom system and the preparation of reforms, brought a wide range of socio-economic issues to the fore and contributed to the consolidation of urban communities. For local elites, this period became a time of intense intellectual activity, the formation of public discourse, and the development of publishing initiatives. In the southern

Ukrainian region, a series of practical works devoted to issues of urban governance, economic development, and administrative reforms emerged. In this context, the works of P. Zeleny (Zeleny, 1890), P. Braslavsky (Braslavsky, 1860), V. Vinogradov (Vinogradov, 1884), M. Vladimirov (Vladimirov, 1887), G. Gorlovsky (Gorlovsky, 1890), A. Pashutin (Pashutin, 1897), G. Ge (Ge, 1890), K. Komarnytsky (Komarnytsky, 1849), and others. They reflect the evolution of administrative thought and attempts to understand the role of municipal self-government in the processes of liberal modernization. In previous research, these works have mostly been used as sources describing cities and preserving a wealth of documentary information: municipal revenues and expenditures, taxes, and so on. In the context of this article, they are of interest for their practices of public self-presentation, legitimization, trust-building, and the production of public arguments. A significant portion of the intellectual work of the urban elite can be characterized as an early prototype of public communication technology for managing public opinion.

After analysis the main body of work by municipal officials in Southern Ukraine, it can be asserted that their texts served a comprehensive communicative function aimed at publicly constructing the authority and competence of municipal authorities. Anniversary publications, summary reviews, historical and statistical essays, and comprehensive reports on the activities of local government bodies demonstrated the municipality's ability to act rationally, manage finances effectively, formulate a budget, develop infrastructure, expand the medical and educational networks, organize charitable activities, and regulate trade and business. Such a demonstration of administrative competence fostered a public discourse of evidence, in which statistics, tables, and documentary references served as markers of reliability, accountability, and administrative rationality, thereby building trust in institutions by demonstrating their capacity for systematic management without oversight or supervision from the provincial administration.

At the same time, these texts served as a tool for legitimizing local authorities in the eyes of various urban audiences. For the urban population, they served an explanatory role, justifying the need for taxes, demonstrating how funds were allocated, and justifying modernization projects – water supply, sewer systems, schools, hospitals – as a prerequisite for the civilizational development of the urban environment. For the provincial administration and the imperial center, such publications served as a form of accountability, attesting to the city's governability, loyalty to the rule of law, and, at the same time, the need to expand the powers of self-government.

For local elites – merchants, entrepreneurs, and civil servants – they served to foster internal cohesion and shape a corporate identity. The adaptation

of rhetoric to different audiences clearly indicates the existence of deliberate public communication strategy aimed at maintaining trust and social harmony.

The genre complex, comprising anniversary publications, historical and statistical reviews, journalistic pieces, and summary reports, can be viewed as a historical form of the media infrastructure of the regional public sphere. Managing public opinion in a late-imperial city was impossible without authoritative formats of public expression that were legitimate within the framework of the censorship and administrative regime. Anniversary books created a symbolic representation of success, statistical reviews ensured objectivity, and journalistic essays allowed for permissible criticism under the guise of improving administrative efficiency. Within these limits, even political demands – in particular, calls for greater autonomy – were framed as technical and administrative issues of competence, financial capacity, and efficiency, which aligned with the communicative practices of the political culture.

These texts clearly reveal a strategy for constructing the city's image as a modern, dynamic, and civilized commercial and cultural hub that goes beyond a purely historical description. Anniversary publications and summary reports served a symbolic positioning function, presenting the city as a successful urban entity capable of claiming greater autonomy and resources. Such positioning was not necessarily manipulative; to a greater extent, it served as a form of competitive representation within the imperial space, where cities vied for administrative attention, investments, infrastructure projects, and human resources. In the modern world, this is close to the term “territorial branding,” but in the context under study, it is more accurate to speak of the city's representational policy.

Also notable is the strategy of managing expectations through the construction of sewer systems, water mains, trams, electricity, railways, and so on. Texts that document bureaucracy, personnel incompetence, or procedural inertia may, at first glance, appear to be discrediting. However, institutional criticism, presented in the form of an audit or a final report, can serve the legitimizing function of acknowledging problems, and demonstrating a willingness to address them strengthens trust in the institution as an agent of reform. In a context where a flawless picture of governance would seem implausible, such a strategy helped shape the image of a responsible government capable of self-correction.

It is also empirically significant that these publications accompanied, reinforced, and justified specific administrative decisions. The release of statistics, reports on successes in combating epidemics, the expansion of the school network, or arguments in favor of infrastructure projects served to mobilize support for the continuation of modernization programs. Such

public justification of municipal policy created a favorable social environment for the implementation of administrative decisions.

3. The Intellectual Legacy of Local Elites

First and foremost, we should turn to the work by P. Braslavsky, a member of the Odessa City Council, titled “On the Current State of Public Administration in Odessa” (Braslavsky, 1860: 23), which holds a special place in the intellectual history of southern Ukrainian cities in the mid-19th century. Its significance lies in the formation of a public discourse aimed at influencing urban public opinion. The text represents the ideologeme of “urban patriotism” – a form of local political consciousness that emerged in the urban environment of southern Ukraine as a reaction to imperial administrative and fiscal restrictions. This construct should be interpreted as a manifestation reflecting a collective aspiration to protect local economic interests, mobilize the urban public around common development goals, and foster a conviction in the necessity of effective municipal governance. In this sense, the work serves as an instrument for shaping collective urban self-perception.

As a member of the city council, P. Braslavsky drew on a wealth of factual material to highlight the structural contradictions between Odessa's economic potential as a port and commercial hub and the restrictive mechanisms of the imperial administrative system. In his argument, the city emerges as a promising urban hub whose development is hindered by excessive regulation, fiscal pressure, and bureaucratic control. At the same time, the author did not limit himself to criticizing state intervention but drew attention to internal dysfunctions within the municipal environment, thereby fostering an understanding of the need for a self-critical reevaluation of urban governance. Among the factors hindering stable development, he cited flawed electoral procedures, official corruption, class conflicts, disparities in the tax burden, and institutional inefficiency. This dual critique laid the groundwork for the formation of responsible public opinion oriented toward supporting reforms.

The approaches proposed by P. Braslavsky to address these issues are of particular significance. He argued for the need for a systematic reform of the principles governing local self-government and a rethinking of the role of municipalities in urban development. It should be noted that his reform program was aimed not only at optimization but also at shaping a new administrative culture that was understandable and acceptable to the urban population. He considered the creation of a comprehensive educational infrastructure for the professional training of employees of self-governing institutions to be one of the key elements of this program, which demonstrates an early awareness of the importance of administrative competence as a

prerequisite for effective governance and public trust in the authorities.

Although P. Braslavsky's writings do not take the form of a systematic theoretical monograph and are largely practical observations on the functioning of the Odessa municipality, their influence extended beyond the local context. The deputy's documentary materials were reviewed by government institutions, and certain provisions were taken into account during the drafting of the 1863 City Charter for Odessa. This attests to the inclusion of local expert opinion in the process of imperial lawmaking and, at the same time, demonstrates that the writings of municipal figures could serve as intermediaries between the urban community and state authorities, shaping the field of argumentation for the revision of administrative practices.

An important contribution to the development of municipal administrative thought and the formation of public perceptions regarding the effectiveness of government was the work by Odessa Mayor P. Zeleny, "Municipal Justice on the Eve of Reforms" (Zeleny, 1890: 2–9). The author combined practical administrative experience with journalistic and analytical work, which allowed him to develop a comprehensive vision of the functioning of public institutions in the southern Ukrainian region. His focus was on magistrates, town halls, and the interaction of municipal institutions with police and judicial structures. These issues were crucial for building trust in civil self-government as an alternative to police-bureaucratic control.

The primary source material for the study consisted of reports by the governors of the Kherson Governorate, which contained critical assessments of the activities of police agencies. These documents reveal tensions between the administrative-police hierarchy and civil administration bodies. P. Zeleny noted the negative attitude of police structures toward municipal authorities, characterizing the state of police administration as ineffective and failing to meet the needs of urban development. The publication of such assessments contributed to the formation of a public conviction regarding the need to strengthen municipal institutions and transition to civilian forms of governance.

Although the author was the head of Odessa, his work has a broader regional scope and covers a number of cities in the Kherson Governorate. He sharply criticizes the state of municipal self-government in the county seats, while offering a much more restrained assessment of the Odessa experience. According to his observations, the functioning of magistrates and town halls was characterized by a low level of administrative discipline, poor record-keeping, and a lack of professional training among civil servants. The author documented numerous violations in financial reporting and procedural accounting, which fostered a perception among the public of the need to reform the personnel and administrative hierarchy of government.

Particular concern was raised by institutional inertia and civil servants' lack of understanding of their own duties. The account of a protracted investigation into a counterfeiting case, which remained unresolved for years, illustrates the systemic inefficiency of administrative and judicial procedures while simultaneously raising public awareness of the need for institutional modernization. Overall, the author assessed the state of municipal governance in county towns even more critically: cases were shelved without review, officials violated labor discipline, and administrative activities became purely formal. During the survey of the cities of Ananiv, Yelisavetgrad, Dubossary, Kherson, and Ochakiv, systemic violations, professional incompetence, and sluggish procedures were documented. Summarizing his observations, the author drew attention to the prevalence of mutual denunciations among civil servants, which indicated a low level of institutional trust. It is quite plausible to assume that the publication of these facts served as institutional criticism aimed at fostering public demand for effective governance.

In his conclusions, P. Zeleny highlighted the deep staffing crisis in municipal administration – a phenomenon that his contemporaries viewed as routine—and expressed pessimistic predictions regarding the prospects for reform, noting the resurgence of archaic practices following the 1870 reform. In fact, he shaped public awareness of the need for further radical changes.

At the end of the 19th century, a significant source for shaping public perceptions of urban governance was the work by Yelisavetgrad Mayor A. Pashutin, "History of Yelisavetgrad" (Pashutin, 1897: 267–302). Along with a general historical overview, the work devotes considerable attention to the functioning of local government bodies, the financial state of the city's economy, and administrative practices. The high level of documentary detail and the thorough description of revenues and expenditures, civil service salaries, material losses, and economic indicators created an image of an active and well-managed municipal administration. The restrained, neutral style of presentation, focused on statistical representativeness, helped build trust in the municipal government by demonstrating its accountability.

Of particular value are the inventory lists of municipal property, infrastructure, and green spaces, as well as information on revenue-generating properties, prices, charitable initiatives, and municipal holiday traditions. Such a detailed presentation formed a comprehensive administrative and economic portrait of the city and, at the same time, served a communicative function, demonstrating the maximum efficiency of municipal governance. The author's evident familiarity with the materials of the city archives made it possible to preserve a significant body of documentary information that

has not survived to the present day. In this sense, the work serves as a tool for publicly affirming the administrative competence of the city government.

A thematically related work is D. Gorlovsky's "Results of 25 Years of Local Self-Government in Kherson" (Gorlovsky, 1890: 3–178). The author, who served as mayor for a long time and was a member of the city council, had direct access to administrative documentation. The central focus of the analysis is the activity of municipal self-government in the context of its institutional development and effectiveness. The systematization of materials and the generalization of research findings shaped public perceptions of the achievements and limitations of municipal administration, steering public opinion toward a positive view of self-government activities.

D. Gorlovsky demonstrates the duality of the assessment of municipal practices: while acknowledging the positive results of local government activities, he simultaneously draws the conclusion that self-governing institutions are structurally unviable in an urban environment. For the proposed research analysis, it is fundamentally important that this duality functions as a rhetorical and discursive tool for influencing urban public opinion. The author constructs a communicative framework within which the reader is presented with both a confirmation of the significance of urban institutions and a reasoned demonstration of their systemic flaws. This strategy serves as a means of managing the expectations of the urban public: positive examples foster a sense of tangible achievements and grounds for trust, while the argument regarding their lack of viability establishes a framework in which these achievements do not negate the need for deeper structural changes. Ultimately, the work serves as a mechanism for the public legitimization of the reformist impulse, as it produces a socially acceptable framework for its interpretation.

This position is indicative of an institutional crisis in urban public administration under the imperial administrative model, where the theoretical ideals of self-government (representation, accountability, local competence) clashed with the everyday experience of institutional functioning, determined by bureaucratic regulation, staffing shortages, and financial dependence. Discursively, D. Gorlovsky brings the conflict of normative reality into the public sphere as a problem that must be collectively acknowledged and, consequently, can become the subject of a collective demand for change. The author's dissatisfaction with "ideals in theory" when contrasted with practice should be interpreted as an attempt to foster among urban readers a sense of disillusionment with the formal trappings of self-government and, at the same time, to lead them to the conclusion that systemic transformations are necessary. It is precisely at this point that his discourse on arbitrariness takes on the

function of a communicative marker: it condenses negative experience into a comprehensible and emotionally impactful formula capable of structuring public perception of the reality of governance.

A key point for this study is that the diagnosis offered by D. Gorlovsky is presented as a public narrative intended to organize the scattered impressions of city residents and transform them into a coherent picture of the problem. In other words, he is effectively offering the urban community a ready-made framework for interpreting their own everyday experiences of interacting with municipal institutions. Such a framework is a crucial component of public opinion management, as it defines what should be considered the norm and what constitutes deviations, who is the responsible party, and where the boundaries lie between "self-governance" and "administrative oversight."

D. Gorlovsky's critical attitude toward the 1785 City Charter is illustrative. In his interpretation, this act did not provide real autonomy to urban communities and did not transform them into the primary institution for resolving local problems. This assessment challenges the illusion of "granted autonomy" and highlights the limitations of the imperial project of urban self-government, which institutionally allowed for certain elements of representation but failed to create an effective system of powers and resources. It seems important that this critique, while historical and legal in form, serves a communicative function in the contemporary context: it explains to the urban reader why the gap between the declaration of rights and actual governance is not a coincidence but a consequence of the very legal design of the imperial system. In this way, D. Gorlovsky fosters the political and legal literacy of the urban audience, equipping it with evidence to evaluate existing administrative systems.

D. Gorlovsky's argument regarding the "overburdening" of public institutions is significant as an indicator of structural constraints: an excessive number of responsibilities, coupled with a lack of adequate staffing, funding, and procedural support, has led to bureaucratic bloat and administrative inefficiency. Consequently, local self-government emerges as an institution that proved too complex for "normal" and "adequate" functioning in the context of real urban daily life, where fiscal obligations, dependence on the administration, and underdeveloped mechanisms of control and accountability prevailed. However, as it is addressed to the reader, this conclusion serves as a means of "translating" administrative techniques into a plane understandable to the public: bureaucratic cumbersomeness is described as a cause that can be seen, discussed, and potentially corrected. Clearly, D. Gorlovsky conveys not only criticism but also a logic of causality that disciplines public discourse and channels it toward rationalization.

D. Gorlovsky's conclusions are characterized by internal logic and are supported by documentary evidence, which reinforces their authority as a source and increases their impact on public opinion. His work falls under the genre of a "summary study," which serves an evidential function: statistics and tables served as tools to demonstrate the actual financial state and administrative imbalances, rather than merely as an illustrative appendix. In a communicative sense, numerical data functioned as a mechanism for persuasion and objectification of the problem: they created an effect of transparency, inspired trust, and shaped perceptions of the author's competence and his right to speak on behalf of urban governance experience. This is precisely why D. Gorlovsky should be viewed as a proponent of the empirical-statistical approach, typical of late-imperial administrative journalism, where "numbers" legitimized the diagnosis and became an argument in the debate over urban governance reform, as well as established a public standard for evaluating the "success" or "failure" of municipal policies.

Despite his critical stance toward the foundations of self-government, the author's overall tone does not amount to outright pessimism. On the contrary, his position contains an element of hope for modernization: he envisioned the possibility of "coming to one's senses" and reorienting toward a more productive path of development. For managing public opinion, this element of optimism is fundamental, as it does not leave the reader in a state of hopelessness but offers a perspective that transforms criticism into a program of action. D. Gorlovsky interpreted the preceding period as a "foundation" and a preparatory stage – that is, a phase of accumulating experience, from whose mistakes a subsequent, more rational model of governance could emerge. In doing so, he offered the city a specific moral and political framework: failures and dysfunctions are not a reason to abandon self-governance; they are an argument in favor of its reform and professionalization.

His economic optimism is particularly evident in his interpretation of trade as a strategic resource for regional prosperity. It is important to emphasize that, for cities in southern Ukraine, trade was a systemic factor in urban development, shaping financial opportunities, social structure, and the pace of infrastructure modernization. In the public sphere, the appeal to trade as the "key to future prosperity" is also instrumental: it unites various groups of the urban population around a common interest, shapes the concept of "urban welfare" as an economically measurable category, and lays the groundwork for supporting specific administrative decisions. Therefore, D. Gorlovsky's work should be viewed more broadly – as an element of persuasion aimed at mobilizing support for modernization measures.

The 1870 municipal reform provided the context for the publication of Mykolaiv public figure G. Ge's work "Historical Sketch of the City of Mykolaiv" (Ge, 1890: 3–127), in which considerable attention is devoted to themes related to the management of public opinion. It is important to emphasize the genre of this text, as it combines a historical sketch with a local administrative perspective, where the leading agent of urban modernization is not the city community but the central administrative leadership. Such an apologia for the administration creates a normative framework for the reader's perception of authority: modernization is presented as the result of the leadership's comprehensive efforts, while self-government is portrayed as a useful but subordinate mechanism. Therefore, G. Ge's publication serves to publicly allocate responsibility and, at the same time, shapes citizens' perceptions of who is the primary driver of progress in the city.

G. Ge's assessment of municipal self-government is largely neutral, reflecting a cautious distancing from direct criticism while simultaneously noting the subordinate status of public institutions. While acknowledging the practical benefits of self-governing bodies in the city's financial support, the organization of tax collection, and the management of economic affairs, the author simultaneously emphasizes the lack of real autonomy: self-government does not shape the "forefront" of urban relations and remains secondary to the administrative hierarchy. A telling statement is that even issues of urban improvement were largely decided by state officials, not by elected community representatives. This thesis has a clear public function: it normalizes the administration's dominance by setting the limits of the urban population's expectations regarding self-governing institutions and explaining why certain decisions are implemented "from above" rather than "from below."

In G. Ge's account, urban communities appear as poor and underprivileged entities that do not actively participate in the formulation and use of budgets and do not demonstrate initiative in addressing pressing issues. The emphasis on the waning of the "vigorous activity" of self-government by the mid-19th century effectively documents a phase of institutional apathy, but simultaneously shapes public perception: the cause of self-government's weakness is attributed not only to "administrative oversight" but also to public participation and civic competence. An analysis of the consequences of the 1870 reform leads G. Ge to conclude that its effectiveness was limited in the Mykolaiv region, and this view also carries communicative weight: it prevents inflated expectations and creates a more restrained horizon of faith in reform as a universal remedy.

At the same time, G. Ge does not deny the fundamental value of self-government. His argument that the foundations of a conscious attitude toward

the importance of municipal work have yet to mature in urban communities is, in fact, a program for “cultivating” public opinion: the effectiveness of self-government depends on a culture of participation, an awareness of responsibility, and a willingness to act within one’s sphere of competence. By suggesting that the Mykolaiv City Council could eventually become a city leader provided it gains confidence in its own authority, the author creates for the reader a vision of future possibility that serves as a gentle mobilizing incentive.

In conclusion, G. Ge cites a substantial body of documentary sources on the contemporary state of Mykolaiv, with an emphasis on municipal economic indicators. For the researcher, these materials, in addition to their source value, also serve as a marker of the author’s legitimization strategy, where “facts and figures” are intended to convince the public of the usefulness of administrative efforts. In the logic of public opinion management, statistics here serve to objectify and substantiate successes and problems, creating an impression of transparency and competence on the part of the authorities.

Another important factor in the production of intellectual texts by local elites was the commemorative publications of the late 19th century, particularly those marking the centennial of the founding of cities in southern Ukraine. Anniversary culture served as a form of public review and communication mobilization: it created a legitimate platform for taking stock of achievements and shortcomings in the work of local public administrations, reinforced urban identity, and set the framework for representing success. As a result, a series of publications was released in which historical accounts were interwoven with administrative reports and plans for further modernization. This established a clear message: a well-governed city is the key to future success.

One of the most representative examples is the collective work “The Centenary of Odessa, August 22, 1894”, whose authors include A. Albrandt, P. Zeleny, and K. De Azart (Zeleny, Albrandt, De Azart, 1890: 3–135). Alongside the script for the celebrations, it systematically presents the experience of Odessa’s local government in organizational, economic, commercial, financial, and cultural activities. Such texts should be viewed as a genre of municipal self-representation, designed to construct an image of the city as a modern urban center capable of acting rationally, planning development, and demonstrating effectiveness in key areas of urban life. The presentation of exhibitions, cultural events, modernization initiatives, and the results of a century of municipal work serves as a public tool for fostering pride, trust, and a willingness to support further reforms.

The overall tone of the anniversary discourse is aimed at constructing a positive vision of the

future and serves as an indicator of the city elite’s self-assessment. Odessa is portrayed as one of the wealthiest cities, with its local government presented as an active participant in modernization programs and seeking greater autonomy in decision-making. At the same time, it is scientifically important to clarify that the rhetoric of “complete independence” reflected more a desire to minimize administrative oversight and expand the scope of local autonomy than a real possibility of legally breaking free from the imperial hierarchy. Nevertheless, this rhetoric itself is important as an element in the formation of the city’s political self-perception, where self-government is conceived as a structure capable of independently resolving the complex problems of the urban space and thereby deserving the community’s trust.

Commemorative publications dedicated to other cities in southern Ukraine (Mariupol, Katerynoslav, Feodosia, Ananiev, and others) served a similar communicative function. They described the initial conditions for the cities’ development and the trajectories of the formation of public institutions, comparing the pre-reform and post-reform periods in terms of organizational, financial, economic, commercial, and tax parameters, as well as in the spheres of philanthropy and culture. Despite their apologetic tone, such works contained a substantial body of facts, statistics, and normative references and, at the same time, demonstrated how the local elite “explained” the city to itself, which achievements it considered key, which problems it acknowledged, what arguments it used to legitimize its own activities, and what model of the future it proposed to the local public.

Also noteworthy is the work prepared by M. Vladimirov, secretary of the Katerynoslav City Council (Vladimirov, 1887: 5–279), which should be viewed as a tool for public communication between the city authorities and the local community, as well as with higher levels of the administrative hierarchy. Under the guise of summarizing the “century of the city,” the municipality put forward the thesis of its own usefulness, competence, and social necessity in the public sphere. It is no coincidence that the history of the city itself is presented relatively concisely in M. Vladimirov’s work, while the main focus is on the achievements of public figures within the provincial context. This structure underscores the institutional nature of the author’s concept, in which the city is presented as an administratively managed entity capable of self-reflection and disciplined accountability. It is precisely for this reason that the anniversary text effectively becomes a form of “public report” and, at the same time, a means of shaping public opinion regarding what constitutes effective urban governance and which results the public should consider significant.

The account of the history of local self-government in Vladimirov is distinctly representative in nature, at

times even bombastic; however, this bombast should be viewed as part of a communication strategy. It largely constructs the image of a “proper” city council and administration in the public sphere, where local self-government was forced to fight for recognition of its own role. In this sense, the contrast between the rhetorically elevated description of self-governing institutions and the fact of the limited perception of their effectiveness by the local administration and aristocratic forces is particularly telling. Where the provincial hierarchy often viewed self-government as the execution of orders and as a formal construct to be tolerated, the anniversary publication served a different purpose: to create an image of the Duma and the administration as bodies possessing their own historical significance, social function, and moral right to speak on behalf of the city. Ultimately, M. Vladimirov’s text can be interpreted as an attempt to shift the balance of symbolic capital in favor of the municipality – that is, to influence how city residents and administrative authorities assess the weight of self-governing power.

It is important to note that this communicative function is reinforced by the way the sources are handled. The work is based on a substantial body of documentation, and the author meticulously incorporates local government materials into the narrative. Here, the documentary nature of the work serves a publicly persuasive role. It creates an effect of objectivity and accountability, which is particularly important in the discussion of the legitimacy and effectiveness of municipal government. The fact that M. Vladimirov’s attention was most drawn to the financial aspects of local government activity is symptomatic. In late-imperial culture, the budget, accounting, revenues, and expenditures served as a universal language of competence. It was precisely financial reasoning that allowed one to speak to different audiences simultaneously: to city taxpayers (explaining needs and expenditures), to local elites (demonstrating economic rationality), to the provincial administration (demonstrating governability), and to the center (reinforcing rights and broader powers). One gets the impression that the author sought to prove to the provincial leadership the importance of the institution of public authority while simultaneously showing the city that self-government was not merely a decorative mechanism. His concern regarding the loss of the Duma’s autonomy and its subordination to the provincial administration also took on a public function. The reader is offered an interpretive framework in which this dependence appears as a cause of dysfunction and as an argument in favor of reforms.

4. Conclusions

Based on this study, it can be concluded that the body of works produced by members of the urban elite

in southern Ukrainian cities throughout the 19th century should be regarded as a distinct phenomenon in the intellectual and institutional history of the late imperial era. These works document the practical experience of local government operations, while simultaneously reflecting the formation of a distinct discourse of municipal modernization, in which administrative routine was transformed into a program of action. For this reason, they represent an important milestone in the development of key ideas characteristic of the period under study: from concepts of local competence and economic autonomy to an understanding of the city as a complex socio-economic system requiring financial discipline, institutional rationalization, a professional apparatus, and public legitimization of administrative decisions.

In terms of content, these works can be grouped into at least two categories. The first category consists of works shaped by a reformist imperative, in which authors analyze governmental dysfunctions, criticize administrative oversight, propose the de-bureaucratization of procedures, the professionalization of municipal service, the delineation of powers, and a rethinking of the role of urban institutions in economic and social life. The second consists of anniversary and summary publications that combined a memorial narrative, a statistical and documentary inventory, and a presentation of the municipal achievements. Rather, these two groups do not oppose one another but importantly complement each other. Together, they allow for the reconstruction of an intellectual landscape in which administrative practice, journalism, statistical and documentary descriptions, and normative and project-oriented thinking interacted, mutually reinforced one another, and developed the vocabulary of modern urban governance.

The analytical value of these works lies in the fact that they offer an inside look at the workings of local government: through the lens of those who directly carried out administrative procedures, were responsible for the budget, public services, social programs, and interactions with the police and judicial institutions, and were forced to constantly adjust management decisions in accordance with the regulations in effect at the time. Most of the texts outline development prospects, revealing local models of the future “effective municipality” as an autonomous, competent, accountable, and socially responsible entity. In this sense, the urban elite of southern Ukraine served as the bearer of a modernization program, the key elements of which were the de-bureaucratization of governance, the development of specialized education for civil servants, the raising of the general cultural level of the population, the institutional separation of functions, and the strengthening of local financial capacity. The authors’ critique of administrative oversight reflects the structural tension between the ideal of local competence and the reality of municipalities’

integration into the vertical structure of imperial administration, including control practices, legal restrictions, and fiscal obligations.

The current focus on decentralization reforms in Ukraine brings to the fore issues that municipal leaders in southern Ukraine were already raising in the 19th century: the balance between autonomy and oversight, the fiscal capacity of communities, the

professionalization of the administrative apparatus, the transparency of decision-making, the social responsibility of city authorities, and the role of public communication in fostering trust. Thus, the works examined here illuminate enduring challenges in urban governance, where modernization, institutional effectiveness, and public legitimization remain closely interconnected dimensions of development.

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