

MAIDAN ON FACEBOOK:  
SENSITIVE, EXPRESSIVE AND INTERPRETATIVE PROTEST LORE

by

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## ABSTRACT

The thesis traces Internet textual representations of the Maidan, a wide-scale protest movement that took place in 2013-2014 in Ukraine, and their function in identifying the opposing sides during the protests. These texts helped to formulate new narratives, articulate attitudes, and build relationships, create a sense of community within the protestors' side, which had its impact on institutional changes of commemorative practices.

Facebook served as an important platform for the initial appeal, for coordination between the participants, for reflections, and for identification of the opposing sides during the protests. It was a key space for sharing emotions, personal stories, humor and expressive forms of protest, making allusions to known literary works, historical events and world public figures.

Exploring the types of narratives and their contribution in identifying the opposing sides, the work is focused on digital stories that illuminate elements not covered by the professional media coverage and official reports. It traces the diverse forms, topics and expressive devices in the narratives, and identifies the categories of lore (eyewitness narratives, (re)telling of stories, jokes, poetry, songs, etc.). It provides juxtaposition of the patterns found in the text with the main events of each specific day.

The thesis provides several chapters that focus on: (1) a review of the historical context of the events; (2) an analysis of the data with reference to all categories and topics, and the main findings; (3) the role of humor and expressive devices in releasing the tension of the conflict and in helping to formulate the attitudes within the protestors' side; (4) evidence of the functions of personal stories as they build relationships, create a sense of community, and validate the participants' experiences and the significance of the events from the protestors' perspectives; (5) interpretation within this protest lore, and its impact on institutional changes of commemorative

practices as in the example of the *Nebesna Sotnia* (Heavenly Hundred) narrative formation and its correlation to the repertoire of motifs and terms of the selected historical periods: the Cossack, the Ukrainian National Republic and World War II.

The study underlines the relevance of time and several patterns related to historical events, as Facebook posts immediately responded to the events occurring on the square and streets occupied by protestors, simultaneously with professional media outlets, and sometimes prior to them. These findings have important implications that go beyond the Ukrainian context in that they contribute to the further exploration of social networks functioning in relation to factual events.

## PREFACE

This thesis is an original work by Nataliya Bezborodova. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name: *Facebook Narratives About the Maidan in Ukraine*, Pro00048160, February 25, 2015. No part of this thesis has been previously published.

*Dedicated to the memory of  
my father*

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I am deeply in debt to my parents who were on the one hand concerned about a new and long geographical distance between us, but on the other happy about the new path I had chosen. My father's habitual sense of humor during the turbulent days in Ukraine and his comments about my more detailed awareness of the events sustained my curiosity in the topic of my research. It provided stimulus to explore further the features of social media today. That gave encouragement for my endeavours and support that later turned out to be our very last moments of communication before his sudden passing away. I devote my work to him.

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Колись, у далекому майбутньому, через сто або двісті років, українські діти перегортатимуть свої підручники з історії, де буде така тема: "Українська революція 2013-2014 року. Десовєтизація. Декриміналізація. Люстрація". А в темі буде параграф: "Як усе починалось". І ось у цьому параграфі, я переконаний, буде цей ФБ-статус Мустафи Найєма. Як у сучасний підручниках – цитати з літописів, хронік, документів, декларацій, заяв, маніфєстів, протоколів, відозв та іншої історичної документації.

І от коли мені кажуть "Не перебільшуйте ролі соціальних мереж. Менше сидить в інтернеті", я згадую цей приклад у якості контраргументу і відповідаю: "Я не перебільшую, але й ви не применшуйте".

**Mustafa Nayem, November 21, 2013:**

Ладно, давайте серьезно. Вот кто сегодня до полуночи готов выйти на Майдан? Лайки не считаются. Только комментарии под этим постом со словами "Я готов". Как только наберется больше тысячи, будем организовываться.

Once, a hundred or two hundred years from now, Ukrainian kids will page their history textbooks and find the topic: "Ukrainian Revolution 2013-2014. Desovietization. Decriminalization. Lustration". The theme will have a paragraph: "How did it start?" This paragraph, I'm sure, will have the FB-status of Mustafa Nayem [*the Ukrainian journalist who announced the meeting place to start the protest through Facebook*]. Exactly the same as our regular textbooks – with the other quotations from annals, chronicles, documents, declarations, statements, manifests, protocols, appeals and other kinds of historical documents.

So, when I've been told: "Do not exaggerate the role of social media. Focus less on the Internet," I use this instance as a counterargument: "I do not exaggerate, but you should not underestimate."

**Mustafa Nayem, November 21, 2013:**

Ok, let's be serious. So, who can go to the Maidan today before midnight? No "likes." Only comments to this post saying: "I will." If we will be more than a thousand, let's organize ourselves.

## Introduction

The topic of this research came to me on its own. In the beginning of my Master Program, I had an idea to do a project about personal narratives that reflect life-changing circumstances and experiences tracing different generations of the same extended family or different representatives of the same group, preferably Ukrainian Canadians in Western Canada. I had no intention to deal with social media or social networking at all. My first draft proposal of the potential projects was almost done by the end of the 2013 fall term when the events unfolding in Ukraine riveted my attention.

Right after the rally against Ukraine's suspension from the EU Association Agreement started on November 21, 2013, I saw a lot of joyful pictures and optimistic messages in my Facebook newsfeeds from my friends and unknown people about a new revolution that was to change everything for better. It gave me both sceptical and nostalgic feelings and kept me checking the updates daily as they unfolded. I felt nostalgic about the mode of the *Orange Revolution* in 2004 that evoked great hopes and high expectations for essential changes in political, economic and social life of the country I had shared so much. Many of my acquaintances described the new rally, comparing it strongly with the Orange Revolution, but declaring that the new protests had to achieve more positive results. The fact that they compared the first several days of the new protest with months, or even years of the previous one seemed to be naïve; this made me sceptical about the rally's possible duration and outcome, but I kept following the events.

A week later, the protest was already smaller and was gradually fading. I was going through my usual daily check of the updates on Friday evening, November 29 (the night of November 30 in Ukrainian time), and was stunned by the rapidly changing situation. My newsfeed was full of short and incomplete messages appealing for help, pictures and video taken on cell phones of

bleeding people laying in the streets or escaping from riot police, then barricading themselves inside an ancient monastery in the middle of the city (St. Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery), whose bells raised the alarm to wake up sleeping Kyiv residents. It all looked like a surreal movie. That was the first night I spent staring at the screen and trying to understand what was going on. I first tried to figure out whether anyone in my personal network had been involved, captured or hurt. I was only able to shut down my laptop well past midnight, late morning in Ukrainian time, when I had seen my main connections online, which meant they were fine, and their reposts of the messages and links I had already read.

My own perception of the events changed at that moment and, I assume, it was similar for many of my acquaintances and participants of the protests as well. In my opinion, the events on the night of November 30, 2013, shifted the focus of the protest from international relations to internal affairs. No open police violence and cruelty had occurred before in a public space in Ukraine since its independence in 1991. That was the main issue of the next, much larger, gathering that expressed people's indignation of such an action toward citizens, and their demands that the individuals who participated in the attack and the ones who gave the order should be held accountable. When the events became even more drastic, the demands increased to include resignation of Victor Yanukovich, as the top official responsible for the actions. Having followed the updates, I checked the private posts of the individuals I personally knew, and collected chosen narratives that sounded important to me. I started the collection so I could re-read it later, when everything had settled down, having no particular aim as of yet but holding on to them as my primary source in an unpredictable situation (i.e. 'just in case, because no one knows what might happen next'). When I later decided to do a research project on this theme, I collected all the texts I found, without filtering them.

In this way, I first became emotionally involved in the events, prior to my decision to start a research project; this blurred the line between my role as an insider or outsider of the process, a participating observer or an observing participant. Valerie Yow writes about the need for researchers to be reflexive of their own subjectivity in the studied issues, and the possible influence on their research, referring to numerous studies in the field.<sup>1</sup> Individual settings on Facebook will result in the display of different posts on personal pages. Each personal page will be unique. Group pages also can have a variety of settings, but each person within the group will see exactly the same thing. I use my personal page for this research project; my collection is unique and can be checkable through an external access only through reaching each author's individual timeline within the period.

In addition to that, every author can choose to publish a post on a public or "private" settings assigning the level of access to be limited only for an individual connections for the latter. That raises the issue of authors' anonymity, described in Chapter II. In total, my data collection has 1647 authors; this is three times the number of my personal connections for late 2013. That means that I have seen the variety three times more than usual due to the authors' will to put their texts on public settings and spread them wide. Some my observations and interpretations of most typical texts from previously unknown authors are provided in Chapter IV.

I rely on a large number of collected posts without preferences. My data includes posts collected day-by-day from my newsfeed the day they were published. I spent several hours a day collecting new updates on each particular day, from January 19 to February 28, 2014.

As far as I was emotionally engaged in the events, published my own posts, reposted other's texts, and took part in discussion and commenting, as many of my connections did, I can regard

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<sup>1</sup> Yow, Valerie. 2006 [1998]. "Do I Like Them Too Much?: Effects of the Oral History Interview on the Interviewer and Vice-Versa." In *The Oral History Reader*. London and New York: Routledge. pp. 54-72.



myself as both an insider and observing participant. On the other hand, many of my connections live in Kyiv or other places in Ukraine and they physically took part in the events, describing their experience on Facebook. I have not counted the exact number of actual protestors among all authors in my collection, but I observed that a part of them were indeed physically present there. I was not involved in the event at the same level; I was only an observer and outsider. Knowing the names of political figures and city locations, in particular in Kyiv and in Kharkiv, I could grasp the relevance of events, interconnections and symbolic or indirect meaning. In that situation, I was also a participating observer and insider.

Facebook texts served me for several purposes: on the one hand, they provided a variety of narratives, so that I could analyse the correlation of their types, forms, genres and functions; on the other hand, they served as source of timely information about a particular event. Jennifer Dickinson considers social media and livestreamed video from the Maidan as a “tactical tool for mobilization and formation of interpretive frames;”<sup>2</sup> I will discuss this more in Chapter III. Due to the time difference, the most drastic events at night in Ukraine took place during the evening in Edmonton. Following live broadcasts, personal posts, and blogs, I got the information virtually at the moment it occurred and before it was released by professional media. In addition, many Ukrainian mass media outlets were under strict governmental control, especially at the very beginning of the protests, and did not provide much information on the events, if they did not ignore the topic outright. Journalists of the opposition media, on the contrary, were quite active, both in their professional positions and on their personal social media accounts. For instance, Mustafa Nayem, a Ukrainian journalist of Afghan origin and Russian speaker, known

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<sup>2</sup> Dickinson, Jennifer. “Prosymo maksimal’nyi perepost! Tactical And Discursive Uses of Social Media in Ukraine’s Euromaidan.” *Ab Imperio*. 3/2014. pp. 75-93.

as one of the initiators of the November 21 rally, made an appeal to gather on the Maidan Nezalezhnosti on his private Facebook page.

Facebook allowed me to feel engaged with the events to a certain extent and influenced my methodology. Being so far away, I found the most appropriate and least intrusive method of collecting the immediate responses of the participants was through the texts they published at their will. Any other approach I could apply; via telephone, skype or email, would make a potential respondent formulate their thoughts and feedback specifically for my research, and allow them to apply their own filtering to the content, form and style of their response. I can imagine an ethnographic project, where a researcher would return day after day to the same place, spending several hours listening and documenting stories, discussions, jokes, appeals, etc. among the participants. Most likely, such a researcher would meet more or less the same people regularly, but there could also be a number of occasional passers-by. My Facebook connections in late November 2013 were around 500 people, most of them Ukrainian citizens, both living in Ukraine and travelling/working/studying abroad. I also had international connections, some of which were interested in Ukraine. Not all my connections were active; there were people I had met only once in person or perhaps never met but with whom I had common acquaintances. Among my active connections were my close friends and former colleagues living mostly in Kyiv, Kharkiv and Lviv; the majority of them were active participants in the protests. In my data, I have only a few people who did not support the Maidan. During the protests, many Facebookers gradually or radically changed their connections, deleting and adding other individuals, which obviously led to the polarization of supporters from one side and the other. I too, added many new individuals and deleted several in December 2013. I restrained myself from deleting any more from the time I began systematically gathering data – I did not feel the

need for it. I included publications of some individuals whom I would not normally have chosen if it had been for my own pleasure, but they were few. I controlled my Facebook settings in a way which allowed me to follow several individuals specifically because they updated their accounts many times per day and thus served as informative and interpretative sources. My collection represents the division into two opposing sides that occurred in real life, as Facebook participants worked through textual representations including their confrontations, interactions and efforts to have a dialogue. In general, my Facebook collection is very pro-Maidan.

Depending on the writer's activity and settings in Facebook, I could see public posts from an individual not included in my "friend" list, but quite popular and regarded as an opinion leader, more often than posts from my own friends, but who posted rarely and had few followers. A significant part of my connections are bilingual or Russian-speakers, although I have many Ukrainian and English speaking friends as well. Many of them are also parishioners of various Christian denominations in Ukraine; they have various ethnic origins. Thus, the group is quite different from ultra-right Ukrainian nationalists whose image was very popular in Western media during the protests. My list of authors resembles the variety of protestors that can be compared to other studies.<sup>3</sup>

In order to give more background related to my Facebook connections, I should add that I created my personal account at the time I worked in the book-publishing field, particularly in the Humanities, in an academic environment in Kyiv. Initially I used my account mostly for professional purposes and my connections were built around the field; there was more variety later. Until late November 2013, most of the information I got from Facebook dealt with new book releases, authors' public lectures, seminars, conferences, occasional reflections around

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<sup>3</sup> Etling, Bruce. "Russia, Ukraine, and the West: Social Media Sentiment in the Euromaidan Protests." *Berkman Center Research Publication*. No. 2014/13. Harvard University: Berkman Center for Internet & Society. September 25, 2014.

these topics, a bit of travel, and private life issues. When the majority of those connections started to narrate, reflect, and exclaim mostly, and sometimes exclusively, about the political protest, it was a strong signal of a matter significant to me.

After the protest in Kyiv ended, and the Crimean and Donbass unrest started, I tried to keep tracking the news through Facebook, but it no longer gave me the same feeling of understanding the situation. The location of the events were now less familiar to me, and I have no close friends or strong connections there. Although many people were very engaged in these new issues, very few of them were my primary sources of information. The majority retold or reflected on information coming from a third source; this was the main difference. A significant part of my Maidan data was collected from the participants and eyewitnesses to the events. Exploring the role of online media, blogs, cell phones and new technologies at the time of *Orange Revolution*, Matthew J. Duffy discusses theoretical constructs of Marshall McLuhan's "global village" and "global tribe of the entire human family" on the one hand, and Arjun Appadurai's "mediascape" on the other.<sup>4</sup> Between McLuhan's concept of a sense of new community and Appadurai's view of a community with less sense of place, I suggest that personal ties influence the perception of a community in social networks. Having been involved in "virtual" actions of sharing information that might be helpful to people at the actual physical place, I felt myself included in the community and close to the venue. On the contrary, reading about events in the Donbass region, where I have never been, I got the sense of the usual news from media. In this instance, my greatest concern was about the unrest possibly spreading to other locations (such as Kharkiv), where I did feel personal attachment. In this way, personal offline knowledge and attachment to a certain mediated place could be a distinction between McLuhan's and Appadurai's concepts. A

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<sup>4</sup> Duffy, Matthew J. 2010. "Code Orange: How the Internet, cell phones and new technologies helped shape the Ukrainian Revolution of 2004." *Atlanta Review of Journalism History* 11, no. 4. 69-84.

mediated event could be perceived as distant “mediascape” if a particular event or location is unfamiliar in a personal experience; but a known place could cause engagement both to the place and to people sharing the same attitude, and could form the sense of McLuhan’s “global village” or “imagined community” according to Benedict Anderson.<sup>5</sup>

During the protests, the word “Maidan” came to mean the act of public politics itself, so that, for example, people who used their cars to organize public actions or serve other needs of the protests requiring transport, were called the *Automaidan*. Timothy Snider suggests that the word “Maidan” has now gained the meaning of the Greek word “agora” in English, it is not just a physical place, but also a meeting with a purpose “to deliberate, to speak, and to create a political society.”<sup>6</sup> I reviewed the study by Duvanova et al., examining online political activism of Ukrainian users of the VKontakte social network prior to the protests, during the Ukrainian parliamentary elections of October 2012. The study suggests the social network is organized in a manner that helps to prevent political polarization and to foster dialogue between its users.<sup>7</sup> Serhii Datsiuk claims that during the protests social networks contributed a lot to formation of a “network identity,” a new type of identity that emerged after the two opposing, national Ukrainian and imperial Russian identities.<sup>8</sup> I saw that, given particular events that occurred on each day, my newsfeed had different proportions of reflective, emotional, eyewitness and other types of texts. Their frequency was further unequal for both opposing sides. I hypothesized that

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<sup>5</sup> Anderson, Benedict. 1991 [1983]. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, New York: Verso.

<sup>6</sup> Snyder, Timothy. “Fascism, Russia and Ukraine.” In *The New York Review of Books*. March 20, 2014. Retrieved May 7, 2015. <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2014/03/20/fascism-russia-and-ukraine/>

<sup>7</sup> Duvanova, Dinissa et al. 2015. “Do Social Networks Bridge Political Divides? The Analysis of VKontakte Social Network Communication in Ukraine.” In *Post-Soviet Affairs*. Vol. 31. No. 3. pp. 224-249. Published online June 9, 2014. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2014.918453>

<sup>8</sup> Дацюк, Сергій. “Война идентичностей в Украине и в России.” March 12, 2014. Retrieved May 9, 2015. <http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/datsuk/53202f9d94ca6/>

the variety of posts correlated with different functions in self-representation and self-identification of the protestors and their opponents. I would like to trace this in my project.

Exploring the types of narratives and their contribution to identify the opposing sides, I focus on elements in the digital stories that illuminate elements not exposed by the professional media coverage and official reports. The general focus of the study is to look through the diverse forms, topics and expressive devices in the narratives. I will sort the categories of lore (eyewitness narratives, (re)telling of stories, jokes, poetry, songs, etc.) found in the narratives, informal reflections and comments about the events. I juxtapose the patterns found in the text with the main events of each specific day. I define these all broadly as “folk” elements according to the concepts of *Newslore* identified by Russel Frank and *Xeroxlore* by Alan Dundes and Carl Pagter. I will focus more on these elements and their functions in Chapters III and IV.

I submit that Facebook served as an important platform for the initial appeal, for coordination between the participants, for reflections, and for identification of the opposing sides during the protests. It was a key space for sharing emotions, personal stories, humor and expressive forms of protest, making allusions to known literary works, historical events and world public figures.

Facebook was not the only source of informative and interpretative material in social media, Twitter, VKontakte, Odnoklassniki, and others also served a similar role. Twitter and Facebook are known as the most international and pro-Western social media used by Ukrainians. The main difference between Twitter and Facebook is that the first is an informative media outlet, and the second plays a significant role in consolidation and interpretative efforts. I chose Facebook for this particular study.

My collection analyzed for this thesis has 8905 Facebook posts, from 1647 authors, in the period January 19 – February 28, 2014. The size of the collection ranges from 65 up to 473 posts per

day, a reflection of my personal engagement in the events on any given day, as well as my ability to allocate enough time while respecting other commitments. I counted the frequency of posts based on their percentage to the total number of posts (but not to their cardinal number per day) and traced their correlation to the events. Particular chapters include many examples from various authors reflecting my wish, as an engaged researcher, to represent a full range of topics and approaches that were employed within the period.

My project includes the following chapters:

Chapter I provides the review of historical context of the events that caused the initial rally and day-to-day outlines of the major events that occurred January 19 – February 28, 2014.

My methodological approach is presented in Chapter II, making references to established categories and topics, and the main findings. This chapter provides the pattern of Facebook posts, showing their sensitivity to the timing of the historical events. The findings give evidence of different functions of the texts distributed among selected topics and categories, and referring to both opposing sides.

Chapters III and IV illustrate some of the sensitivity and expressiveness of this collection of protest lore, in terms identified by Frank, Dundes and Pagter, to the factual divisions between two opposing sides. Chapter III shows the role of humor and expressive devices based on great diversity of cultural references to release the tension of the conflict and to formulate the attitudes within protestors' side and against their opponents, using concepts of Bakhtin, Yurchak and Loseff. Chapter IV provides evidence of the functions of personal stories, as they build relationships, create a sense of community, and validate participants' experiences and the significance of the events from the protestors' perspectives, using concepts of Stahl, Benjamin, Turner, Felman and Laub.

Chapter V illustrates interpretation within this protest lore, and its impact to institutional changes of commemorative practices. I use the example of the *Nebesna Sotnia* narrative formation and its correlation to the repertoire of motifs and terms of the selected historical periods, the Cossack, the Ukrainian National Republic and World War II. In this chapter, I make references to the concepts of myth and cultural trauma, suggested by Smyth and Aarelaid-Tart.



## **Chapter I. Historical Context.**

The protests that took place in Ukraine in the winter of 2013-2014 are known by the name of “Maidan” or “EuroMaidan” (Ukrainian: Майдан / Євромайдан; Russian: Майдан / Евромайдан), which literally means “The Square” or “The Euro[pean] Square.” Euromaidan started as a rally on the night of November 21, 2013, on the Kyiv Maidan Nezalezhnosti (*Independence Square*) protesting the government’s decision to suspend signing the Association Agreement with the European Union. The scope of the protests expanded with many calls for the resignation of President Viktor Yanukovich and his government. Many new people joined the rally after the violent dispersal of protesters on the night of November 30, 2013. By January 25, 2014, the protests were fuelled by the issues of "widespread government corruption," "abuse of power," and "violation of human rights” in Ukraine.<sup>1</sup>

### **Initial cause**

On March 30, 2012, the European Union (EU) and Ukraine initiated an Association Agreement; however, the EU leaders later stated that the Agreement would not be ratified unless Ukraine addressed concerns over a "stark deterioration of democracy and the rule of law," including the imprisonment of Yulia Tymoshenko and Yuriy Lutsenko in 2011 and 2012.<sup>2</sup> In the months leading up to the protests, President Viktor Yanukovich urged the Parliament to adopt laws allowing Ukraine to meet the EU criteria.<sup>3</sup> On September 25, 2013, the Parliament’s Chairman, Volodymyr Rybak, stated he was sure that all the laws needed to fit the EU criteria for the Association Agreement would be supported by the Parliament, except for the Communist

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<sup>1</sup> “Ukraine Opposition Vows To Continue Struggle After Yanukovich Offer.” Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty. January 25, 2014. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://www.rferl.org/content/protesters-police-tense-standoff-ukraine/25241945.html>

<sup>2</sup> “Ukraine's jailed Tymoshenko calls off hunger strike.” Kyiv Post. November 16, 2012. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/ukraines-jailed-tymoshenko-calls-off-hunger-strike-316252.html>

<sup>3</sup> “EU Commissioner Fule expects Rada to pass European integration bills on November 21.” Interfax-Ukraine. November 20, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/175853.html>

Party of Ukraine: "The Verkhovna Rada [The Parliament of Ukraine] has united around these bills."<sup>4</sup> According to Pavlo Klimkin, one of the Ukrainian negotiators of the Association Agreement, initially "the Russians simply did not believe [the Association Agreement with the EU] could come true. They didn't believe in our ability to negotiate a good agreement and didn't believe in our commitment to implement a good agreement."<sup>5</sup>

In mid-August 2013, Russia changed its customs regulations on imports from Ukraine, so on August 14, 2013, the Russian Customs Service stopped all goods coming from Ukraine.<sup>6</sup> Politicians<sup>7</sup> and media outlets<sup>8</sup> viewed the move as the start of a trade war against Ukraine to prevent the latter from signing this trade agreement with the European Union. Ukrainian Industrial Policy Minister, Mykhailo Korolenko, stated on December 18, 2013 that it caused Ukraine's exports to drop by \$1.4 billion (a 10% year-on-year decrease through the first 10 months of the year).<sup>9</sup> The State Statistics Service of Ukraine reported in November 2013 that compared to the same periods in 2012, industrial production in Ukraine had fallen 4.9 percent in

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<sup>4</sup> "EU-Ukraine Association Agreement to be signed, Ukraine to go to Europe." Interfax. September 25, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://www.interfax.com/newsinf.asp?id=446824>

<sup>5</sup> "Klimkin: Russia trying to force renegotiation of Minsk deals." Kyiv Post. January 19, 2014. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/klimkin-russia-trying-to-force-renegotiation-of-minsk-deals-377709.html>

<sup>6</sup> "Ukraine's Employers Federation: Russia's customs service halts all Ukrainian imports." Kyiv Post. August 14, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/ukraines-employers-federation-russias-customs-service-halts-all-ukrainian-imports-328360.html>

<sup>7</sup> "Russia sets off trade war to prevent Ukraine from signing agreement with EU, says UDAR." Kyiv Post. August 14, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/russia-sets-off-trade-war-to-prevent-ukraine-from-signing-agreement-with-eu-says-udar-328366.html>; "Ukraine Leader Ignores Putin Warning on EU Path." Voice of America. August 24, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://www.voanews.com/content/reu-ukraine-ignores-putin-warning-eu/1736436.html>; "Trading insults: A trade war sputters as the tussle over Ukraine's future intensifies." The Economist Newspaper. August 24, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21583998-trade-war-sputters-tussle-over-ukraines-future-intensifies-trading-insults>; Rettman, Andrew. "Putin warns Ukraine against EU pact." Euobserver. August 23, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <https://euobserver.com/foreign/121189>; Solonyna, Yevhen, "Does Russia Have a Secret Plan for Ukraine?" The Atlantic. August 21, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/08/does-russia-have-a-secret-plan-for-ukraine/278894/>

<sup>8</sup> Soldatkin, Vladimir, Polityuk, Pavel. "Russia tightens customs rules to force Ukraine into union." Reuters. August 15, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/08/15/russia-ukraine-customs-idUSL6N0GG17S20130815>; "Ukraine media see Kremlin pressure over EU." BBC News. November 22, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-25051141>.

<sup>9</sup> "Eased Russian customs rules to save Ukraine \$1.5 bln in 2014, says minister." Interfax-Ukraine. December 18, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://en.interfax.com.ua/news/economic/182691.html>.

October 2013, 5.6 percent in September 2013, and 5.4 percent in August 2013 (and that the total industrial production in Ukraine in 2012 had fallen by 1.8 percent).<sup>10</sup>

The reason given by the government for suspending the preparations for signing the Association Agreement was that during the previous months Ukraine had experienced "a drop in industrial production and our relations with CIS countries."<sup>11</sup> The government also assured that "Ukraine would resume preparing the agreement when the drop in industrial production and our relations with CIS countries are compensated by the European market."<sup>12</sup> According to Ukrainian Prime Minister Mykola Azarov, "the extremely harsh conditions" of an IMF loan (presented on November 20, 2013) to include significant budget cuts and a 40% increase in gas bills, was the last argument in favour of the Ukrainian government's decision to suspend preparations for signing the Association Agreement.<sup>13</sup> On December 7, 2013, the IMF clarified that it was not going to push for a 40% single-stage increase of natural gas tariffs in Ukraine, but rather to recommend a gradual increase to an economically justified level while compensating the poorest segments of citizens for the losses by strengthening targeted social assistance.<sup>14</sup> The same day IMF Resident Representative in Ukraine, Jerome Vacher, stated that this particular IMF loan was

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<sup>10</sup> "Decline in industrial production in Ukraine in October 2013 slows to 4.9 percent." Kyiv Post. November 18, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://www.kyivpost.com/content/business/decline-in-industrial-production-in-ukraine-in-october-2013-slows-to-49-percent-332016.html>

<sup>11</sup> "Ukraine drops EU plans and looks to Russia." Aljazeera. November 21, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/europe/2013/11/ukraine-drops-eu-plans-looks-russia-20131121145417227621.html>; "Cox-Kwasniewski mission to continue until Eastern Partnership Summit." Interfax-Ukraine. November 21, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/176135.html>

<sup>12</sup> "Ukraine to resume preparing agreement with EU when compensation for production drop found – Boiko." Interfax-Ukraine. November 21, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/176144.html>; "Azarov: Ukraine would face crisis if it signed Association Agreement with EU." Interfax-Ukraine. December 21, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://en.interfax.com.ua/news/economic/183315.htm>

<sup>13</sup> Herszenhorn, David M. "Ukraine Blames I.M.F. for Halt to Agreements With Europe." The New York Times. November 11, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/23/world/europe/ukraine-blames-imf-for-collapse-of-accord-with-european-union.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/23/world/europe/ukraine-blames-imf-for-collapse-of-accord-with-european-union.html?_r=0); Evans-Pritchard, Ambrose. "Historic defeat for EU as Ukraine returns to Kremlin control." Daily Telegraph. November 22, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/comment/ambroseevans\\_pritchard/10469065/Historic-defeat-for-EU-as-Ukraine-returns-to-Kremlin-control.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/comment/ambroseevans_pritchard/10469065/Historic-defeat-for-EU-as-Ukraine-returns-to-Kremlin-control.html)

<sup>14</sup> "MF not insisting on single-stage increase in tariffs, says resident representative in Ukraine." Interfax-Ukraine. December 7, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/179958.html>

worth US\$4 billion and that it would be linked with "policy, which would remove disproportions and stimulate growth."<sup>15</sup>

### **Maidan and EuroMaidan**

The suspended Association Agreement with the EU was the reason for the protests in the beginning, although the confrontation went on for three months, and the protests changed their focus over that time. The first brutal attempt by the Government's riot police to disperse the protesters on November 30, 2013 sparked a bigger rally of Ukrainian citizens than the week before.

The name of the protests is composed of two parts: "Euro" is a short for Europe and "maidan" refers to Maidan Nezalezhnosti (*Independence Square*), the main square in Kyiv. Celebrations and protests located on this square have usually had national relevance, rather than being local city affairs. "Maidan" is a Ukrainian word for "square, open space," ultimately from Arabic ماديان *maydān*, which means "square" or "field." During the protests, the word "Maidan" has come to gain additional meanings, including the act of public politics itself. According to my personal observations, the name "Euromaidan" has been used more often by Western media and researchers than citizens of Ukraine and participants of the protests – the latter more often use the name "Maidan." This difference reveals the perception of the cause of the protests and their main focus by one or another author; whether the events were focused on international relations or had an internal locus. I will use the name "Maidan" in my research project.

The focus of my research is on the most drastic days of confrontations, the period encompassing "encampment," "battleground," and "mourning place," according to Jeff Stepnisky's

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<sup>15</sup> "IMF links loan amount to Ukraine with reforms." Ukrinform. December 7, 2013. Retrieved May 5, 2015. [http://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-economics/1587584-imf\\_links\\_loan\\_amount\\_to\\_ukraine\\_with\\_reforms\\_314404.html](http://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-economics/1587584-imf_links_loan_amount_to_ukraine_with_reforms_314404.html)

categories.<sup>16</sup> The escalation started on Hrushevsky str. on January 19, 2014, three days after the procedurally incorrect adoption of 11 restricting laws by the Parliament on January 16, 2014.<sup>17</sup> The laws potentially allowed for the imprisonment of almost every protester for several months up to 15 years. Victor Yanukovich signed the laws on January 17, and they came into force January 21. Protesters called them “dictatorial”<sup>18</sup> or “Black Thursday” laws.<sup>19</sup>

My research traces the events until February 28, 2014, when Victor Yanukovich fled Ukraine and gave his first press conference in Rostov-na-Donu, a city in the Russian Federation. That day also signaled the arrival of a large number of Russian military forces without insignia to Crimea.

### **The Events of January 19 – February 28, 2014.**

**January 19, 2014:** Several thousand protesters tried to break through the cordon of internal troops that blocked Hrushevsky street, leading from the Maidan encampment to key government buildings. Protesters started building a barricade near the central entrance to Dynamo stadium.<sup>20</sup>

**January 20, 2014:** The laws adopted on January 16, 2014 were sent to print in the *Holos Ukrainy (Voice of Ukraine)* Parliamentary newspaper. Lviv Mayor, Iurii Sadovy, declared that Lviv hospitals were open for injured protesters. Maidan self-defence groups and Kyiv residents organized night patrolling of the city to protect themselves against *titushky*.

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<sup>16</sup> Stepnisky, Jeff. “The Four Maidans: Introductory Comments.” Contemporary Ukraine Research Forum. March 6, 2014. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://euromaidan-researchforum.ca/2014/03/06/jeff-stepnisky-the-four-maidans-introductory-comments/>

<sup>17</sup> Wikipedia article’s collection of 45 links related to the laws restricting public protests have been adopted by the Parliament of Ukraine January 16, 2014. Retrieved May 5, 2015. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-protest\\_laws\\_in\\_Ukraine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-protest_laws_in_Ukraine)

<sup>18</sup> “Рада отменила большинство диктаторских ”законов 16 января.” January 28, 2014. UNIAN. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://www.unian.net/politics/877486-rada-otmenila-bolshinstvo-diktatorskih-zakonov-16-yanvarya.html>; “Офіційна преса опублікувала ”диктаторські закони.” January 21, 2014. Українська правда. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2014/01/21/7010354/>

<sup>19</sup> “EuroMaidan rallies in Ukraine.” January 23, 2014. KyivPost. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/euromaidan-rallies-in-ukraine-jan-23-live-updates-335389.html>.

<sup>20</sup> I will further base my day-today historical context review on the two condensed collections of sources provided for Wikipedia’s articles about the Maidan when no particular source is provided. Euromaidan. Retrieved May 5, 2015. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Euromaidan>, and 2014 Euromaidan regional state administration occupations. Retrieved May 5, 2015. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014\\_Euromaidan\\_regional\\_state\\_administration\\_occupations#cite\\_note-23janKP-7](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014_Euromaidan_regional_state_administration_occupations#cite_note-23janKP-7)

**January 21, 2014:** The laws of January 16, 2014 were published and came into force. Unknown persons kidnapped Maidan activists Ihor Lutsenko and Iurii Verbytsky from a Kyiv hospital. The seriously injured Ihor Lutsenko was found in the evening; Iurii Verbytsky remained unaccounted for.

**January 22, 2014:** A state holiday: the Day of Unity of Ukraine. The first of major casualties occurred. Four people permanently lost their vision, and one man died after falling from a colonnade. Four people were confirmed dead from gunshot wounds, about 70 persons were arrested. Iurii Verbytsky was found dead in a suburban woodland belt in Kyiv, with evidence of being tortured. In Donetsk, two simultaneous rallies took place – a pro-Maidan rally attracted about 100 attendees, and a pro-government rally – about 600 attendees. In Lviv protesters surrounded military barracks to prevent soldiers from being deployed to Kyiv. In Vinnytsia thousands of protesters blocked traffic on the main street of the city. The Cabinet of Ministers increased the special measures allowed to riot police. Three monks went into the neutral zone on Hrushevsky street in Kyiv between protesters and internal troops, trying to stop a confrontation, later that day more priests and lay people joined the monks.

**January 23, 2014:** Tensions flared as anti-government forces overtook the Regional State Administration (RSA) buildings in Lviv, Rivne, Ternopil and Khmelnytskyi, in western Ukraine. Several local governors were forced to file letters of resignation. Protesters occupied Cherkasy RSA but later the police expelled them. RSAs in Sumy, Ivano-Frankivsk, Vinnytsia, Poltava and Zhytomyr were blockaded but not physically overtaken. Prime Minister Azarov called the rioters “a rebellion,” rather than a political opposition; Yanukovich condemned the takeover of public buildings. The administration of Crimea encouraged Crimeans to rebuff any attempts to seize power by the opposing side.

The leader of Automaidan (a group of Kyiv activists who provided their private cars to support the Maidan activities), Dmytro Bulatov, went missing. Odessa city council member and Maidan activist Oleksandr Ostapenko's car was bombed. A video of Berkut officers mocking a naked protester was uploaded on YouTube. After negotiations, opposition leaders announced that the government promised to release the arrested activists and to revise the Laws of January 16.

**January 24, 2014:** The Ivano-Frankivsk RSA was overtaken and regional governor Chudnov fled the city. In Lutsk, 5,000 protesters surrounded the administration building; Volyn region governor Klimchuk asked protesters to disperse peacefully. Ceding to protesters' demands, governor Klimchuk and councillor Voitovych then resigned. Protesters stormed and occupied the Chernivtsi RSA and forced its governor Papiev to tender his resignation. Lutsk and Uzhhorod RSAs were blockaded, in addition to standing blockades in Poltava, Vinnytsia and Zhytomyr. The residence of the Uzhhorod governor, Oleksandr Ledida, burned down in a suspected arson attack. Police fortified the RSAs in Dnipropetrovsk, Mykolayiv and Zhytomyr. The Sumy RSA was breached and occupied that evening, but officials refused to resign. The Mayor of Sumy threw his support behind the Maidan movement, laying blame for the civil disorder on the Party of Regions and Communists in Kyiv. In Lviv, a number of Berkut officers resigned from their positions. Opposition leaders and Maidan activists in Kyiv agreed to stop negotiations with the Government and to expand the Maidan territory up to Olhins'ka street. Lithuania declared it would accept injured protesters for medical care.<sup>21</sup>

**January 25, 2014:** Protesters seized the Vinnytsia RSA; its governor Ivan Movchan did not resign. Protesters occupied the RSA building in Chernihiv, demanding the resignation of the governor. After the Poltava RSA was seized, two thousand protesters formed an impromptu

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<sup>21</sup> “Литва приймає на лікування постраждалих у сутичках у Києві.” iPress.ua. January 24, 2014. Retrieved May 7, 2015. [http://ipress.ua/news/lytva\\_pryymaie\\_na\\_likuvannya\\_postrazhdalych\\_u\\_sutyckah\\_u\\_kyievi\\_41002.html](http://ipress.ua/news/lytva_pryymaie_na_likuvannya_postrazhdalych_u_sutyckah_u_kyievi_41002.html)

assembly named the People's Council. Several hundred Kherson residents blocked their RSA. In Lviv, regional lawmakers voted to establish a parallel government. Members of the pro-government Party of Regions barricaded the Mykolayiv RSA from the inside; opposition members were not allowed to enter the building.

As a concession to the protesters, Victor Yanukovich proposed Arseniy Yatseniuk as Prime Minister, and Vitaliy Klytchko – Vice-Prime Minister of Humanitarian Affairs. Opposition leaders refused the proposed appointments. Victor Yanukovich appointed a new head of the Kyiv Municipal State Administration, Volodymyr Makeienko.

**January 26, 2014:** Protesters in Zaporizhzhia stormed the RSA, demanding the resignation of the governor, Oleksandr Peclushenko, who announced that only "cowards and traitors" resign. During confrontations between 10,000 protestors with police in Zaporizhzhia, five protesters were injured, and over two hundred were arrested. Several thousand protesters marched on the RSA in Odessa, but pro-government supporters repelled them. In Sumy, protesters occupied the city's council building, led by a Batkivshchyna opposition party MP. Five hundred protesters picketed the entrance to the Mykolayiv RSA. Three thousand protestors attempted to capture the RSA in Dnipropetrovsk, and, several dozen were arrested after confrontations with the police. Mass demonstrations in Kirovohrad took place in front of the RSA guarded by a heavy police presence; the leaders of the local UDAR and Svoboda (opposition) parties were arrested in their homes. Several thousand people gathered for a people's assembly in Cherkasy, voted for the creation of a People's Council, and gave the local governor 24 hours to resign from his post. One thousand protesters in Kyiv advanced on the RSA in the capital, forming a People's Council nearby but not assaulting the building.



**January 27, 2014:** New confrontations with the police took place near the RSAs in Cherkasy, Dnipropetrovsk, Chernihiv, Uzhhorod, and Sumy. International journalists reporting on the scene were beaten up by Berkut troops; the destruction of protesters' cars and the arrests of protestors continued. Mykolayiv and Zhytomyr RSAs remained barricaded from the inside. *Night Wolves* bikers from Russia secured Sevastopol RSA, and patrols were also set up in Kharkiv, Luhansk, and Simferopol.

The Cabinet approved a resolution to enlarge Berkut and Griphon riot police troops six fold and to expand their powers.

**January 28, 2014:** Opposition deputies voted in the Parliament to cancel 9 of 11 Laws from January 16, 2014 (№№ 721-VII, 722-VII, 723-VII, 724-VII, 725-VII, 726-VII, 727-VII, 728-VII, 729-VII). However, 4 of the 11 Laws were adopted under new titles: №4030, №4037, №4038, №4039. The People's Council of the Maidan in Kyiv decided to give the RSA back to the authorities in exchange for releasing arrested protesters.

Activists in Lviv and in Khmenlytskyi announced they would partially vacate the RSA to allow local officials to work, but would keep up their barricades. Protesters occupying the Chernihiv RSA agreed to vacate the seized building. The RSAs in Uzhhorod, Dnipropetrovsk, Kherson, Odessa, Mykolaiv and Sumy were still barricaded and fortified from inside by the police and pro-government forces. Numerous rallies took place in front of them. In Uzhhorod, the Regional Council supported the opposition and established a People's Council.

President Victor Yanukovich accepted Mykola Azarov's resignation from his position as Prime Minister. The First Vice-Primier, Serhiy Arbutov, became the Acting Prime Minister.

**January 29, 2014:** The RSA in Lviv was vacated except for the second floor, where the governor's office was located. The barricade in front of the Uzhhorod RSA was fully lifted from

both sides, not impeding state workers. Several hundred protesters blocked the entrance to the Zhytomyr RSA in the morning and dispersed in the afternoon. Twenty-six activists of the Zaporizhia meetings were sentenced to remain under house arrest until a final court decision. The Parliament adopted an “Amnesty Law” allowing the release of arrested protesters, coming into force in a month.

**January 30, 2014:** In Lviv, protesters handed the RSA over to the Lviv Regional Council. Employees of the regional council sealed up the second floor of the building, which housed the governor and his administration. In Vinnytsia, a compromise was made, which allowed employees of the RSA to come and go unimpeded, while many offices remained closed. Automaidan leader, Dmytro Bulatov, was found with evidence of being tortured.

**January 31, 2014:** A video of Berkut using a firearm dated on January 22, 2014, was uploaded on YouTube. The shooting shows the back of the riot police location. A Maidan self-defence group stood guard on Dmytro Bulatov in the hospital.

**February 1, 2014:** The barricades around the Vinnytsia RSA were partially dismantled; protesters said the barricades would only be fully removed once the governor met their demands. The private car of an employee of the Canadian Embassy in Ukraine was burned.

**February 2, 2014:** The Poltava RSA went back under government control. 36 protestors went missing.

**February 3, 2014:** Party of Regions member, Vitaliy Hrushevsky, spoke on the Maidan stage.

**February 4, 2014:** The ex-Prime Minister, Mykola Azarov, moved to Austria where his son resided. Germany discussed possible sanctions against top authorities of the Ukrainian Government.

**February 5, 2014:** The EU started negotiating with opposition leaders. President Victor Yanukovich officially dismissed Borys Klimchuk as Volyn region governor and appointed Oleksandr Bashkaleiko to this position. The Dnipropetrovsk RSA was still fortified including a "lobby strung with razor wire and packed with security officials" and the police was blocking "all but official cars from taking a nearby road."

**February 6, 2014:** An explosive was concealed in a box with donated drugs brought into the Maidan's medical center. Poland declared it would accept injured protestors for medical care.<sup>22</sup>

A recorded phone call from January 28, 2014, between Victoria Nuland, US State Department Press-Secretary, and Geoffrey Pyatt, US Ambassador to Ukraine, was uploaded on YouTube. After discussing Ukrainian opposition figures, Victoria Nuland casually made an obscene reference to the European Union for its slow reaction to the situation in Ukraine.

**February 7, 2014:** The 2014 Sochi Olympic Games started; Victor Yanukovich attended its opening ceremony. An official delegation from Ukraine attended Obama's Prayer Breakfast in Washington.

**February 8, 2014:** A group of people looking like tramps and calling themselves "Kyiv residents" tried to dismantle the Maidan barricades in Kyiv.

**February 9, 2014:** Bernard-Henri Lévy, French public intellectual, spoke at the Maidan People's Council. The *Right Sector* group declared it would not keep the cease-fire agreement with the government.

**February 10, 2014:** Opposition leaders discussed the possibility of a vote in the Parliament to restore the 2004 Constitution of Ukraine, decreasing Presidential power.

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<sup>22</sup> "Польща взяла до себе на лікування 4 активістів Євромайдану." iPress.ua. February 6, 2014. Retrieved May 7, 2015.  
[http://ipress.ua/news/polshcha\\_vzjala\\_do\\_sebe\\_na\\_likuvannya\\_4\\_aktivistiv\\_yevromaydanu\\_44893.html](http://ipress.ua/news/polshcha_vzjala_do_sebe_na_likuvannya_4_aktivistiv_yevromaydanu_44893.html)

**February 11, 2014:** A cross erected in the memory of people who died at Hrushevsky street was removed. A group of women calling themselves “Soldiers’ Mothers” came to Hrushevsky street calling for a stop to the standoff. Protesters were being tried in the courts. The Maidan self-defence sent its units to hospitals to protect injured protestors from being kidnapped.<sup>23</sup>

**February 12, 2014:** Mykhailo Dobkin, Head of the Kharkiv RSA, organized a Federalization Round Table. Top political figures and former Presidents of Ukraine joined the talks. Arseniy Yatseniuk and Oleksander Turchinov were spray-painted brilliant green on the street in Kharkiv.

**February 13, 2014:** The EU discussed possible sanctions against top authorities of the Ukrainian Parliament and suggested inclusive dialogue among all sides.

**February 14, 2014:** The authorities agreed to repeal criminal convictions against Maidan activists in a month if the protestors dispersed. The *Right Sector* group agreed to vacate Hrushevsky street if Victor Yanukovych resigned. A statement calling for a peaceful resolution was issued by the leaders of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kyiv Patriarchate, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, and the Ukrainian Union of Churches of Christian Evangelical Pentecostal Faith. The Czech Republic declared it would accept injured protestors for medical care.<sup>24</sup>

**February 15, 2014:** The People’s Council decided to vacate the Kyiv Municipal State Administration building and unblock Hrushevsky street. A National Act of Freedom was discussed.

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<sup>23</sup> “Самооборона продовжує охорону майданівців у лікарні.” 24 канал. February 11, 2014. Retrieved May 7, 2015. [http://24tv.ua/ukrayina/samooborona\\_prodivzhuye\\_ohoronu\\_maydanivtsiv\\_u\\_likarni/n407820](http://24tv.ua/ukrayina/samooborona_prodivzhuye_ohoronu_maydanivtsiv_u_likarni/n407820);

“Самооборона організувала охорону майданівців, що зараз в лікарнях.” Zaxid.Net. February 11, 2014. Retrieved May 7, 2015.

[http://zaxid.net/news/showNews.do?samooborona\\_organizuvala\\_ohoronu\\_maydanivtsiv\\_shho\\_zaraz\\_v\\_likarnyah&objectId=81186](http://zaxid.net/news/showNews.do?samooborona_organizuvala_ohoronu_maydanivtsiv_shho_zaraz_v_likarnyah&objectId=81186)

<sup>24</sup> “Чехія готова приймати на лікування постраждалих майданівців.” iPress.ua. February 14, 2014. Retrieved May 7, 2015.

[http://ipress.ua/news/chehiya\\_gotova\\_pryymaty\\_na\\_likuvannya\\_postrazhdaloh\\_maydanivtsiv\\_46523.html](http://ipress.ua/news/chehiya_gotova_pryymaty_na_likuvannya_postrazhdaloh_maydanivtsiv_46523.html)

**February 16, 2014:** The “Law of Amnesty of Ukrainian Protestors” was to allow Maidan protesters arrested from December 27, 2013 to February 2, 2014 to be free from criminal liability and punishment. This law would become effective if certain conditions were fulfilled – vacating the seized administrative buildings, RSAs, self-government bodies and the Kyiv Municipal State Administration, and unblocking Hrushevsky street. Protesters started to release captured RSAs.

**February 17, 2014:** In the morning protesters left the Lviv, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk, and Poltava RSAs. The Ivano-Frankivsk RSA resumed operation while several dozen former occupiers remained posted on the square in front of the building.

Opposition leaders announced a “peaceful advance” to the Parliament on February 18, 2014, to demand voting for restoration of the 2004 Constitution that gave fewer powers for the President and more for the Parliament.

**February 18, 2014:** The worst clashes to date broke out after the Parliament did not accede to demands to vote for restoring the 2004 Constitution of Ukraine. Police and protesters fired guns, with both live and rubber ammunition, in multiple locations in Kyiv. The riot police and internal troops used flash-bang grenades and water jets. The riot police advanced towards Maidan later in the day and clashed with the protesters but did not fully occupy it. The Berkut occupied the October Palace and the Ukrainian House museum, which had been previously held by the protesters. Titushky took part in the clashes as well. The authorities completely stopped the Kyiv subway system for three days, for the first time in the history of its operation.

Protesters in Ivano-Frankivsk stormed the local Ministry of Internal Affairs and then took over the main office of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU). SBU staff refused to surrender the building, and rioters threw Molotov cocktails and rocks at the building. Protesters seized the RSA. In Ternopil, protesters seized the local Attorney General's office, and burned criminal case

files. Some interior troops left the government and sided with the people. Berkut officers stationed in Ternopil went to the side of the people, swearing an oath of allegiance on the Bible in front of several thousand people. Protesters seized the RSA. The mayor of Zhytomyr resigned from being a member of the Party of Regions. In Lviv, about ten thousand protesters seized the General Prosecutor's office, the local Ministry of Internal Affairs building, and the SBU building. Documents from the prosecutor's office were thrown out and burned. The Interior Ministry building was burned. Soldiers in the building were allowed to surrender unarmed.

**February 19, 2014:** Fighting on the Maidan continued for the entire day and night, causing a lot of casualties. The Berkut set the Building of Labour Association on fire. It had been used as a hospital and medical center by the protestors. The Berkut blocked the street against fire-fighting vehicles and the Building was burned. The police arrested injured protesters in hospitals and took them away. The Ministry of Health Care announced the death of 26 protestors in Kyiv.

In Kharkiv, pro-government assailants attempted to burn down the Svoboda opposition party building. Fights then broke out when activists allied with *Metalist Kharkiv* Soccer Club fans clashed with Interior Ministry and Berkut riot troops, as the *Metalists* tried to block the academy that trains interior troops. In Odessa, about a hundred unidentified men, wearing masks and helmets and armed with baseball bats, assaulted a pro-Maidan demonstration near the local RSA. In Dnipropetrovsk, a picket near the RSA took place. Dnipropetrovsk activists laid down on the railroad to prevent a train with military vehicles and paratroopers from being sent to Kyiv. In Chernihiv, thousands picketed the Interior Ministry building, an Interior Ministry representative there promised to have all local Berkut troops stationed in Kyiv recalled, and that no Chernihiv Interior Troops unit would be sent to Kyiv. In Kryvyi Rih, unknown people set fire to UDAR's opposition party offices and attempted to break in. A woman was shot dead and two men

received gunshot wounds in Khmelnytskyi when protesters stormed a local SBU office. Later protesters set the regional SBU building on fire with burning car tires, and seized the local RSA. In Chernivtsi, several thousand citizens stormed the local RSA, the local governor, Papiev, resigned from his post. In Lutsk, protesters captured the RSA, and the police joined the people. Protesters took the governor of Volyn region captive, forced him to ask forgiveness, and to resign. In Rivne, several thousand citizens rallied outside the Prosecutor's office, and seized the local RSA and the building of the regional Ministry of the Internal Affairs department; the head of the regional SBU promised to work with the people. *Right Sector* seized the Berkut base in Rivne. In Sumy, protesters in front of the local Ministry of Internal Affairs department demanded that the police administration resign. Protestors seized the building of the Party of Regions. In Vinnytsia, several thousand protesters stormed the regional Ministry of Internal Affairs department. In Uzhhorod, the RSA was stormed and seized after police vacated the area. In Poltava, a thousand protesters clashed with police outside the RSA, and barricaded the building to prevent it from functioning. The Lviv region declared political autonomy. The Executive Committee of the People's Council claimed control over the region. Weapons and ammunition were stolen from the SBU in Ivano-Frankivsk and Lviv. Protestors blocked the Korczowa border crossing into Poland.

**February 20, 2014:** The fights continued on the Kyiv Maidan, causing many casualties. Snipers were located on the roofs of buildings around the Maidan. Self-defence groups of the Maidan captured a group of snipers<sup>25</sup> but the latter escaped. Russian media released false information about protesters assaulting the Parliament. Vitaly Klytchko, Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Oleh Tiahnybok signed the “Agreement on Settlement of Political Crisis in Ukraine.” Ministers from

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<sup>25</sup> “В отеле "Украина" протестующие поймали снайперов.” Newline. February 20, 2014. Retrieved May 10, 2015. <http://www.newline.com.ua/accidents/v-otele-ukraina-takzhe-poymali-snayperov-20022014142800>

Germany, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, and Poland, Radoslaw Sikorski, and the Head of the Department for Continental Europe of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France, Eric Fournier, witnessed the signing. Vladimir Lukin, representing Russia, refused to put his signature to the Agreement. The Agreement proposed that the Parliament should vote on the 2004 Constitution in September 2014, and set extraordinary presidential elections in December 2014. The Head of the Kyiv Municipal State Administration, Volodymyr Makieienko, left the Party of Regions and reopened the Kyiv underground.

The Maidan medical service announced that 70 protestors had died in Kyiv during the past two days.

In the Cherkasy region, several hundred residents of the town of Mankivka and city of Uman set up a checkpoint on the highway from Odessa to Kyiv, near the village Podibna. A mob attacked a bus carrying Interior troops, smashed its windows and slashed its tires. Protestors seized the soldiers' ammunition and weapons, and sent them back to Uman on another bus. Later the locals seized another bus full of titushky on route from the Crimea, captured them and set the bus on fire. SBU officers witnessed the burning of documents outside the SBU headquarters in Cherkasy. Protesters and the police in Poltava ended their standoff, reaching an agreement that the RSA would be blockaded and police would be allowed to get inside and to prevent clashes while shutting down the building. The head of the SBU in Khmelnytsky region resigned after the deaths occurred; he was arrested and taken to a military detention center for questioning. In Lutsk, the police and Internal troops went over to the side of the protestors. Berkut were recalled from Kyiv back to the Volyn region. *Right Sector* group members and self-defence units seized ammunition and supplies from the Internal Troops base in Lutsk, who surrendered voluntarily. In Zhytomyr, the governor left the Party of Regions, and the RSA remained occupied by members



of the *Right Sector*. In Vinnytsia, protesters seized the Communist and Party of Regions buildings. In Uzhhorod, the SBU and Berkut went over to the protesters, and the police vowed not to follow orders. The Regional Council dissolved the local branch of the Party of Regions. Rallies continued in Sumy, demanding that security forces withdraw from Kyiv; opposition representatives entered the RSA for negotiations. In Lviv, police and SBU converted to the side of the protesters and the People's Council. An explosion occurred at a Berkut barracks; two officers died in the fire. Lviv banned wearing masks and balaclavas in public places.

**February 21, 2014:** Opposition leaders were hissed while trying to elaborate the details of an Agreement negotiated and signed with the government on February 20. On the night of February 21, protestors announced they would begin an armed conflict, in spite of the Agreement signed if Yanukovich did not resign by 10:00 am the next day. The riot police left the Maidan. Yanukovich and many other high government officials went missing. A new wave of demolition of Lenin's monuments started, mainly in the eastern and southern regions of Ukraine.

Authorities in eastern and southern regions of Ukraine began preparations for possible assaults on RSA buildings. Odessa RSA remained barricaded and fortified with concrete, the Dnipropetrovsk RSA – with barbed wire, Donetsk RSA – with metal doors, and Kyrovohrad RSA – with sandbags.

**February 22, 2014:** The Parliament elected a new speaker, voted to remove Victor Yanukovich from the position of President and to release Yulia Tymoshenko from imprisonment. Protesters gained control over the presidential administration and Yanukovich's residence, Mezhyhirya, and opened it for visitors. Yulia Tymoshenko gave a talk on the Maidan in the evening. 101 protestors had been shot dead during these days.

The governors of Mykolayiv and Chernihiv resigned. The governor of Vinnytsia left the Party of Regions. The governor of Kharkiv fled after being charged with separatism by the SBU; protestors occupied the Kharkiv RSA.

**February 23, 2014:** The Parliament canceled the Law "About the Basis of the State Language Policy" adopted August 10, 2012, and gave the Russian language a status equal to other minority languages in Ukraine. A meeting to mourn the dead Maidan activists in Kharkiv turned into clashes between Maidan and pro-Russian sides. The latter came with flags of the USSR and the Russian Federation. Several thousand protestors occupied the Zaporizhia RSA. The governor of Vinnytsia resigned from his post.

**February 24, 2014:** A gathering on the Maidan started discussion about candidates to the new Cabinet. The new locum of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchy was elected with Metropolitan Onufriy acting on behalf of Metropolitan Volodymyr, who was ill. The governor of Volyn region resigned. The Kharkiv RSA was blockaded. The governor of Sumy resigned. The governor of Kyiv region resigned. Cherkasy Regional Council announced an extraordinary session to dismiss the RSA executive.

**February 25, 2014:** Discussion of new Cabinet continued. The governor of Cherkasy resigned. The Acting Minister of Interior Affairs of Ukraine, Arsen Avakov, signed a decree that dissolved the Berkut.

**February 26, 2014:** The new Cabinet candidates were proposed by a vote in Parliament. Military people without insignia assembled at numerous gatherings in front of the Crimean Parliament building. Civic bilingual action included activists in western regions deciding to speak Russian for a period, and residents from eastern and southern regions – to speak

Ukrainian. The flag of the Russian Federation was raised on the top of the Kharkiv RSA. The governor of Kharkiv, Mykhailo Dobkin, resigned.

**February 27, 2014:** Parliament voted to accept the new Cabinet. Armed men seized the Crimean Parliament on the night of February 27 and raised the flag of the Russian Federation. Roads between Crimea and the Kherson region were blocked on the isthmus of Perekop and the Chonhar Peninsula. The editor-in-chief of *Ekho Moskvy* [Echo of Moscow] radio, Aleksei Venediktov, announced Victor Yanukovich's press conference on February 28, in Rostov-na-Donu, in the Russian Federation.

**February 28, 2014:** Victor Yanukovich gave his press conference. He declared himself the legitimate President of Ukraine and appealed to Vladimir Putin to intervene in the situation in Ukraine. The Crimean Parliament appointed Sergei Aksionov as Prime Minister of Crimea.

In this chapter, I presented a day-by-day detailed review of the protest. My corpus consists of Facebook posts within the same timeframe, January 19 – February 28, 2014. I will use this historical information as a basis upon which to comment on the timing and the frequency of categories and topics in the Facebook entries in Chapter II below. References to particular events are also found in Chapters III, IV, and V.

## **Chapter II. Methodology.**

Each text in my collection was given a specific code. I assigned the posts for each day to specific cells in a table according to 5 categories and 16 topics. Table 1 in Appendix 1, is an example of one day, February 17, 2014. Table 2 in Appendix 1, an extraction from Table 1, highlights the topic *Top Authorities* and subcategory *Jokes* in the category *Humor*. The full texts of each Facebook post for any given day, with their assigned codes, are saved in one file titled with the date. Examples of texts in Appendix 2 refer to those highlighted in Appendix 1, Table 2. To assist in counting the data, I created a second set of tables echoing the example in Appendix 1, but presenting simply the number of posts in each cell. Tables 3-5 in Appendix 3 present this summary data for February 9, 17 and 22 respectively. Then I added up the data for all days within the defined period to get the percentage rates and frequency for each topic and category, the summary is in Appendix 4. A summary of findings for each category and topic is provided in this chapter below.

### **1. Codes for Each Post:**

I codified all texts of the collection to protect the authors' anonymity and to facilitate easier reference to a particular text before sorting in into one main category and one main topic. A standard code of a post looks like the following examples: 1-A001-U-Or-Com+R, 5-A004-R-Rep, 42-A032-U/G-Or, 25-A107-U/R-Rep/Com, 30-A097-Surzh/U-Rep/Com, or 49-A1398-U-Or. Dashes separate the four necessary elements of the code and a fifth, optional one. The first figure is the sequential number of each post collected on a particular day. The second part of the code is "A" for author and a number corresponding to a particular author's assigned number for the collection. An author may be either an individual or a group account on Facebook. Individual authors are diverse; they are public and opposition political leaders, scholars, educators, writers,

journalists, photographers, artists, priests, students, business representatives, workers, freelance specialists, and individuals whose occupation is unknown to me. They are of diverse ages, genders, and ethnic origins. Authors were located in different regions of Ukraine, some of them – even in different countries. Many of them resided in Kyiv, Kharkiv and Lviv. A group account is a particular community created to promote the Maidan activities. The third part of the code is the language of a particular post: U for Ukrainian, R – for Russian, G – for German, Eng – for English, and Surzh – for Surzhik (a mixed or macaronic sociolect of Ukrainian and Russian languages), etc. The most common languages in my collection are Ukrainian and Russian. There are a number of posts in English. Some authors use Surzhik, and I code it as their second language within one post. A small number of posts are in German, French, Polish, Latin, Georgian, Yiddish or Crimean Tatar. Slashes point to the use of more than one language in a post. I did not analyze the pattern of this part of the code, but I expect interesting observations can be made in future studies.

The fourth part of a code includes “Or” – for an original text written by an author, or “Rep” – for a text reposted from another author. This part may include “Rep/Com” if an author added one’s comment to reposted text as one message. This part would allow study of modifications, since folklorists are often interested in variation.

The fifth part “Com” after an additional dash shows that a post has comments from other people. If commentators wrote in a language different from the original post I added “+” and a letter for the language as in the third part. I focused on an author’s primary post to identify its category and topic; comments were not included in this identification but mentioned only in codes as an additional component for potential analysis.

## 2. Categories and Subcategories:

The categories I have created correspond with the main response of a particular author to an event, i.e. telling one's own eyewitness story or a story about a third person; reacting emotionally; trying to initiate an action or to respond to others' initiatives; or reflecting on the events. Initially I created four categories: *Humor*, *Storytelling*, *Coordination Comments*, and *Reflections* to sort out the collected material. I will explore the first two categories, *Humor* and *Storytelling*, in greater detail in Chapters III and IV. While creating subcategories, I found the category *Reflections* had to be re-organized. Initially, I had created the category *Reflections* to collect the remainder of the posts (which I was not going to use for a detailed analysis). It was to play a secondary role as I was sorting the items. However, going through the body of texts I found a wide spectrum of emotions, clearly different than the other reflections and factual discussion, and occurring in different proportions depending on the day and each particular event that had occurred. Those texts differed greatly from rational and logical reflections and gave a different picture of the day. Thus, the category of *Emotions* was extracted from the *Reflections* category.

*Humor* includes five subcategories: (1) irony, (2) references to fiction, fairy tales, movies or songs, (3) jokes, (4) satirical poetry, and (5) allegory. These subcategories have somewhat fuzzy distinctions from one another. They all are traditional types of protest lore, resisting and confronting the authoritative and repressive power in figurative ways. Many posts are very expressive; the types of humor are very diverse. Some texts are between humor and allegorical narration, but for the purpose of short definition, I called the category *Humor* according to the most frequent type of texts included. Irony includes a spectrum of critical jokes ranging from a slight ironical tone to sarcastic and grotesque laughs. Jokes and anecdotes often include a bitter

smile and “laughter through tears.” Subcategories 1 and 3 most often refer to Bakhtin’s concept of carnivalesque culture<sup>1</sup> rooted to medieval traditions and old non-classified folklore forms, and Yurchak’s concepts of “necroaesthetics,” “stiob” and “anekdotes,”<sup>2</sup> developed in late socialism in the former USSR, that related to a specific mode of relation between the government and society. The texts of the second category explicitly mention particular literary works to which they referred. Allegory usually makes reference to literary genres, but I separate it from the second subcategory because the authors tried to create their own text and plot that may be reminiscent of an existing literary work, but was a substantially new writing. All allegories can serve as examples of extended metaphors. Satirical poetry has the same distinction from the second subcategory as allegory, a newly created writing. The only difference between satirical poetry and allegory is that the latter is not always satirical.

**Storytelling** includes subcategories of (1) eyewitness stories and (2) stories about third persons participating in the events. Many texts of this category were narrated the same day as the event had occurred. Their authors, as a rule, took part or witnessed the events. Sometimes authors wrote a day or several days later. Some posts are the stories about people an author knew or had met. Authors or characters of these stories are usually not public figures, but participants in the protests. A story usually contains a description of something that happened to the author or to the character in the story. The author, as a rule, states the exact location and time of the event. This type of lore was quite widespread during the protests. A well known example of short stories about Maidan participants is the project “Слюди – Maidaners” [There are people - Maidaners] by Khrystyna Berdinskikh, initiated on Facebook and quickly gaining several thousand “likes”

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<sup>1</sup> Bakhtin, Mikhail. 2011 [1981]. “Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel.” In *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 84-258.

<sup>2</sup> Yurchak, Alexei. 2006. “Dead Irony.” *Everything was forever, until it was no more: the last Soviet generation*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. 239-281.

and “shares.”<sup>3</sup> While attending Kyiv in January 2015, I visited an exhibit named *The Creativity of Freedom*, displaying items related to the protests created during and after the events. I found 52 new books there, published after the winter of 2013-2014 that had either Facebook posts collected and published as a book edition, or narratives from the participants of the events or about the participants; some of the books were dedicated to the memory of the deceased protesters.

**Coordination Comments** have three subcategories: (1) call for action, (2) emotional appeal, and (3) public or personal statement. This category contains appeals and calls to action. In the first subcategory, the call is very concrete, when a person is very clear about an item or kind of support needed. Usually an author informs to the purpose of an action, the required number of items, or to the approximate amount of work to be done, and gives the concrete location where to come or to bring required items. The emotional appeal has less clarity but contains a general plea not to be indifferent but to engage in one or another activity, or to initiate an action according to one’s own view of the situation. It has a purpose to mobilize other people to action or to share the appeal. The third subcategory has no appeal to third persons but gives an explicit insight about an author’s intentions as an individual (more often) or as a group (rarely). An author does not require others’ engagement, but can accept it or can engage with others’ activity in case their declared intentions coincide.

**Reflections** include four subcategories: (1) factual description, (2) juxtaposition with other historical events, (3) reflections about un-involved known public figures or literary works, and (4) links to external sources. Factual description includes both stating a particular fact and analysis of the events with different duration, from one day to several months or years, as a

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<sup>3</sup> Бердинських, Крістіна. 2014. *Єлюди. Теплі історії з Майдану*. Київ: Брайт Стар Паблішинг.



conclusion or a prognosis for further unfolding. It differs from *Storytelling* in that the author does not give explicit or implicit information about being an eyewitness to an event or knowing someone in person, and the depicted fact has no particular personal connection to the author. The second subcategory traces how an author's view of a particular event connects with the consequences or outcomes of a known historical event. An author, as a rule, explicitly identifies events from the past and makes reference to the time and the place. The third category has something in common with the second, but focuses on personalities rather than a period or applied practice. The second and third subcategories may relate to the same historical period, but the latter names a person, sometimes with a direct quotation, or the title of a literary work and its author. The difference between the third subcategory of *Reflections* and the second subcategory of *Humor* is its emotional tone; the former has no joke, irony, or any type of humor. The fourth subcategory here is usually a link to information, an article, a video, etc. without interpretation of the author.

**Emotions** have three subcategories: (1) prayers, (2) emotional assessment, and (3) poetry. This category is a reflection of different types of emotions except for humor. The second subcategory is pure expression with a variety of tones and modes, the first and the third have a certain literary form. Both prayers and poetry are either newly created texts as a response to a particular situation, or repeating a known text but without any interpretation of the author.

My later analysis is focused on the posts allocated among the five categories and does not reflect distinctions among the subcategories, except for a selected few. In those cases, the analysis traces the content of subcategories in relation to the topics, types and their functions within a selected category.

I allocated the topics of the posts in the same sequence I found them in one or another post in my data. The topics had to be consistent at least for several days, but usually weeks, in order to trace their dynamic during the period.

### **3. Topics:**

***Yanukovych*** – Victor Yanukovych, then-president of Ukraine, was often the subject of posts: facts, analyses, jokes, and exclamations. Facebook authors considered him as the top official responsible for the situation in the country; he was present in the texts quite often. These texts included personal references to Victor Yanukovych, his family and his property.

***Laws from January 16, 2014*** – a set of laws adopted by the Parliament of Ukraine: Many types of protest activities were banned as extremism. (They were passed in violation of the existing procedures: the MPs voted with their hands but not through the electronic parliamentary legislature system). These laws actually provoked a heated battle between the protestors, on one side, and the riot police plus internal troops blocking the entrance to the government quarter, on the other side.

***Hrushevsky / Bank / Instytut str.*** – locations of the heated battles. The names of the streets are used as a collective violent “frontline” of the protestors in opposition to the peaceful “home front” on the square, Maidan Nezalezhnosti.

***Situation on the Maidan*** – has both direct and implicit meaning. This topic includes posts related to the occurrence at a specific location, the main square of Kyiv, Maidan Nezalezhnosti, as the center of the protest. At the same time, the topic includes descriptions of the situation anywhere in Kyiv, as well as in other regions, in relation to the protests. In this case, *Maidan* is used figuratively as the name of the political movement. The majority of protesters supported this implication. A number of posts in my collection contain discussions about the perception of

the *Maidan*, a term that started as a specific location and turned into a vision able to work even after people dispersed from the square.

***Persecutions of Civilians*** – after the Laws from January 16, 2014, came into force, numerous trials against *Maidan* activists and supporters started in different regions of Ukraine. Authors discuss the cases of public and private individuals, people they know personally or not. Some people had been kidnapped from streets and hospitals, arrested during clashes with riot police and internal troops, injured, tortured, mobbed, or their property damaged.

***Top Authorities*** – comments about all top officials, including parliamentarians and the Cabinet members, regional governors and mayors, Kyiv Municipal top administrators, political party leaders, both pro-president and opposition, are included in the topic. Protesters often considered leaders of opposition parties as a third side during the active phase of the Maidan, neither protestors nor government but rather as communicators between the two conflicting sides. After the formation of the new Cabinet at the end of February 2014, the opposition leaders became perceived as the government. Among pro-Yanukovich political personalities, the focus was on different individuals depending on the current agenda of a particular day. When Victor Yanukovich was mentioned in connection to the names of other top authorities, I included the posts to this topic. I initially created a topic named ***Boycott of “Party of Regions” Products***, but later merged it with this one, because it was an action against pro-Yanukovich authorities, quite long in duration, but without long discussion.

***Titushky / Berkut / Antimaidan / Internal Troops*** – This topic deals with the main figures physically opposed to the protestors. *Titushky* – is the collective name of street hooligans whose purpose was to perform illegal acts such as beating, carjacking, and kidnapping; they were under protection of *Berkut* and authorities. They got the name after Vadym Titushko, who, together

with two other men, had attacked journalists of the 5<sup>th</sup> TV Channel on May 18, 2013. (During the protests, Vadym Titushko declared his anti-government position and supported the Maidan.) The name also refers to the word “tushky” [literally “trunks”] used in reference to parliamentarians who changed their Party affiliation for money. *Berkut* is the name of a special formation of riot police enacted 1992-2014. The literal translation of the name *Berkut* is golden eagle; this symbolic implication of power turned into the subject of sarcastic jokes during the protests. In general, prior to 2014, Ukrainian police were not trusted nor had confidence among the citizens, but were regarded as corrupt, ignorant, and indifferent, perhaps violent. One can assume that police could be less than polite in a close encounter, and any contact should be avoided by whatever possible means. *Anti-Maidan* – is a gathering in support of Victor Yanukovych’ policy. *Maidan* supporters regarded it as paid and organized by the government. The gathering was less numerous, its supporters did not stay in place for the duration of the protests. It was located in *Mariinsky Park*, located somewhat between the Maidan’s fiercest barricades and the government quarter. It might have played a role as a third row of protection for governmental buildings. *Internal Troops* were permanently located in front of the protesters’ barricades and were involved in fiercest of clashes. *Berkut* were located in the second row, equipped better than internal troops, and changing their position more frequently.

***Priests / Church / Religion*** – priests of different Christian denominations were active in the protests. Several representatives of the episcopacy of Ukrainian Orthodox Church subordinated to the Moscow Patriarchy publicly supported Victor Yanukovych. Maidan had a tent chapel for religious ceremonies used by many denominations. At night the “Our Father” prayer was read hourly from the central stage of the Maidan. During clashes on Hrushevsky str. January 22-23, 2014, three monks famously entered the neutral zone between the protesters and the internal

troops. Several books about the role of religion on the Maidan were published shortly after the protests.<sup>4</sup>

***Europe / West / World*** – from the very beginning, the protests aspired toward democratic values and foresaw its implication in the Association Agreement with the European Union. The topic of “the West” did not disappear after Maidan’s focus later shifted to internal affairs. The topic included monitoring world reactions to the Ukrainian events, reactions and responses of the top world leaders, and actions of expatriate Ukrainians in support of the protests.

***Dead on the Maidan*** – I designated this topic as separate from the more general topic, ***Situation on the Maidan***, for further analysis of texts concerning the protestors who were killed during the protests. Most casualties occurred in Kyiv January 22 and February 18-20, 2014.

***Ethnic / Language / Regional Issues*** – the bilingualism and poly-ethnicity of the Maidan in Facebook posts, from one side, and pro-governmental and Russian media discourse about prevailing ultra-right Ukrainian nationalists leading the protest, from the other side, stimulated much discussion. Regional issues mainly concerned the third side of Ukrainian citizens, who supported neither the Maidan nor the government and Yanukovich. Additionally, the topic includes discussion of the cliché of East-West contrast in Ukraine, or particular regions concerning the protests but not clearly in support or in the opposition to the Maidan. The topic also includes relationships among Ukrainians and Russians, other than those representing the policy and the government of the Russian Federation.

***Threat of Russian Complicity / Invasion*** – at different stages of the protests, many rumors, expectations, fears, then proofs of the direct complicity of the Russian Federation in the

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<sup>4</sup> Филипович, Людмила, Горкуша, Оксана, Титаренко, Віта. 2015. *Майдан і Церква. Хроніка подій та експертна оцінка*. Київ: Саммит-книга; Димид, Михайло, Димид, Климентія. 2014. *Каміння Майдану*. Львів: Свічадо.

Ukrainian situation were evoked. Initially as a potential threat, later it became an actual open military invasion. I initially set up a separate topic called *Russian Authorities*, but later merged it with this, because references to Vladimir Putin and other Russian authorities was connected to the interference of actors holding governmental positions in Ukrainian affairs.

*Facebook / Social Media* – having written about the events that took place in the country, some authors also reflected about engagement and communication of protesters through virtual means, and the role of social media in general, and Facebook in particular. It was a minor discussion, but due to the overall relevance to my project, I found it warranted its own topic.

*Crimea* – by the end of the protests on the Maidan, clear signs of possible military action in Crimea appeared. It sprang up relatively quickly but I found Crimea sufficiently significant to be its own topic. It includes information not only about the military presence, but also about the reaction of locals and narratives about the Crimean Tatar community. I included in this topic posts with explicit information about specific locations of particular events. I did not merge the topic with *Ethnic / Language / Regional issues* because the former became more active by the end of the protests. I kept the topics separate, reasoning that by the end of February 2014, Crimea and other regions of Ukraine had different agendas.

*Leninopad* – literally means “Lenin’s fall” as an allusion to “snowfall,” “waterfall” or “falling leaves.” It is a collective term used to describe the demolition of Lenin monuments across Ukraine. It was a symbolic diminution of actual authoritarian power, and rejection of the Soviet past. It was also a sign of the potential fight against Russian influence in various regions, as it was a sensitive issue in the Russian media. The demolition of the Lenin monument in Kyiv on December 8, 2013, triggered the process. The Leninopad had two active waves: the first wave started in the western and the central regions after December 8 and continued to the east; the

second wave coincided with protesters' seizing Regional State Administration (RSA) buildings in the eastern and the southern regions, and the Russian invasion Crimea.

***2014 Sochi Olympic Games*** – the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympic Games took place during the protests in Ukraine. The games were actively discussed in the context of possible Russian invasion, based on Victor Yanukovich's participation in the opening ceremony, and a comparison of the Ukrainian events with the Russian-Georgian war that started in August 2008, on the opening day of 2008 Beijing Summer Olympic Games. I did not merge the topic with ***Threat of Russian Complicacy / Invasion*** because it contained posts focused exclusively on the Games and did not always refer to the topic of an invasion, even implicitly.

I distributed each post of the collection into one subcategory and one topic respectively, in order for the total sum of all posts per day to equal 100%. I did not find it necessary to develop a more nuanced and complex classification/coding system to identify significant patterns in this corpus of Facebook posts. As a cultural insider I am quite confident in my understanding of the authors' intent in delivering their particular message to others. I assume that another researcher may assign the topics in a slightly different way, but categories will be assigned in a similar way. This is an effort to give a picture of the reflections and perceptions of the events, both from the authors' views and my own view as an engaged researcher.

Sometimes it was difficult to make an assignment to one category, as an author may give his/her reflections on an event ironically, adding one's personal observations, after being at a certain location on the Maidan, and exclaiming about new action needed. In this case, I tried to trace my own first reaction to reading the text to figure out the main purpose of a text. I chose among the following: (1) to say that I agreed or disagreed with the idea; (2) to sigh or smile and say to myself that I shared or did not share this reaction; (3) to think to whom could I send this message

as my contribution to the action; (4) or to say that it was an amazing / striking / interesting story to hear. In one instance, an author clearly related two main news stories related to two completely different topics. In this case, I doubled the post (in the same category but for two topics) assigning each 0.5 to retain a total of 100% of all posts within the day. That was the only case.

#### **4. Coding Summary**

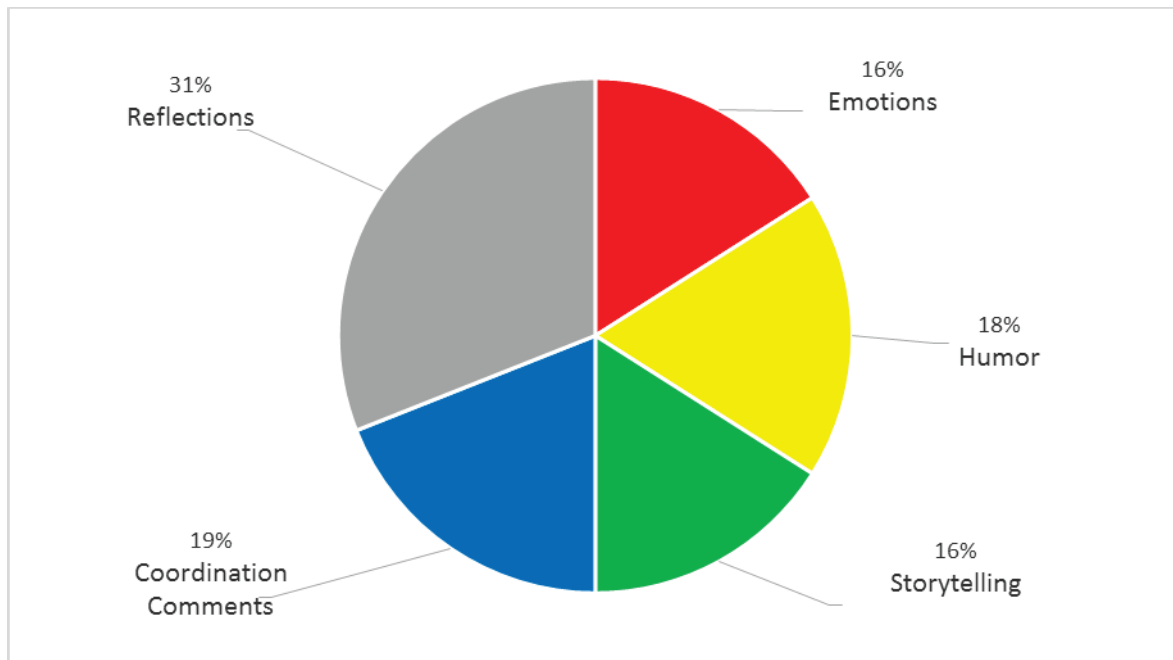
The approach of sorting the items into categories and themes allows me to give a brief overview of the main tendencies I found working with the database. Seven main points have been reviewed:

- a. Basic categories;
- b. Frequency of topics;
- c. Consistently active / episodic topics;
- d. Selected issue for a particular topic;
- e. Dynamics of the topics referring to the opposing sides;
- f. Categories used for describing the opposing sides, and their correlation to traumatic / peaceful days;
- g. Selected combinations of subcategories and specific topics.

- a. Basic categories

In total there are 8905 posts split into five categories: *Storytelling*, *Humor*, *Coordination Comments*, *Reflections*, and *Emotions*, according to the aforementioned description. Chart 1 shows the overall distribution of posts among the categories.





*Chart 1. Five categories of the analysis*

The categories are not equally distributed; they vary according to the intensity of events on a particular day, and each category has its own dynamic, as reflected in Chart 2. For example, on the most dramatic days when many protestors were killed on the Maidan, *Storytelling* posts were at their highest frequency. The intensity of *Storytelling* reflects the occurrence of the events themselves rather than the number of deceased. The first deaths of protestors on January 22 provoked a very strong reaction through telling stories. The intense days of February 18-20 have quite similar responses in the first two days. *Storytelling* content decreased significantly on the third day, February 20, despite the fact that it was the day on which the highest number of casualties was recorded. That might be another type of reaction for dramatic events. The frequency of posts in the *Humor* category has an opposite dynamic. Humorous posts are not normally written at moments of escalation, but increase on relatively peaceful days.

In general, all categories reflect the common human reactions that a participant could observe on site and verbally in communal discussions about events as they occurred on a particular day. In this regard, the Facebook posts are closely related to oral communication.

All further charts have markers of the key events in this period: the first escalation, the January 16 laws coming into force, the first deaths among the protestors, escalations in the regions, the second escalation of violence, Yanukovich’s escape, and Yanukovich’s press conference in Russia.

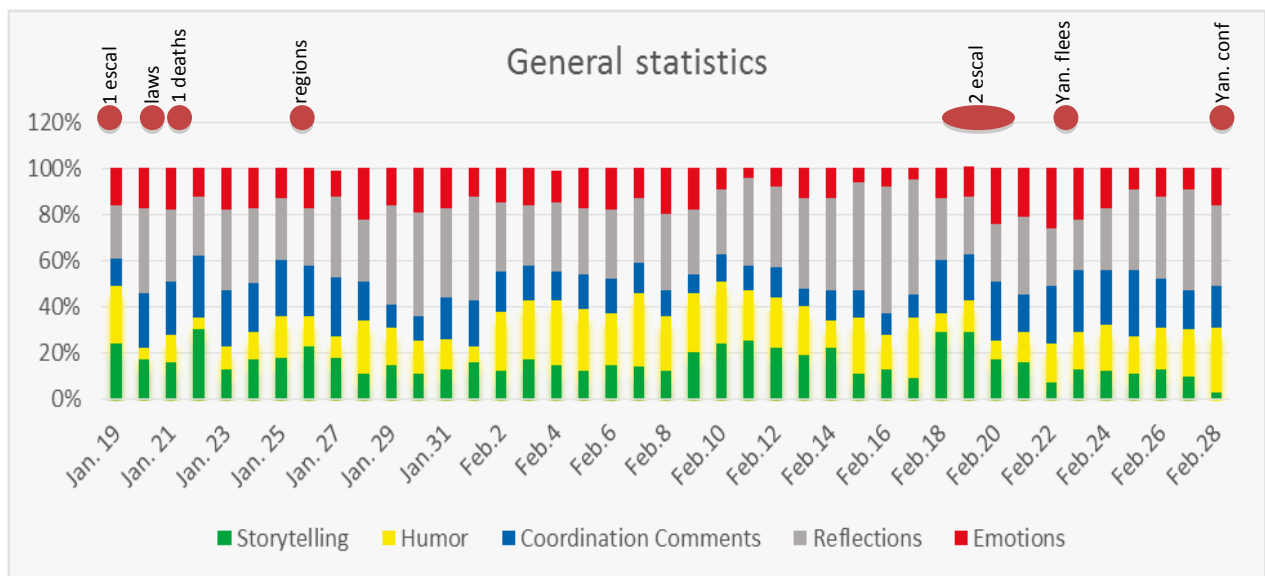


Chart 2. Frequency of use of the Categories over time

b. Frequency of topics

As mentioned above, I also classified the collected Facebook posts into 16 topics. Table 1 and Chart 3 show the frequency of each topic mentioned in the posts.

#	Title	Total number of posts	%
1	Situation on the Maidan	2907	32.6%
2	Hrushevsky/Bank/Institute streets	352	4%
3	Persecution of civilians	413	4.6%
4	Yanukovich	551.5	6.2%
5	Top Authorities	1756	19.7%

6	Titusky / Berkut / Anti-Maidan / Internal troops	603	6.8%
7	Laws from January 16, 2014	28	0.3%
8	Priests / Church / Religion	332	3.7%
9	Europe / West / World	494	5.5%
10	Dead on the Maidan	375	4.2%
11	Ethnic / Language / Regional issues	458	5.1%
12	Threat of Russian Complicity / Invasion	329	3.7%
13	FB / Social Media	54	0.6%
14	Crimea	143	1.6%
15	Leninopad	62.5	0.7%
16	2014 Sochi Olympic Games	47	0.5%

Table 1. Frequency of Topics

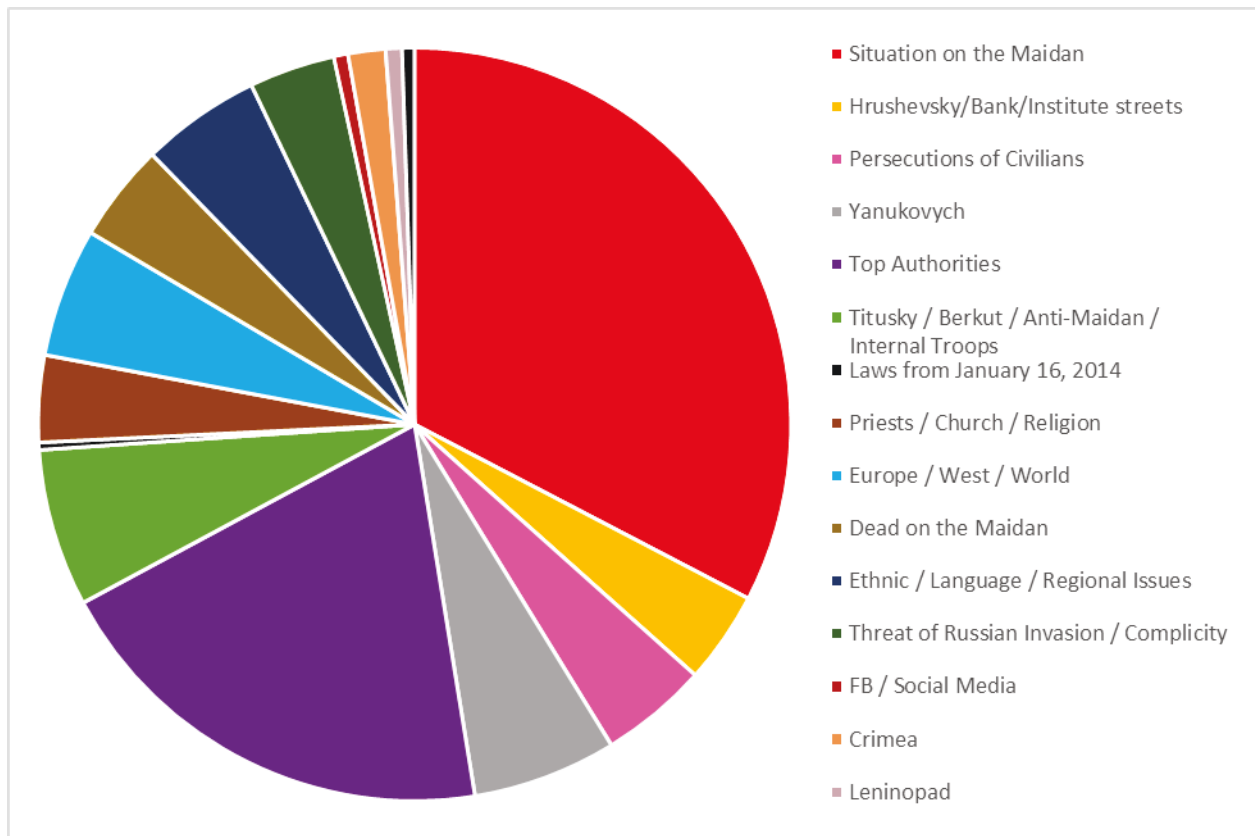


Chart 3. Frequency of Topics

It is evident that the *Situation on the Maidan* is the most frequent topic of discussion, having both a direct and an implicit meaning as the central event of that time; it also partially reflects my selection process in compiling the corpus. Overall, more than 30% of the posts deal with this

topic alone, and, on some days, it represents more than 60%. It includes descriptions of the events on the Maidan square, at other locales in the city of Kyiv, and in other regions of Ukraine linked to the protests, as mentioned in Chapter I. The topic of the *Laws* adopted by the Parliament on January 16, 2014, having served as a trigger for the confrontation, is the smallest topic on these Facebook posts, with a value of only 0.3%. Facebook users mentioned the new laws in their texts only at the beginning of this provocation. The second largest topic deals with the Facebookers' view of the *Top Authorities* as the main antagonists. *Yanukovych*, as the highest authority, is allocated a separate topic, for the purpose of monitoring its own dynamic. The topic of *Top Authorities* combined with the topics *Yanukovych* and *Titushky / Berkut / Anti-Maidan / Internal Troops* total almost as many as those posts dealing with the *Situation on the Maidan* itself. These topics reflect the two main opposing forces in the perceptions of the Facebook authors in my corpus, and I will consider this opposition later as two opposing sides. The other topics provide additional nuances about the confrontations.

c. Consistently active / episodic topics

I selected some of the 16 topics and grouped them into two patterns, representing different dynamics of the discussion during the chosen period. Some topics occur consistently (remain active throughout the period studied), while others are episodic (occurring with an intense “spike” on some days, but much quieter at other times). The first pattern is illustrated with a topic that persisted throughout the 40 days of my data collection, the *Situation on the Maidan* (the most active topic), shown in Chart 4.

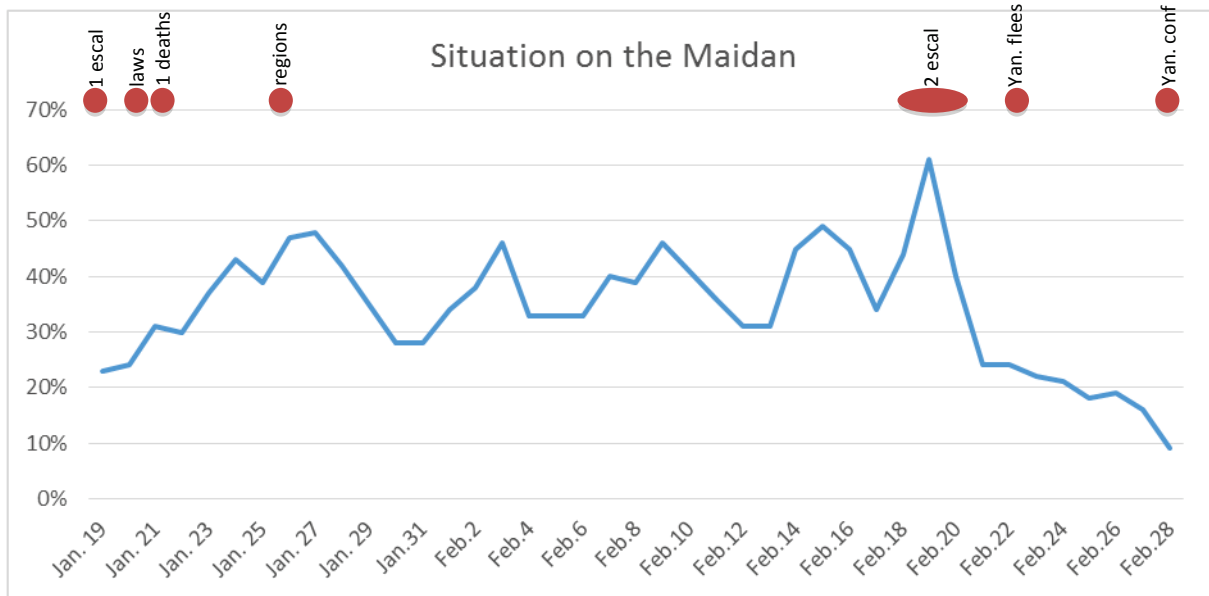


Chart 4. Example of consistent topic

The second pattern is presented on the example of an episodic topic, the start of the 2014 Sochi Olympic games, as shown in Chart 5.

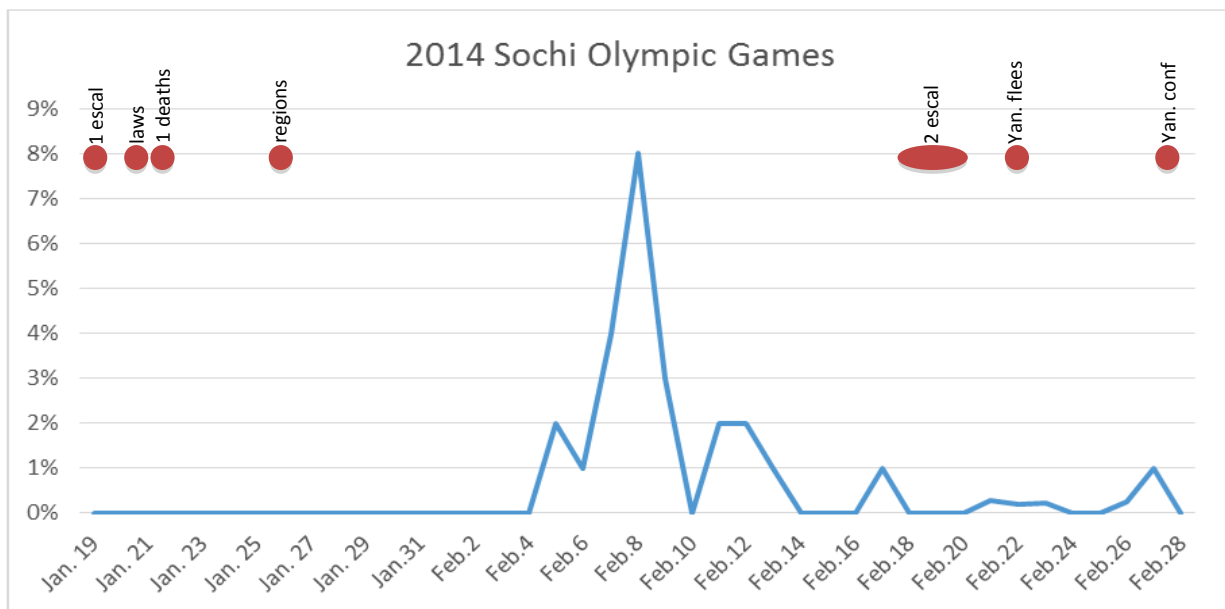


Chart 5. Example of episodic topic

d. Selected issue for a particular topic;

A topic is normally a collection of posts commenting on the same theme, connected to a particular event. I present a pattern related to topic formation on examples of the selected topic, *Europe / West / World*. For example, Chart 6 illustrates a situation as it relates to a telephone call between Victoria Nuland, US State Department Press-Secretary, and Geoffrey Pyatt, US Ambassador to Ukraine, posted to YouTube. Facebook users actively discussed Victoria Nuland's obscene reference to the European Union for its slow reaction to the situation in Ukraine. The graph concerning the leaked conversation (a sub-topic in our corpus) reveals the greatest number of posts on the day the phone call audio was uploaded; this coincides with the peak in the graph for the whole topic. This gives an indication of the wishes of this population of Facebook authors regarding reactions of Western countries toward the Ukrainian protests.

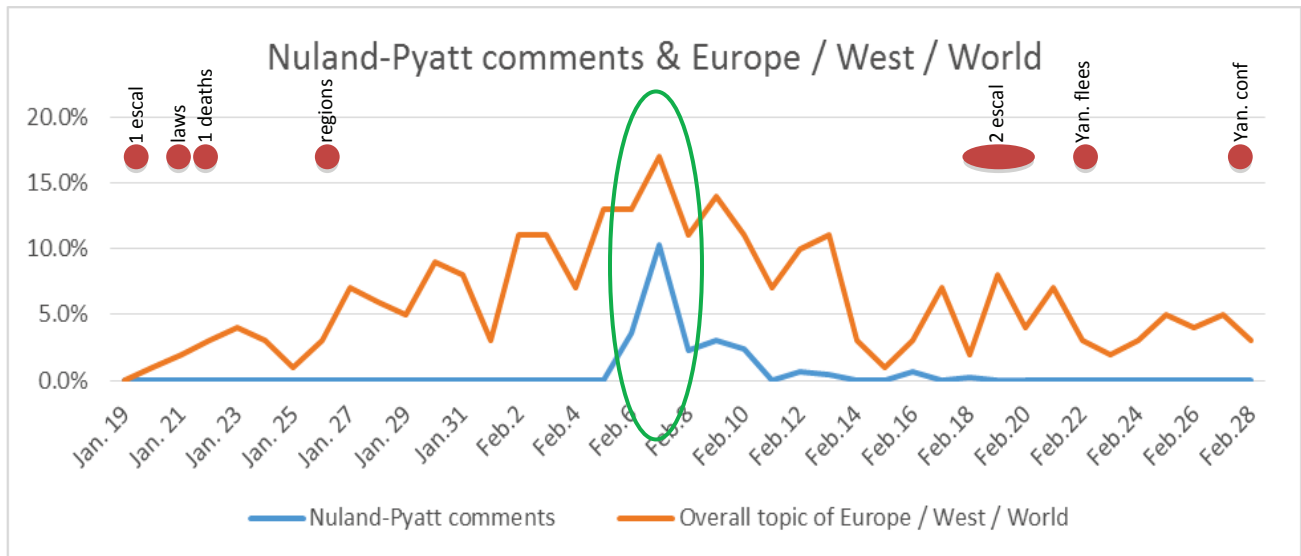


Chart 6. Nuland-Pyatt comments & overall frequency of posts concerning the West's reaction to the Ukrainian protests

e. Dynamics of the topics referring to the opposing sides;

Here I would like to focus on distinctions and similarities in the graph lines associated with topics concerning the opposing sides, protestors versus authorities. The frequency of posts may

rise or fall independently, they may rise and fall in opposition to each other, or they may rise and fall in synchrony at other points.

Chart 7 serves as an illustration. The frequency of posts for *Maidan* and *Top Authorities* create an opposing pattern in several periods: on January 19-24 (all attention to the escalation and casualties among protestors, much less attention to authorities), February 2-3 (the number of missing protestors are announced, and a Yanukovych's party member speaks on the Maidan stage – choosing between the two topics I included it to *Maidan*), February 6-9 (explosion at the Maidan medical center, anti-Maidan activists tried to dismantle the Maidan's barricades, and a large Sunday gathering on the Maidan which included international public figures; authorities later get attention for a delegation of Ukrainian officials sent to Washington), and February 15-23 (discussion of various statements and suggestions during peaceful days and the second escalation on the Maidan; fleeing authorities get attention at the end for their responsibility of casualties).

The blue and orange lines move similarly (with several days' delay for *Top Authorities*) because other topics become important, as illustrated by the examples of January 26-27 (escalations in the regions and seizure of local administrations, Cabinet approval of a significant enlargement of the Berkut force), January 28-29 (new Prime Minister appointed, new "Amnesty Law" adopted), February 4-6 (relatively peaceful situation on the Maidan, former "anti-European" Prime Minister moves to Austria, potential sanctions against authorities by Germany, opposition leaders negotiate with EU officials), February 10-11 (an incident at Hrushevsky street, trials against protestors who required medical assistance), and February 24-28 (the topic concerning the situation on the Maidan fades, the new government not-opposed to the Maidan is formed and that topic too fades).

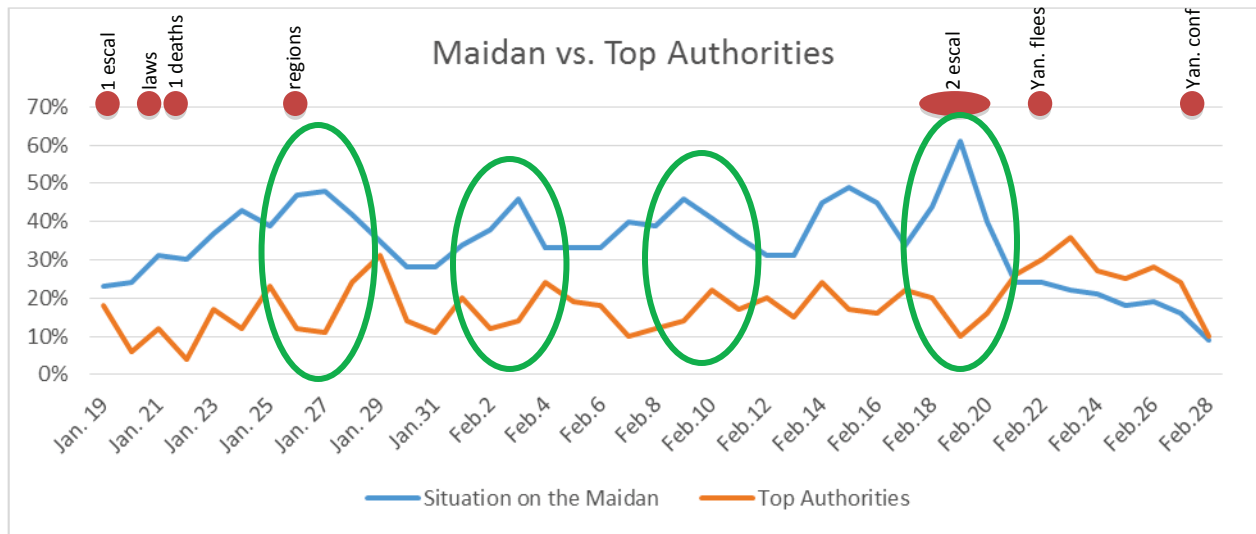


Chart 7. Situation on the Maidan vs. Top Authorities topics

- f. Categories used for describing the opposing sides, and their correlation to traumatic / peaceful days

I would like to focus below on the correlation between *Storytelling* and *Humor* as categories, and the distribution of posts combining these categories and particular topics. Chart 8 illustrates the general distribution and the frequency of these two categories over time. On the dramatic days, *Storytelling* is the dominant category. On the other hand, *Humor* tends to represent a higher percentage of posts during the relatively peaceful days.



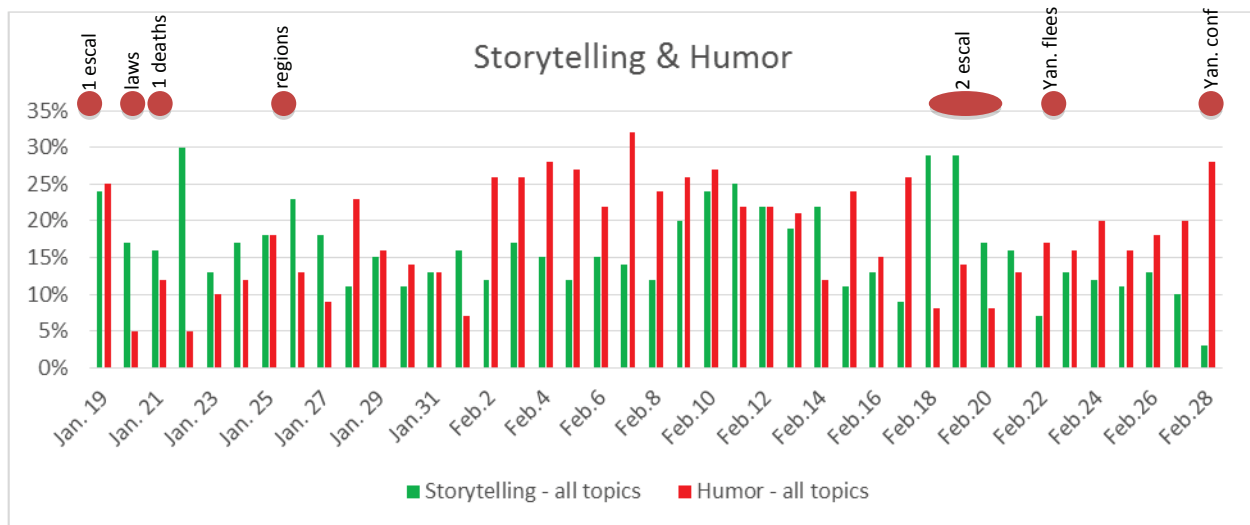


Chart 8. *Storytelling & Humor*.

To examine this correlation in more detail I provide a number of charts in which posts in these two categories deal with specific topics (Charts 9-11).

In general, the frequency of occurrences in these two categories echo the general silhouette of any particular topic. The charts demonstrate a strong tendency for the Facebook authors to use *Storytelling* to describe the pro-Maidan side and *Humor* for discussion about the pro-governmental side. *Storytelling* is used more often when authors have experienced the intense and dramatic events and physically taken part in them. *Humor* is used to describe relatively peaceful events or the opposing side, typically without much direct contact.

The topic *Top Authorities* has a lower index of *Storytelling* than *Humor* except for one single day (Chart 9). On February 18, a demonstration takes place directly in front of Parliament, and protestors seem to have the opportunity of a face-to-face meeting with representatives of the Government.

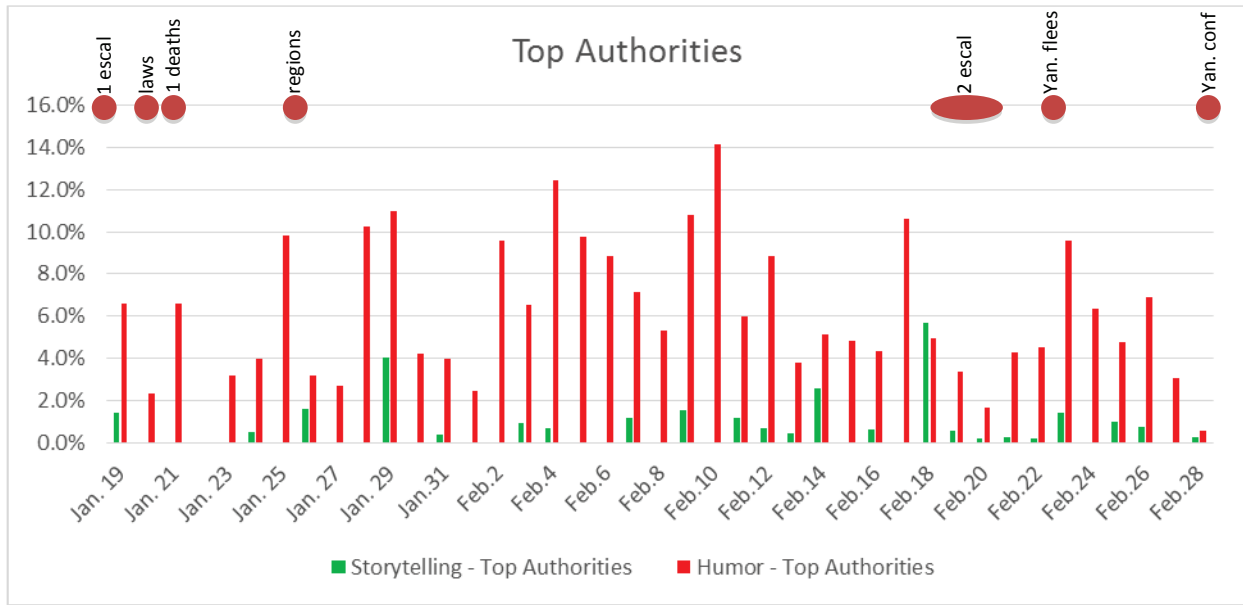


Chart 9. Storytelling & Humor categories for posts about Top Authorities

The highest indices of *Humor* are reached on days where no active confrontation occurred. Chart 10 shows clearly that the most dramatic topics have minimal use of *Humor*, but *Storytelling* dominates. (The topic *Dead on the Maidan* includes almost no humor at all).

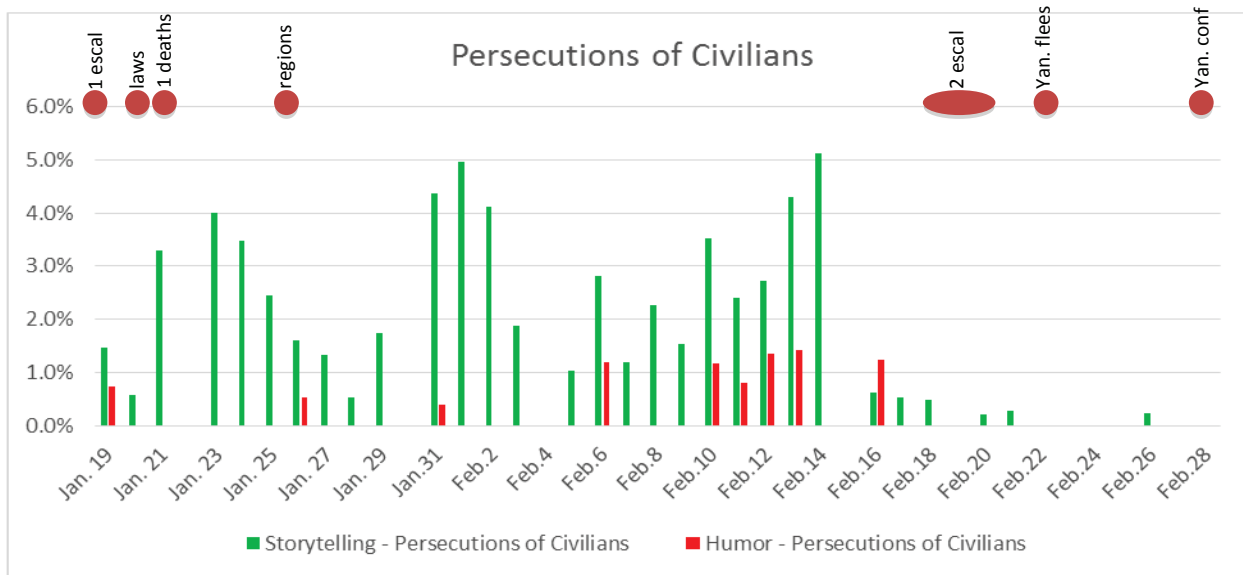


Chart 10. Storytelling & Humor categories for posts about Persecution of Civilians

The topic concerning the situation on the Maidan (Chart 11) has much variety, as it embraces a number of localities, diverse groups, and processes within the topic.

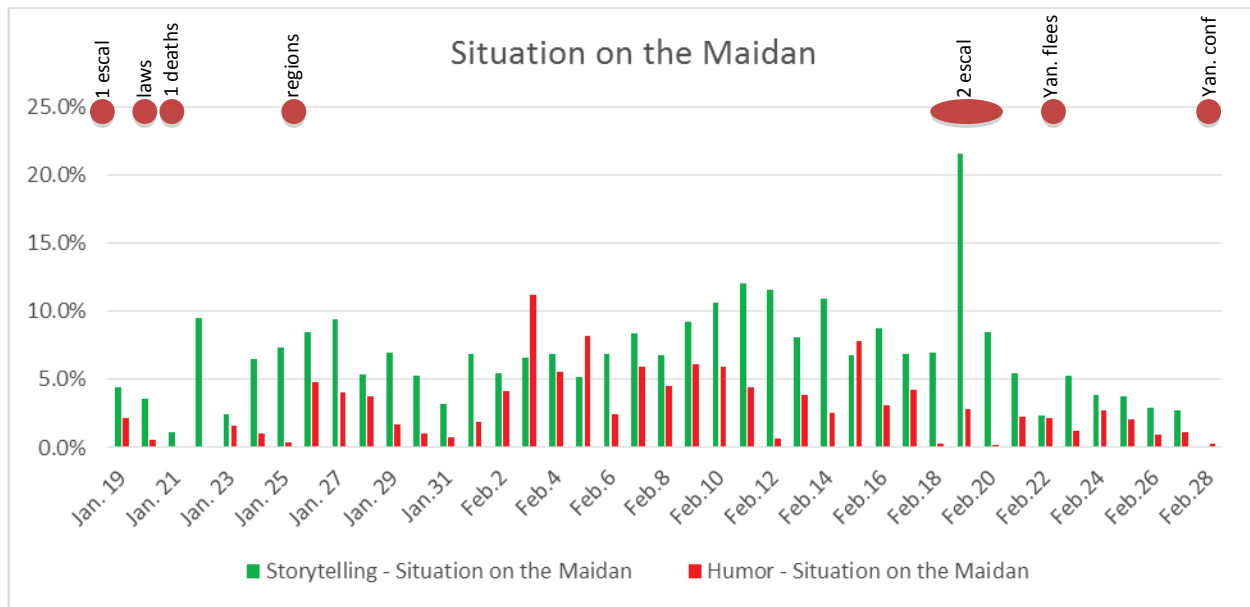


Chart 11. *Storytelling & Humor categories for posts about the Situation on the Maidan*

These findings suggest that these two categories have different functions for the depiction of the different sides as they engaged in the confrontation. The grouping of topics in terms of “us” and “them” is also significant when applied to the three other categories: *Coordination Comments*, *Reflections*, and *Emotions*.

g. Selected combinations of subcategories and specific topics.

Different categories show various frequencies in connection to the main event and topic of the day. The combinations among topics and categories/subcategories can serve as a basis for more detailed analysis. For example, the subcategory of *Historical Juxtaposition* (part of the *Reflection* category) presents a particular pattern; it has one peak after the first escalation and first deaths, but after some oscillation during the peaceful period, it fades at the time of the second escalation on February 18. During this more peaceful period, an active search took place for a wider historical background and interpretation of the protests in historical context (Chart 12). The search for a larger metanarrative begins immediately on the first day of casualties and continues fairly consistently for many days. At that moment, a collective name for the dead protestors was

invented which incorporated symbols from several periods in the history of Ukraine. After the second escalation the dead protestors already had their collective name in addition to their personal stories. I will focus more on this topic in Chapter V.

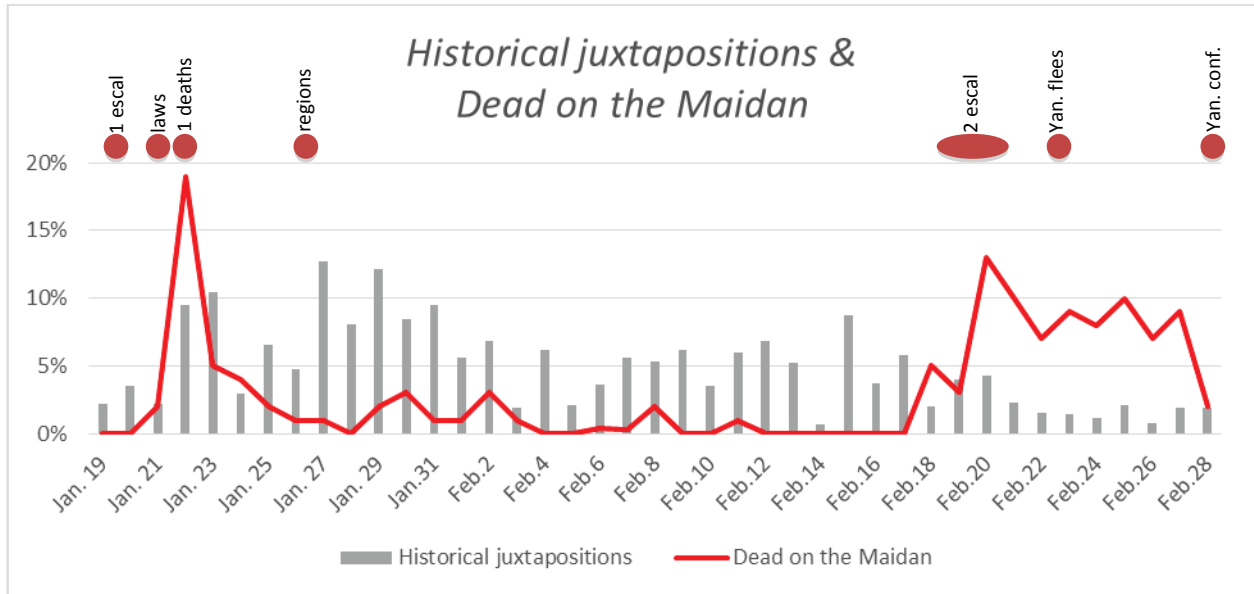


Chart 12. Historical juxtapositions (subset of the Reflection category) & the topic of Dead on the Maidan

### Conclusions

The analysis based on particular topics leads me to the conclusion, that participants used Facebook not only to coordinate their actions and as an outlet to express their emotions, but also to discuss the meanings of the events and the resulting transformations of its participants. Facebook posts partially functioned like oral lore, and very sensitively reflected the timing of the real events.

There is much greater potential for analysis than can be covered by the present project. Numerous research projects on social media during the Maidan have provided many topics on which to focus. The collected data of my project addresses many of them, and each can be a subject for study. The published findings include the above-mentioned tactical and discursive

uses of social media. They also address issues of nationalism;<sup>5</sup> social media sentiment concerning Russia, Ukraine and the West;<sup>6</sup> self-presentation of the most popular social media authors;<sup>7</sup> the significance of social media online and offline in the pre-escalation period;<sup>8</sup> the use of Facebook and Twitter by Ukrainian protestors<sup>9</sup> and in the Ukrainian diaspora;<sup>10</sup> the depiction of Maidan and Anti-Maidan in social media;<sup>11</sup> Anti-Maidan discourse in social media after the Maidan,<sup>12</sup> and others. In addition to its default functions, social media allows an unlimited number of individuals to contribute their views and to take part in the formation of public opinion in addition to functions of traditional media outlets, this is intensified during political conflicts. These effects were studied at the time of the Arab Spring. According to Andy Carvin, the quick supply of information from the site of the events, through private messages or video recorded by smartphones and uploaded to Facebook, served as a source of information for journalists who were not in the country on which they focused. These posts enabled them to

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<sup>5</sup> Kulyk, Volodymyr. 2014. "Ukrainian Nationalism since the Outbreak of Euromaidan." *Ab Imperio*. No. 3. pp. 94-122.

<sup>6</sup> Eting, Bruce. 2014. *Russia, Ukraine, and the West: Social Media Sentiment in the Euromaidan Protests*. The Berkman Center for Internet & Society Research Publication Series. Research Publication No. 2014-13. <http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/publications/2014/euromaidan>

<sup>7</sup> Галушко, Кирилл; Зорба, Наталья. 2013. "Социальные сети на фоне Евромайдана: первые результаты экспертного опроса конца 2013 – начала 2014 гг." *Форум новейшей восточноевропейской истории и культуры*. Issue 2. pp. 84-89. <http://www1.ku-eichstaett.de/ZIMOS/forum/inhaltruss20.html>

<sup>8</sup> Onuch, Olga. "Social networks and social media in Ukrainian "Euromaidan" protest." *The Washington Post*. January 2, 2014. Retrieved June 20, 2015. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/01/02/social-networks-and-social-media-in-ukrainian-euromaidan-protests-2/>

<sup>9</sup> Barberá, Pablo; Metzger, Megan. "How Ukrainian protestors are using Twitter and Facebook." NYU Social Media and Political Participation (SMaPP) laboratory. *The Washington Post*. December 4, 2013. Retrieved June 20, 2015. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2013/12/04/strategic-use-of-facebook-and-twitter-in-ukrainian-protests/>; Metzger, Megan. "As police raid protests in Ukraine, protesters turn to Twitter and Facebook." *The Washington Post*. December 11, 2013. Retrieved June 20, 2015. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2013/12/11/as-police-raid-protests-in-ukraine-protesters-turn-to-twitter-and-facebook/>

<sup>10</sup> Krasynska, Svitlana. 2015. "Digital Civil Society: Euromaidan, the Ukrainian Diaspora, and Social Media." *Ukraine's Euromaidan: Analyses of a Civil Revolution*. Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag. Pp. 177-198.

<sup>11</sup> Яковлев, Максим. 2013. "Майдан" и "антимайдан" в социальных сетях: характеристики интерпретационных рамок." *Форум новейшей восточноевропейской истории и культуры*. Issue 2. pp. 74-83. <http://www1.ku-eichstaett.de/ZIMOS/forum/inhaltruss20.html>

<sup>12</sup> Яковлев, Максим. 2014. "Антимайдан после Евромайдана в социальных сетях: образ врага и опасения жителей востока Украины." *Форум новейшей восточноевропейской истории и культуры*. Issue 1. pp. 78-93. <http://www1.ku-eichstaett.de/ZIMOS/forum/inhaltruss21.html>

prepare their releases prior to the news hitting the wire services and TV.<sup>13</sup> Magdalena Karolak examined the role of social media in identity re-formulation during the Arab Spring. She states that “the identities of groups in conflict are transformed and then restructured at a new level that reflects a new cognitive model of the world.”<sup>14</sup> While taking identity as the driving force behind collective activism, this process includes stereotyping, conformity, in-group favoritism and out-group negativity. In his book about Balkan conflict of the early 1990s, Marko Živković describes how conflict narratives employ local ethnic and cultural symbols for self-representation and description of the opposing side.<sup>15</sup> A collection of articles about the Bolotnaya Square Russian protests 2011-2012 argues about the development of self-identification of the protestors through invention of new narratives and symbols to represent their positions and attitudes.<sup>16</sup>

These works are helpful references to trace the representations of “us vs. them” in the Facebook posts – oppositions developed through cultural symbols and folkloristic elements, new relationship building and new symbols invented on the Maidan. I am going to explore these aspects in the collected narratives of Facebook authors and their textual representation in the following chapters. I will focus sequentially on *Humor*, *Storytelling* and the historical juxtapositions within the category of *Reflections*, as represented in the collected Facebook posts.

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<sup>13</sup> Carvin, Andy. 2012. *Distant Witness: Social Media, the Arab Spring and a Journalism Revolution*. The City University of New York: Cuny Journalism Press.

<sup>14</sup> Karolak, Magdalena. 2014. *The Social Media Wars: Sunni and Shia Identity Conflicts in the Age of Web 2.0 and the Arab Spring*. Bethesda – Dublin – Palo Alto: Academica Press. p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Živković, Marko. 2011. *Serbian Dreambook: National Imaginary in the Time of Milošević*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

<sup>16</sup> Архипова, Александра, Алексеевский, Михаил. 2014. “Мы не немцы!”: Антропология протеста в России 2011-2012 годов. Тарту: Научное издательство ЭЛМ.

### Chapter III. Humor.

The material for this chapter includes several types of humor. Originally, I established five subcategories: (1) irony, (2) references to fiction, fairy tales, movies or songs, (3) jokes, (4) satirical poetry, and (5) allegory. These categories have somewhat fuzzy boundaries; a variety of approaches can be applied to group and categorize them. I consider these texts as examples of contemporary folklore of the Internet or “Newslore” as identified by Russell Frank, remembering his reference to Alan Dundes’ and Carl Pagter’s earlier definition of “Xeroxlore” as “folklore from the paperwork empire,” “folklore by facsimile,” “white-collar folklore,” and “folklore of bureaucracy.”<sup>1</sup> Dundes and Pagter formulated the term in 1987 to reference office workers’ jokes and their dissemination. Frank notes that Newslore, similar to Xeroxlore, possesses different attributes than folklore texts in the earliest conceptualizations of folklore: “its longevity can be measured in presidencies rather than generations, and it circulates remotely rather than face-to-face, among people who are likelier to live in an urban apartment or a suburban house than on a family farmstead.”<sup>2</sup> These texts do generally retain other attributes of “classic” folklore, including variability, anonymity, being communal, and remaining largely intact.

Consistent with this understanding of folklore, Dundes redefined the concept of folk as “any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor.” Examples of factors that define folk groups include families, localities, religious and ethnic groups, hobbyists, and occupational groups.<sup>3</sup> Frank speaks of folklore as “a kind of informal or spontaneous or homemade communication in which members of all groups engage at least some of the time.”<sup>4</sup>

Natalia Lysiuk, discussing “Maidan folklore 2004,” defines it as a “postfolklore” phenomenon of

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<sup>1</sup> Frank, Russell. 2011. *Newslore: Contemporary Folklore on the Internet*. University Press of Mississippi. p. 8

<sup>2</sup> Frank, p.7.

<sup>3</sup> Dundes, Alan. 1980. *Interpreting Folklore*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. p.7.

<sup>4</sup> Frank, p. 8.

spontaneous groups and assemblies formed with the free will of the participants, and for limited period in historical perspectives. She notes that no age, social, confessional, regional or ethnic distinctions were inherent to this gathering.<sup>5</sup> I argue that this definition applies to the protest folklore of the Maidan 2013-2014 on Facebook. The concept of “postfolklore” suggested by Sergey Neklyudov<sup>6</sup> as a kind of urban folklore prompted discussion among Slavic folklore theorists. Pozdnev characterizes the beginning of the twenty-first century not as “postfolklore,” but rather as “postfolklore culture” in which “all traditional genres are secondary and borrowed from literature.” Panchenko suggests: “village culture of the new times is not much more ‘folkloric’ or ‘traditional’ than the mass culture of the modern city.”<sup>7</sup> East European definitions of “postfolklore” presume the contemporary research approaches different from the 19 century concept of folklore as ancient rural verbal traditions. The variety of concepts emphasize different nuances in contemporary urban folklore. I will follow Dundes’ and Frank’s concepts inherited by the US/English tradition of folklore that includes the possibility of very diverse groups. I focus on the lore of a particular spontaneous assembly of Ukrainian protestors communicating through Facebook.

In some instances, topics from known literary works, TV programs, and other products of mass culture have become the substance of jokes in my collection, for the period January 19 – February 28, 2014. I will refer to such examples below. The political conflict intermixes with several aspects of social and cultural life. I see that this Facebook community experienced some

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<sup>5</sup> Лысюк, Наталья. 2005. “Майданный” фольклор: жанровый состав, функции, способы распространения.” *Русский язык, литература, культура в школе и вузе*. УАПРЯЛІ. КНУ имени Т.Шевченко. №5. p.2

<sup>6</sup> Неклюдов, Сергей. 1995. “После фольклора.” *Живая старина*. № 1, p. 2-4; Неклюдов, Сергей. “Фольклор и постфольклор: структура, типология, семиотика.” Retrieved June 20, 2015. <http://www.ruthenia.ru/folklore/nekludov3.htm>

<sup>7</sup> *Folklore: an encyclopedia of beliefs, customs, tales, music and art*. 2011. Charlie T. McCormick, Kim Kennedy White. ABC-CLIO. Vol. 1 z. 1017.



elements of a “liminal phase” described by Victor Turner.<sup>8</sup> This was a spontaneous time-limited group that included all participants on equal footing different of usual hierarchical ranks, privileges, norms and prohibitions intrinsic to the normal social structure. This group creatively combines cultural elements from diverse sources, including instances of high (or official) and popular (or commercial) culture.

Frank considers the concept of internet folklore important for three reasons: (1) the phenomenon is widespread, (2) the phenomenon reveals widely held attitudes and widely shared preoccupations, and (3) the phenomenon is largely ignored and should not be, given the first two reasons.<sup>9</sup> However, when he claims that the function of internet folklore is mainly to highlight social and political problems and to “free [people] from tensions and frustration,” Frank suggests that the role of political folklore is “like a sneer, the weapon of the weak.” He refers to Gregor Benton, who wrote: “But the political joke will change nothing. [...] It is not a form of active resistance. [...] It will mobilize no one. [...] It is important for keeping society sane and stable.”<sup>10</sup> On the contrary, Jennifer Dickinson described the internet-activity of the protesters as additional activity reinforcing their outright action on the square.<sup>11</sup> I certainly agree with Dickinson more than Benton, and I believe that at least some of the Facebook authors in my collection do as well. Due to the limitation of my project topic, I will not develop this issue further, but will focus, rather, on the thematic variety of the collected Facebook posts depicting opposing sides in the confrontation, and commenting on the unfolding events through various types of humor.

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<sup>8</sup> Turner, Viktor. 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

<sup>9</sup> Frank, p. 10

<sup>10</sup> Frank, p. 12

<sup>11</sup> Dickinson, Jennifer. 2014. “Prosymo maksymal’nyi perepost! Tactical And Discursive Uses of Social Media in Ukraine’s Euromaidan.” *Ab Imperio*. 3. P. 79.

The topics established in Chapter II represent two opposing sides involved in the Maidan protests. The protestors collectively show resistance to the Government and to the President as its figurehead, and later to the authorities of the Russian Federation. Confrontation near the barricades is represented as a binary opposition between protestors against police. The Maidan and the Anti-Maidan are identified as two opposing localities. The leaders of the political opposition often function as “a third side,” not accepted members of the Maidan, but rather communicators between the protestors and the authorities. When a particular event occurs, such as an official statement in the mass media related to the protests, the firing or appointment of a political figure, Facebook users immediately discuss the relevant person through humorous means. This distinction between opposing sides partly corresponds with the representations suggested by Svitlana Zhabotinska in her research of recent Ukrainian neologisms. She formulates the opposing groups within her concept of “negative evaluative matrixes” of Maidan and Anti-Maidan sides, and includes both the Maidan events and Ukrainian-Russian conflict in the east of Ukraine.<sup>12</sup> Her research material extends to a longer period and includes more categories, but my general formulation of the opposing sides is similar. The topics describing the protestors’ side include: *Situation on the Maidan; Hrushevsky / Bank / Institute streets; Persecutions of Civilians; and Dead on the Maidan*. The topics providing a picture of the opposing side include: *Yanukovych; Laws from January 16, 2014; Top Authorities; Titushky / Berkut / Antimaidan / Internal Troops; and the Threat of Russian Complicacy / Invasion*.

The topics of *Crimea, 2014 Sochi Olympic Games, Leninopad, Ethnic / Language / Regional Issues, and Priests / Church / Religion* do not fit this binary framework clearly. There is an increased complexity in evaluation of the imagined East vs. West division of Ukraine, protestors’

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<sup>12</sup> Жаботинская, Светлана. 2015. *Язык как оружие в войне мировоззрений. Майдан – Антимайдан: словарь-тезаурус лексических инноваций*. с. 14

self-critique, the topic of *Europe / West / World*, and the role of *Facebook / Social Media* in the political conflict.

I propose several theoretical approaches for the analysis of the collected material as humors as a response to political suppressions: using concepts of Mikhail Bakhtin, Lev Loseff and Alexei Yurchak. This chapter includes five sub-chapters:

1. Urban Folklore and Popular Culture References
2. References to Traditional Folklore: Folksongs, Rituals, Heroic Legends, Children's Folklore and Folk Beliefs
3. Carnavalesque Forms, Depersonification and Necroaesthetics
4. Aesopian Language and *Stiob*
5. Anecdotes

### **1. Urban Folklore and Popular Culture References**

The multitude of references to known literary works, movies, TV shows, commercials, popular performers, and types of urban leisure activities used by the authors of the Facebook posts may be interpreted as a kind of urban folklore. Authors usually do not provide any additional detail or explanations, assuming the names, plots and characters of their referenced sources are familiar to their readers. This may reflect, reinforce or even create a sense of “imagined community” reminiscent of that described by Anderson.<sup>13</sup> The authors of my collection refer to samples of Soviet, Ukrainian, as well as international official and popular culture as unifying culturally codified symbols, somewhat more subtle than listening to a national anthem, as proposed by Anderson (1983: 145).

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<sup>13</sup> Anderson, Benedict. 1991 [1983]. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, New York: Verso.

### Literary works

One author refers to Ukrainian literature to depict police and security officers as hyper-repressive and ignorant actors. The text includes a quotation from Taras Shevchenko (born March 9, 1814 in Cherkasy region, Ukraine, died March 10, 1861 in St. Petersburg, Russia), a main figure of Ukrainian literature, taught in school and University programs. In 2012, during his visit to Kaniv, Cherkassy region, the place of Shevchenko's grave, Yanukovich suggested the announcement of 2014 as Taras Shevchenko Year.<sup>14</sup> At an early stage of the protests, Victor Yanukovich and Vladimir Putin signed a number of documents, including an agreement for the official Ukrainian-Russian celebration of the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's birth, scheduled on March 9, 2014.<sup>15</sup> In mid-February 2014, Yanukovich made the suggestion to celebrate Taras Shevchenko's anniversary as a Day of National Reconciliation.<sup>16</sup> However, during the subsequent confrontation, Shevchenko became a symbol of the protest. This instance illustrates how the reasons for persecutions have often been far from common sense:

30-A140-R/U-Or, February 6, 2014

СБУ просит всех свидетелей предоставить информацию об авторе строк "Кайдани порвіте. І вражою злою кров'ю. Волю окропіте."  
Также службе безопасности необходимы все видеозаписи, книги и рукописи на эту тему. Автору строк грозит поджигание автомобиля, вывоз в лес в Бориспольском районе, с последующим избиением, и до 15 лет лишения свободы.  
Всю информацию о подстрекателе к "массовым беспорядкам" требуется принести по адресу: Киев, ул. Владимирская, 35.

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<sup>14</sup> Outdated. "Янукович: 2014 год должен стать годом Тараса Шевченко." YouTube. March 9, 2012. Retrieved November 14, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fe5XkEOpNx4>

<sup>15</sup> "Янукович подписал с Путиным 14 документов. ФОТО репортаж." Censor.Net. December 17, 2013. Retrieved November 2, 2015.

[http://censor.net.ua/photo\\_news/263910/yanukovich\\_podpisal\\_s\\_putinyim\\_14\\_dokumentov\\_fotoreportaj](http://censor.net.ua/photo_news/263910/yanukovich_podpisal_s_putinyim_14_dokumentov_fotoreportaj)

<sup>16</sup> "День рождения Тараса Шевченко станет днем национального примирения, - Янукович." Podrobnosti.Ua. February 13, 2014. Retrieved November 2, 2015. <http://podrobnosti.ua/958827-den-rozhdenija-tarasa-shevchenko-stanet-dnem-natsionalnogo-primirenija-janukovich.html>

SBU [The Security Service of Ukraine] asks all witnesses to provide information about the author of the following lines: "Rise and break your chains, Sprinkle your new liberty with enemy blood."<sup>17</sup>

The Security Service also requires all videos, books and manuscripts on the mentioned topic. The author of the quotation will likely have his car burned, be taken out to a forest in Boryspil district,<sup>18</sup> beaten and imprisoned for up to 15 years.<sup>19</sup>

All information about the instigator to "mass disorder" should be provided to the address: Kyiv, Volodymyr street, 35.<sup>20</sup>

Quotations from known Ukrainian authors were used for other implicit critiques also. One author refers to a verse *Response To My Compatriots*, 1922, by Pavlo Tychyna (1891-1967), as an ironical comment on the non-active position of one of the opposition leaders, Oleh Tiahnybok, known for his nationalistic views and vibrant speeches. Tychyna was an active member of the nationalist struggle in Ukraine 1918-1920, and in the early 1920s he joined the side of the Bolsheviks, and the verse reflected his new position.

7-A032-U-Or, February 9, 2014

"Стою - мов скеля непорушний".  
Олег Тягнибок на сцені Майдану

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<sup>17</sup> Taras Shevchenko. *The Testament*. This verse is very famous, mandatory in Ukrainian literature courses for secondary schools. It was written December 25, 1845.

<sup>18</sup> Boryspil is a town of Kyiv region. On January 22, 2014, a body of Iurii Verbytsky, a seismologist of Physics Institute of National Academy of Science of Ukraine, Candidate of Science in Physics and Mathematics, an alpinist and Maidan's participant, originally from Lviv, was found with evidence of been tortured outside of Hnidyn village, Boryspil district. Unknown persons kidnapped him from Oleksandr City Clinical Hospital a day before, January 21, 2014. Iurii Verbytsky was among the first people to die during protests. "За что убили львовского активиста Евромайдана Юрия Вербицкого." *Segodnya.Ua*. January 24, 2014. Retrieved November 2, 2015. <http://www.segodnya.ua/politics/pnews/za-chto-ubili-lvovskogo-aktivista-yuriya-verbickogo.html>

This recalls the case of Heorhiy Gongadze, Ukrainian journalist of Georgian origin opposed to then-President, Leonid Kuchma. Heorhiy Gongadze was kidnapped and murdered in 2000, and his case evoked national-scale protests against Kuchma in 2001, titled *Ukraine Without Kuchma*. Wikipedia. Retrieved November 2, 2015. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgiy\\_Gongadze](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgiy_Gongadze)

However, the geographic locations of these two cases are quite remote from each other. Heorhiy Gongadze was found in Tarashcha district of Kyiv region. Therefore, the author likely refers to the most recent case mentioning Boryspil, but the context recalls the most known case of Heorhiy Gongadze also.

<sup>19</sup> 15 years is the highest punishment for protestors, according to one of the restrictive laws adopted by the Parliament on January 16, 2014. The laws potentially allowed for short- or long-term imprisonment for almost every protester. Victor Yanukovich signed the laws on January 17 and that triggered the escalation on Hrushevsky str. On January 21 the laws came to power. On January 28, some of them were cancelled.

Information Department of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Secretariat. "For the period of January 14-17, the Verkhovna Rada adopted 11 Laws and 1 Resolution." Official web portal of the Parliament of Ukraine. January 16, 2014. Retrieved November 2, 2015. <http://rada.gov.ua/en/news/News/News/87088.html>

UNIAN Information Agency. January 28, 2014. Retrieved November 2, 2015.

<http://www.unian.net/politics/877486-rada-otmenila-bolshinstvo-diktatorskih-zakonov-16-yanvarya.html>

<sup>20</sup> The address of the central SBU office in Kyiv.

“I am standing still like a rock.”<sup>21</sup>  
Oleh Tiahnybok on the Maidan stage.

Another example of a verse citation also refers to political conflicts of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A Facebook author provides a line from another of Pavlo Tychyna’s verses, referring its authorship to Volodymyr Sosiura (1897-1965), Ukrainian lyric poet, who fought for the Ukrainian People’s Army 1918-1919. Sosiura’s lyrics received both Soviet awards and criticism.

156-A383-U-Or, February 14, 2014

“На майдані коло церкви революція іде” (В. Сосюра).

“A revolution goes on the maidan near a church”<sup>22</sup> (V. Sosiura).

Sosiura’s verse has two redactions. The original version was dedicated to Symon Petliura (1879-1926), a statesman of the Ukrainian People's Republic and Ukrainian nationalist leader in 1918-1921, and referred to confrontations in Kyiv, where “the maidan” means Bohdan Khmelnytsky square, and “the church” – St. Sophia Cathedral. Both these locations are in close walking proximity to the Maidan, and very important national symbols. When Tychyna changed his views, he made a second version of the verse, ironically narrating a village struggle for a local leader, where “the maidan” is a typical central square of a village usually beside a church. Later a parody of this verse appeared attributed to Volodymyr Sosiura.<sup>23</sup> The text gives an example of the same words symbolically connected over the past hundred years.

There are many instances of internationally known literary works. One author uses the symbol of the Holy Grail, common in popular culture, to derisively describe how he imagined the administrative coordination of the titushky. The historical background of the Yanukovych’s

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<sup>21</sup> Шарварок, Олександр. 1993. “Дві долі – одна трагедія. Павло Тичина – Євген Маланюк: діалог без відстані, розмова через тлумачів.” Київ: Критика. <http://www.ursr.org/kyiv/93/11/html/128.html>.

<sup>22</sup> The symbol of the church is connected to St. Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery, the place hosted beaten protestors in the night November 29-30, 2013. Later it became one of the main protestors’ building.

<sup>23</sup> Киселев, Олег. “Эпиграммы и пародии на Павла Тичину.” Стихи.ру. September 16, 2012. Retrieved November 10, 2015. <https://www.stihi.ru/2012/09/16/8662>

residence and his imaginative connection to hired criminals intensifies the mystical image of a medieval residence, initially destroyed, then stolen, mixed up with the popularized image of a religious symbol.

213-A117-U/R/Surz-Or, February 11, 2014

От цікаво, як звітують тітушки перед своїми замовниками, коли не мають у послужному списку спалених машин чи порізаних громадян? [...] У них же ж має бути якась звітність і сталі протокольні форми. Заліковки. Відомості. "Я по терроору сёня план сделал, брателло". "А я сёня по панике ведомость закрыл". Вони ж державні люди, по суті. Хранителі Межигірського Граалю.

It would be interesting, how do titushky report to their sponsors, if they can't describe any burned car or injured citizens in their statement of services? [...] They should have a sort of reporting system and the established procedural forms. Like record-books or register sheets. "Hey brother, I made today's quota on terror." "And I finished today's assignment on panic." They are government employees, in essence. The Keepers of The Mezhyhirya<sup>24</sup> Grail.

A sarcastic remark tinged with half-sympathy makes an allusion to Shakespeare's *Romeo and*

*Juliet*:

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<sup>24</sup> Mezhyhirya was a large and extremely expensive out-of-town residence of Victor Yanukovich on about 140 ha land that includes 620 sq. m. house, a golf course, ostrich farm, dog kennel, numerous fountains, man-made lakes, a helicopter pad, a small church, yacht pier, equestrian club, shooting range, tennis court and many other recreational complexes as well as hunting grounds. From 1935-2007 the residence was state property, a part of the State recreation complex Pushcha Vodytsia. In July 2007 Victor Yushchenko rented the residence to Victor Yanukovich. Later its status was changed to private property. After the Yanukovich fled the country on February 22, 2014, protestors occupied the residence and collected documents the ex-President had tried to flush down the toilet. The findings are provided on the web-site YanukovichLeaks: <http://yanukovichleaks.org/en/>. Since February 23, 2014, the residence has been open to visitors. In summer 2014, a legal procedure has been initiated to return the residence to the State.

Originally, Mezhyhirya Savior-Transfiguration Monastery was located on the site. It is mentioned for the first time in the early 14th century, although there are statements of its foundation by the first Metropolitan of Kiev, Michael, along with Greek monks arriving from Byzantium in 988. In 1923 the Communists closed the monastery. During 1923–1931 the monastery building was used as a college for ceramic production. In 1931, the college moved to Kyiv, and in 1935 the monastery was destroyed. Since 1935 Mezhyhirya has been the secret summer house of the Communist Party leaders. During the occupation by Nazi Germany, it was a residence of the Reich Commissar Erich Koch and a palace of the Kyiv Military District commander Iona Yakir. "Межигорский Спасо-Преображенский, мужской, 1 класса м-рь." Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopedic Dictionary (in Russian). Retrieved November 2, 2015. <http://gatchina3000.ru/brockhaus-and-efron-encyclopedic-dictionary/065/65524.htm>

Вікован І.П. "З історії України. Межигір'я." May 19, 2006. Retrieved November 2, 2015. <http://www.novasich.org.ua/index.php?go=News&in=view&id=100>

"Янукович живет в средневековом монастыре." Obozrevatel.Com. August 3, 2007. Retrieved November 2, 2015. <http://obozrevatel.com/news/2007/8/3/183156.htm>

Шевченко, Оксана. "Сокровища Межигорской резиденции." Новая. September 2, 2009. Retrieved November 2, 2015. <http://novaya.com.ua/?/articles/2009/09/02/163532-2>

21-A001-U/R-Or, January 21, 2014

Нет повести печальнее на свете, чем повесть про титушек в интернете!

For never was there a story of more woe than this of tityshky in the Internet. [the text rhymes in Russian].

Some authors described a sincere desire for dialogue with the other side by depicting their efforts through known literary samples, as in the instance of Hans Christian Andersen's *Snow Queen*.

151-A141-U-Or, January 31, 2014

від таких розмов щемить серце. Вчора з цими мамами я ходила на "нейтральну зону". кілька священиків і кілька десятків мам, і чим ближче вони підходили до своїх дітей, тим більше нервував голос з гучномовця, який примушував їх покинути територію. і зрозуміло, чому. вони там, на Банковій, Грушевського, Маріїнському Парку і всіх прилеглих територіях дуже бояться всього людського. дуже бояться, що Герда заспіває пісню, псалом, молитву, яку почує Кай, і його серце розтопиться. але це все одно станеться. просто Янукович про це не знає, в дитинстві йому не читали добрих казок з хепі ендом.

Such talk gives me a heartache. Yesterday I went with these mothers to the "neutral line." There were several priests and several dozen mothers. The closer they came to their children, the more nervous the voice on a loud speaker became, insisting they leave the area. It is clear why it was so. They were all at Bankova and Hrushevsky street, in Mariinsky Park, and [the people in] these territories are afraid of all that is human. They are very afraid that Gerda would sing a song, a psalm, a prayer for her Kai, and his heart will be kindled. But it will happen anyway. Yanukovich simply does not know about this, in his childhood he did not hear good fairy tales with happy endings.

### Movies

There are several instances of discussions about screened literary works on TV. For example, one author reflects on watching the film *Taras Bulba* on a Russian TV channel. The film is based on the novel with the same name by Nikolai Gogol / Mykola Hohol (1809-1852). The film and the novel narrate the heroic fighting of Ukrainian Cossacks, ruthless to their enemies and traitors. The main character, *Taras Bulba*, killed his own son who fell in love with a girl of the Polish nobility. The author of the novel is also a disputable figure. He was born in Ukraine and made his career in the Russian Empire, and both Ukraine and Russia consider him as a national writer.

120-A120-R-Or, January 31, 2014

Телеканал Россия показывает "Тараса Бульбу".  
Что бы это могло значить?



TV-channel *Russia* is broadcasting *Taras Bul'ba* film.  
What could it mean?

Almost a month later, another author uses an image of *Taras Bulba* to comment on the statistics of a recent sociological survey published on a Russian web-site. The figures of the survey show the very high negative attitude of the responders toward Ukraine.

79-A032-R-Rep/Com, February 26, 2014

Дружественная страна, дружелюбный народ. Ну просто гоголевский Тарас Бульба, с нетерпением ожидающий момента, чтобы сказать хрестоматийное: "Что, сынку? Помогли тебе твои ляхи?".  
Страшно жить рядом с такими соседями...[...]

Friendly country, friendly people. It is just Gogol's *Taras Bulba* impatiently waiting for the right moment to say his classic: "So what, my son? Did your Poles help you?"<sup>25</sup>  
It is scary to live beside these neighbors...[...]

Another instance is a comment about a poster describing that the level of crime decreases in many regions after the majority of police units have been sent to Kyiv. The author of the comment refers to the popular Soviet film *The Three Musketeers* released in 1973 and based on the novel by Alexandre Dumas, further emphasizing the idea of a friendship of musketeers and their fight against the guards of Cardinal Richelieu. Here the author imagines all regions of the country as those friends-musketeers, where one, Kyiv, stopped to fight with the guards, i.e. police, to let others move forward, or to capture their Regional State Administrations.

32-A159-U/Surzh-Rep, January 26, 2014

Це подарунок столиці поневоленим регіонам. Наступного шансу може не бути. Київ приймає удар на себе. "Скачи, д'Артаньян, я їх задержу"

It is a gift from the capital to enslaved regions. The next chance might never come. Kyiv takes the heat. "Run, d'Artagnan, I'll slow them down"

Among the most frequent examples of popular culture mentioned in my collection is a twelve-part Soviet television series, *Seventeen Moments of Spring* (in Russian: *Семнадцать мгновений весны*), directed by Tatyana Lioznova in 1973, based on the novel of the same title by Yulian

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<sup>25</sup> According to the novel, *Taras Bulba* said this phrase before killing his son.

Semyonov. The series portrays the exploits of Maxim Isaev, a Soviet spy operating in Nazi Germany February – March 1945 under the name Max Otto von Stierlitz. The series is perhaps the most successful Soviet espionage thriller ever made, and it is one of the most popular television films. Following the series’ release, the main character, Stierlitz, became a hero of late-Soviet folklore and was represented in numerous anecdotes.<sup>26</sup> The series’ heroic song (text by R.Rozhdestvenskiy, music by M.Tariverdiev) was parodied on Facebook as a joke about opposition leader and Prime-Minister of Ukraine, Arseniy Yatseniuk, right after he had been nominated for the Prime-Ministerial post by Victor Yanukovych on January 25, 2014. In this context, the song is presented as a warning against any agreement with Yanukovych.

10-A1159-R-Or, January 27, 2014

Parody text

Не думай о портфелях у столба.  
Наступит время – сам поймешь, Арсения.

Свистят они, как пули возле лба.  
Мгновения, мгновения, мгновения.  
Мгновения...<sup>27</sup>

Don’t think about your appointment at a pillar<sup>28</sup>.  
When the time comes, you’ll understand, Arseniy.

They whine like bullets near your forehead.  
Those moments, moments, moments.

Original text

Не думай о секундах свысока,  
Наступит время - сам поймешь,  
наверное:  
Свистят они, как пули у виска  
Мгновения, мгновения,

Don’t take seconds haughtily.  
When the time comes, you’ll  
understand, probably:  
They whine like bullets at a temple.  
Those moments, moments, moments.

Another Facebook reference from *Seventeenth Moments of Spring* involves a comparison of Heinrich Himmler, a leading member of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) of Germany and Chief of

<sup>26</sup> Архипова, Александра. 2013. “Штирлиц шел по коридору...”: Как мы придумываем анекдоты. Москва: РГГУ.

<sup>27</sup> Советская музыка. / Soviet music. Retrieved June 10, 2015. <http://sovmusic.ru/text.php?fname=mgnoven>

<sup>28</sup> This line plays with multiple meanings. The literal translation of “портфель” is “briefcase” or “portfolio,” its figurative meaning is “position” or “appointment.” “To stand at a pillar” has the figurative meaning “to be ashamed, or to be subject to torture or execution.” The third line mentions a bullet, in addition to its connection to the original text, it also alludes to the popular meme “kulia-v-lob” that literally means “bullet to the forehead” derived from Arseniy Yatseniuk’s phrase against the President and the Government. I will refer to this expression later in the subchapter *Necroaesthetics*.

German Police and Minister of the Interior Affairs 1943-1945, with the Head of the President's Administration of Ukraine, Andrii Kliuiev. Appointed to the post of a military commander and later Commander of the Replacement (Home) Army and General Plenipotentiary for the administration of the Third Reich, Himmler was one of the most powerful people in Nazi Germany and one of those most directly responsible for the Holocaust. In the series, Himmler initiates secret negotiations with the USA to sign a separate peace agreement, ultimately unsuccessfully. He also tries in vain to depose Hitler and to take his position. Andrii Kliuiev was the Secretary of the Council for National Security and Defence of Ukraine since February 2012. In mid-December 2013 Censor.net, a Ukrainian mass-media outlet, released copies of the General Office of Public Prosecutor records of interrogation of suspected persons responsible for the police's brutal dispersal of protestors on November 30, 2013. The records gave evidence that Andrii Kliuiev was one of the main individuals responsible for this action.<sup>29</sup> Opposition leaders demanded that the President dismiss Kliuiev from his position. Yanukovich dismissed him, but on the same day, January 24, 2014, he appointed Kliuiev to the position of Head of the President's Administration of Ukraine.<sup>30</sup>

80-A137-R-Or, February 3, 2014

Назначение Ключева главой правительства после Майдана, это все равно что в "Семнадцати мгновениях весны" Генриху Гиммлеру удалось бы стать преемником фюрера после Второй мировой войны. Ключев Украине очень нужен - живой и здоровый, для Нюрнбергского процесса.

The appointment of Kliuiev to the position of Head of the Government<sup>31</sup> after the Maidan is the same if in *Seventeen Moments of Spring* Heinrich Himmler had managed to become the Fuhrer's

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<sup>29</sup> "Попов и Коряк обвинили в разгоне Евромайдана Ключева и Захарченко. ПРОТОКОЛЫ ДОПРОСА." Censor.net. December 15, 2013. Retrieved November 3, 2015. [http://censor.net.ua/photo\\_news/263538/popov\\_i\\_koryak\\_obvinili\\_v\\_razgone\\_evromayidana\\_klyueva\\_i\\_zaharchenko\\_protokoly\\_doprosa](http://censor.net.ua/photo_news/263538/popov_i_koryak_obvinili_v_razgone_evromayidana_klyueva_i_zaharchenko_protokoly_doprosa)

<sup>30</sup> Dossier of Andrii Kliuiev. Liga.net. October 28, 2015. Retrieved November 3, 2015. <http://file.liga.net/person/536-andrei-kluev.html>

<sup>31</sup> Factually, Kliuiev's position was more influential than it is supposed to be. Therefore, the author could have made an unintentional mistake or expressly change the title of his position.

successor after WWII. Kliuiev is much needed for Ukraine, alive and healthy, for the Nuremberg process.

The TV character von Stierlitz was also mentioned ironically in relation to a priest who made a public statement against the protestors on the Maidan, which caused the central Metropolis to produce an official statement to denounce the comment and to declare it to be a personal opinion rather than a statement of the position of the Church. One author presented this event through the lens of a potential military invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation, using symbols of WWII represented in the series. The author's position sounded like a "first person" insider speaking from the anti-Maidan side, however, it was also a criticism of the absence of a clear public statement by the Church concerning the political conflict. At that moment, the anti-Maidan supporters had not declared their connection to the Russian Federation, and suggestions of a potential invasion were built on rumors and guesswork rather than on facts. Therefore, the author plays in a very unceremonious manner with vague apprehensions and at the same time refers to the popular "spy hero" image that one should not reveal oneself under any circumstances. When the open invasion started, this priest fled to the Russian Federation.

108-A333-R-Or, February 6, 2014

Вызвали на ковер и дали по шарабану. Мол, что же ты так палишь родную контору? Так подставляешь братьев по кадилу? Не время еще, вот Пут введет танки в Хохлэнд, тогда все и выскажемся. Короче, Штирлиц, подумай, не сказал ли ты чего лишнего?

They called him upstairs and gave him a wallop. Like, what the heck were you thinking when you blew the gaff? You set up your spiritual brothers. It's not the right time yet. Wait till Put [Putin] moves his tanks to the Khokhland.<sup>32</sup> That's when we all will speak our minds. So, Stierlitz, use your head: haven't you said something you are not supposed to?"

The image of Stierlitz was also applied to a Maidan activist who left the country, and whose departure evoked a discussion about his possible connection to governmental forces.

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<sup>32</sup> Khokhland is a slang word with a derogatory meaning spelled in the mimetic way typical of German naming of geographical features. Originally "Хохляндия" [Khokhliandia] spelled as "Хохлэнд" [Khokhland] has its literal meaning in Russian as "the place where "хохлы" [khokhly – derogative for "Ukrainians"] live."

Штирлиц был на грани провала...

Данилюк покинул Україну <http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2014/02/3/7012403/>

Stierlitz was close to failure...

Danyliuk left Ukraine <http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2014/02/3/7012403/>

Another author discussed a published photograph of a police search in a Maidan activists' apartment, near a baby's crib, juxtaposing it with the series and a Hollywood movie. She described the police actions against the protestors categorically, with no implicit suggestions of hidden sympathy or irony, but rather presented them in clear binary opposition of bad/evil (alien army / corrupted police) against defenseless victims (family with a baby).

30-A234-R/U-Rep/Com, February 10, 2014

Только у меня эти кадры обыска в Виннице будят детскую травму от просмотра "17-ти мгновений весны"? Следующий кадр - раздетый младенец на подоконнике, и майорчик с прозрачными глазками спрашивает рыдающую мать: "И где вы спрятали миллионы, полученные за поддержку Майдана"?

Ах, да. Еще один фильм это напоминает - уже голливудский, из новых - "Место под соснами" с Райаном Гослингом. Там, банда продажных полицейских перетрусилась весь дом, чтобы найти и украсть из кроватки немовля подброшенный заботливой рукой пакет с деньгами.

Ужас в том, что фильмы и травмы иллюзорные, а этот кадр - самый настоящий. Сегодня. Не в кинотеатрах вашего города. А уже в квартирах.

Am I the only one who re-experienced a childhood trauma from viewing *Seventeen Moments of Spring* after these shots of the search in Vinnytsia? The following scene should be with the naked baby on a windowsill and a nasty major with icy look asking the sobbing mother: "And where did you hide the millions that you earned for supporting the Maidan?"

Ah, yes. It reminds me another movie, a new one from Hollywood, *The Place Beyond The Pines* with Ryan Gosling. There, a gang of corrupt police ransack a house to find and steal a carefully hidden package of money from a baby's bed.

The horror is that these movies and traumas are just illusions, but this scene is real. Today. Not at movie theaters in your city. But now, in your apartments.

Soviet symbols and reflections on WWII were not the only inspirations for reflection, interpretation, speculation, and jokes about the Maidan protest. Facebook users also made references to Western popular culture, as the previous example showed. Frequent examples of Western popular culture were *The Lord of the Rings* films that provided clear symbols of battles of good vs. evil, an idealistic story of sacrifice, and situations of confrontation that could be used

without the need for additional explanation. The most frequent words used from these movies to depict the opposing side are: “Mordor” as the place of total evil; used for the Government, Parliament, the President’s residence, and the police, “Orc”; and proper names from the film to represent individual actors in those spheres. The good side are referred to as “Hobbits,” a collective image of the Maidan’s supporters.

154-A137-R-Or, January 25, 2014

Я не нагнетаю, я просто информирую. Все подразделения спецназ МВД, ВВ МВД и СБУ в Киеве приведены в полную боевую готовность. Части готовы к немедленному выдвигению. Мордор готовится к бою.

I’m not stirring up, just informing you. All divisions of special troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Interior Ministry Troops and security services in Kyiv are on full alert. All divisions are ready for immediate action. Mordor prepares for the fight.

75-A025-U-Or, January 31, 2014

Розвідка надала інформацію для #ЄвроМайдан 1. У СС "Беркут" більше не має гумових набоїв для рушниць. 2. Світло шумові гранати закінчилися, російських гранат по 40 шт. на підрозділ. (це дуже мало) 3. В урядовому кварталі в автомобілях велика кількість бойових набоїв в "цинках". 4. В урядовому кварталі 10 БТРів 2 з них зламані. 5. В лавах ВВ деморалізація. 6. По моїм даним у військкомати викликають демобілізованих спецназівців, після чого їх відправляють у обласні центри (як заробітчани). 7. Міліція викликає всіх бандюків і ставить умову: "Або тітушкой, або тюрма". Ось така вона армія "МОРДОРА". Достовірність 99,9%

The secret service gave information for #ЄвроМайдан 1. SS *Berkut* has no more rubber charges for guns. 2. No more stun grenades, they have about 40 Russian grenades per unit (this is very few) 3. [They have] many live (zinc) charges in automobiles located in the governmental quarter. 4. Ten APCs (armoured personnel carriers) are in the governmental quarter, and two of them are broken. 5. Internal troops are demoralized. 6. According to my data, military registration and enlistment offices call personnel of demobilized special forces and send them to regional centers (as temporary working migrants). 7. The police call all thugs and give them an ultimatum: "Either you will become a titushka or you will be put in jail." Here you have this “MORDOR” army. The reliability is 99,9%

66-A048-R-Or-Com+R, February 1, 2014

Насчет взрывчатки Сарумана все ясно. А то я все голову ломал - как они баррикады (стены Хельмовой Пади) взрывать будут. Нашли способ...

Еще интересно - Саруман только взрывчатку даст (или уже дал) или своих урукхаев тоже пошлет?

Господи, как же хочется, чтобы все это было лишь кошмарным сном. Чтоб завтра проснуться - а ничего этого нет. [...]

Everything is clear about Saruman’s explosives. I kept breaking my head, how they would blast out the barricades (the walls of the Helm’s Deep). They found the way...

Also, I wonder whether Saruman will just give the explosives (or has he already given them) or he will also send his Uruk-hais?

Oh Lord, how I would wish all this was just a nightmare. To wake up tomorrow morning and none of it exists. [...]

17-A663-R-Or-Com+, February 20, 2014

Почему отменено утреннее заседание в ВР?! [...] когда-нибудь эти орки с депутатскими корочками начнут что-то делать или решать?

Why did they cancel the morning session of the Parliament?! [...] Will these Orcs with MP's certification ever do or decide anything?

405-A848-U-Or, February 22, 2014

[...] А з іншого боку пронизливим не бажанням, щоб урки та орки керували твоєю країною і життям. І тому - молимося за тих хто помер [...] Та за тих хто поки ще жив! Слава хоббітам та ганьба оркам.

[...] On the other hand, we have a deep unwillingness for jailbirds and Orcs to govern our country and our life. That's why we pray for those who died. [...] And for those still alive! Glory to Hobbits and shame to Orcs.

293-A156-R-Or, February 22, 2014

Братцы, СПАСИБО! расколдовали Мордор, а кольцо уже летит в вулкан?

Brothers, THANKS! You removed the spell from Mordor. Is the ring now falling into the volcano?

374-A442-R-Or, February 23, 2014

Остров Змеиный - идеальный музей Мордора: тысячи закопанных по пояс статуй Ленина и натывать везде ядерных ракет, нацеленных на Солнце

Snake Island<sup>33</sup> is the ideal museum of Mordor: thousands of half-buried monuments of Lenin and all the nuclear missiles here, stuck [in the ground and] aimed at the Sun.

The next example from Western popular culture illustrates an author's hope that the Parliament had the ability to stand on the protestors' side, hope for good will, and a vote for the "Amnesty Law" to release arrested Maidan activists. The author made reference to the American fantasy war film *300*, set in ancient Greece, to raise the possibility of Parliamentarians behaving as heroes rather than negative characters. 300 is also the Constitutional Majority figure, i.e. the number of Parliamentarians voices necessary to make changes to the Constitution of Ukraine or to initiate an impeachment process against the President.

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<sup>33</sup> Snake Island, also known as Serpent Island, is a Ukrainian islet located in the Black Sea near the Danube Delta. The islet was part of border dispute between Romania and Ukraine in 2004–2009, during which Romania contested the technical definition of the island and borders around it. The territorial limits of the continental shelf around Snake Island were delineated by the International Court of Justice in 2009. "Maritime Delimitation in the Black Sea (Romania v. Ukraine)." International Court of Justice. Retrieved June 8, 2015. <http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/index.php?p1=3&p2=3&code=ru&case=132&k=95>

Ну что, есть ли в Верховной Раде 300 спартанцев?

So, are there 300 Spartans in the Parliament?

My collection includes many additional references to other literary works and popular culture productions: *The Song of the Stormy Petrel* by Maxim Gorky; the 1968 Soviet comedy film *The Diamond Arm*; Lina Kostenko's poetry; Vladimir Vysotsky's songs; Ivan Krylov's fables; the Russian film *Brother 2* from 2000, a sequel to a 1997 Russian crime thriller; the 1973 Soviet film *Ivan Vasilievich Changes His Profession*; *The Twelve Caesars* by Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus; *The Master and Margarita* by Mikhail Bulgakov; *Cipollino* by Gianni Rodari; *The Twelve Chairs* by Ilf and Petrov; *Dunno* or *Know-Nothing* from Nikolai Nosov's trilogy 1954-1966; *The Lost Letter* by Nikolai Gogol; *To Kill a Dragon* by Evgeny Shvarts; 1984 and *Animal Farm* by George Orwell; *Foucault's Pendulum* by Umberto Eco; *The Chronicles of Narnia* by Clive Staple Lewis; the 2001 American film *A Beautiful Mind*; the 1997 American film *Titanic*; *A Farewell to Arms* by Ernest Hemingway, *Divine Comedy* by Dante Alighieri and many others.

### Commercials

Commercials, TV shows, and popular performers are no less a source for allusions to the ongoing situation. For example, the distinctions between Ukraine and Russia are presented through the lens of one of the first post-Soviet commercials for Western goods translated from the original. In particular, a 1999 Fairy dish-washer detergent advertisement employing the names of two localities in Spain, Villariba and Villabajo<sup>34</sup>:

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<sup>34</sup> Villariba vs. Villabajo in Fairy commercials: Котова, Екатерина. "Вилларибо и Виллабаджо1.flv." YouTube. August 13, 2011. Retrieved November 1, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4IUk7piZHjk> [in Russian]; Fonhowe. "Fairy Ultra Villariba Villabajo Werbung 1994." YouTube. September 10, 2011. Retrieved November 1, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hhGFr36CXXQ> [in German]; Heritagefairy. "Paella en Villarriba y Villabajo." YouTube. May 31, 2010. Retrieved November 1, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VYiMIVb9KzY> [in Spanish].



[...] В Виллариба уже свергли президента, а в Виллабаджо все еще празднуют Олимпиаду...

[...] In Villariba the President is already deposed, while in Villabajo they are still celebrating the Olympic Games...

These two villages are located in the Principality of Asturias, an autonomous community in north-west Spain, 0.5 km from each other and 40 km from the communal capital, Oviedo. The literal translation of the names means “upper village” and “lower village.” The original phrase in the commercial is: “Villariba has already started celebration, while in Villabajo they are still washing dishes.” The commercial portrays a local festival usually celebrated at the end of September. It shows the washing of a giant pan for paella after cooking, where Fairy is very effective in the process (Pictures 1-2). According to a private tourism investigation of the localities presented on the travel Internet-forum,<sup>35</sup> paella is not a typical Asturias meal, and has never been served at the festival. The filming did not take place in either village, but in a re-created place; Fairy just used the names to create a sense of authenticity connected to Spanish culture.

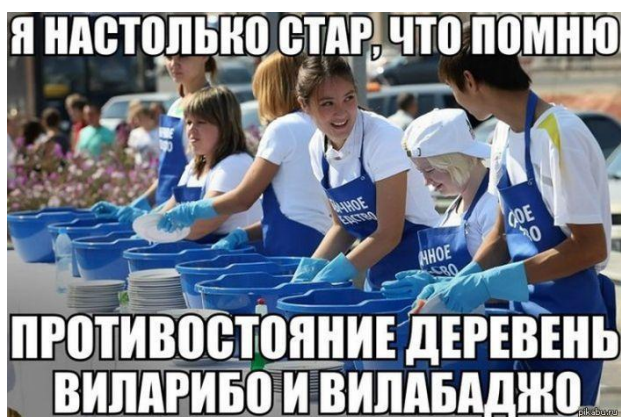


*Pictures 1-2. Shots from Fairy commercial.*

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<sup>35</sup> Децик, Анна. 2008. “Где находятся Вилларибо и Виллабаджо?” Города и страны: Карты, транспорт, GPS. Retrieved November 1, 2015. <https://otvet.mail.ru/question/19566261>

Commercials were a very new phenomenon of TV programs in post-Soviet countries in the 1990s; their content became quite popular and was used later as a source for jokes, including on the Internet. For instance, there is an Internet poster mentioning that the commercial has connection with early 1990s as it was produced and screened about 20 years ago; the text on Picture 3 says: I am so old that I remember the opposition between Villariba and Villabajo villages. Pictures 4-5 give examples of later jokes produced in connection with this commercial.



Picture 3: I am so old that I remember the opposition between Villariba and Villabajo villages.



Picture 4: I wonder if the people of Villabajo are still washing dishes?.. What then are the Villariba people doing?..



Picture 5: The village of Villariba has a bad day again: there is a fire on the field of kolkhoz<sup>36</sup> hemp. But Villabajo village has a celebration again: the wind blows in their direction (smiling emoticon).

The popularity of this commercial was so great that the names of the given villages earned a sense of nominal opposing sides that could be used in any context, though mainly comedic, as a comparison between a “modern” and “progressive” place, on the one side, and a “backward” and stagnant place on the other side.

An allusion to a Nokia commercial slogan names Yanukovych and evokes a sarcastic attitude toward him as a uniting factor for the protest gatherings.

81-A032-Eng-Rep/Com+U/R, January 23, 2014

Yanukovich. Connecting people.

Nokia Corporation, a Finnish multinational communications and information technology company, introduced its advertising slogan *Connecting People* in 1992, and used it until 2006 (Picture 6).

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<sup>36</sup> Kolkhoz is a Soviet collective farm enterprise.



Picture 6. Nokia. Connecting People

TV shows and popular performers

Confrontations in different regions of the country were similar in intensity to the situation in Kyiv. One author used an image of the popular song contest X-factor, broadcast by a national TV-channel, as he expressed his attitude toward the actions of the regional authorities. They had sealed the Regional State Administrations (RSA) from the inside to prevent protestors from seizing the buildings.

151-A025-U/R-Rep/Com, January 29, 2014

національний конкурс ідіотів)))  
круче від х-фактора

Все вы, наверное, знаете, что города Украины участвуют в конкурсе - замуруй свою ОГА. Борьба очень ожесточенная, но явно наметилась тройка лидеров - Одесса, Николаев и Днепропетровск. [...] Ведь колючая проволока на лестницах здания - это ноухау. Борьба еще не закончена, но следить за соревнованием становится интереснее и интереснее!

The National Idiot Contest)))  
Hotter than the X-factor

I am sure you all know that a contest is going on between Ukrainian cities, which one will be the first to seal their RSA. The competition is tight, and yet we already see the three leaders: Odesa, Mykolayiv, and Dnipropetrovs'k. [...] See the barbed wire on the staircases of their government buildings – that's Know-how! The fight is far from over, but it is more and more exciting to watch!

Discussion on which authorities ought to be held responsible by international institutions for the massacre of protesters was concluded through reference to an American singer, Lady Gaga; when her name is spelled in Russian with a double “a” it looks and sounds similar to “the Hague” [“Гаара” in Russian], the location of the International Court of Justice. Commonly

referred to as the World Court or ICJ, the Hague is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. Its main functions are to settle legal disputes submitted to it by states and to provide advisory opinions on legal questions submitted by duly authorized international branches, agencies, and the UN General Assembly.<sup>37</sup>

452-A216-R-Or, February 22, 2014

В украинских хит-парадах стремительно набирает популярность доселе неизвестная исполнительница Леди ГаАга. или это не исполнительница, ...

A previously unknown performer, Lady GaAga [Hague], is rising fast in popularity on Ukrainian hit parades. Or, maybe, that's not the performer...

A play on words was used to describe the political conflict, using the English heavy metal band, Iron Maiden:

28-A117-U/Eng-Rep/Com, February 2, 2014

Друг [...] файно пожартував: Iron Maidan

A friend [...] made a nice joke: Iron Maidan.

### Urban leisure activities

The violent conflicts on the streets were often described using metaphors from urban leisure activities such as parties, soccer games, and ice sculpture displays. Apparently, these images included both sides of the confrontation, not dividing them into clearly positive/negative attributes but, rather, underlying the Maidan supporters' determination not to stop or disperse, but to rally for continued confrontation. One author concluded that the Maidan was the most significant and engaging [cultural] event:

19-A120-R-Or, February 13, 2014

Если люди идут на Майдан, значит опера в городе хреновая!

If people go to the Maidan that means the city opera is lousy!

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<sup>37</sup> The International Court of Justice. Retrieved November 1, 2015. <http://www.icj-cij.org/>

The confrontation was sometimes depicted as a party. Hrushevsky street<sup>38</sup> was the location of the first escalation of violence on January 19, 2014, with the use of Molotov cocktails and grenades; some authors converted these images into a party with [drinking] cocktails and celebratory fireworks.

17-A013-U-Or-Com+R, January 20, 2014

На Грушевського продовжують вітати підлеглих Захарченка з днем народженням їх шефа [...]

On Hrushevsky [street, people] continue to pass their greetings to the subordinates of Zakharchenko<sup>39</sup> on the occasion his birthday [...]

84-A025-U-Rep, January 24, 2014

на грушевського має бути коктейль бар – Грушевський, я безкоштовно його оформлю!

A cocktail-bar Hrushevsky must be on Hrushevsky street. I will officially register it to my own account!<sup>40</sup>

217-A021-U-Or-Com+R/U, January 25, 2014

В УкрДомі - гламурна вечірка для пташенят з феєрверками.

The Ukrainian House [museum] hosts a glamour party with fireworks for birdies.<sup>41</sup>

243-A065-U-Or, January 25, 2014

Кажуть, що там зверху на Грушевського завезли нову колекцію.  
Напевне гупати і бахкати має голосніше і кольоровіше.  
На барикадах кажуть, ну і нехай, бо ми вже від старих нудимося.

They say a new collection has been brought to the upper hill of Hrushevsky [street].<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> The street is named after Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866-1934), Ukrainian academician, politician, historian, and statesman, one of the most important figures of the Ukrainian national revival of the early 20th century. He was a well known modern historian, foremost organizer of scholarship, leader of the Ukrainian national movement, head of the Central Rada (Ukraine's 1917–1918 revolutionary parliament), and a well known cultural figure in Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s. He was murdered during Stalin's purges in 1934.

<sup>39</sup> Vitaliy Zakharchenko was the Minister of Internal Affairs in the Yanukovich Government until February 21, 2014. He was also General of Interior Service and head of the Ukrainian national police service. He has been sought by the Ukrainian government since February 2014, wanted for murder and complicity in the events in Kyiv the early 2014 when President Yanukovich fled to Russia. Currently he works as a senior consultant at Russia's Rostec state corporation. Born January 20, 1963. “Захарченко Віталій Юрьевич.” Ліга: Досьє. February 27, 2014. Retrieved November 27, 2015. <http://file.liga.net/person/103-vitalii-zaharchenko.html>.

<sup>40</sup> Any physical or legal person can open a new enterprise, but have to pay fees for its official legalization.

<sup>41</sup> Opposing side against protestors during the escalation in close proximity were internal troops and *Berkut* special riot police units. The word “berkut” in Ukrainian originally means “golden eagle,” however, protestors often create sarcastic and mocking nicknames wherever possible trying to avoid mentioning the original name. In this instance, the author calls the riot police a glamour crowd (birdies) “been entertained” with fireworks [grenades]. The Ukrainian House museum sides onto the site of intensive confrontation.

It definitely has to thump and slam louder and brighter.  
On the barricades, they say: Well, let it be, because we are already bored by the old ones.

56-A025-U-Or, January 27, 2014

Коло ВР сьогодні пінна вечірка. Організатори просять приходити зі своїми коктейлями)

Today is a foamy party near the Parliament. The organizers ask you to bring your own cocktails.

Hrushevsky street runs from European square, connects the Maidan and the Government quarter on a hill. Police blocked the street near the main entrance to the Dynamo stadium, which shares the same name as the national soccer team. Therefore, metaphors of the confrontation as a soccer game make reference to this location.

55-A025-R-Rep, January 19, 2014

Динамо Киев играет лучшую игру в сезоне

Dynamo Kyiv plays its best game of the season.

85-A027-U-Or, February 16, 2014

Беркут відступив на 150 метрів. Ура! У найбільш бойовитій барикаді на Грушевського зробили дірку на ширину авто і поставили браму. Ура! Це нагадає футбольний матч, перерваний лише тому, що почався дощ. Або тому, що тренери команд вирішили взяти перерву і порадитися.

The Berkut moved back 150 meters. Hurray! The most contested barricade on Hrushevsky [str.] got a hole the width of a car and a gate. Hurray! It reminds one of a soccer game interrupted because of rain. Or because the teams' trainers decided to take a break for a meeting.<sup>43</sup>

After the violence started, several minibuses were burned and their fires were put out by firefighters. Their ruined frames were covered with ice because of the low temperatures outside.

This scene was immediately called "ice sculptures."

7-A384-U-Or, January 19, 2014

Новий вид льодових скульптур - замерзлі кістяки спалених автобусів...

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<sup>42</sup> In this instance, the author plays with multiple meanings. Internal troops and *Berkut* special riot police units are located up on the street beside the National Art Gallery. "A new collection" from the next sentence means a new batch of ammunition delivered to the government troops' location, but the ending of the text refers to the replacement of the "old boring" collection that makes the association with the changing of an exhibit.

<sup>43</sup> On February 16, 2014, protesters released their captured RSAs to comply with the "Law on amnesty of Ukrainian protesters" and allow the exemption from criminal liabilities and punishment for Maidan protesters arrested from December 27, 2013 to February 2, 2014 to come into effect. The law was only in effect if the conditions – vacating the seized administrative buildings, RSAs, self-government bodies and the Kyiv Municipal State Administration, and unblocking Hrushevsky street were met. The barricade on Hrushevsky street was partially dismantled to enable slow traffic on the street.

A new type of ice sculptures [has been developed] – iced skeletons of burned buses...

201-A065-U-Or, January 24, 2014

У Києві проходить виставка льодових скульптур. Головний спонсор та організатор - МВС. Приходьте - свято триває.

Kyiv hosts an exhibit of ice sculptures. The main sponsor and organizer is the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine. Come, the celebration continues.

## 2. Traditional Folklore References

### *Folksongs*

In addition to urban contemporary folklore and diverse kinds of urban activities, the Facebook users also made references to examples of traditional folklore. Some of these references are direct quotations or parodies of folksongs. For example:

Inverted text

Тече ОДА, тече бистра ОДА

Teche ODA, teche bystra ODA

105-A099-U-Or, January 23, 2014

Original text

Тече вода, тече бистра вода

Teche voda, teche bystra voda

Through play with the song, the author comments on the actual situation in the country. The original song comes from western Ukraine and focuses on topics of seasonal celebration, spring coming, life years and longing for lost love.<sup>44</sup> The quoted line from its refrain says: Water is flowing, water is flowing fast. Water is a multiple symbol in Ukrainian culture: a source of life, coupling and reproduction, health, cleaning, movement, danger, and time.<sup>45</sup> The shortened word “ОДА” spelled in capital letters is an abbreviation for Regional State Administration (RSA) [Oblasna Derzhavna Administratsia, ODA]. This parody was posted the day after protesters in western and central Ukraine started storming and seizing local RSAs in reaction to the shooting

<sup>44</sup> Pavlot. “Тече вода.” Українські пісні. December 5, 2007. Retrieved June 10, 2015. <http://www.pisni.org.ua/songs/951484.html>

<sup>45</sup> Онацький, Євген. 1957. Українська мала енциклопедія. Buenos Aires. Том. 1. ст. 194-197.



deaths of several protestors in Kyiv the previous day; the text refers to rapid changes in many regional administrations that go fast from west to the east of the country.

A modified text of another folksong was used as a comment on the burned countryside house of well known Ukrainian politician, Victor Medvedchuk,<sup>46</sup> who had close family ties with Vladimir Putin.<sup>47</sup> The original folksong was usually performed during a traditional wedding rituals, when the bride veil was removed. The song is also known in popular performance, by the Ukrainian rock band *Vopli Vidopliassova* or *VV*, the Ukrainian a cappella vocal group *Pikkardiyska Tertsia*, and others.

Inverted text	280-A034-Rep/Com, February 24, 2014 Original text
Горіла хата, палала, Горіла хата, палала, Під неї дівчина стояла...	Горіла сосна, палала, Горіла сосна, палала, Під нею дівка стояла. <sup>48</sup>
A house has been burning, A house has been burning, A girl stands beside it...	A pine-tree has been burning, A pine-tree has been burning, A girl stands beside it...

### Folk Beliefs

Another author calls Medvedchuk a modern Dracula, referring to the image of the vampire in Bram Stoker's 1897 novel *Dracula*, based on Vlad III, Prince of Wallachia (1431–1476/77). He was a member of the House of Drăculești, a branch of the House of Basarab, and known as (Vlad) Drăculea or (Vlad) Dracula. The post is a comment on a picture of Victor Medvedchuk which was reposted on Facebook.

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<sup>46</sup> Victor Medvedchuk is a Ukrainian politician, lawyer, and business oligarch. Currently Medvedchuk is chairperson of the pro-Russian political organization Ukrainian Choice and an opponent of Ukraine joining the European Union. Russian president Vladimir Putin is the godfather of Medvedchuk's daughter Darina (born in 2004).

<sup>47</sup> “Дачу Медведчука сожгли дотла.” Newsru.ua. March 20, 2014. Retrieved November 10, 2015. <http://rus.newsru.ua/ukraine/20mar2014/dachamedved.html>

<sup>48</sup> Радішевський, Р.П., упорядник. 2006. Пісні маминого серця. Київ: Просвіта. <http://nashe.com.ua/song/5647>

213-A085-U-Rep/Com, January 31, 2014

Новітній Дракула з України. Також має замок у Карпатах. Але його волоський попередник хоч і був жорстоким, але захищав свій край. А наш - продає зайдам.

Modern Dracula from Ukraine. He also has a castle in the Carpathian Mountains. However, though his medieval Transylvanian predecessor was cruel, he defended his own land. But ours – sells it to foreign invaders.

February 6, 2014, a group of people in folk costumes of the Carpathian region, Hutsuls, attended the Maidan with their folk musical instruments, *trembita*, alpine horns made of wood.<sup>49</sup> Their presence was discussed in the context of folk beliefs about the *trembita* being not only a musical instrument, but also having a supernatural power. In traditional folk rituals, the *trembita* also has a sacred status.<sup>50</sup>

98-A1006-Eng/U-Rep/Com+, February 5, 2014<sup>51</sup>

[...] Нечисть печерська, вимітайся! До Києва на барикади приїхали гуцули з трембітами.

[...] Dark entities of Pechersk,<sup>52</sup> clear out of here! Hutsuls with trembita have come to Kyiv's barricades.

103-A176-U-Rep/Com, February 5, 2014

у кого палиця більша... і непроста..

*Гей, озовись, трембіто,*

*Гей, зашуми, смереко!*

*Через бистру річку, через темний гай*

*Путь нам лежить далека.*

На барикади приїхали гуцули з трембітами. А менти у мегафон кричали, щоб ті "забиралися геть."

#Грушевського #Свро революція #Свромайдан #Майдан

Who has a bigger and ...and unusual stick..

*Hey, respond, trembita,*

*Hey, rustle, smereka!*<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> "В Києві прикарпатські гуцули заграли на трембітах для "Беркуту" (відео)." Firtka.if.ua. February 6, 2014. Retrieved November 4, 2015. <http://firtka.if.ua/?action=show&id=47180>

<sup>50</sup> Коваль-Фучило, Ірина. "Персональний код поховального обряду на Косівщині: Трембітар." Etnolog.org.ua Retrieved November 5, 2015. <http://nte.etnolog.org.ua/zmist/2012/N4/89.pdf>

<sup>51</sup> This convergence in dates shows minor errors in my collection caused by the 9 hour time difference between Edmonton and Kyiv (UTC -07:00 Mountain Time vs. UTC +02:00 Helsinki, Kyiv, Riga, Sofia, Tallinn, Vilnius). Late afternoon and evening hours in Edmonton during collection of Facebook posts coincide with night and morning hours of the next day in Ukraine. This is also evidence of the fast spread of information on Facebook.

<sup>52</sup> Pechersk – is a locality of the city of Kyiv where governmental buildings are situated.

<sup>53</sup> Smereka is a kind of a spruce tree typical for Carpathian Mountains.

*We should have a long way  
through a fast flowing river, through a dark forest.<sup>54</sup>*

Hutsuls with trembitas came to the barricades. And the cops yelled at them through megaphones “to get out of here”.

#Грушевського #Єврореволюція #Євромайдан #Майдан



*Picture 7. Trembity musicians on the Maidan on February 6, 2014. Photographer unknown.*

Picture 7 was posted on Facebook on the same day as the news release, February 6, 2014, however, I could not find the author of this post. The picture of a group of people in Hutsul costume against the background of a barricade gives visual context to the discussion.

After Yanukovych fled the country, a 2010 story from mass-media outlets about a traveller’s occasional meeting with a Carpathian molfar, a person with purported magical abilities in Hutsul culture,<sup>55</sup> became popular again. The story has numerous variations about the traveller’s personality and the purpose of the trip to Carpathian Mountains, but it has three constant components: 1) The meeting took place on the day of Yanukovych’s Presidential inauguration,

<sup>54</sup> Internet-search provided two versions of this song processed by Ukrainian musicologist and folklorist Leopold Iashchenko. “Добірка туристичних пісень.” Студія “Ми”. Retrieved November 5, 2015. <http://my.etnoua.info/novyny/dobirka-turystychnyh-pisen/>

<sup>55</sup> *Етимологічний словник української мови*. 1989. Київ: Наукова думка. с. 506.

February 25, 2010. 2) The molfar gave two prophecies. 3) The realization of the first prophecy occurred in 10-15 minutes. However, his second prophecy, “killing of today’s blessed king” had to happen in three years. Molfar culture was popularised by Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky's book *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors* published in 1911, and a subsequent film by Sergey Parajanov in 1964. In the summer of 2011, several Ukrainian mass-media outlets reported that the only molfar in Ukraine, Mykhailo Nechay, residing in the village of Verkhniy Yesen in the Ivano-Frankivsk oblast’, had been killed.<sup>56</sup> In summer 2015, a museum of Hutsul magic was created in Ivano-Frankivsk oblast’.<sup>57</sup>

335-A1632-R/U-Or, February 26, 2014

Короче, что я вам скажу...

22 февраля [...] после показа по ТВ записи с Януковичем из Харькова, опубликовал у себя на странице в ФВ неоднозначное на первый взгляд заявление (в оригинале):

“Януковича в Україні немає. Ні в Харкові, ні в Єнакієво. Звернення записує двійник. Сам Янукович був ймовірно ліквідований керівником своєї охорони полковником ФСО РФ Вячеславом Заневським, з метою приховування причетності Кремля до злочинів проти людяності в Україні?”

Я запомнил две вещи – "обращение записывает двойник" и "сам Янукович вероятно был ликвидирован".

Насчет последнего я вспомнил как в 2010 году читал статью про карпатского волхва (колдуна), который спрогнозировал убийство Януковича, цитирую из статьи: "Там у вас в Киеве какого-то пана сегодня высветили на царя. Его убьют через три года". Тогда, помню еще подумал – ну вот и посмотрим через 3 года.

Ссылка на эту статью:

[http://lb.ua/news/2010/06/10/49755\\_yanukovichu\\_karpatskiy\\_koldun\\_otve.html](http://lb.ua/news/2010/06/10/49755_yanukovichu_karpatskiy_koldun_otve.html)

Ну а насчет двойника я тут сам набросал, что думаете?

To be short, what I’m going to tell you...

February 22, [2014] after broadcasting Yanukovych’s talk in Kharkiv [...] posted on his Facebook page an ambiguous, at first sight, statement (in the original):

“Yanukovych is not in Ukraine; neither in Kharkiv, not in Ienakiievo.<sup>58</sup> A twin records his appeal. Yanukovych was likely liquidated by his security head, a colonel of the Federal Security

<sup>56</sup> “На Прикарпатті зарізали останнього гуцульського чаклуна.” Tsn.ua. July 15, 2011. Retrieved November 10, 2015. <http://tsn.ua/ukrayina/na-prikarpatti-zarizali-ostannogo-guculskogo-chakluna.html>; “Карпатського знахаря Михайла Нечая вбив божевільний львів’янин.” UNIAN. July 18, 2011. Retrieved November 10, 2015. <http://crime.unian.ua/519531-karpatskogo-znaharya-mihayla-nechaya-vbiv-bojevilniy-lvivyanin.html>

<sup>57</sup> Полянская, Анна. “Музей гуцульской магии: прикоснитесь к тайнам карпатских мольфаров!” October 16, 2015. Retrieved November 10, 2015. <http://hotels24.ua/news/%D0%9C%D1%83%D0%B7%D0%B5%D0%B9-%D0%B3%D1%83%D1%86%D1%83%D0%BB%D1%8C%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%B9-%D0%BC%D0%B0%D0%B3%D0%B8%D0%B8-10232278.html>

<sup>58</sup> Ienakiievo is a town in Donetsk region, where Yanukovych was born.

Service of the Russian Federation, Viacheslav Zanevsky, in order to hide Kremlin complicity in the crimes against humanity in Ukraine, don't you think?"

I remembered two things: "A twin records his appeal" and "Yanukovych was likely liquidated."

About the latter, I recalled an article I had read in 2010 about a Carpathian volkhv<sup>59</sup> (sorcerer), who foresaw the murder of Yanukovych. I am quoting from the article: "Some Mr. N today was consecrated as the king there, in Kyiv. He will be killed in three years." I remember, I thought then – well, let's see in three years.

Here is the link to the article:

[http://lb.ua/news/2010/06/10/49755\\_yanukovichu\\_karpatskiy\\_koldun\\_otve.html](http://lb.ua/news/2010/06/10/49755_yanukovichu_karpatskiy_koldun_otve.html)

I have some ideas about a twin. What do you think about that?

Facebook users also referred to the events of 2010 and discussed prophetic signs and folk beliefs about Victor Yanukovych's Presidency. Certain objects had been observed out of their proper location during official ceremonies, and these were taken as evidence of supernatural powers resisting Yanukovych's Presidency.

207-A251-R-Or-Com+, February 26, 2014

4 года назад: вот кто теперь скажет, что эти двери не были пророческими!? (Com. 1): и двери... и венок по голове... (Com. 2): так ожож!!!! у Бога отменное чувство юмора!!!!

4 years ago: Who will ever say now those doors weren't prophetic!?<sup>60</sup> (Com.1): doors... and a wreath bumped his head...<sup>61</sup> (Com.2): Exactly!!!! God has an excellent sense of humor!!!!

332-A013-U-Or, February 26, 2014

Рівно чотири роки тому "двері" не пускали Януковича на інавгурацію.

Двері, вінок, йолка,<sup>62</sup> розкол пам'ятника Киє, Щеку, Хориву і Либідь, і як після всього цього не вірити в прикмети?

Exactly four years ago the "doors" did not allow Yanukovych entry to his inauguration.

The doors, wreath, the *Yolka* tree,<sup>63</sup> the cracking of the monument for Kyi, Shchek, Khoriv and Lybid'.<sup>64</sup> How can one not believe in signs after all that?

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<sup>59</sup> Volkhys were heathen priests in pre-Christian Rus'.

<sup>60</sup> February 25, 2010, at the moment Yanukovych was entering the Parliament for his Presidential inauguration ceremony, the open doors suddenly closed in front of him. Дидух, Ольга. "Перед инаугурацией Януковича чуть не ударило парламентской дверью (видео)." Focus.ua. February 25, 2010. Retrieved November 5, 2015. <http://focus.ua/country/102702/>

<sup>61</sup> May 17, 2010, during the visit of then-President of the Russian Federation, Dmitry Medvedev, to Kyiv, Medvedev and Yanukovych put memorial wreaths to the monument for WWII Unknown Soldier. During the ceremony, a gust of wind snatched the wreath from Yanukovych just as he had installed it in front of the monument, and it bumped on his head. "Конфуз у памятника Неизвестному солдату: на Януковича упал венок." Korrespondent.net. May 17, 2010. Retrieved November 5, 2015. <http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/1077014-konfuz-u-pamyatnika-neizvestnomu-soldatu-na-yanukovicha-upal-venok>

<sup>62</sup> Surzhik spelling for the construction purposed to be a New Year Tree 2013-2014. This installation was used as a justification for the rally disperse by riot police.

<sup>63</sup> The unfinished New Year's tree structure on the Maidan gained an additional meaning as an art-symbol of the protest rather than an item associated with the traditional seasonal celebration. This meaning connects the discussed

Folk beliefs and tokens popularized in popular culture were a source for facetious description of protestors' actions before the most dramatic days. The next day after the Parliament adopted "The Amnesty law" intended for de-escalation, the smoke of burning tires appeared on the Maidan again. Protestors initially used tires for building barricades, but after riot police started using live ammunition, the tires were burned to create dense smoke as a curtain against shooting. One Facebook author gives an inverted text for a line from the song *Black Cat* written in 1963 (text by Mikhail Tanich, music by Yuri Saulsky) and performed as a first Soviet twist,<sup>65</sup> the song became popular again in the 1980s after its performance by the rock and roll band *Bravo*. The song refers to a folk belief about a black cat crossing one's path as a sign of bad luck<sup>66</sup> for that person, but concludes that black cats suffer the most from this belief. The author depicts a black cat as a protestor in the original meaning of the folk belief, as warning of a new escalation, however, in a quite humorous tone.

28-A1423-R-Or, February 17, 2014

Inverted text

Говорят не повезет  
если в каске черный кот покрывки жжет.

Original text

Говорят не повезет  
Если черный кот дорогу перейдет.<sup>67</sup>

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events with the early months of Yanukovich's Presidency, in particular, to the reason that a memorial wreath usually is made of spruce tree branches.

<sup>64</sup> Brothers Kyi, Shchek, Khoriv and their sister Lybid' are the legendary founders of the city of Kyiv, coming from the north in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, according to the Primary Chronicle. The city of Kyiv got its name from the oldest brother, Kyi. Their monument, installed in 1982, cracked in half in the evening two days before Yanukovich's inauguration ceremony, February 23, 2010. It was later reconstructed according to the initial design. "Перед инаугурацией Януковича рухнул знаменитый памятник основателям Киева! ФОТОрепортаж." *Sensor.net*. February 24, 2010. Retrieved November 5, 2015.

[http://sensor.net.ua/photo\\_news/114060/pered\\_inauguratsieyi\\_yanukovicha\\_ruhnul\\_znamenityyi\\_pamyatnik\\_osnovatelyam\\_kieva\\_fotoreportaj](http://sensor.net.ua/photo_news/114060/pered_inauguratsieyi_yanukovicha_ruhnul_znamenityyi_pamyatnik_osnovatelyam_kieva_fotoreportaj)

<sup>65</sup> Петров, Аркадий. "Композитор Юрий Саульский: «Мой «Черный кот» был первым советским твистом»." *Jewish.ru*. April 30, 2001. Retrieved November 11, 2015. <http://www.jewish.ru/theme/media/2001/04/news226.php>

<sup>66</sup> Ukrainian culture as other post-Soviet and European countries' has many symbolical interpretations of a cat as a magical or mystical creature. Онацький, Євген. 1957. *Українська мала енциклопедія*. Buenos Aires. Том. 2. ст. 646-647.

<sup>67</sup> "Черный кот. Жанна Агузарова, группа "Браво" 1983-1988." Retrieved November 5, 2015. <http://megalyrics.ru/lyric/zhanna-aguzarova/chiernyi-kot.htm>

They say you will have bad luck  
If a black cat in a helmet burns tires.

They say you will have bad luck  
If a black cat crosses your path.

My collection has only a few examples of original folksongs, there are more parodies or newly written texts. The reaction to new circumstances seems not to call for a demonstration of cultural heritage as it is, but a response; and protestors build on well-known songs from folklore and popular culture. One author gives a link to collected protest songs similar to those in my collection.

139-A383-U-Or, January 28, 2014

Віктор Морозов наспівав 40 веселих майданних пісень  
[http://gazeta.ua/articles/culture/\\_viktor-morozov-naspivav-40-veselih-majdannih-pisen/538870](http://gazeta.ua/articles/culture/_viktor-morozov-naspivav-40-veselih-majdannih-pisen/538870)

Victor Morozov sang 40 jolly Maidan songs  
[http://gazeta.ua/articles/culture/\\_viktor-morozov-naspivav-40-veselih-majdannih-pisen/538870](http://gazeta.ua/articles/culture/_viktor-morozov-naspivav-40-veselih-majdannih-pisen/538870)

In addition, several songs and poems, from literature or newly-composed, are not included in this category of *Humor* but are assigned to the category of *Emotions*. That is an example of categorization difficulties and fuzzy distinctions between categories. Posts selected for *Humor* had to involve an author's interpretation, while I considered songs or poems without any modification as instances of resonance with a personal mood.

### *Children's Folklore*

After Yanukovych fled the country, he was described in reference to children's folklore as a character with negative and evil connotations:

127-A034-R-Or, February 26, 2014

Скоро дітям замість слова "бабай" будуть говорити: "Янукович зараз прийде, і тебе він забере.")

Soon, parents will hush their little kids saying, "Yanukovych will come, and take you away," instead of telling them stories of "babai" [boogeyman].<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> "Babai" is a word of Turkic-Tatar origin as a title of respect for an elder man. *Словник іноземних слів*. 1985. Київ: Головна редакція Української радянської енциклопедії. ст. 98.

Russian-speaking people in Central Asia uses it as a slang word for indigenous elder people in this region. In Slavic folklore it is an evil night spirit that looks like an ugly old man / or as "babaika" is for old woman. This

## Folk Rituals

The first escalation of the protests occurred on January 19, the day of the baptism of Jesus Christ according to the Gregorian calendar. One author refers to this holy day and provides a modification of a traditional greeting people usually say to each other that day.

87-A027-U-Or, January 19, 2013

Христос Хрещається!  
У ріці Дніпро!  
Цього року битва Добра зі Злом та Нейтралітетом йде по Дніпру.

Christ is baptised!  
In Dnipro River!  
This year the battle of Good vs. Evil and Neutrality is going on Dnipro river.

The traditional response to the greeting “Christ is baptised!” is “In the Jordan River,” where the baptism of Jesus Christ took place. The author changed it in “Dnipro River” that flows in Kyiv. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Christianity became the official religion of Kyiv Rus’, and a mass baptism of Kyiv citizens took place in Dnipro, which is the biggest river in Ukraine that flows through the whole territory of the country from the north to the south. The author gives a common view at the early stage of the protests that the country is divided into two halves according to its pro-Maidan (pro-European) and anti-Maidan (pro-Russian) views, and this border is the Dnipro river. Another example is a description of quiet conditions on the Maidan. One author symbolically depicts armoured personnel carriers as living creatures representing the anti-Maidan side that is tired of confrontation and does not wish to fight anymore.<sup>69</sup> This description illustrates the characteristics of “Aesopian language” that I will discuss later in this chapter, but it also provides details about wedding traditions in Ukraine, combining urban and village features.

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character is mainly used to threaten children and to demand proper behavior from them. The word likely derived from an image of progenitor, an ancient Slavic female deity for clouds and Moon light. Українська радянська енциклопедія. Київ. Том. 1. с. 339.

<sup>69</sup> Posts of this author are published in the collection referring to the Maidan events and the war in Luhansk and Donetsk regions. Клеменсен, Олаф. 2015. *Літо-АТО*. Київ: Люта справа.



БТР на Грушевського стоїть і пофоркує сільським конем, втомленим, немолодим...

Його присипало снігом і він, присипаний снігом пухким, угрівся й заснув.

І сниться йому, що він, БТР, вже не кінь, але дівчина в білій фаті – стоїть біля пам'ятнику братам і Либіді, а навколо - люди із квітами, і наречений її, командир БТРу, у піджаку, підстрижений та поголений, мужній, а у череві в неї діти, ще ненароджені, від командира (мабуть танкісти якісь)...

- Залетіла! По зальоту весілля!, - шепочуть з натовпу...

- Ну той що! – головне, що від коханого, від командира – наречена радіє і гордо усміхається у кінокамеру...

An APC [armoured personnel carrier] at Hrushevsky [street] stands snorting like a tired old village horse ...

Having been covered with fluffy snow, it warmed up and fell asleep.

It has a dream that it, the APC, is not a horse anymore, but a girl in a white veil. She stays near the monuments to the brothers [Kyiv, Shechek, Khoriv] and Lybid'.<sup>70</sup> Many people with flowers surround her, and her fiancé, the APC's commander [is there]. He is in a suit, coiffured and shaved, so manly. She has babies in her womb, not born yet, they are from the commander (maybe, some tank crewmembers)...

- She's been knocked up! This is a shotgun wedding! – People are whispering in the crowd...<sup>71</sup>

- So what! – The main thing is the babies are from my beloved, from the commander – the bride gladdens and proudly smiles to the video camera...

### Heroic Legends

Some authors provide a thorough explanation of the meaning and variety of interpretation of the cultural symbols they use, which brings their posts close to *Reflection* category. For example, one author gives his vision of the contradiction between Ukrainian aspirations connected to the imagination about their own heroic past as a European nation (together with references to Western popular literature), and its possible perception outside of Ukraine. I consider images of the past and the juxtaposition of different historic events in more detail in Chapter V.

[...] ми з вами, шановні українці, зі своїм "екстремізмом" і "Правим сектором" цьому Заходві, як кістка в горлі.

Чому? Тому що, з одного боку, нам не знайдено ще в їхніх реєстрах потрібної шухлядки, а з другого, спостерігаючи за нашим відчайдушним зривом, вони бачать своє минуле – своє горде середньовіччя, ландскнехтів, вікінгів та інших героїчних мумітролів і астеріксів – але знають, що вже ніколи не зможуть до нього повернутися.

Думаю, наш потяг до свободи їх лякає більше, ніж наше бажання жити в демократії та європейських цінностях. Бо вони здогадуються, що силою обставин ми ці європейські

<sup>70</sup> The monument is a popular place for wedding pictures of couples getting married in Kyiv.

<sup>71</sup> The possible pregnancy of a bride is still an important aspect for the public concern in rural areas of Ukraine.

цінності сприймаємо у свій спосіб. Нас розуміють лише ще не до кінця бюрократизовані й онуднені поляки й литовці, в яких збереглися якісь залишки старолитовського й сарматського духу і ненависть до Радянського Союзу.

[...] Отже, свобода українців – така ж глибока й бездонна, як і їхня самотність. А тому в цей конкретний історичний момент нас ніхто в цілому світі, крім євреїв, зрозуміти не здатен. [...] Різниця ж між нами також трагічна. Євреї мають Землю Обітовану, куди можуть повернутися зі свого галуту, а українці – ні. Якщо не враховувати Канаду, звісно. Вона єдина запровадила санкції.

Останній абзац, утім, як і всі інші, був жартівливим.

[...] dear Ukrainians, you know, our ‘extremism’ and ‘the Right Sector’ are like a bone caught in the throat of the West.

Why? Because, on the one hand, they have still not found the proper drawer for us in their register boxes. On the other hand, having watched our desperate upsurge, they see their own past: their proud Middle Ages, landsknechts, Vikings and other heroic Moomintrolls and Asterixes. Yet they know they will never be able to go back.

I think our drive toward freedom frightens them more than our desire to live in democracy and in accordance with European values. They suspect that due to the circumstances, we perceive European values in our own way. Only Poles and Lithuanians understand us, not yet completely bureaucratized and deadened, as they have kept some remains of the old Lithuanian and Sarmatian spirit and hatred of the Soviet Union.

[...] Hence, freedom for Ukrainians is as deep and fathomless as their loneliness. That’s why at this particular historical moment no one in the whole world, apart from the Jews, is able to understand us. [...] The difference between us is also tragic. The Jews have their Promised Land to which they can return from their exile, yet Ukrainians do not have that. If we don’t count Canada, of course. Only this country has introduced sanctions.

The last paragraph, like all others, however, is meant to be facetious.

This subchapter on traditional folklore has fewer examples than others in my collection; Authors in my corpus focus less on traditional, and more on contemporary urban folklore. This may be because of methodological challenges (as represented in the example above) and the self-images of the Facebook authors. I note that the posts described in further subchapters also include many symbols deeply rooted in folk culture, but classified under those various theoretical approaches.

### **3. Carnavalesque Culture, Depersonification and Necroaesthetics**

In this subchapter, I consider Carnavalesque Culture, Depersonification and Necroaesthetics as purposely impolite, improper, irreverent and reversing images.

### Carnavalesque Culture

My collection has many instances that fit Bakhtin's concept of carnivalesque culture, a type of lower social class joke inherent in medieval carnivals that took place in the central squares of cities. Bakhtin considers this type of jest as an opposition to the serious and pathetic but insincere official language, as an attempt to destroy the existing hierarchy in order to create a new structure. Features of this type of humor include references to ancient pre-class folklore making no distinction between the public and private sphere of life and allowing speculation about all types of bodily functions, food consumption, sex, death, birth and celebrations as a whole without limit, which is usually a taboo for public discussions. Obscene words are widely used in this context. Bakhtin considers them as relicts of ancient "magic language" intended to defeat gods or supreme authorities who normally regulate all aspects of life. Generally, a joker or producer of jokes remains anonymous but functions as a "god" or "king" from underneath, symbolically opposing the actual "king" or supreme power and trying to defeat them. This type of humor requires no stage and no auditorium, it is not a performance, but life for everyone, and every participant can make jokes about themselves and everyone else.<sup>72</sup>

The protest lore of my collection employs these features in a similar way as another political protest, which occurred ten years ago and provided many examples of carnivalesque lore.<sup>73</sup>

The Facebook users produced many jokes concerning bodily functions and organs, sex and food, death and birth. One among others, the topic of a golden lavatory, reported to exist at the president's residence, is among the most numerous tropes during the whole period of protests. It

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<sup>72</sup> Bakhtin, Mikhail. 2011 [1981]. "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel." *The Dialogic Imagination*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

<sup>73</sup> Britsyna, O., and Golovakha, I. 2005. "The Folklore of the Orange Revolution." *Folklorica: Journal of the Slavic and East European Folklore Association*. Vol. X, No. 1.

was presented as a lewd symbol of useless excess and luxury. However, when the residence was opened for visitors after Yanukovich's departure, no golden lavatory was found there.

115-A097-U-Or, January 19, 2014

Народ, який вмiє так жартувати - не перемоги!

You cannot defeat a nation that can crack jokes like we do.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4SsJ66hmvII>

Атака туалетів | Charge of the Toilets

204-A192-R-Or-Com+, February 7, 2014

[...] (Com. 2) золотой унітаз янека, унітазы в Сочи, постоянный кипиш, что кто-то кого-то "сливает"... Какая-то у нас сантехническая революция получается...)

[...] (Com. 2) Yanek's<sup>74</sup> golden toilet, toilets in Sochi<sup>75</sup>, persistent bubbling that someone is "flushing" someone else down... Our revolution seems to be a very janitorial one...)

219-A001-Eng-Or, February 19, 2014

the golden toilet regime (c)

147-A169-R-Or, February 21, 2014

[...] Теплую память хранит о божественной жопе золотой унітаз (c)

[...] The golden toilet bowl keeps a warm memory about the divine ass (c)

07-A051-U-Or-Com+U/R, February 22, 2014

Чи взяли основний трофей - золотий унітаз?

Have we taken the main trophy, the golden toilet?

328-A176-U-Or, February 22, 2014

Головна фотка тепер в усіх буде - на золотому унітазі!

From now, everyone's most important selfie photograph will be one of sitting on the golden toilet.

342-A1454-U-Or, February 23, 2014

До найголовнішого туристичного об'єкту країни, чорнобильської зони відчуження, додався межигірський заповідник. [...] Достойне місце для кладовища совка. Кажуть, туалетів там набудовано стільки, що навіть у пік туристичного сезону не всеремося.

To Ukraine's main tourist attraction, the dead zone around Chernobyl, we have added the Mezhyhirya reserve [Yanukovich's residence]. It is a worthy cemetery of the Soviet epoch. They say this site has so many washrooms that even at the height of the tourist season we won't shit ourselves.

210-A025-R-Rep, 338-A288-R-Or, February 28, 2014

Осталось 3 нераскрытых вопроса:

1) Зачем золотой батон?

<sup>74</sup> Yanek is one of diminutive nickname forms for Yanukovich.

<sup>75</sup> 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics opened on February 7, 2014. The days before opening international sportsmen posted in social media pictures of several toilet pans installed in one cabin. The protestors expect potential escalation of the conflict in Kyiv at the time Olympic Games will draw the attention of international media.

- 2) Винда на маке?
- 3) Где золотой унитаз, Витя?

Three questions remain unanswered.

- 1) What is the purpose of having a loaf of bread made of gold?
- 2) How to install Windows on a Mac?
- 3) Vitia, where is your golden toilet?<sup>76</sup>

From the early stage of the protest, the Maidan supporters considered themselves as pro-European and hoped for the support of the European Union's top leaders. However, the actual EU reaction was not as supportive as protestors wished it to be. There was a very strong reaction to a recorded phone call from January 28, 2014, between Victoria Nuland, US State Department Press-Secretary, and Geoffrey Pyatt, US Ambassador to Ukraine, which was uploaded on YouTube on February 6, 2014. After discussing Ukrainian opposition figures, Victoria Nuland casually made an obscene reference to the European Union for its slow reaction to the situation in Ukraine.<sup>77</sup> Many Facebook users are sure that the Russian Security Services created the incident. This uploaded record inspired a large number of responses, discussions and jokes on Facebook. Facebook contributors, having this informal impression of international politics regarding the Ukrainian issue, felt justified in articulating their own emotions and suggestions freely. Some texts are reserved and reflective, while others are more open, enjoying the opportunity to play with obscene words not so acceptable prior to this incident.

200-A133-R/U/Eng-Or, February 7, 2014

Новым слоганом Евромайдана вместо Слава Україні-Героям слава! должно стать F.ck the EU! Ответ: God bless America!

A new EuroMaidan slogan instead of "Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the Heroes!" should be "F\*\*k the EU!" The answer should be "God bless America!"

7-A097-U-Or-Com+U/R, February 7, 2014

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<sup>76</sup> The joke appeared on the day of Victor Yanukovich's press-conference, in Rostov-na-Donu in the Russian Federation, broadcast on Ukrainian channels. "Vitia" is a diminutive form of Victor [referring to Victor Yanukovich]. The items mentioned were found at Yanukovich's residence, Mezhyhirya.

<sup>77</sup> "Fuck the EU": US diplomat Victoria Nuland's phonecall leaked – video." The Guardian. February 7, 2014. Retrieved November 14, 2015. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/video/2014/feb/07/eu-us-diplomat-victoria-nuland-phonecall-leaked-video>

Співробітники ЦРУ, які прослуховують Януковича, виходять на пенсію у 45 років. За вредность.

The CIA agents who listen to Yanukovich's phone conversations should be eligible for retirement at 45. They work under extremely difficult conditions.

40-A032-Eng-Or, February 7, 2014

(UN)DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGE ABRIDGED

- Fuck the EU!
- Er... WHAT????
- Sorry... Unfuck the EU!

50-A001-U-Or, February 7, 2014

Присвячується Вікторії Нуланд / Dedicated to Victoria Nuland

Fuck You - [Lily Allen](#) (Lyrics)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OK4fJhbRL1g>

43-A140-R-Or, February 7, 2014

Одному мне кажется, что в ФСБ "хотели" выложить в сеть разговор американцев "о высадке солдат во Львове", но "перепутали" и выложили видео о "Фак-еу" и "куда годится Кличко, а куда Тягнибок"?

Am I the only one having a feeling that the Russian secret service intended to leak a video about the landing of American troops in L'viv, but instead leaked the video with Victoria Nuland saying "fuck EU," and with curses addressed to Klytschko<sup>78</sup> and Tyahnybok<sup>79</sup>.

102-A113-U-Or, February 7, 2014

З нетерпінням очікую на запис розмови Януковича і Путіна в Сочі. Там буде набагато більше цікавинок щодо впливу інших держав на Україну. [...]

I can't wait till I hear the recording of the conversation between Yanukovich and Putin in Sochi. There will be much more interesting things said about all these other countries influencing Ukraine. [...]

131-A137-R-Or, February 7, 2014

Кого разоблачили наши дорогие северные сноудены? Прослушивая запись Нуланд и Пайетта я надеялся услышать наконец доказательства того, что каждый день слышу об американцах на "Интерне" и у Киселева [...] Увы. Оказалось, самое убийственное в американской дипломатии - это слово "фак".

And just who have our dear northern Snowdens<sup>80</sup> exposed? I was listening to the tape recording of the conversation between Nuland and Pyatt, expecting, finally, to hear the proof of what I hear every day about Americans on the Inter TV channel and during D. Kiselev's Russian TV talk-shows. [...] Alas. The worst thing I have learned about the American diplomacy is that they use the F word.

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<sup>78</sup> Vitalii Klytschko is a Ukrainian politician and former professional boxer, he was one of the opposition leaders regularly attended Maidan and represented the protestors' interests for the government and international bodies. Currently Vitalii Klytschko serves as Mayor of Kiev and head of the Kiev City State Administration.

<sup>79</sup> Oleh Tyahnybok is a Ukrainian politician and the leader of Svoboda political party. He was also one of the opposition leaders together with Vitalii Klytschko.

<sup>80</sup> This post refers to Edward Snowden, former CIA employee, who leaked classified information from the United States National Security Agency (NSA) in 2013 and fled to Russia.

Such attention to the Western authorities' reaction to the Ukrainian situation was certainly related to the protesters' pro-Western orientation and continuing hope that Ukraine would become a formal member of the EU, and to be economically developed and internationally accepted as a country of the First World.

### Depersonification

While the protestors tend to personify inanimate objects located in direct proximity to the demonstrations (I will discuss some examples below in the next sub-chapter), they tried to de-personify, dehumanize and demonize the top authority, Victor Yanukovych, especially when the protest reached the most drastic days. Many Facebook users play with the ending of the ex-president's last name, where "[Yanuk]ovych" sounds similar to "ovoch" meaning "a vegetable" in Ukrainian, and create a collective name "plot" for authorities. These examples give an idea of diminishing intellectual abilities of the object of jokes.

104-A057-R-Or, January 20, 2014

М-да... Ничего умнее овощ (вся грядка) придумать не могли. [...] С гопниками - вообще веселая история ) Кто насоветовал овощу задействовать эту пьян? [...] В клубе мировых диктаторов Яныка бы заставили присесть и отжиматься ...

Hmm... the Vegetable (and his entire plot) could not think of anything better. [...] With the criminal low lifers – it's a goofy story). Just who advised the Vegetable to deal with these drunks? [...] In the world's club of dictators, they would have Yanyk do sit-ups and push-ups.

2-A037-R-Or-Com+R/U, January 25, 2014

Кстати, то что Овощ начал включать политика вместо быка говорит о том, что реальной силы для подавления протеста нет.

OK, that the Vegetable is now playing a politician instead of an ox speaks to the fact that he has no real power to put down the protests.

189-A220-R-Rep, February 27, 2014

Похоже никакой пресс-конференции в Ростове уже не будет. [...] Только уже похоже без Овоща в корзинке...

It does not seem like there will be another press-conference in Rostov. [...] Not with the Vegetable brought there in a basket, anyway.

Some examples totally depersonify the ex-president calling him the Body or the Shadow, or even demonizing him as the one mainly responsible for the death of more than hundreds of protestors.

63-A077-U-Or-Com+, February 7, 2014

читали? тепер місце, де стоїть Тіло, є режимним об'єктом, куди не можна проносити сумки, диктофони, мобільні телефони та інші дуже небезпечні речі...

Have you read it? The place where the Body [Yanukovych] is standing is given the status of a special high security object. So bags, tape recorders, cell phones, and other equally dangerous things cannot be brought there.

132-A169-R-Or, February 21, 2014

Тень, знай свое место! (с)

Shadow, know your place! (Evgeni Schwartz)

179-A097-U-Or, February 21, 2014

Подобиць угоди з чортом Януковичем поки немає.

We have no details of the treaty with the devil Yanukovych at this time.

### *Necroaesthetics*

Laughter about the topic of death is a part of carnivalesque culture connected to ancient pre-class folklore. According to Bakhtin, open jokes and public discussion of death in humorous tone helps to overcome taboo zone and to develop a new social structure and concepts. The topic was both subtle and direct, it depends on the object of jokes and intensity of confrontations within the protest. Alexei Yurchak, discussing the peculiarities of humor during late socialism, uses the term *Necroaesthetics* as a peculiar humor of the absurd leading to public manifestation of insanity. His examples are based on the activities of a Soviet artistic group Mit'ki which employs a prototypical "wise fool" character of Russian fairytales. The performances of Mit'ki usually were intentionally provocative and bizarre events.<sup>81</sup>

Facebook posts provide examples of more subtle discussions evoked by an opposition figure's post, Arseniy Yatseniuk. He published a statement on his personal Facebook account on January

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<sup>81</sup> Yurchak, Alexei. 2006. *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. p. 238-256.



22, 2014, several days after the escalation started and the day the first protestor was shot. Yatseniuk then gave Yanukovich 24 hours to find a peaceful solution, and demanded drastic action if Yanukovich didn't respond.

44-A090-U-Or-Com+U/Eng, January 22, 2014

У Януковича залишилося 24 години на мирне врегулювання. Якщо він не скористається цим шансом — я з ганьбою жити не буду. Завтра підемо разом вперед, і якщо куля в лоб - то куля в лоб.

Yanukovich has 24 hours for a peaceful settlement. If he will not use this opportunity, I will not live with shame. Tomorrow we will all go ahead together, and if it should be a bullet to the forehead – let it be a bullet to the forehead.

Since Yatseniuk and the opposition leaders did not manage to change the situation for the better, new casualties occurred. The statement “if it should be a bullet to the forehead – let it be a bullet to the forehead” came to be repeated often, with an ironic tone, meaning an ultimatum that will never be implemented, and a symbol of mistrust that the opposition leaders would ever achieve the articulated aims of the Maidan. Later it became short idiom “kulia-v-lob” and acquired a meme meaning as a unit of cultural transmission, and a unit of imitation. The expression became more popular after Victor Yanukovich offered Arseniy Yatseniuk the position of Prime Minister instead of Mykola Azarov whose resignation the opposition and protestors had demanded.

52-A1072-U-Or-Com+R/Surzh, January 25, 2014

У Сені відон, як у пленного німця:) під Москвою

(Com.1) а куля в лоб

(Com.2) Нє, [...], там уже звізда - не кожному й не кожен день пропонують посаду прем'єр-міністра

Sienia<sup>82</sup> looks like a captured German [soldier] :) near Moscow<sup>83</sup>

(Com.1) what about *kulia-v-lob*

(Com.2) Nope, [...], he has already a star there<sup>84</sup> – not everyone and not every single day gets an offer to become the Prime Minister

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<sup>82</sup> “Sienia” is a diminutive form from the name “Arseniy.”

<sup>83</sup> Here “a captured German soldier” is a derogatory symbol for Nazis referring to WWII.

<sup>84</sup> This is an ironic remark referring to the image of Swan Princess, a symbol of beauty, in Aleksandr Pushkin's poem 1831, *The Tale of Tsar Saltan*. The well known poem's line says: “Месяц под косой блестит, а во лбу звезда горит...” / “The moon is shining under the braid, and a star is lit in the forehead...”

159-A025-Surzh/R-Rep/Com+U, January 26, 2014

кулявлоб - привіт!

В Сумах тоже пакуют всех, кто в здании ОДА. Сейчас.

Hi *kulia-v-lob*!

In Sumy, they also are packing everyone [arrest protestors] who are in the RSA [Regional Administration Building]. Right now.

74-A097-U-Or-Com+R/U, February 12, 2014

"Куля-в-крісло - так куля-в-крісло!"

(Com.1) Пуля-в-кресло. А зелёнка-в-лоб.

(Com.2) Йуля в лоб

(Com.3) Мені все-таки більше подобається початковий варіант про "кулю в лоб". І пропоную на Майдані саме цей варіант скандувати, коли вони будуть типа радитись з народом, чи йти Сені в прем'єри.

"If it should be a bullet to the chair – let it be a bullet to the chair!"<sup>85</sup>

(Com.1) A bullet to the chair. And brilliant ethyl green<sup>86</sup> to the forehead.

(Com.2) Yulia to the forehead<sup>87</sup>

(Com.3) I would prefer the original version about "*kulia-v-lob*". I suggest chanting this version on the Maidan when they [opposition leaders] pretend to consult the people about whether Sienia should take the position of Prime [Minister].

The expression was extrapolated to apply to other opposition leaders as a negative estimation of their action in a condensed idea not only personally referring to Arseniy Yatseniuk.

140-A025-U-Rep/Com, January 29, 2014

Там у нас в опо зібралися казкові кулявлоби ( [...]

There in the oppo[sition] we have fantastic *kulia-v-lob*'s ( [...]

16-A1291-R-Or, February 7, 2014

Саркастическое рагу:

Президент - бла...бла...бла...Я в Сочи за гремучей смесью...

Власть - бла...бла...бла...Для принятия нужных решений нас надо нагнуть в другую сторону, за большие деньги, только не торопиться до осени...

Оппозиция - бла...бла...бла...Куля в лоб, так куля в лоб, но только после переговоров, гарантий, договоренностей, готовы не торопиться до осени...

Россия - бла...бла...бла...Украина должна стать примером для всех, как надо любить младшего брата, который родился раньше нас...

ЕС и США - бла...бла...бла...Мы уже очень сильно возмущены и озабочены, наше возмущение не имеет предела, пока отмытые деньги эффективно оборачиваются в наших банковских системах...

<sup>85</sup> "Chair" in this context has a figurative meaning for the position.

<sup>86</sup> Brilliant ethyl green is used in post-Soviet medicine as an anti-inflammatory agent. It is also used for hooligans protest actions against politicians.

<sup>87</sup> After Yuliia Tymoshenko's imprisonment, Arseniy Yatseniuk became an acting leader of a bloc of political parties headed by Tymoshenko. This comment might be a reminder of Tymoshenko's figure as the main opponent to Yanukovych, and her previous activity as the Prime Minister with then-President Victor Yushchenko.

Украинский народ - бла...бла...бла...сколько можно их всех слушать, нас снова оставили один на один в борьбе со злом... бла...бла...бла...

Занавес.

P.S. А в это время продолжают попадать под арест, погибать, исчезать, получать увечия физические и моральные, те, кому реально надоели все эти бла...бла...бла...

Sarcastic Stew:

The President – blah...blah...blah... I'm heading to Sochi<sup>88</sup> to get some explosive mix...

The Government – blah...blah...blah... We have to be bent in the other side and to be paid to adopt the required decisions; just don't hurry up until the next fall...

The Opposition – blah...blah...blah... if it should be *kulia-v-lob* – let it be *kulia-v-lob*, but only after negotiations, guarantees, and agreements. We are ready not to hurry up until the next fall...

Russia – blah...blah...blah... Ukraine has to become a model for everyone about how we should love our younger brother who was born earlier than us...

The EU and the USA – blah...blah...blah... We are already very disturbed and concerned; our disturbance is boundless while washed money [of Ukrainian oligarchs] is effectively processed in our bank systems...

Ukrainian people – blah...blah...blah... how long should we listen to them all, we are again face to face in fighting with evil ... blah...blah...blah...

The end.

P.S. At the same time, those really fed up with this blah...blah...blah... are getting arrested, killed, kidnapped, physically and morally injured.

Facebook authors used the popular idiom also without reference to any opposition figure.

60-A097-U/Eng-Or, February 11, 2014

"Куля в лоб" - гарна могла б бути назва для фірми, яка надає послуги охорони VIP-осіб. [...]

"*Kulia-V-Lob*" – that might be a nice title for a company providing security services for VIP-persons. [...]

The expression was mentioned right after Yanukovych fled the country to his address.

212-A025-U-Or, February 22, 2014

каже вітя, що якщо кулявлоб, то кулявлоб.

Vitia says,<sup>89</sup> if it should be *kulia-v-lob* – let it be *kulia-v-lob*.

The above examples do not openly mention death but possible consequences if one really got a bullet to the forehead. Jokes about death became more common and direct after the most tragic week, which experienced the highest number of casualties on the Maidan, and during which

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<sup>88</sup> Victor Yanukovych attended the opening ceremony of 2014 Sochi Winter Olympic Games.

<sup>89</sup> "Vitia" is a diminutive form from the name "Victor."

Yanukovych fled the country. These instances have as main and usually only character, Victor Yanukovych.

132-A1389-U-Rep/Com, February 13, 2014

28-A1583-U-Or, February 26, 2014

50% українців з великим задоволенням повісили б Януковича.

30% повісили б Януковича без задоволення.

20% ще не визначилися, з якими почуттями вони б це зробили.

50% of Ukrainians would hang Yanukovych with great pleasure.

30% would hang him without pleasure.

20% are undecided as to how they would feel as they hang him.

124-A032-R-Rep/Com+, February 22, 2014

Реинкарнация советского анекдота: Слушаю интервью Януковича. Срочно, найти того, кто стрелял в его машину, и привлечь к ответу! Как можно было так бездарно промазать?!

Re-incarnation of a Soviet anecdote. I'm listening to an interview with Yanukovych: Urgent, find the man who shot at Yanukovych's car, and bring him to answer for his actions! How could he have been so stupid as to miss?!

148-A153-Eng-Or, February 22, 2014

From a Ukrainian friend: "Yanukovych is always a little bit behind the events. When he is escorted to the gallows, he will submit his resignation."

394-A051-U-Or, February 26, 2014

Януковича почали шукати на території України на глибині до 2 метрів

A search for Yanukovych has been launched in Ukraine, to a depth down to two meters below the surface.

There is an instance when Facebook users provide jokes as comments to another published anecdote connected with the same topic.

401-A013-U-Or-Com+R, February 22, 2014

Янукович питає ворожку: Чого мені картопля сниться? Ворожка каже: Це, синку, значить, що тебе або навесні посадять, або восени закопають.

(Com. 1) Вызвал Янукович гадалку в Межигорье, и говорит: - Чем закончится Евромайдан? Гадалка: - Вижу ты едешь по Крещатику в машине с открытым верхом, вижу вокруг машины сотни тысяч людей. Вижу, что эти люди очень рады, они стоят с флажками, шариками, хлопают, кричат "Браво!", у всех очень счастливые лица! Янукович улыбнулся, и говорит: - А я могу пожать им руки? - Нет! Крышка гроба закрыта...

Yanukovych asks a psychic: "Tell me, why do I see potatoes in my dreams?" "Son, it means that they will either plant<sup>90</sup> you in spring, or dig you up in fall."

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<sup>90</sup> In Ukrainian, "to plant" and "to put to jail" sounds the same. To "dig up" and "to bury" are also similar in Ukrainian.

(Com. 1) Yanukovych asks a psychic to Mezhyhirya and asks: “How will the EuroMaidan end?” The psychic says: “I see you riding down Khreshchatyk street [in Kyiv downtown], in a car without a roof, surrounded by hundreds of thousands of people. I see that these people are very happy: they wave little flags, launch balloons, clap their hands, and shout “Bravo!” – and all their faces are very happy.” Yanukovych says, smiling: “So, may I shake hands with these people?” “No. Your coffin has the lid on.”

After Crimea’s invasion and propagation of the idea of urgent referendum, some users incorporated the idea into the topic of death and Yanukovych’s figure.

133-A025-U-Or, February 28, 2014

а всеукраїнський референдум то класна ідея!  
як ви пропонуєте стратити януковича:  
1 розстріляти  
2 стягти голову  
3 утопити  
4 розібрати на сувеніри

An All-Ukrainian referendum is a great idea!  
[The question will be] “How would you like to see Yanukovych executed?”  
1 shot;  
2 beheaded;  
3 drowned;  
4 torn into pieces for souvenirs?

#### **4. Aesopian Language and Stioib**

Aesopian language and *Stioib* are less direct and more ambivalent types of humor than previous examples. I consider both definitions in details.

##### *Aesopian language*

Many texts provide instances of allegorical and metaphorical depiction of the event and my collection has narrations of diverse plot structure and symbols related to the anthropomorphized animal world, animated objects and family life allegories attributed to interior and international relations of the country. These texts are written symbolically, with indirect and subtle meanings that used to be called Aesopian language, after Aesop’s (620–564 BC) fables depicting society and relationships in Ancient Greece re-set the animal world. Fables in Russian-speaking countries and former parts of the Russian Empire came after the best known fabulist Ivan Krylov

(1769-1844) whose works are, to a great extent, based on Aesop's and La Fontaine's<sup>91</sup> fables, often with a satirical bent. Lev Loseff argues that Aesopian language in Russian language literature derived from ideological censorship that has impeded open critique to the address of the high authorities in the Russian Empire since the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>92</sup> Later, hints and circumlocutions in the text, instead of straightforward depictions of certain details of real life, became an aesthetic literary approach. This phenomenon is common for many writers from countries with a totalitarian regime, as a form of implicit critique and as a way to avoid persecution.<sup>93</sup> The examples given below might be either authorial self-censorship or an aesthetic approach using figurative and symbolic text.

For example, one author gives his vision of the domestic situation in Ukraine and the international reaction to it during the most drastic days of confrontation using an allegory of forest life.

80-A577-R-Rep, February 19, 2014

Волки были сильнее зайцев и хотели их съесть. Они этого не скрывали.  
Были открытые заявления, манифесты, скандальные инциденты и случаи вандализма.  
Но международная общественность из соседних лесов не хотела вмешиваться.  
Во-первых, они же еще их не съели. Как судить за преступление, которое еще не совершено?  
Во-вторых, многие говорили, что зайцы сами виноваты – они провоцируют волков.  
В-третьих, некоторые товарищи говорили, что платят своим избранникам за то, чтоб они тут сумасбродствовали и воровали у себя, а не лезли в соседние леса.  
В-четвертых, время от времени какой-нибудь волк подзывал к себе зайца и в прямом эфире спрашивал:  
- Я тебя съел?  
- Нет – отвечал заяц и трясся от страха.  
- У нас с тобой хорошие отношения? – подсказывал ему волк.  
- Конечно, конечно – радостно подтверждал косой.  
Потом волки все же съели зайцев. Международная общественность из других лесов попыталась вмешаться, но волки, давая отрыжку, заявили:  
Поскольку зайцы уже проглочены и находятся внутри нас – это наши внутренние проблемы.

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<sup>91</sup> Jean de La Fontaine, French fabulist, 1621-1695.

<sup>92</sup> Loseff, Lev. 1984. *On the Beneficence of Censorship: Aesopian Language in Modern Russian Literature*. München: Sagner.

<sup>93</sup> Онацький, Євген. 1957. Українська мала енциклопедія. Buenos Aires. Том. 1. ст. 404.

The wolves were stronger than the hares and wanted to eat them. They didn't hide that. Open statements, manifestos, scandalous incidents and cases of vandalism occurred. However, the international community from the neighboring woods didn't want to interfere. First, they still have not eaten them. How can someone judge a crime that has not yet been committed?  
Secondly, many said that it was the hares' fault – they are provoking the wolves.  
Thirdly, some said that they pay their chosen ones to get wild and pinch at their own territory, but not to meddle with the neighbor's woods.  
Fourthly, from time to time, a wolf called up a hare and asked him on the air:  
Did I eat you?  
No, – the hare answered and shivered with fear.  
Do we have good relations with you? – The wolf suggested to him.  
Of course, of course, – the hare joyfully confirmed.  
Then the wolves nevertheless ate the hares. The international community from other woods tried to interfere, but the wolves, burping, declared:  
Since the hares have already been swallowed and are inside us, that is our own internal affair.

Among multiple meanings, an image of a wolf in Slavic cultures embodies the symbol of cruelty, unsafety and evil spirit<sup>94</sup>; and a hare usually presents an image of weakness, defencelessness, and timorousness.<sup>95</sup> The given example correlates with time-honoured Aesop's and Krylov's fables *Wolves and Sheep*,<sup>96</sup> and it is a variation of animals from domesticated peasants' life to known local wild life animals.

In another text more close to the well-known images in the fables, we read about wolves against sheep, symbolically presenting the opposition between the authorities against protestors.

89-A168-R-Or, February 21, 2014

Или волки сыты, или овцы целы. А если волки сыты и овцы целы, значит волки пообедали пастухом.

Either wolves are full, or sheep are safe. If both wolves are full, and sheep are safe, that means wolves had the shepherd for their dinner.

There are two species of animals that used both to represent actors on one side of the confrontation, and for the other side: they are wolves and hedgehogs. Wolves were used both for

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<sup>94</sup> Онацький, Євген. 1957. Українська мала енциклопедія. Buenos Aires. Том 1. ст. 186-188.

<sup>95</sup> Онацький, Євген. 1957. Українська мала енциклопедія. Buenos Aires. Том 1. ст. 482-483; Даль, Владимир. 1955. Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка. Москва: Государственное издательство иностранных и национальных словарей. Том 1. с. 670-671.

<sup>96</sup> Worthington, R. 2009. Aesop's Fables. Auckland: The Floating Press; Pares, Bernard. 1926. Krylov's Fables. London. p. 260; Басни Крылова. 1997. Москва: Рипол. с. 299.

authorities who oppose the protestors and for protestors who started to confront each other in February 2014.

180-A109-R-Or, February 7, 2014

О волках

В знаменитой сказке Корнея Чуковского есть строки:

*волки от испуга*

*скушали друг друга*<sup>97</sup>

Заметим - не от голода. Не от жадности. Не от хищности. От испуга.

К чему это я? Начали мы, сограждане, друг друга бояться. По-взрослому. Как бы нам с перепугу друг друга не съесть.

About wolves

The famous tale of Kornei Chukovsky has the following lines:

*wolves having been scared*

*had eaten one another*

Let's pay attention – not from being hungry. Not because of greediness. Not because of rapacity.

But having been scared.

What do I mean? We, compatriots, started to be afraid one another. Really. Let's not eat one another because of this fear.

The tale of Kornei Chukovsky, written as a common facetious verse together with his students in 1921, was later interpreted as a hidden critique of Stalin's repressions. However, the author rejected this interpretation.<sup>98</sup>

Hedgehogs were used as a derogatory metaphor for the authorities, and also sometimes with irritation to describe opposition leaders.

Another image of antagonisms and discrepancies refers directly to Ivan Krylov's fable *Swan, Pike and Crab*.<sup>99</sup>

243-A097-U-Or, February 6, 2014

Сьогоднішня Україна - це Лебідь, Рак і Щука. Дивно, що в усіх аналізах, прогнозах і рефлексіях цей очевидний факт виводиться за дужки як незначущий.

Today Ukraine is *Swan, Pike and Crab*. It is strange that all analysis, prognosis and reflections put this obvious fact aside as marginal.

186-A343-R-Or, February 25, 2014

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<sup>97</sup> Чуковский, Корней. 1961. "Тараканище". *Стихи*. Москва: Государственное издательство художественной литературы. с. 52-61.

<sup>98</sup> Цокотуха, М. "Еще раз о "Тараканище"." Независимая газета. November 23, 2000. Retrieved November 12, 2015. [http://www.ng.ru/izdat/2000-11-23/8\\_tarakan.html](http://www.ng.ru/izdat/2000-11-23/8_tarakan.html)

<sup>99</sup> Pares, Bernard. 1926. *Krylov's Fables*. London. p. 120; Басни Крылова. 1997. Москва: Рипол. с. 143.



До побега Яныка у Майдана была общая цель, она объединяла. Сейчас, даже судя по соцсетям, начинается развал изнутри. Каждый считает себя рупором народа, Майдана. Мсть и метод "врага на вилы" рулит уже во всех регионах. Если Рада Майдана еще есть, а не рассорилась, пусть возьмет на себя смелость усмирять неадекватов, угрожающих калашами, и сформировать единые требования к оп. Лебедь, рак и щука правят страной.

Before Yanyk's<sup>100</sup> escape, the Maidan had a common goal, and it united everyone. Today, social networks reveal the start of internal chaos. Everyone considers himself a mouthpiece of the people and of the Maidan. Revenge and "pitchfork for enemies" method rules in all regions. If the Maidan's Council has not quarreled yet, let it take courage to pacify non-adequate [people] threatening with Kalashnikovs, and to formulate the common requirements of the opposition [leaders]. *Swan, Pike and Crab* govern the country.

Many of my texts provide only one animal image, with a longer or shorter plot elaboration. Other examples present an opposition of more than one species of animals. For instance, a raven and a seagull are described attacking a dove (as a symbol of peace); it is understood that the dove symbolizes Ukraine (a reference to Pope Francis' prayer about Ukraine), while the raven and seagull symbolize Victor Yanukovich and Vladimir Putin. The raven usually is a negative symbol,<sup>101</sup> but the seagull has multiple connotations both positive and negative.<sup>102</sup>

46-A034-R-Rep/Com, January 26, 2014

Мистика чистой воды. Янукович с Путиным облачились в ворона и чайку... (о молитве Папы Римского и голубях)

Pure mystics. Yanukovich and Putin turned into a raven and a seagull... (about the Pope's prayer and doves)

My collection includes numerous instances of zoomorphic metaphors with particular connotations. Individuals among Ukrainian top authorities are identified as a bull, a hog, a bear, a goat, a fox, a saiga, a hamster, and a microbe. Wolves, hedgehogs, gibbons, and species in a terrarium were used to metaphorically describe the authorities as a group. The special riot police units in Ukraine are called 'Berkut' [literally 'golden eagle' in Ukrainian]; however, this symbol was never used with a noble connotation in the Facebook humorous posts I collected. Instead,

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<sup>100</sup> Yanyk is one of diminutive nickname forms for Yanukovich.

<sup>101</sup> Онацький, Євген. 1957. Українська мала енциклопедія. Buenos Aires. Том 1. ст. 211-213.

<sup>102</sup> Онацький, Євген. 1957. Українська мала енциклопедія. Buenos Aires. Том 4. ст. 2039.

Facebook authors called this police force a “crazy hen house,” birdies, beasts, and made jokes about individuals catching “bird flu” (with recommendations how to avoid that, indirectly suggesting they leave their positions in confrontation). To some extent the negative perception of this symbol correlates with the image of a bird of prey, violator and tyrant in Ivan Franko’s works (a well-known Ukrainian writer, 1856-1916).<sup>103</sup> Titushky were metaphorically called cockroaches. Images of domesticated animals were used in posts concerning opposition leaders: a bunny, a pet dog, hedgehogs, and piglets. Kyivans not engaged in the protests but sticking to their usual activities, for example winter ice fishing on the Dnipro river, were once called penguins, distant and exotic beings. One Western European public figure who attended the Maidan was called a “golden bumblebee.”

Facebook users symbolically describe domesticated animals as engaged in the protests.

12-A013-U/Eng-Or, February 16, 2014

Революція у різних проявах.. Папуга нашої дописувачки [...] навчився відповідати "Героям Слава!". Наразі розучує "Слава Нації!".

Our revolution is multi-faceted. One of our correspondents [...] has a parakeet who has learned to say, “Glory to the Heroes!” Next he is learning to say, “Glory to Our Nation!”

97-A174-R/U-Or-Com+, February 23, 2014

Сейчас всем желающим предлагают забрать собачек из питомника в Межигорье. Предлагаю всем собакам дать прозвище Янык и научить их лаять "Слава Україні!"

At this time, everyone is welcome to take home a dog from Mezhyhirya kennel, call it Yanyk<sup>104</sup>, and to teach it how to bark “Glory to Ukraine!”

277-A001-R-Rep/Com, February 22, 2014

Народ выпускает в Межигорье на свободу рыбу (из специального резервуара в реку) и скандирует "Рыбе Волю! Рыбе Волю!"

The people have opened a special reservoir in Mezhyhirya and are letting the fish back into the river, chanting, “Freedom for the Fish! Freedom for the Fish!”

The latter example alludes to long-term protests against the imprisonment of Yuliia Tymoshenko, the main opposition leader contesting Victor Yanukovych during the Presidential

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<sup>103</sup> Онацький, Євген. 1957. Українська мала енциклопедія. Buenos Aires. Том 1. ст. 86.

<sup>104</sup> “Yanyk” is one of diminutive nickname forms for “Yanukovych.”

campaign in 2009-2010. The slogan of the protest against Tymoshenko's imprisonment was "Юле – волю!" (Freedom for Yulia!). She was actually released the day after Yanukovich fled the country. The chanting and the slogan has the same rhythm in Ukrainian and Russian.

Facebook authors give special attention to ostriches. This bird was among several species of exotic fauna that Yanukovich kept at his Mezhyhirya residence, and the protestors knew that. As Prime Minister of Ukraine, in 2006-2007, Yanukovich became the subject of public discussion after his visit to the PACE (The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe), session in Strasbourg in very expensive shoes made of ostrich leather.<sup>105</sup> Following his press conference in Rostov-na-Donu after fleeing from Ukraine, when Yanukovich mentioned his affection for ostriches, the variety of implications intensified.<sup>106</sup> On Facebook, this animal acquired different interpretations, referred to as an ambiguous symbol of luxury life and an object of abuse. For Ukrainian culture, an ostrich is not a typical animal; however, Ukrainian has an idiomatic expression "an ostrich's behaviour/policy" that literally means attempts to avoid active deeds or to ignore reality as it is making reference to the common image of ostriches hiding its head in the sand.<sup>107</sup>

65-A1027-R-Or, January 24, 2014

Преступный страус, этот Янукович

This Yanukovich is a maleficent ostrich

60-A048-U-Or-Com+R, January 28, 2014

[...] Нехай Янукович ще попасе трохи страусів у Межигір'ї - недовго лишилось. [...]

[...] Let Yanukovich shepherd ostriches in Mezhyhirya for a while – he has not long to be there.

[...]

259-A216-R-Or-Com+, February 21, 2014

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<sup>105</sup> "На заседание ПАССЕ Янукович надел туфли из страусиной кожи (ФОТО)." *Gazeta.ua*. April 18, 2007. Retrieved November 11, 2015. [http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/life/\\_na-zasedanie-pase-anukovich-nadel-tufli-iz-strausinoj-kozhi-foto/158928](http://gazeta.ua/ru/articles/life/_na-zasedanie-pase-anukovich-nadel-tufli-iz-strausinoj-kozhi-foto/158928)

<sup>106</sup> "Янукович и страусы: экс-президент носил страусиные туфли. Фото." *News-for.me*. June 23, 2015. Retrieved November 11, 2015. <http://news-for.me/2015/06/23/sa-yanukovich-i-strausy-eks-prezident-nosil-obuv-iz-strausinoj-shkury-foto/>

<sup>107</sup> *Словник української мови*. 1978. Київ: Наукова думка. Том 9. с. 753.

свободу межигорским страусам!

Freedom to Mezhyhirya ostriches!

225-A216-R-Or, February 23, 2014

Юля на Майдане.

две сакральнейшие вещи отобрали у пидораса – унитаза со страусами и Юлю в клетке. символизм момента нельзя переоценить.

Yulia is on the Maidan.

The asshole [Yanukovych] is deprived of two of his most sacred things – a toilet with ostriches and Yulia in a cage.

The symbolism of the moment cannot be overemphasized.

The author of the APC's dream (mentioned above) presents an image of an ostrich not in Mezhyhirya, but on the Maidan beside a barricade, represented as an enigmatic animated creature constantly giving birth to people, animals and objects, and symbolically to the whole unfolding protests. It is personified and becomes an active character. The process embraces both confronting sides, human beings and objects, giving more attention to personified relations between unexpected characters. Life, birth, and death, city and cemetery are together in one text. These newborn beings walking in a cemetery and a female creature living in death correlates with images of poterchata (little babies that died before being baptised)<sup>108</sup> and mavky (forest nymphs / dryads) in Ukrainian folk beliefs.<sup>109</sup> It also fits Bakhtin's idea about ancient folklore components in carnivalesque culture, such as inextricable link of birth, death and celebration of life. The ostrich in the given example looks like a part of the protests, one of the barricade's babies.

100-A186-U-Or, February 1, 2014

Барикада – така собі тітка-самиця, яка постійно когось народжує: героїв, терористів, зрадників, убивць, жертв та інших. Процес пологів триває весь час. Він невинний, невідворотній і триває навіть тоді, коли барикаду ховають на цвинтарі і присипають землею. Тоді вночі цвинтар наповнений фігурами її новонароджених діток, які сидять на гілках дерев, лавочках або безцільно тиняються поміж могил...

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<sup>108</sup> Онацький, Євген. 1957. Українська мала енциклопедія. Buenos Aires. Том 3. ст. 1454.

<sup>109</sup> Онацький, Євген. 1957. Українська мала енциклопедія. Buenos Aires. Том 2. ст. 882.

Коли ж у її вічно вагітному череві закінчуються герої та зрадники, люди закінчуються, пологи все одно продовжуються: барикада народжує різні предмети, тварин, птахів. І ті вивалюються, викочуються, вибігають та вилітають із неї із шурхотом, торохкотінням, дзвоном, гавканням, карканням, цвірінчанням... наповнюючи місто моє. І тоді поряд із засипаною снігами зимовою барикадою можна побачити, наприклад, молодого страуса. Мамо, - тулиться до неї птах.

The barricade is a kind of a female being, who is always giving birth to someone: heroes, terrorists, traitors, murderers, victims etc. The birthing process is continuous. It is unceasing and inevitable, it continues even when the barricade has been buried in a cemetery and covered with soil. Then at night, the graveyard is full of her newly born babies sitting on tree branches and benches or aimlessly wandering among graves ...

When her ever-pregnant womb has no more heroes and traitors, just no more people, the labor is still going on; the barricade gives birth to different things, animals and birds. They fall out, roll out, run out, and fly out of her rustling, whacking, ringing, barking, cawing and chirping... and are filling up my city. Then one can see a young ostrich, for example, next to the winter barricade covered with snow.

Mom, – the bird is leaning towards it.

The same author animates other objects surrounding the place of protests, trees in a park and a building seized by protestors and governmental forces alternately, and gives them either an active or a forcedly passive position in the events.

130-A186-U-Or, January 27, 2014

[...] Люблю парк нічний і зимовий, і ніч перед очима стоїть барикадою... А дерева у парку позатуляли обличчя снігом, немов пов'язками – від сльозогінного газу, але не йдуть...

[...] I love winter park at night; and night stands in front of my eyes like a barricade... Like bandages, trees in the park covered their faces with snow to protect themselves from tear gas, but they won't go...

106-A186-U-Or, February 11, 2014

Ноги в цього будинку брудні, немиті. Ніс у будинку набитий шмарклями, а очі сльозяться. Це від газу. На голові і в голові його снайпери, неначе миші, попискують в рації. З мешканців не залишилося майже нікого. І голуби відлетіли.

У вухах гуде від «бабахів» гранат і металевого ритму ударів дон-дон-дон-дон... чешеться бік, облитий із водомету...

І хочеться дико спати... але не дає революція...

І в туалет йому так неймовірно хочеться... По-маленькому... Але люди... Повстанці...

Вешники... Побачать і буде соромно...

This building's feet are dirty and unwashed. Its nose is full of snot, and its eyes are watering. That is because of the [tear] gas. It has snipers on and in its head – they are squeaking into walkie-talkie sets like mice. Almost no regular inhabitants have stayed. Even the pigeons have flown away.

Its ears are buzzing from 'bangs!' coming from grenades, and metallic rhythm of hammering – dong-dong-dong... Its flank is itching, washed by a waterjet ...

The house crazily wants to sleep... But the revolution won't allow it...

It also badly needs to go to the toilet... Just to have a pee... But people... the protesters... the soldiers... They will see it, and it will be embarrassing ...

Another author applies the same approach to a rare object in the downtown of a big city, a tractor. The example probably refers to the early stage of confrontation right after police dispersed the rally in the night of November 30, 2013, when a group of people tried to attack the *Berkut* lines using a tractor.<sup>110</sup>

16-A051-U-Or, February 14, 2014

Якось літом ми відпочивали з Трактором і я сказав, чогось бракує. І Трактор сказав - так, Революції

Once I had a summer vacation together with a Tractor and I said that something was missing. And Tractor said: "yes, Revolution is missing."

The most popular animated object with human features is Lenin's monument. Many authors in this way manage to discuss the widespread demolition of Lenin's monuments in different regions of the country.

144-A025-U-Rep-Com+U, February 1, 2014

щось з тими лєнюхами не то. може то лєнінський грип їх косить пачками? (Com.1) А ти шо думав – просто на морозі вєчна стоять?

Something is wrong with those leniukhs<sup>111</sup> [Lenin's monuments]. Maybe there's a Lenin's flu that mows them down *en masse*? (Com. 1) What, did you think that it was easy to stand eternally in the frost?

19-A097-U/R-Or-Com+, February 21, 2014

Лєнін вчинив прикре самогубство в Дніпрі та Чернігові. Як сказав би поет Маяковський - "Хорошо!".

Lenin committed an awkward suicide in Dnipro[petrovs'k] and Chernihiv. The poet Mayakovskiy would have said "Good!"<sup>112</sup>

116-A141-U-Or, February 22, 2014

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<sup>110</sup> "На Банковой идет прорыв": трактор штурмует оцепление "Беркута" - снова применили газ и шумовые гранаты. ФОТОрепортаж+ВИДЕО. [http://censor.net.ua/photo\\_news/261709/na\\_bankovoyi\\_idet\\_proryv\\_traktor\\_shturmuet\\_otseplenie\\_berkuta\\_snova\\_p\\_rimenili\\_gaz\\_i\\_shumovye\\_granaty](http://censor.net.ua/photo_news/261709/na_bankovoyi_idet_proryv_traktor_shturmuet_otseplenie_berkuta_snova_p_rimenili_gaz_i_shumovye_granaty)

<sup>111</sup> It is an example of an occasional nickname given to Lenin. The word may correlate with concordant word meaning "lazy one," i.e. one who becomes too lazy to stand and falls down.

<sup>112</sup> That is an ironical reference to the poem by Vladimir Mayakovskiy praising the Russian Revolution 1917. Маяковский, Владимир. 1927. Сочинения в двух томах. Москва: Правда.

повідомляю з Олександрії що на Кировоградщині [...]: просто зараз повна площа людей спілкується з лєніним про його майбутнє. побажаємо їм короткої і результативної розмови!

I report from Oleksandriia, Kyrovohrad region [...]: right now the square full of people speaks with Lenin about his future. Let's wish them a short and productive talk!

32-A231-R-Or, February 28, 2014

МОЛНИЯ! Группа уцелевших ленинов пытается пересечь границу Украины

NEWSFLASH! A group of the escaped Lenins is trying to cross the border of Ukraine

In addition to objects, some Facebook posts presented domestic and international relations of Ukraine using a metaphor of interpersonal and gender relations in a family context. Using images of domestic violence, the male role was given either directly to Victor Yanukovych or to the authorities collectively. Facebook users often made links among imaginary and actual relations in the ex-President's family, Yanukovych's criminal background,<sup>113</sup> and slang idioms about corrupted relations in Ukrainian political affairs.

56-A1072-U/R-Or, January 25, 2014

Він думає, що Україна - як Люся. Її можна постійно ігнорувати. Час від часу вітати зі святом. Під час революцій лупцювати, щоб не дозволяла собі зайвого. А вона, попри все: "Я стараюсь, батя!" Якби він читав Ліну Костенко, то принаймні запідозрив би, яка різниця між Люсею і Україною [...]

Yanukovych treats Ukraine the way he treats his wife Liusia. She can be completely ignored. Every now and then, she should be congratulated on a certain holiday. If there is an uprising, she should be beaten up so that she is put in her place. Still, she will say, "Daddy, I am trying!" If he reads Lina Kostenko then at least he may guess about the difference between his Liusia and Ukraine. [...]

14-A102-U-Or, February 15, 2014

[...] У Вільнюсі Україна могла заручитися з Європою, але замість шлюбу влада наречену спочатку побила, потім звалтувала, а тепер намагається ув'язнити. [...]

[...] In Vilnius, Ukraine might have become engaged with Europe<sup>114</sup>. However, instead, the [Ukrainian] government beat the bride, then raped her, and now is trying to imprison her. [...]

55-A066-R-Rep/Com, February 20, 2014

семейный клан потихоньку превращается назад в обычную семью с отцом – уголовником

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<sup>113</sup> Янукович Виктор Федорович. Liga.net. June 2, 2015. Retrieved June 12, 2015. <http://file.liga.net/person/271-viktor-yanukovich.html>

<sup>114</sup> *Eastern Partnership* Vilnius Summit of the European Union took place November 28-29, 2013, where Ukraine was supposed to sign an agreement with the EU.

The [Yanukovych] Family Clan is gradually turning into a regular family where dad is a criminal.

At the moment Crimea's invasion started, the family roles were articulated in a different way.

The active male role according to traditional family pattern was given to Ukraine, and Crimea was depicted as a female victim unable to protect herself from an aggressive outside violator.

256-A027-U-Or, February 28, 2014

Секретар РНБО Парубій сказав, що українські військові об'єкти в Криму поки не атакували.

Тобто дружину ще не згвалтували.

Але вже влізли в кірзових чоботах на ліжко, врубали телек на повний звук на якомусь нетутешньому каналі, виїли весь мед з холодильника.

Ситуація під контролем.

The Secretary of the Ukrainian Council for National Security and Defense, [Andriy] Parubiy, said that the Ukrainian military facilities in Crimea had not been attacked.

Well, it means that your wife has not been raped yet.

However, they've already climbed in her bed wearing heavy, dirty boots, turned on the TV at full volume to some strange channel; eaten all the honey from the refrigerator.

The situation is under control.

Regional peculiarities of bi- and poly-lingualism in Odessa and ideological implications connected to a particular language use are demonstrated through imagined feminine characters and their interpersonal relations as collective image of various confronted groups. One author, residing in Odessa and giving no names, pays attention to the local realities and views that might be represented through the agents that are supposed to share opposite ideologies.

23-A109-R/Yid-Or, February 8, 2014

Я такая русскоязычная! - говорила Одесская Интеллигенция Украинской Идее,- я такая русскоязычная, что никогда не пойму ни одного нерусского слова!

- А штикл мышигинер! - огрызнулась Украинская Идея.

- Это я-то кусок сумасшедшей? - возмутилась Одесская Интеллигенция.

I'm so Russian-speaking! – Odessa Intelligentsia said to Ukrainian Idea,- I'm so Russian-speaking that I will never ever understand any non-Russian word!

- Ah shtick meshuggeneh [Yiddish swearing, literally means “what a crazy one [piece]”]! – Ukrainian Idea snarled.

- So I am a crazy one, eh? – Odessa Intelligentsia shouted in outrage.



The same character, Odessa Intelligentsia, and a male figure representing security services give an ironic description of people feeling nostalgic about Soviet time in a conversation about symbolic automobile. In this example, a car in each individual's possession relives Soviet dream of well-being and prosperity, while the other particular automobile model, used by official bodies, is a symbol of repression.

145-A109-R-Or, February 4, 2014

Коммунизм наступит тогда, когда у каждого человека будет "Лада" или, в крайнем случае - "Запорожец" - задумчиво сказала Одесская Интеллигенция.

- А вот и нет! - возразил Майор Валерьевич, - коммунизм наступит, когда за каждым будет ездить черная "Волга"! И он погладил любимый автомобиль твердой рукой человека с твердыми убеждениями.

Communism will come when everyone has a *Lada*<sup>115</sup> or, at least, a *Zaporozhets*<sup>116</sup> - Odessa Intelligentsia musefully said.

- Not so! – Major Valeryevich<sup>117</sup> argued, - communism will come when everyone is followed by a black *Volga*!<sup>118</sup> And he caressed his favourite car with the firm hand of a person having strong convictions.

In a later post, the author of the Odessa Intelligentsia character, says that at least two different groups might be called by this name. Its symbolic and ambivalent image provides space both for sympathy and antipathy.

140-A109-R-Or, February 27, 2014

Только что говорил на радио "Свобода" об одесской после(?)революционной ситуации, в частности, о том, как относится к Майдану Одесская Интеллигенция (имеется в виду мой персонаж). Честно ответил, что мой персонаж прежде всего боится. Моя Одесская Интеллигенция - женщина пожилая, времена ее и моей молодости пришились на семидесятые и первую половину восьмидесятых... Она привержена русскому языку с одесским акцентом [...] для нее важен определенный набор символов, связанных с Одессой прошлых лет, определенный пантеон литературных персонажей. [...] Экономическая нестабильность не прибавляет энтузиазма моей героине... Существует и

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<sup>115</sup> Lada is an automobile manufactured by Russian AvtoVAZ in Tolyatti, Samara region. It was originally the export brand for models sold under the Zhiguli name in the domestic Soviet market after June 1970. Lada cars became popular in Russia and Eastern Europe during the last two decades of the Soviet time, particularly in former Soviet bloc countries.

<sup>116</sup> Zaporozhets was a designed and built from 1958 to 1994 at the ZAZ factory in Zaporizhzhia, Ukraine. It was the cheapest Soviet car.

<sup>117</sup> "Valeryevich" is a patronymic after the name "Valerii." Patronymic is used for official forms of communication.

<sup>118</sup> Volga is a Soviet automobile brand originated in 1956. Although Volga cars were readily used as taxi cabs, road police interceptors and ambulances (based on the estate versions), it was mainly known for serving the Soviet nomenklatura.

просто одесская интеллигенция - эти более решительны, стоят на Евромайдане, не слишком боятся украинизации. Но эта интеллигенция не вполне одесская, или одесская не в том смысле, который я вкладываю в это прилагательное.

Я сошел с ума от любви к Одесской Интеллигенции, вы не забыли?

Just now I spoke on Radio Liberty about the situation in post(?)-revolutionary Odessa, and Odessa Intelligentsia's (I mean my character) attitude to the Maidan in particular... I honestly said that my character, first of all, was afraid. My Odessa Intelligentsia is an older woman; the time of her youth and mine was the 1970s and early 1980s... She is committed to the Russian language with an Odessa accent [...] she appreciates a number of symbols associated with old Odessa, a certain pantheon of literary characters. [...] Economic instability doesn't dampen my character's spirit... There is also another Odessa intelligentsia, more determined, standing on the EuroMaidan, and not worrying too much about Ukrainisation. However, these intellectuals are not quite "Odessan", or not Odessan in the same sense.

I fell crazily in love with Odessa Intelligentsia, don't you remember?

Representation of the media discourse about the situation in the country is an example of the interpretation of riots and authorities, common past and present actions through ideological lenses and an image of Turkish galleon slaves. The text gives an example of ambivalence between "good" and "bad" of each opposing side, and does not name either side, leaving the final interpretation to the reader.

418-A949-R-Or, February 22, 2014

На турецкой галере взбунтовались гребцы. Разговоры гребцов на соседней галере: "Да чо ж они творят, а? О, щас их надсмотрщики отхучат! А-а! Плеть у надсмотрщика вырвали! Надсмотрщика бьют! Что за беспредел! Бедный надсмотрщик, смотри, он весь в крови, зверье! Капитана, капитана поволокли! Да на что ж это похоже? Да их венецианцы подкупили. Не, это все боцман, он хочет стать капитаном. Не, я говорю точно венецианцы. Венецианские подстилки! Идиоты, кто же вас теперь кормить будет, ведь с голоду подохнете! Господи, как хорошо, что на нашей галере ничего такого нет! Как мы гордимся нашей галерой, грозой пяти морей! И нашим славным капитаном! А вот и ужин. Ура капитану!"

There is a riot on a Turkish slave ship. The slaves aboard another galleon discuss it, "God, what are they doing! In a moment the overseers will lash them into submission! What? Oh, someone yanked the overseer's whip from his hands! They are beating the overseer! This is way too much. Poor overseer! Look at him, he is covered with blood! They are beasts! Now look, they captured the captain, the captain! They are dragging him out of his post! That's beyond imagination! Ah, I know, the Venetians bribed them. No, it's the first mate. It's all his doing. He wants to be the captain himself! No, I tell you, it's Venetians. Venetian whores! You idiots, now, who is going to feed you? You will starve to death! Lord, how wonderful that we have nothing like that on our galleon. How proud we are of our galleon, the ruler of the five seas! And our captain! See, they are bringing us some chow. Hurray to the captain!!!"

Alexei Yurchak suggests the slang term *stiob* as a form of irony that “differed from sarcasm, cynicism, derision, or any of the more familiar genres of absurd humor,” a practice of “subtle irony that reacted to the paradoxes of the everyday.”<sup>119</sup> To some extent it correlates with the ambivalence of Aesopian language. Yurchak states this type of irony shares some elements with Bakhtin’s notion of carnivalesque parody, but also involves “a feeling of affinity and warmth toward them” and an “aesthetics of ambivalence.” Yurchak points to an over-identification with the object, person or idea, when it is impossible to tell whether it is “a form of sincere support, subtle ridicule, or a peculiar mixture of the two.”<sup>120</sup> After the over-identification with a symbol, the *stiob* involves the decontextualization of that symbol.<sup>121</sup> In addition, the target of the irony is not articulated clearly to allow some ambivalence. This type of humor, similar to the previously discussed genres, is found in many examples of my collection and helps illuminate the Maidan supporters’ view of the media images from the other side. The abovementioned examples with human characters to some extent correlate with the Yurchak’s definition of *stiob*.

My collection includes examples related to all sides that participated in the conflict. For example, reflecting about the role of opposition leaders in the protests, one author does not have them in high estimation but also does not reject their connection to the Maidan in the image of “text-messages of the Maidan,” puts them between the opposing sides.

216-A099-U-Or, January 25, 2014

Це вже dokonаний факт, що наші лідери оппо йдуть за народом, а не ведуть його. Добре це чи погано? Погано - але й добре. Диктаторів з них точно не вийде. Змусити народ щось робити чи переконати його вони не здатні. Залишається тільки одна роль - рупорів, вісників, зайчиків на побігеньках, смс-повідомлень. Оппо - це смски майдану. Вони слухаються майдан, а не навпаки. Демократична мізансцена, в принципі.

It is a proven fact that our opposition leaders are actually following the people rather than leading. Is it good or bad? Both. They will never become dictators. They cannot force people to

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<sup>119</sup> Yurchak, p. 243

<sup>120</sup> Yurchak, p. 250.

<sup>121</sup> Yurchak, p. 252.

do something, or convince them of something. They have only one function - remain talking heads, messengers, and rabbits running errands. The opposition [politicians] are the text-messages of the Maidan. They obey the Maidan, not the other way around. So it is, actually a democratic *mise en scene* in principle.

A more sarcastic text is provided about the Ministry of Interior Affairs. An author lists the main incidents that occurred to Maidan supporters using the style of public appeal and polite correspondence. The irony lies in the fact that the text names events and casualties that occurred with police support.

124-A196-U-Or, February 1, 2014

Журналісти! Припиніть імітувати своє побиття. - Медбрати! Не інсценуйте вибухи в медпунктах. - Автомайданівці! Припиніть бити і палити один одному машини. - Люди, що зникли безвісти! Досить переховуватись в моргах. - Народ України, припиніть - провокації! З турботою про Вас - МВС України.

Journalists, stop faking your beatings! Nurses, stop faking explosions in medical centers! Participants of the AutoMaidan movement, stop vandalizing and burning each other's cars! People who are missing, stop hiding in morgues! People of Ukraine, stop your provocations! With concern for you, the Ministry of Interior Affairs of Ukraine.

Another author describes the protestors seizing the Ukrainian House museum after the building had been occupied by governmental forces. He calls what occurred “anarchy” and protestors a “mob of rioters” but in fact demonstrates sympathy for their actions.

13-A650-R-Or, January 26, 2014

вот и постмодернизм на марше: правительственные силы в украинском доме повредили музейные экспонаты. толпа повстанцев, захватившая укрдом, вызвала среди ночи музейщиков и составляет акты. беркутовцев обзывают мародерами. украинская анархия как она есть.

This is Postmodernism in action. The government forces have damaged some of the artifacts displayed in the Ukrainian House museum. The mob of rioters, which has occupied the Ukrainian House, calls in museum specialists in the middle of the night who could repair these damaged items and prepare reports. Now the mob calls the *Berkut* “marauders.” Ukrainian anarchy as it really is.

A description of the Anti-Maidan activities and its musical preferences is given as an evidence of social opposition between high and lower marginal class of criminal elements.

9-A190-U-Or-Com+, February 4, 2014

Геть блатняк! Той факт, що мусора, аби не чути інформації з нашого боку, глушать динаміки на Грушевського не Моцартом і не Бахом, а тупо блатняком-шансоном (!!!!!!!), знову доводить - переконувати пізно. Треба приборати. Ми маємо справу з наймасштабнішою костюмованою виставою сучасності. Це гігантський лагерний театральний гурток, де тисячі уловників перевдяглися в одяг держслужбовців. Уловників за своїм духом. [...]

Down with blatniak [prison folklore]<sup>122</sup>! Once again we find that, in order to interfere with information on our end, the cops<sup>123</sup> are deafening it with loudspeakers on Hrushevsky street playing not Mozart, not Bach, but this imbecile prison-chanson(!!!!!!!). This demonstrates again – it is too late to try convincing them. We simply have to have them disbanded. We are dealing with the greatest costumed masquerade in our time: This is a gigantic prison camp theatre group, when thousands of criminals are dressed as state employees. They are true criminals by their mentality. [...]

A description of “an alternative Facebook” outlines the usual activities of Facebook users with ironic and sarcastic characteristics of the opposing side’s internal connections.

79-A097-U-Or, February 12, 2014

Уявив альтернативний фейсбук - там користувачі обмінюються лінками на статті Бузини і шейрять виступи співака Гришка перед ВР, Царьов ходить у моральних авторитетах, Арбузов лайкає пости Януковича, менти скаржаться на протестувальників, які пішли по беспределу, судді заздять колегам, які більше посадили людей з Майдану, а тітушки обговорюють нові фасони кепочек і спортивок... І це не сатира, а гіперреальність. Бо саме це і відбувається, тільки не в ФБ, а в житті. Півкраїни живе у згоді з реальними бандитами, які миліше за вигаданих бандер і жахів європейської перспективи.

I have just imagined an alternative Facebook. In it, the users share links to articles by Buzyna<sup>124</sup> and videos of Hryshko<sup>125</sup> singing near the Ukrainian Parliament building. Tsaryov<sup>126</sup> has a status of moral authority. Arbuzov<sup>127</sup> likes the posts of Yanukovych. Cops complain at the protesters who keep committing crimes. Judges envy those of their colleagues who put more Maidan people

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<sup>122</sup> The author uses slang word “blatniak,” short for “blatnaia pesnia”, a genre of Russian song characterized by depictions of criminal subculture and the urban underworld. The word derived from the complicated system of prison social hierarchy in post-Soviet countries, where “blatnyie” is the highest class who romanticises the prison life. The name of this class gives another slang word “blat” that means having good connections, based on the use of cronyism, etc.

<sup>123</sup> The slang word “musora” in this context means “cops” that derived from Russian literary means “garbage.”

<sup>124</sup> Oles’ Buzyna is a Ukrainian journalist and writer. He supported the idea of “The Russian World,” a common state for Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, and shared anti-Ukrainian views. Unknown persons killed him April 16, 2015.

<sup>125</sup> Volodymyr Hryshko is a Ukrainian opera singer. Hryshko supported Yanukovych and sang for Anti-Maidan in mid-December 2013.

<sup>126</sup> Oleh Tsarev is a Ukrainian politician, MP of Ukrainian Parliament until November 27, 2014. He supported the idea that the Maidan had been sponsored by the Western Security Services, and in summer 2014 he joined the side of so called “people republics” in the east of Ukraine.

<sup>127</sup> Serhii Arbuzov is a Ukrainian businessman and politician. He was the acting Prime Minister of Ukraine January 28 – February 27, 2014, after Mykola Azarov’s dismissal from the position and before the formation of the new Cabinet.

in jail. And titushky discuss new models of caps and gym suits... This isn't a satire, but a "hyper-reality." Because all that is taking place, just not on Facebook but in real life. One half of the country lives in peace with very real bandits, who are so much better than the imagined Nationalists-Banderites and the dread of the prospect of being part of Europe.

Another author makes a sarcastic remark about the design of the residences of the authorities in connection with their policy juxtaposed to the past Soviet history and the Mezhyhirya residence acquisition.

50-A048-R-Rep/Com, February 24, 2014

Как справедливо заметил один из комментаторов, внешнее уродство есть выражение внутренней пустоты чекистского православия.  
Жлоб-арт. Быкоко.

One commentator justly said that the external ugliness is an expression of the internal emptiness of the Chekist-style orthodoxy.<sup>128</sup>  
Jerk-art. Вycoco.<sup>129</sup>

Among the popular jokes are those about the low intellectual level of the authorities as opposed to the compulsory library at one's home as a sign of belonging to the high-educated class. The author and the commentators discuss the Mezhyhirya, residence newly open for the public, and the absence of books revealed there.

442-A954-R-Or-Com+, February 22, 2014

Папа отправил в нокаут - сидит в кресле, хмурится: "слушай, говорит - а где его библиотека?"  
(Com. 1) я сполз с дивана ))) привет папе ))  
(Com. 2) метко.. сижую икаю)  
(Com. 3) бібліотеку доставали з води  
(Com. 4) тоже мне, бином ньютона - где унитаза, там и библиотека ))  
(Com. 5) увез с собой, читает.

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<sup>128</sup> Chekist-style orthodoxy is an expression with multiple meaning. Chekist is a member of Cheka (the abbreviation "ЧК" for "черезвычайная комиссия"), the executive body responsible for the campaign of mass killings, torture, and regular oppression conducted by the Bolsheviks since they seized power in 1917 until WWII. The opened residences of the top authorities of Ukraine who fled the country late February 2014 have many religious items designated for worship and liturgical services in Orthodox Church. This opposition between the items meant for use in sacred ceremonies but stored in private residence, and the way the top authorities represented themselves with these items, is the basis for the derogatory neologism.

<sup>129</sup> Вycoco – is a neologism produced of two words merging, an ox, pronounced in Ukrainian and Russian languages as "byk" and Rococo (Late Baroque) architecture style typical for Ukrainian sacred architecture of 18<sup>th</sup> century. The term has a derogatory meaning to name the kitsch style and eclecticism in decoration of expensive country residences of the Ukrainian top authorities.

My dad gave me a “knockout”. He sits in a chair, frowns and asks: “Hey, and where is his library?”

(com. 1) I slipped from the couch ))) greetings to your dad )))

(com. 2) neat... I sit and hiccup

(com. 3) the library was saved from drowning<sup>130</sup>

(com. 4) what news, a Newton binomial<sup>131</sup> – the library is where his golden toilet is.<sup>132</sup>

(com. 5) I think he took it with him and he is reading it.

In the beginning of the invasion to Crimea, one author discusses how various media outlets represent news and influence the spread of ideological views and actual events.

232-A286-U-Or, February 26, 2014

Дивлюсь кримський канал АТР. Татари кричать: Україна! Аллах акбар! Слава Україні! Героям слава! Банду геть!". Росіяни кричать: "Росія!" Кароч, сьогодні в новостях нам розкажуть про героїчну боротьбу русского міра з новим підвидом фашистів: бендеровцями-ваххабітами.

I am watching a TV channel ATR from Crimea. The Tatars shout, “Ukraine! Allah-u-Akbar! Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the heroes! Down with the gang [criminal regime]!” The Russians shout, “Russia!” In short, in today’s news [on the Russian TV] they will tell us about the struggle of the Russian World with a new kind of Fascists: Banderite Wahhabits.

The occupations of the protestors and their social class are often subject of discussions. The author of the next post obviously underlines the participation of academic people in the protests, and demonstrates his sympathy, mixed with usually negative attributes, but with implied positive meaning.

84-A1561-R-Or, February 27, 2014

ДИКИЕ ЛЮДИ - ЭТИ УЧЕННЫЕ. Мой младший, несколько покоцанный в известные дни коллега, насчитал как-то за один раз на баррикадах на Грушевского два доктора и пять кандидатов наук, швыряющих всякую каку. Жуть. Кто будет воспитывать нашу молодежь?)

These academics, aren’t they wild? One of my younger colleagues, a bit scratched up these days, saw two Doctors and five Candidates of Science at one time behind the barricade at Hrushevsky street throwing out all kinds of shit [participating in the protest]. Terrible. Who will educate our youth?

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<sup>130</sup> After Yanukovych fled, many official governmental documents were found drowned in the lake at Mezhyhirya.

<sup>131</sup> In this context, “Newton binomial” is an idiomatic expression adopted from literary works and popular culture that means providing simple explanation of complex things. The expression was used in *Master and Margarita* by Mikhail Bulgakov and in film *Stalker* by Andrei Tarkovsky.

<sup>132</sup> The author refers to the fact of Soviet time deficiency of toilet paper among many other goods, and that time people often used old periodic and ideological books in washrooms both for reading and instead of toilet paper.

The protests include also provocations from both sides used for propaganda purposes, and there is an example ironically referring to the complexity of its interpretations.

99-A109-R-Or, February 7, 2014

Однажды демонстранты переоделись спецназовцами и пошли громить рестораны. А спецназовцы как раз в это же время переоделись демонстрантами и тоже пошли громить те же самые рестораны. Что тут началось!

Once demonstrators dressed up as special police forces and went to loot restaurants. And special police forces exactly the same time dressed up as demonstrators and also went to loot the same restaurants. What was going on!

## 5. Anecdotes

The variety of humorous expressions is very broad. Many Facebook users produce jokes a bit different from *stio*b and Aesopian language. The genre of anecdotes also requires a certain tension or unsettled situation in society to feed the success of the genre. The content of an anecdote requires “metaphoric references to the paradoxes and discontinuities in which everyone participated daily.” Further, these jokes should be short, so they can be repeated “by different people in different contexts.” Usually, an anecdote has no known author, and articulates clearly the target of its irony. Yurchak describes a collective daily ritual of narrating endless rounds of anecdotes in the period between 1960-1980 in many Soviet institutions as an important part of daily routine, and then their ritual disappeared from everyday life at the time of the Soviet Union’s collapse. Yurchak explains this fact in that anecdotes were associated with resistance to the system that collapsed and were the main target for this ritual. However, this type of humor swings between support and opposition, rationality and absurdity, life and death. Soviet political anecdotes targeted both known political figures and dissidents.<sup>133</sup>

Topics of anecdotes in my collection vary according to the most important events discussed on a particular day on Facebook. Certain personalities of the political protests become the target of

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<sup>133</sup> Yurchak, p. 273-281.



anecdotes for several days during or immediately after a mediated event where the person was an actor.

For example, an author gives her immediate reaction to the Prime-Minister Mykola Azarov's report about the situation in agriculture, in particular, the statistics of sugar production that were published on the day of escalation on the Maidan.

96-A396-R-Or, January 19, 2014

Ну, Слава Создателю! А то вон народ аж брусчатку повыковыривал от переживаний за сахарную отрасль.

Well, Glory to the Creator! People even plucked cobblestones out worrying so much about the sugar industry.

Many jokes target the Prime-Minister's intellectual ability. The jokes below reflect the fact that Mykola Azarov never spoke or read clearly in Ukrainian, but usually mixed up the Russian and Ukrainian languages in his speech. This was extended to imagine his command of English. It was published the day of Azarov's dismissal from the Prime-Minister's position.

170-A383-R-Rep, January 28, 2014

Азаров: Что такое по-английски "сан оф э бич?"  
Табачник: "Сукин сын". А почему вы спрашиваете?  
Азаров: А про меня иностранные корреспонденты так сказали...  
Табачник: Ааа, ну тогда - "солнце пляжа".

Azarov: What does it mean in English "son of a beech"?  
Tabachnyk<sup>134</sup>: That is "son of a bitch." Why do you ask?  
Azarov: That is what foreign journalists said about me...  
Tabachnyk: Ahh, well, then they said "sun of the beach."

Several days later, Facebook users referred to Azarov's recent visit to World Economic Forum Annual Meeting 2014 in Davos, Switzerland, just before his dismissal, January 22-25.

57-A173-Surzh/R-Or, February 1, 2014

Мине ни захотили слухати в Давосе!  
Ничего, Николай Яныч, вас внимательно выслушают в Гааге.

Azarov: "They did not even listen to me in Davos!"

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<sup>134</sup> Dmytro Tabachnyk is a Ukrainian politician, and former Science and Education Minister of Ukraine in the Yanukovich's Government.

“That’s OK, Mykola Yanych<sup>135</sup> – you will have your chance to be heard in The Hague.”

Victor Yanukovych is often the object of jokes during the whole period with focus on different aspects of concern on a particular day. One example is a kind of a response to the mass persecutions of protesters, Yanukovych’s hyper-jealousy and the protestors’ attitude towards him.

142-A1252-R-Or, January 31, 2014

"Охрана Януковича арестовала зеркало из его спальни. Оно продалось оппозиции и вместо президента показывало какое-то тупое ничтожество." (с)

Yanukovych's security forces arrested a mirror from his bedroom. It sold itself to the opposition and instead of the President showed some stupid insignificant being.

The number of anecdotes about Yanukovych significantly grew immediately after he fled the country. One aspect among many was the shifted focus to the topic of possible Russian intervention. The next example is playing with grammatical rules and distinctions that implied perception of Ukraine as an independent country or as a part of another state.

191-A1495-R-Or, February 24, 2014

"Янукович объявлен в международный розыск. До сих пор неизвестно, где он находится — на Украине или в Украине"

Yanukovych is put on the international wanted list. It is still not known where he is, in the Ukraine or in Ukraine.<sup>136</sup>

After the announcement of Yanukovych’s first press conference after his escape, references to prison folklore connected with this particular locality and Yanukovych’s criminal background are evoked.

78-A097-U/R-Or, February 27, 2014

Як відомо, в кримінальному світі про Одесу казали "мама," а про Ростов - "папа." Тепер ясно, чому Янукович завтра буде саме в місті на Дону.

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<sup>135</sup> “Yanych” is a short spoken form of patronymic Yanovych, the form of referral to governmental officials is their name and patronymic.

<sup>136</sup> Similar to English grammar, where “the” in addition to regular grammar rules has implied political context (Geoghegan, Tom. “Ukraine or the Ukraine: Why do some country names have 'the'?” BBC. June 7, 2012. Retrieved November 15, 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-18233844>), Russian grammar implies preposition “на” to point a territory as a part inside a country, when preposition “в” is used to point an independent state. Since the Maidan this issue becomes politically extremely sensitive.

In the criminal underworld, the city of Odesa has been always referred to as “mom,” and the city of Rostov as “dad.” Now it’s clear why Yanukovich will be in the city on the Don river tomorrow.<sup>137</sup>

The next text refers to a popular topic of interpersonal relations in extended families, proposing political conflict as a means of consolidation and resolution of inter-family tension, and discussing the President’s residence being opened for visitors. The male author of the next example depicts himself as a protestor, refers to numerous jokes about inter-family confrontations between a son-in-law and a mother-in-law, and comments on a family’s reunion caused by new details of Yanukovich’s private life.

225-A117-U/R-Rep/Com, February 22, 2014

Я не можу стримати сліз: "Теща увидела Межигорье и перешла на сторону восставшего народа."

I cannot restrain my tears: “My mother-in-law saw Mezhyhirya and joined the side of the demonstrating masses.”

There is an example of a pun caused by a visit of a pro-governmental party member to the Maidan stage. The person mentioned has the same last name as the street where most escalations had occurred.

14-A011-R-Or, February 3, 2014

Вчера на Майдане выступал регионал Грушевский. Считаю, что в знак примирения он должен назвать своего сына Евромайдан. Евромайдан Грушевский далеко пойдет! И, главное, понятно, куда.

Yesterday, a Party of Regions<sup>138</sup> member whose last name was Hrushevsky<sup>139</sup> spoke at the Maidan stage. I suggest, in order to become completely reconciled with us, he should name his son Euromaidan. Euromaidan Hrushevsky will go a long way. In the right direction.

Facebook users ironically discuss the popular topic of radical protesters on the Maidan in Russian government media outlets, and formulate their own portrait of ultra-right group protesters:

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<sup>137</sup> Victor Yanukovich gave his first press-conference after he fled from Ukraine in the city of Rostov-na-Donu.

<sup>138</sup> The Party of Regions was headed by Victor Yanukovich.

<sup>139</sup> Vitalii Hrushevsky is a Ukrainian politician and MP of Ukrainian Parliament, 7<sup>th</sup> convocation, October 28, 2012 – August 25, 2014.

58-A025-R-Or-Com+R, February 1, 2014

Узнав из российских "Вестей", от журналиста Дмитрия Киселёва, о количестве экстремистов в Украине, Аль-Каида просто охренела и решила самораспуститься...

Having learned from the Russian *Vesti*, from the journalist Dmitry Kiselyov, about the number of extremists in Ukraine, Al-Qaeda simply went nuts and decided to dissolve itself...

231-A1266-R-Or, January 31, 2014

- Где можно вступить в Правый сектор?

- А у вас есть два высших образования, бита и хороший английский? Если нет, то даже не пытайтесь, не возьмут.

- How can I join the *Right Sector*?

- Do you have two University degrees, a bat and good command of English? If not, don't even try, they won't take you.

Facebook users also provide narratives of their enchantment about protestors' cooperation and the way it functions through the Facebook.

80-A025-R-Rep, January 23, 2014

читаю в фейсбуке объявления - нужна кровь, через полдня - хватит крови, набрали до понедельника. Потом - нужны медикаменты, через полдня - медикаментов столько, что уже нужен для них холодильник. То же самое с едой, дровами, одеждой. У меня такое ощущение, что у этой сумасшедшей нации даже если обогащенный уран попросить - найдет и притащит

[During the Maidan uprising], I was reading Facebook and saw this pattern. Here's an announcement, "Blood needed," then in several hours, "We have enough donor's blood to last till Monday." Then another one: "Medications are needed," then in several hours: "We have enough of the medications; now, we need a refrigerator." Same thing with food, firewood, clothes. I have a hunch that in this crazy nation, if someone posted an announcement, "Enriched uranium is needed," someone would find it and bring it.

The next two jokes discussed the threat of an impending invasion of Crimea speaking of the person most responsible for the operation and hope that their goals would not be reached.

6-A1577-U/R-Rep/Com, February 26, 2014

:))) 3 української мови також:

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говорят слово "Крым" с татарского переводится, как "Не твое, Володя" :)))

They say the word "Crimea" means in the Crimean-Tatar language, "it is not yours, Volodia"<sup>140</sup>) / It means the same in the Ukrainian language :)))

164-A1576-R-Or, February 27, 2014

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<sup>140</sup> "Volodia" is a diminutive name for "Vladimir." Here it refers to Vladimir Putin.

Сдаётся мне у крымских "захватчиков" что-то пошло не так. Или они не всё продумали. А пока что ситуация мне напоминает анекдот:  
заскакивает террорист в троллейбус в центре Кишинёва и под угрозой оружия требует:  
"Едем в Чикаго!"  
Где-то так.)))

It seems to me that something went wrong for the Crimean "invaders." Or perhaps they didn't think everything through. For now, the situation reminds me of an anecdote:  
A terrorist catches a trolleybus in the center of Kishinev and demands at gunpoint: "We go to Chicago!"  
Something like that.)))

One more example gives an idea of changing roles in society after the conflict when a protestor becomes a government official, and this fact reveals the need of new structural relations.

141-A077-U-Or, February 27, 2014

Той дивний момент, коли тобі дзвонять з приймальні твого фб-френда-міністра в растеряності: невже тепер не вийде вирішувати державні проблеми в чатіку?

That strange moment when they call you from the office of a government Minister who is also your Facebook friend. So, does this mean that we can no longer solve state problems in online chat forums?

## **Conclusions**

Through different types of humor, Facebook users try to formulate who they are and who they are not, how they see themselves and the opposing side, and to develop acceptable and unacceptable characteristics and values they share. For this purpose, authors refer to earlier existing symbols of their own culture, traditional and contemporary urban folklore; they stayed within their cultural milieu. The Maidan narratives in virtual communication, in particular, on Facebook, functioned in the limited period with high expectation of significant changes in the political and social spheres. The examples provided in this chapter refer to different types and genres of humor, according to the concepts provided by Frank, Dundes, Bakhtin, Loseff and Yurchak. The Maidan tropes include elements of urban folklore and popular culture references, traditional folklore, carnivalesque forms, allegorical literary approaches applied in situations of ideological censorship and self-censorship, informal everyday rituals of late socialism of the

former Soviet Union, and traditions of contemporary internet lore. Certainly, portraits of all sides involved in the confrontation are often exaggerated and biased, and texts do not represent all types of individuals who supported both sides of the protest. These sometimes ironic, sometimes sarcastic laughs point to an absence of productive dialogue between the sides, and use humor to project hopes to develop a more efficient structure in society. Most authors build their images on locally well-known symbols inherited from Ukrainian, Slavic, Soviet and international culture. Different forms of humor provided as examples contribute both to polarization of views, but also to alleviation of tension. Rostyslav Semkiv suggests that humor helps to create a sense of belonging to a particular group or to a community that can share and understand specific comic features. Positive types of humor for a group member give rise to the pleasure of self-identification, a sense of belonging, and relief after a threat that did not cause any harm. Satire and sarcasm imply symbolic categories and opposition that usually include “me vs. others,” “us vs. them,” “nice vs. ugly,” “good vs. evil,” etc.<sup>141</sup> My data provides examples of both types, and many intermediate types. I suggest all these types help the Facebook authors and their readers to formulate their self-representations and the distinction between Facebook Maidan supporters and their opposing side.

Many expressive posts accompanied the actual physical processes. Facebook authors often produced jokes about their own experiences immediately after the events occurred. Though, my collection is limited in time; it stops at the time when Facebook users were still vividly discussing the events. The last day of my timeframe is the day after Yanukovich’s first press conference outside of Ukraine that evoked a new wave of humor and expressive devices. That is,

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<sup>141</sup> Семків, Ростислав. 2014. “Самоусвідомлення, ідентичність та їх співвіднесеність із формами комізму”. *Проблема культурної ідентичності в літературно-філософському дискурсі XIX-XXI ст.* Київ: НаУКМА. ст. 107-120.

I cannot state how long humor and expressive devices about the Maidan were active. However, I can agree with Yurchak about jokes, irony and other types of humor as a form of response to the actual and immediate circumstances.

At the time of this text preparation, I did not find in my Facebook newsfeed any type of humor related to the events and public figures of winter 2013-2014, but there were still reflections and links to analytical materials referring to the Maidan events.

In addition, I observe that among the 1647 Facebook authors in my collection, a much smaller number of oft-recurring authors contributed posts in this category. Some of them are known journalists, writers, bloggers or analysts; they have an active public position and articulate their opinions through regular publications and public speaking besides Facebook posts. They have many connections and followers on Facebook and are perceived as “opinion makers.” All posts of these authors, including jokes, are widely spread. From the other side, my personal Facebook connections with people who physically participated in the protests might influence the choice to follow posts of people of similar views as the auditorium for a research. However, the last aspect does not interfere with collecting the variety of types of humor and expressive devices that represented the multiple approaches the authors had applied.

## Chapter IV. Storytelling.

This chapter is focused on narratives written by eye-witnesses and participants in the protests; also it includes stories re-told or re-written from third persons. I am going to examine the diverse topics and plots of the stories; the way authors described themselves and others heard, read and re-told stories, whether they focused on people, places or circumstances, and how they served to define and re-define identities. I will refer to the definition and meaning of storytelling and witnessing according to Stahl,<sup>1</sup> Benjamin,<sup>2</sup> Felman and Laub.<sup>3</sup> I will review the narratives relative to three aspects:

1. Digital storytelling as a primary speech genre;
2. Components of personal narratives;
3. Purposes of storytelling: relationship building and creation of an event.

### 1. Digital storytelling as a primary speech genre

In this chapter, I treat the collected narratives as storytelling consistent with traditional approaches to oral history and oral narratives - as “aural” spoken words that one can record and listen to and later transcribe into text. However, I apply the theoretical references to the written texts collected from the Internet. There are a number of studies about oral tradition and the Internet that concern their particular aspects of production, collection, processing and analysis of storytelling.<sup>4</sup> These Facebook texts have possibly never been told as an oral speech, but their

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<sup>1</sup> Stahl, Sandra Dolby. 1989. *Literary Folkloristics and the Personal Narrative*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

<sup>2</sup> Benjamin, Walter. 2007 [1955]. “The Storyteller.” *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken Books. pp. 83-109.

<sup>3</sup> Felman, Shoshana, and Laub, Dori. 1992. *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*. New York and London: Routledge.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson, Michael. 2014. “Another Fine Mess”: The Condition of Storytelling in the Digital Age,” *Narrative Culture*: Vol. 1. Iss. 2, Article 1. <http://digitalcommons.wayne.edu/narrative/vol1/iss2/1/>; Gluck, Sherna Berger. 1999. “Reflections on Oral History in the New Millenium: Roundtable Comments.” *Oral History Review*. Vol. 26. No. 2. pp. 1-27.



structure and function are much closer to the oral form rather than to written texts in their more classical definition. Bakhtin differentiates the primary and the secondary speech genres, where the latter is a complex and comparatively highly organized, mostly written communication for artistic, academic, ideological and political purposes.<sup>5</sup> It is based on the primary genre formed in face-to-face communication. Texting from a tablet or a smartphone on urban barricades is closer to the primary genre of communication in its structure and opportunity to receive immediate feedback, even though it is written, and in the absence of a face-to-face meeting. John Miles Foley in his analysis of oral tradition and the Internet says: “in contrast to the fixed spatial organization of the page and book, the technologies of oral tradition and the Internet mime the way we think by processing along pathways within a network.”<sup>6</sup> In her research of narrative analysis, Barbro Klein speaks about the interviewee’s need to experience and do at the time of being interviewed.<sup>7</sup> In particular, she admits such actions are “imitating voices of others, quoting direct speech, through laughter, powerful metaphors, moral summations, repetitions, pauses, ... silences.”<sup>8</sup> All of these examples are present in the posts where authors switch back and forth between languages, usually Ukrainian, Russian, and also in Surzhik. They provide quotations from their interlocutors, metaphors, summations, repetitions, emoticons to express their emotions, and omission points to show a pause or silence, etc.

There are many posts written in the style of oral speech:

374-A277-U/Eng-Or-Com+, February 20, 2014

Друзі, дуже вдячна вам за підтримку!

але останній дзвінок для мене був, як холодна вода...це були діти з дитячого будинку (що

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<sup>5</sup> Бахтин, Михаил. 1986. “Проблема речевых жанров.” Литературно-критические статьи. Москва: Художественная литература. ст. 428-472.

<sup>6</sup> Foley, John Miles. 2012. *Oral Tradition and the Internet*. Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press. p.5

<sup>7</sup> Klein, Barbro. “Telling, Doing, Experiencing: Folkloristic Perspectives on Narrative Analysis.” In *Narrating, Doing, Experiencing: Nordic Folkloristic Perspective*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. pp. 6-28.

<sup>8</sup> Klein. p. 16.

на Закарпатті)...

Федір: "[...] не ходи туди...просим! ми переживаємо! бережи себе!"...Едіт: "Дзвони нам... щоб ми знали що ти жива"...

Dear friends thank you for your support!

Friends, I'm very thankful for your support!

but the last call was like a cold shower for me... it was from kids in the orphanage (in Trans-Carpathian region)...

Fedir: "[...] don't go there...please! we are worried! Take care!"...Edit: "Call us... so that we know that you are alive..."

Dear friends, thank you for your support!

141-A432-U-Rep-Com+, February 4, 2014

-Дівчино... дівчино... зафіксуйте мене, будь ласка... ви ж журналіст?.. зафіксуйте мене, будь ласка... на всяк випадок.. що я сьогодні є... я - Олекса.. зі Львівської обл...

Зафіксувала. Пан Олекса Є. Принаймні сьогодні...

-Miss... miss... register me, please... you are a journalist, aren't you?.. register me, please... just in case.. that I'm here today... I'm Oleksa.. from Lviv region...

I have registered. Mr. Oleksa IS here. At least, today...

The second text is also an example of a message about the desire to be recorded as a proof that this person exists, and his life is important. Along with this purpose is to preserve the moment and to fix the author's participation in the protests, or it is the will of other people to be fixed and remembered. I will refer to these aspects later in this chapter.

One of the most visible variables for *Storytelling* texts concerns the time of publication. Due to available information technologies, a certain number of protestors wrote out their evidence and impressions directly from the venue using their smartphones, tablets and other gadgets. This type of "online" post usually is very short and addresses only one particular aspect.

127-A016-U-Or, January 19, 2014

На вул. Грушевського замість того, щоб пропустити мирну демонстрацію до урядового кварталу, міліція взяла курс на загострення і силове протистояння. Стою за спинами міліції, щоб у випадку арештів реагувати

The police set their course for escalation and force confrontation on Hrushevky str. instead of letting a peaceful rally to move to the government quarter. I'm standing behind the police to respond in case of arrests [of protestors].

61-A006-U-Or, January 20, 2014

Хлопці біля колони пішли в атаку на вилізших було ВВшників (чи Беркут), на момент їх потіснили.... Але щось там на Майдані відбувається, треба йти побачити

Guys near the colonnade went to attack the Internal troops (or the Berkut) had climbed out, and pressed them for a while... But something is going on the Maidan, I have to go and see.

91-A027-U-Or, January 20, 2014

Щойно вешки спробували прорватися по нашому лівому флангу. Але дудки! Оборона відбувається спонтанно. Але з душею! Справжня народна творчість!

Just now Internal troops tried to break through our left flank. But it did not work out. Defense is going on spontaneously. And with inspiration! [It is] real folk creativity!

Long texts with many details were usually written after a person had time to reflect, recollect and reassess the experience. The size of these two types of posts can vary from several lines as in the examples above to several pages; the second type tend to closely resemble typical written texts.

9-A032-R/Engl-Com/Rep, February 1, 2014

[...]

\* \* \*

Letter from Dnepropetrovsk  
February 1, 2014, 19:44

This is a letter from the wife of one of the people arrested in Dnepropetrovsk on January 26, 2014

Greetings!

I want to inform everyone, so that they would know what is happening with people who have been arrested. On January 26th in Dnepropetrovsk at a meeting around the Administration building, my husband, Konstantin Pekar'kov (31 years old, a type 1 diabetic in the 3rd disability group), was arrested. He had not engaged in any illegal activities, he simply shouted "Glory to Ukraine." The Berkut riot police beat him on the head with clubs and dragged him into the administration building. There were about 50 Berkut troops and somewhere around 30-40 "titushki" (hired thugs). They began cruelly tormenting him, hitting him around the kidneys and the legs, stomping on his hands. Then they brought in more guys who had been arrested. They threw everyone into a puddle left from the high pressure hoses and began to have fun -- the VERMIN were gouging people's eyes, tearing their mouths, continued to beat people while forcing them to smile and shooting it all on cameras and telephones. After the "boys" had their fun, my husband was brought to the Babushkinskaya police station. He had his passport with him which included a certificate showing that he was a diabetic and disabled, but that was not enough to stop these beasts. Late in the evening they allowed him to make one call from which we learned that they had seized everyone in sight (there were people with him who had done absolutely nothing wrong), that he had been badly beaten and was at the police station, that an interrogation was about to begin and they would be taking his personal possessions. After that his telephone was turned off and there was no more communication from him. Mama went to the police station and by hook or by crook was able to pass on to him insulin and a little bit of food. At approximately 1:30 am I received a call from the Police inspector Kirichataya who requested that I send her by e-mail our children's birth certificates. She told me that Kostya was being held

at the scene of the crime and was charged under article 294, section 1 bringing incarceration of from 5 to 8 years, and that they were trying to arrange for house arrest. Having read this article we all felt sick. She also reported that they were about to go to court for sentencing. At that moment an ambulance crew had been called to give Kostya an insulin injection. The doctor who went out on the call confirmed that my husband was in very bad condition and that after such a beating a coma or stroke could come on at any minute, but again, this did not stop anyone. The court ran from 3am to 11am. In the morning, around 11am a man called me and in a horrible voice announced that Konstantin had been sentenced to 2 months of preliminary detention, with final verdict to be handed down later, and that they were being taken to the detention cells at Chicherina street. He also brought a silver chain with a cross and gave it to Mama at the Babubushkin police station without coming out to talk. No one gave us any help anywhere. All the party offices were closed, the telephones were blocked or not being answered. The lawyer we were referred to asked an enormous fee for his services to the point where we would have had to sell our apartment. We were advised to turn to the Euromaidan hotline in Kiev (063XXXXXXX). We called there and explained the situation and after a few hours a lawyer contacted us and offered help for free. On January 28th we met with this lawyer and gave him a packet of documents to submit an appeal. We got journalists from Dnepropetrovsk channel 11 involved, information about my husband went on the air and later there was a broadcast on Radio Liberty. The journalists and lawyers were not allowed to see the prisoners in the detention cells, and no one knew what was happening with them. It was only on the 4th day, the 30th, that we were able to get into the prison and pass on food and medicine. On the 31st when we brought a package, they said, "wait, he's going to be released now under a personal guarantee." It turned out that at the police station they had all been given a free lawyer who filed an appeal before our lawyer. The policemen drove him home in a car and they also carried out a search of the apartment with the permission of the court. Thank God, they didn't plant anything.

Now, about the stay in the detention cell. The cell was cold. The guys who were with him helped him in every way with clothes (he was soaking wet), medicine and food – God bless them. The doctor did not examine him; he gave himself insulin shots. During the first night he had a strong seizure – blood sugar plummeted and he couldn't speak. The guys called the doctor, who didn't even enter the cell – he just yelled at the window to give him more bread and sweet tea. Policemen constantly came in showing him photos of people to be identified. All the parts of his body were thoroughly photographed, all the bruises, scrapes, etc.

At the present time, my husband's telephone and his documents are located in the Babushkin police station. The terms of his punishment have not been changed. Due to the state of his health, my husband now needs hospitalization.

The variety of topics usually depends on the events of a particular day. On the most dramatic days, most authors focused on the main event of the day as it occurred in physical proximity to the participants or their own state. The authors in this category, as a rule, are mostly protestors and their texts serve a communicative function to readers of the posts. Usually authors point out a particular location of the event and the exact day; sometimes authors even provide the exact time.

65-A071-R-Or, January 19, 2014

Я продимлен, проморожен, слепооглушен, слезоточивогазен и весьма доволен. Скоро вернусь.

I'm smoked, frozen, dazzlingly deafen, tear gassed and pretty happy. I will be back soon.

188-A447-R-Or, February 18, 2014

Очень вероятно, что все может ухудшится. На всякий случай всех обнимаю.

Most likely, everything might change for the worse. Just in case I give hugs to everyone.

158-A604-R-Or, February 19, 2014

4 шва на голове, немножко нос распух, я светл и весел))

I have four stiches on my head, my nose is a bit swollen, and I'm light and happy ))

52-A006-U-Or, January 24, 2014

Зараз на передовій, біля "вогнів". Протестувальники час від часу пускають горизонтальні салюти у "той" бік. Той бік нічим поки не відповідає, окрім струменів води. Беркут десь там далеко за спинами ВВ... Коли входив у зону, попросив у двох дівчат медпрацівниць маску. Перепитала, що я хочу, бо по українськи не розуміє. Може і правда, що з Росії тут висилають народ Ну або Крим. Взагалі, багато народу на Грушевського, в тому числі на передовій, говорить на російській. Це, в основному, кияни, що радує

I am right now at the frontline, near "fires." Protestors from time to time set horizontal salutes to "that" side. That side does not respond with anything but water streams. Berkut is somewhere far away behind Internal troops' back... When I entered the [frontline] area, I asked for a mask from two girls, who were medical assistants. [One of them] asked me to repeat my request because she did not understand Ukrainian. Maybe, it is true, that there are people sent from Russia. Or from Crimea. In general, many people at Hrushevsky street, and at the line of fire in particular, speak Russian. They are mostly Kyivans, and that pleases me.

36-A027-U-Or, February 6, 2014

Самооборона на Інститутській готова йти до ВР. Фото о 9:55

Self-defense [unit] at Institute [str.] is ready to go to the Parliament. Picture at 9:55 am.

On peaceful days, diverse events and aspects of days and weeks past were chosen as a topic.

Texts often referred to a particular location and situation, so general reflections about the meaning of the protests for a particular author, being its participant.

143-A063-U-Or, January 31, 2014

4:30 ранку. Майдан.

Уже традиційно нічний обхід Майдану я закінчив біля Третьої барикади філософської бесідою з 16 Сотнею Самооборони. Говорили про геополітику. Адже Майдан - це не просто супротив. Від перемоги Майдану залежить карта Європи, карта світу. На вулиці -18. А Майдан стоїть.

Цих людей не можливо перемогти...

4:30 am. The Maidan.

It is already an established tradition: I finished my night beat of the Maidan near the Third

barricade having philosophical talks with the 16 Sotnia of Self-Defense [structure].<sup>9</sup> We talked about geopolitics. Because the Maidan is not simply resistance. Europe's map and the world's map depend on victory of the Maidan. It is -18 C. And the Maidan stands. These people can not be defeated...

Many texts written on relatively peaceful days concern the top media issues of ethnic ideologies and historically related myth-based abusive nicknames. One example below provides a sarcastic and mocking self-description of a Russian-speaking person who lives in the South of Ukraine. The author purposely mentions the most well-known stereotype stock phrases mostly of pro-government's side use.

145-A206-R-Or-Com+, January 27, 2014

Я - фашист! Я всеми возможными способами поддерживаю Майдан!!!

А ещё я - "бандеровец", "тупой, недоучившийся, дебил", "американский запродавец, люто ненавидящий всё русское", "националист и западэнец", "укуренный малолетка", "идиот, не понимающий ситуации", "футбольный ультрас, мстящий ментам"... Ведь Я ПОДДЕРЖИВАЮ МАЙДАН!!!!

Я - фашист! Два мои деда прошли ту войну от первого дня до последнего. А я уже много лет подряд, с друзьями, за свой счёт, месяцами лазим по полям, собирая и перезахоранивая останки наших солдатиков. Но я поддерживаю Майдан - я фашист!

Я - бандеровец! Как историк, я пишу книги об истории советского подполья в катакомбах. Все тиражи разобрали ветеранские организации, музеи и школьные библиотеки Одессы. Но я поддерживаю Майдан - я - бандеровец!

Я - тупой, недоучившийся, дебил! У меня 4 высших образования, но я поддерживаю Майдан - я тупой дебил!

Я - американский запродавец, люто ненавидящий всё русское! Поэтому я был автором сценария 500-серийного исторического проекта "История Государства Российского", который рекомендован российским школам в качестве учебного пособия; и множества других исторических фильмов для Российского ТВ. Сейчас у меня в Одессе своё экскурсионное агентство и 80% моих гостей - это россияне. Но я американский запродавец и ненавижу всё российское, ведь я поддерживаю Майдан!

Я - националист и западэнец. Я родился в Николаевской области, живу в Одессе, и по-русски говорю лучше, чем по-украински. Болею за донецкий "Шахтёр", Пушкина знаю лучше, чем Шевченко (к моему стыду), люблю лазить по Крымским горам, гулять по Подолу, Бурсацкому спуску, но самым красивым местом на Земле считаю Камчатку. Но я - националист и западенец, ведь я поддерживаю Майдан!

Я - "укуренный малолетка", "идиот, не понимающий ситуации", "футбольный ультрас, мстящий ментам". К своим 43 годам, я не сделал ни одной затяжки сигареты; свою недописанную "кандидатскую" я должен был защищать по политологии (и тема касалась возможности неонацистского всплеска на постсоветском пространстве); на стадионе бываю раз в год, и с удовольствием там общаюсь со своими коллегами - ментами (и не только там).

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<sup>9</sup> I will explore more about the Maidan self-defence structure, its symbols and meaning in Chapter V.

Но я поддерживаю Майдан, а значит я жидо-фашист, бандеровский ультрас "Шахтёра" и агент Москвы, который за деньги США, хочет превратить Украину в колонию Германии! (Бабушки из Луганской области и Криворожские "титушки", вы этот бред не прочтёте, увы! Да и не поймёте (весьма плоского, как по мне, сарказма). Этот пост россиянам и моим ровесникам с востока и юга Украины, которые до сих пор с шорами на глазах думают, что все кто вышел на Майдан это ..... (читать список выше).

Там стоят лучшие люди этой страны: те кто искренне её любят; те у кого хватает мозгов, не винить в своих бедах Россию, (потому что она со своими ещё не разобралась); те кто устал считать, сколько ещё набрали кредитов у Запада, и сколько теперь будут отдавать их правнуки; те, кто способен на поступок, ответственность и дело; те, кто хочет жить в свободной, чистой, счастливой Украине - Украине без бандитов, титушек, олигархов, "американских шпионов", евросоюзовских консультантов, российских, врущих СМИ и прочего хлама...

Мы просто хотим счастливо жить в НАШЕЙ УКРАИНЕ!

I am a fascist! I support the Maidan in all possible ways!!!

Also I am a "Banderite," "a stupid and non-educated moron," "an American paid agent fiercely hating all things Russian," "a nationalist and someone from the extreme West of Ukraine," "a drugged teen," "an idiot, not understanding the situation," "a soccer ultra who wants to avenge the cops"... Just because I SUPPORT THE MAIDAN!!!!

I am a fascist! Both my grandfathers took part in that war [WWII] from its first day to the last. My friends and I, on our own expenses, have already for many years been searching over fields, collecting and reburialing the remains of our soldiers. But I support the Maidan – so, I am a fascist! I am a Banderite! As a historian, I write historical books about Soviet underground in catacombs. All copies are distributed to veterans' organizations, museums and school libraries of Odessa. But I support the Maidan – so, I am a Banderite!

I am a stupid and non-educated moron! I have four university degrees, but I support the Maidan – so, I am the stupid moron!

I am an American paid agent fiercely hating all things Russian! That's why I was the scriptwriter of the 500-serial historical project "History of the Russian State," recommended as a study aid to the students of Russian schools; as well as other historical movies for the Russian TV. Now I have my own tourist agency in Odessa, and 80% of my guests are Russians. But I am an American paid agent and I hate all things Russian, because I support the Maidan!

I am a nationalist and someone from the extreme West of Ukraine. I was born in the Mykolaiv region, I live in Odessa; I speak better Russian than Ukrainian. I am a fan of the Donetsk "Shakhtar" [soccer team]. I know Pushkin<sup>10</sup> better than [Taras] Shevchenko (that is my shame). I like to climb the Crimean Mountains, to walk on Podil [in Kyiv] and Bursatsky descent [in Kharkiv], but I consider the Kamchatka peninsula [which is in Russia] to be the most beautiful place on Earth. But I am a nationalist and someone from the extreme West of Ukraine, because I support the Maidan!

I am "a drugged teen," "an idiot, not understanding the situation," "a soccer ultra who wants to avenge cops." I am 43 years old, and I have never smoked a cigarette. My unfinished Ph.D. was to be focused on political science (particularly, on the probability of neo-fascist groups development in the post-Soviet countries). I attend a stadium once a year, and have the pleasure to talk to my colleagues – cops (and not only there).

But I support the Maidan, so I am a Jewish Fascist, a "Banderite" ultra of "Shakhtar" and an agent of Moscow who, being paid by the USA, wants to turn Ukraine into a colony of Germany!

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<sup>10</sup> Alexander Pushkin, 1799-1837, a Russian writer of the Romantic era, known as a founder of modern Russian literature.

(Old ladies from Luhansk region and Krivorizhzhia "titushky," you won't read this nonsense, alas! Also you won't understand that (very trivial sarcasm, as I suppose). This post is addressed to Russians and my peers from the East and the South of Ukraine who are still having their eyes blinkered, and think that all participants of the Maidan are..... (see the list above).

They are the best people of this country. Those who sincerely love it. Those who have enough intellect not to blame Russia for all our troubles (because Russia has not dealt with its own yet). Those who are tired of calculating the number of loans taken from the West, and how long our great-grandchildren will have to pay them back. Those who are able to act, to run a business and to take responsibility. Those who want to live in free, clean and happy Ukraine: Ukraine without bandits, titushky, oligarchs, "American spies," the EU consultants, the Russian lying media and all the other stuff...

We simply want to have a happy life in our UKRAINE!

Another example addresses the issue of imagined and actual antisemitism in relation to the Maidan as it addressed the concerns of international media.

1-A254-R-Rep/Com, February 4, 2014

итак, анонсированный ранее мой текст о моих еврейских ощущениях от майдана. нет у меня никаких еврейских ощущений от майдана. я конечно чувствую себя на майдане евреем. но я себя чувствую евреем и на гавайском пляже, и на красной площади, и в музее «метрополитен», и на «приводе» в одессе. никакой прибавочной угрозы из-за своего еврейства я на майдане не ощущаю. некоторые профессиональные евреи, сегодня пытаются развернуть в мировых сми кампанию об антисемитизме на майдане. моя экспертная оценка: антисемитизма на майдане нет. антисемиты там, конечно же есть. но они есть не только на майдане. они есть везде - и на гавайском пляже, и на красной площади, и в музее «метрополитен», и на «приводе» в одессе. [...] а вот антисемитизм в «беркуте» меня волнует гораздо больше. потому что государство, не способное предложить своему народу привлекательный проект, традиционно компенсирует его отсутствие охранительной идеологией. таковая непременно предполагает образ врага. какой образ врага на протяжении веков доказал свою эффективность? правильно. лично для меня в этом противостоянии выбор однозначен. когда идет война добра со злом, я на стороне добра. этого требует от меня моя еврейская этика. кстати, именно поэтому большинство украинских евреев сегодня на той же стороне, и никакие пропагандистские спецоперации этой картинке не изменят.

So, this is the piece on my Jewish sentiment about the Maidan, which I have advertised earlier. I have no such sentiment. Of course, I feel myself a Jew on the Maidan. But I feel myself a Jew also on a Hawaiian beach, on the Red Square [in Moscow], in the Metropolitan museum, and at the Pryvoz [market] in Odessa. I don't feel any additional threat on the Maidan because of me being Jewish. Today some "professional Jews" try to launch a world media campaign about anti-Semitism on the Maidan. My expert assessment is: there is no anti-Semitism on the Maidan. Certainly, there are anti-Semites there. But they are present not only on the Maidan. They are everywhere: on the Hawaiian beach, on the Red Square, in the Metropolitan museum, and at the Pryvoz [market] in Odessa. [...] I am more concerned about anti-Semitism among the Berkut. When the state is not capable to offer an attractive project for their people, traditionally it compensates its absence by a paternalist ideology. The latter certainly suggests an enemy's image. What enemy's image did prove its efficiency throughout ages? Absolutely.



I made my personal unambiguous choice in this confrontation. In war between good and evil, I am on the side of good. My Jewish ethics demand me to act this way. By the way, this reason leads most of the Ukrainian Jews on the same side today; and no propaganda special operations would change this picture.

Many authors provide information about their family origin and ethnic background in order to respond to the popular media interpretation and reveal its inaccuracy. Such popular stock phrases such as “Banderite” and “fascist” show certain media outlets’ tendency to use symbols of WWII discourse. I will get back to these aspects in Chapter V.

## **2. Components of personal narratives**

Sandra Stahl discusses the secular, single-episode personal experience story as a folk narrative genre. She defines four conventional aspects of the genre: style, content, form and function, as overlapping conceptual constructs that are represented in three features. The three features are: (1) dramatic narrative structure, (2) a consistently implied assertion that the narrative is true, and (3) the self-same identity of the teller and the story’s main character.<sup>11</sup> Many texts of my collection, especially those not written directly in the streets, have dramatic structure. Although some are self-reflections as mentioned in the examples above, or address a particular action, many posts refer to a particular event, its circumstances, outcomes and an author/teller engagement in the event. Stahl notes, “typically one cannot check on the truthfulness of a storyteller’s account of a personal experience.”<sup>12</sup> Authors often emphasise their role of eye-witness of events in interactions with other people. The fact that these stories were posted on Facebook serves as evidence for them being appreciated as truthful. In these stories, authors do not provide much information about themselves nor their state. The texts suppose, at least, their presence in close proximity to the events as a witness if not as an active participant. They

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<sup>11</sup> Stahl, pp. 14-15.

<sup>12</sup> Stahl, p. 15.

describe the situation, emphasizing that the event is not being retold, but that the author was a first-hand witness. Authors usually address just one particular striking aspect. In order to describe the scene, some extraordinary detail is often presented. This confirmation is first-hand seeing. For example, there is a post about the shooting of journalists by the riot police. The author emphasized the point that the subject of the story is an international journalist who has been at hot spots in other countries, and that the behaviour of the Ukrainian riot police is deplorable even in this context.

198-A1060-U/R-Or, January 24, 2014

На моїх очах сьогодні підстрілили іноземного журналіста, ледь врятували. Він шокований, каже, що був в багатьох гарячих точках, але там по журналістам і лікарям ніколи не стріляли. Янукович, ти "лучший"

Earlier today, right in front of me a foreign journalist was wounded and barely rescued. He was shocked, said that he had been in many hot spots, but journalists and doctors had never been shot there. Yanukovich, you are "the best."

Another author provides information about a riot police officer joining the side of the protestors. Given the general attitude of the Berkut, this deed was remarkable, and it's remarkability was emphasized by the first-hand account.

230-A864-R-Rep, January 25, 2014

Только что, на Грушевского вышел из строя беркутовец, снял с себя обмундирование и перешел на сторону протестующих! Сейчас он на Майдане"! Слава Героям!"

Right now, at the Hrushevsky [street] a Berkut officer stepped forward, removed his regimentals and joined the side of protesters! Now he is on the Maidan! "Glory to the Heroes!"

The last two examples, besides reporting on events, also provide some interpretative remarks. In the first instance, the author came to a conclusion, and overall responsibility was laid on then-president Yanukovich. The personal deed of the second example is addressed individually; the officer is already interpreted as a protestor and he is greeted as one.

One author, describing the event and interpreting its meaning, refers to a similar action shown on TV. As a personal witness, he emphasizes the reality and importance of the particular symbolic position.

32-A977-R-Or, February 3, 2014

Я видел это своими собственными глазами - Евромайдан в Киеве стоял на коленях! Некоторое время назад по новостным передачам нескольких украинских телеканалов промелькнул сюжет, в котором было показано, как участники Евромайдана в едином порыве опустились на колени... Нет, их не испугали беркутовские дубинки и "коктейли молотова", угрозы длительных сроков тюремных заключений, побои, угрозы, преследования, клевета и прочие вещи, в избытке достающиеся им от украинских властей. Причина этого поступка была совершенно иная - люди...МОЛИЛИСЬ!

I saw that with my own eyes – Euromaidan in Kiev was kneeling! Some time ago several Ukrainian TV channels had a news release with a record when participants of Euromaidan charged forth kneeling... No, it was not that the Berkut's bludgeons and "Molotov's cocktails," threats of long terms of imprisonments, beating, more threats, prosecutions, slander and other things that the Ukrainian authorities had in store for them had made them afraid. This act meant something entirely different: the people... WERE PRAYING!

Some stories are not in favor of protestors but quite critical against their actions. However, they are few in my collection.

29-A241-R-Or, January 26, 2014

Видел вчера во время штурма Украинского дома, как герои баррикад схватили за шиворот журналиста и таскали его как собаки кота только за то, что он пристраивался сделать фото из коридора по которому должны были выходить ВВшники.

Ну а затем Кличко отгонял журналистов от места, откуда выходили войска.

Сегодня очередные герои запретили снимать баррикады на Майдане, грудью бросились на камеру.

На похоронах на Майдане один герой из оцепления кричал западному журналисту, поднявшему камеру над головой: "Сверху не снимать, ноги переломаю." Я спросил героя, как зовут погибшего. Он не знал.

Впрочем, главное не это, а то, что Беркут стреляет в журналистов, а теперь еще и эти тоже учат, как работать. И угрожают. Значит ли это, что новые не лучше старых?

Yesterday, during the storming of the Ukrainian House, I saw how the heroes of barricades grabbed a journalist by his collar and dragged him like dogs pulling a cat. They did it because he tried to take a photo of a corridor where internal troops were supposed to come.

Then Klytchko drove away journalists from a place where the troops were departing.

Today other heroes who forbade photographing barricades on the Maidan just rushed toward the camera.

At a funeral service on the Maidan a cordon hero shouted to the western journalist who lifted the camera over his head: "Don't take pictures from above, I will break your legs." I asked the hero, what the name of the dead was. He didn't know.

However, that is not the most important thing, they say; Berkut shooting journalists is. And these folks are also trying to teach us, journalists, how to work. And they threaten us. Does it mean that they are not any better than their predecessors?

On peaceful days, authors provide many stories about the daily routine of the Maidan connected to its logistic maintenance. Besides the practical activities, some stories describe interpersonal relations of the participants. One of the most popular ‘peaceful’ topics is love and marriage celebrated on the barricades.

42-A102-R-Or, February 1, 2014

Сегодня на харьковском Евромайдане случайно услышал разговор двух подруг по телефону: «Короче, доделывай свои дела и дуй завтра на Майдан. Столько настоящих мужиков в одном месте ты больше нигде не увидишь».

Я сначала немного оторопел, а потом посмотрел на наших ребят из охраны, студентов, спортсменов-разрядников, тех, кого тут величают ультрас, и подумал: «А ведь бабу не проведешь. Она сердцем видит».

Короче, девчонки, в воскресенье с 12 до 13.30 у памятника Шевченко.

Today at Kharkov Euromaidan I accidentally heard a girl saying this on her phone: "Well, finish your stuff and rush on the Maidan tomorrow. You won't see so many real men in one place anywhere."

Initially I was struck dumb a bit; but then, I looked at our guys from self-defence units, students, distinguished sportsmen, and the so-called “ultras” [soccer fans], and thought: "Well, finally, you can't fool a woman. She sees with her heart."

So, girls, [let's meet] on Sunday 12-1.30 pm near the Shevchenko monument.

Many authors narrate about other people more than about themselves; they are not the main characters in the stories but rather witnesses of the events. These stories address the depiction of casual acquaintance with people whose social, age or professional groups differ from that of the authors. The authors emphasize the fact they have not met before. Apparently, such stories suggest that the number of Maidan supporters is very large, much more than a person's friends, family members and professional contacts put together. Additionally, the idea of the Maidan has support from different groups and layers of society in different locations; I picked a number of stories to illustrate this variety. There are stories about a school custodian in Crimea, a businessman, an elderly lady of low income, a doctor in a hospital, a child, and a girl in Kyiv.

9-A975-U/R-Or, February 3, 2014

У Криму найбільше запам'ятала охоронця однієї сімферопольської школи, років так 60-ти, який, почувши, що я прибула з Києва, взяв мене за руку, пильно подивився в очі і запитав: "Скажіть чесно: а какие телеканалы брешут?"... Через 10 хв, вирішивши свої справи з учителями, вже прощаючись на порозі школи з цим чоловіком, почула, що мої поради щодо вибору ЗМІ зафіксував у записничку: "Еще бабе своей сказать. И соседям".

My best memory in Simferopol, Crimea, was a school custodian, probably in his 60s. Having heard that I am from Kyiv, he took my hand, looked me in the eye, and asked: "Tell me honestly, which TV channels lie?"... In about 10 minutes, when I had finished all my business with the school teachers and was saying goodbye to him, I saw him writing down my words about the TV channels, and heard him saying: "I have to tell that to my wife. And to my neighbours."

169-A001-U/R-Rep, February 18, 2014

Біля Європейської площі стоїть чоловік середнього віку, одягнений в дороге пальто, костюм, недешеві туфлі...активно розмовляє по телефону...за 3 хвилини під'їжджає джип Lexus...звідтіля вибігає водій, довго вибачається, відкриває багажник, виймає пару покришок... Перший залазить в машину, через хвилину виходить вже в фуфайці, касці і з биткою...швидко біжить в бік Майдану, по ходу примовляючи:"Дал же Бог президента идиота! Шоб он удавился тем баблом!"...Завіса..

A man of middle age stands near Europe square, dressed in an expensive coat and suit, and wearing shoes that aren't too cheap, either... vividly talks over his cell phone... in three minutes a Lexus SUV comes. The driver runs out of the car, apologizes a lot, opens the trunk and takes out several tires... The man in coat and suit gets into the car, and in a minute gets out, now wearing a quilted jacket and a helmet, and holding a bat... he quickly runs towards the Maidan and keeps saying on his way: "The Lord gave us a president-idiot! Let him hang with his loot!"...The end..

271-A001-U-Rep-Com+R, February 19, 2014

Стала випадковим свідком... людяності. Бабуся, що прийшла сьогодні на площу підтримати майданівців - вразила до сліз!!! Вона підійшла до дівчини зі скринькою для збору коштів і, ридючи, витягла 500 чи 600 гривень... "А це точно для тих, хто постраждав???" Руки в неї тремтіли так, що вона ці гроші не змогла всунути в скриньку... "Засунь сама, доцю..." Обіймаючи дівчину - плакала навзрид, плакала і бажала всім здоров'я і...миру...

I was a witness of ...a humane attitude. An elderly woman that came today to the square to support the people on Maidan impressed me so much that I almost cried!!! She came to the girl with a box for donations and, sobbing, pulled out 500 or 600 hryvnas [about \$25-30]... "Is it surely for the injured???" Her hands were shaking so much that she couldn't put this money into the box... "Daughter, put it yourself." She hugged the girl and sobbed loudly, sobbed and wished everybody health and... peace...

318-A625-R/U-Or, February 26, 2014

Проведала героя в больничке.

Террорист с зашитой бошкой собирает кубик-рубик.

Другой читает Омара Хайама.

Офигевший доктор в коридоре проводит нараду с волонтерами. Короткие выдержки: "Я вам не прощу, если вы друг друга потеряете. Смотрите, какие прекрасные люди собрались. Трымайте ся купы".

Говорит, что без волонтеров они бы не вытянули столько людей почти без потерь.

Говорит, что знает медиков, которые работали во время месилова в Косово. Говорит, что они бы загнулись, что мясо в Косово - то цветочки в сравнении с тем, что случилось у нас. Говорит, что благодаря волонтерам главврач (#... лікарня) перестал беспредельничать. Завотделением тупо никто ни разу не видел, оно на работу не ходит. [...]

I went to visit a hero in a hospital.

A "terrorist" with the stitched-up head assembles a Rubik's Cube.

Another one reads Omar Khayyám.

The doctor, overwhelmed to the point of going nuts, has a meeting with volunteers in a hall.

Here are some short excerpts: "I won't forgive you if you lose each other. Look, what wonderful people gathered here. Keep together."

He says that without volunteers they wouldn't save so many people almost without losses.

He says about his colleagues who worked during the massacre in Kosovo. He says that they would drop dead, and that the carnage in Kosovo is just a child's play compared to what we have here.

He says that thanks to the volunteers, the chief administration (# of the hospital) stopped abusing their power. Nobody has ever seen the chief of the department at all, he just does not show up.

[...]

89-A1235-U-Or, January 30, 2014

Трохи позитиву.

Зайшли погрітися в кафешку, ковтнути гарячого шоколаду, відігріти кінцівки. Народ пие каву, розмовляє...

Раптом в дверях з'являється панда (аніматор) - всі миттєво затихають, як по команді і дивляться на двері. Мужик мнеться. Мамочка поруч з нашим столиком умільним голосом каже своїй малій 3-4 років, (типу тихо, але ж тиша і всі чують): "Доця, дивись, панда" ...

Мала (з характерним жестом): "панду геть!"

Народ тихо сповзає під столи ковтаючи сльози...

Мужик (панда): "я хороша панда, можна мені в туалет?"

Мала: "чим докажеш?"

Панда знімає голову, бере її під пахву, випростується і починає співати "Ще не вмерла України..."

Мала посміхається і жестом показує, що свій, можеш заходити.  
завіса

An uplifting story.

We went to warm up in a café, to sip some hot chocolate, and to warm our extremities. People drink coffee and chat...

Then a panda (an animator) enters the café and stays at the entrance. Everybody immediately stops talking and everyone looks at the entrance. The man is embarrassed. A mamma besides our table says in sweet voice to her little daughter of 3-4 years old, (she tries to speak quietly, but there is a silence and everybody hears her): "Dear, look, there is a panda..."

The girl (with a typical gesture): "Out with the panda!"<sup>13</sup>

The people are slipping down under their tables gulping their tears...

The man (panda): "I'm a good panda; can I go to the washroom?"

The girl: "How will you prove that?"

The panda takes off his head and holds it under his arm, stands up straight and starts singing

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<sup>13</sup> This is an allusion to the protestors' slogan "Out with the gang!" addressed to Yanukovich's policy. In Ukrainian the word "gang" is pronounced as "banda" and sounds very close to a "panda."

“Ukraine’s glory and freedom has not yet died...” [the anthem of Ukraine].  
The girl smiles and shows him with a “you are one of us” gesture to come in.  
The end

122-A048-R-Or-Com+U, February 28, 2014

Оно конечно Крым сейчас важнее... Но очень хочу написать об этой девчонке 18-20 лет, которая сидела ночью с 18 на 19 февраля на краюшке фонтана под памятником основателям Киева на Майдане. Она просто сидела и болтала ногами, глядя на Беркут. В десяти метрах стояла наша первая шеренга.

Эта девчонка для меня - главный герой обороны Майдана той великой и страшной ночью.

Certainly, Crimea is a most important issue now... But I want so much to write about this girl of about 18-20 years old that sat on the edge of the fountain near the monument to Kyiv founders on the Maidan in the night of February 18-19. She just sat and swung her legs looking at the Berkut. Ten meters from her our first line stood.

This girl for me is the main hero of the Maidan defence that held up on that great and scary night.

Most stories refer to the protestors’ side, but there are instances about interactions with the governmental side. Stories of positive outcomes of such interactions, or having positive images contrasting with assumed negative perceptions were widespread. The next examples include a story about a traffic policeman and a flag-bearer from Russia on the barricades captured and beaten by the police.

121-A144-R-Rep, February 14, 2014

у меня история, напоевал бус под крышу "бубликов" и везу их на Груш... то есть в грушёвый сад, а там в это время как в песне "палала сосна..." еду по Подолу по Сагайдачного и всматриваюсь вперёд нет ли возле фуникулёра гайцов. И тут, за два перекрестка не доезжая до фуникулёра, выскакивает с палочкой. Сходу вопрос что везёшь? Ну я понятное дело обоср..., но говорю мол извините но не покажу. Он: -я тебя по хорошему спрашиваю. У меня уже мысли в голове про 15 лет и тому подобное... И тут гаец маякует в сторону регистратора, типа выключи. Я выключаю, и Он прямым текстом мол сядой я не проеду и надо ехать через Бессарабку, просит стереть на регистраторе запись, разворачивает меня через сплошную осевую и Героям Слава в ответ на моё Слава Украине! Так что так. Через пару дней история повторилась на Львовской площади, причём с гайцами был какой то с не простым чином.

I have a story. I packed my bus with "bagels" [in this context that means “tires”] up to the roof and I carry them to the Hrush... I mean to a pear garden<sup>14</sup>, and that place was then similar to the scene in a song "a pine tree was burning..."<sup>15</sup> I went through Podil<sup>16</sup> on Sahaidachny [street] and peered forward trying to check out if any traffic cop was near the funicular. But then, two

<sup>14</sup> Hrushevsky street got the “Hrusha” nickname in protests’ lore. In Ukrainian and Russian it sounds the same as the word “pear.”

<sup>15</sup> "A pine tree was burning..." is the first line of a Ukrainian wedding folksong that was inverted in the protests lore. In the inverted version, the first line has “a tire” instead of “a pine tree.” The both words have the same rhyme in Ukrainian.

<sup>16</sup> Podil is a historical part of Kyiv downtown located down to the right bank of Dnipro river.

intersections before the funicular, one with a stick jumped out. Right away he asked me what I carried. Well, I almost shit my pants. But I said: "I am sorry but I cannot show that." He said: "I ask you nicely." I already thought about 15 years [of imprisonment] and so forth... But then the cop showed me in gestures towards the video camera, hinting to switch it off. I switched it off, and he said directly that it was a wrong way, and that I had to go through Bessarabka.<sup>17</sup> Then he asked me to erase the record on the video, and helped me turn around, and said "Glory to the Heroes" in a response to my "Glory to Ukraine!"<sup>18</sup> So it was. Several days later, I had the same story on Lviv square, and the group of traffic cops included someone of a higher rank.

139-A1443-R/U-Or, February 23, 2014

О России.

18-е вечер. Вывожу жестоко избитого бойца после перевязок из больницы. Далее маршрут автоволонтер и киевская квартира, где добрые люди будут обеспечивать бойца до выздоровления. Диалог:

Я: Ты где попал-то под раздачу так?

Он: Я знаменосец 33-й сотни! На плече сумка с "Молотовым", в другой руке флаг.

Я: И?

Он: Я прапор не брошу и гадам этим не отдам! Вот и попал, отстал, еле наши отбили.

Я: Звідки ти?

Он: Из Питера.

Я: .... ??? Ты то за что тут стоял?

Он: За свободу Украины.

Я: А что тебе до нашей свободы?

Он: А нам без вашей свободы век воли не видать!!!

Я: ....

Комок в горле. Видели бы вы Диму. Синий весь от побоев лица не видно. Из Питера.

Только каска и броник и спасли. Всегда! Буду помнить! Россия и Путин это не одно и то же.

About Russia.

Evening of the [February] 18<sup>th</sup>. I am helping a cruelly beaten warrior, after his wounds were bandaged, to move out of the hospital. Then a volunteer driver will bring him to a Kyiv apartment where kind people will take care of him until his recovery. Our dialogue:

I: How did you get in such an ordeal?

He: I am the standard-bearer of the 33rd sotnia<sup>19</sup>! I had a bag with "Molotov's" on my shoulder, and a flag in my hand.

I: And?

He: I wouldn't drop the flag and I wouldn't surrender it to these vermin! So, I got that; I lagged behind, our folk hardly recaptured me back.

I: Where are you from?

He: From Piter [St. Petersburg, Russia].

I: ?????? What did you stand here for?

He: For the freedom of Ukraine.

I: And why do you need our freedom?

He: Without your freedom we cannot be liberated for ages!!!

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<sup>17</sup> "Bessarabka" is short for Bessarabia square, which is located in the close walking proximity to the Maidan square, on the opposite side of the described route.

<sup>18</sup> "Glory to Ukraine!" is protestors greeting, "Glory to the Heroes!" is the response to the greeting.

<sup>19</sup> "Sotnia" means "hundred". That is a name of Maidan self-defence unit including several dozen members; I will refer more to this term in Chapter V.



I:...

A lump grew in my throat. You should see Dima. He was black after been beaten; you could hardly see his face. From St. Petersburg. Only his helmet and an armor vest saved him. Forever! I will remember! Russia and Putin are not the same.

Describing oral folk narrative as comparatively devoid of tradition, Stahl suggests that an individual builds a personal reality on cultural resources created by his/her social group. That social group plays an essential role in making a narrative resonate because its meaning and importance is created for the listener/interpreter. In order to tell a story, an individual has to find a listener, in contrast to our “lonely culture.” Stahl calls exchanging personal narratives a “creation of intimacy where it might not have existed otherwise.” Both the teller and the listener have to be motivated by a desire for familiarity.<sup>20</sup> In this case, the teller and the listener share some relationship defined by their common folk group, and the personal narrative serves to communicate values and attitudes or folk ideas to form the core of these narratives.<sup>21</sup>

### **3. Purposes of storytelling: relationship building and creation of an event**

Some stories provide a picture of first-person witnessing or a personal experience as a call to action to the readers to join the protest. These authors suggest the Internet, and in particular Facebook, as a meeting space to communicate to different categories of citizens of Ukraine, both active and passive. They suppose their message can reach many non-engaged potential participants through Facebook.

23-A048-U-Or, January 19, 2014

Наковтався газу. Вперше в житті. Майже приємно. Повечеряю, трохи погріюся і знову - на Майдан. ТОМУ ЩО інакше не можу. Буду зі своїм народом до кінця. Я не кидаю фаерів, каміння і т.ін. Просто стою... і молюсь, коли з'являються сили.

Привіт усім крутим блогерам: теологам, біблеїстам, психологам. Ви - наша надія. Ви обов'язково відсидите Україну біля комп'ютерів, у теплі та затишку. Ми її не відстоїмо, бо нас мало. А вас багато. Сидіть. йопрст.

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<sup>20</sup> Stahl, p. 38.

<sup>21</sup> Stahl, p. 19.

I have gorged myself with [tear] gas. For the first time in my life. It's almost a pleasure. I will have my dinner, warm up a bit and go on the Maidan again. BECAUSE I cannot do otherwise. I will stay with my people until the end. I don't throw fires, stones etc. I just keep standing... and pray when I can.

Greetings to all cool bloggers: theologians, biblical scholars, psychologists. You are our hope. You will for sure sit for Ukraine near computers, in warmth and cosiness. We shall not stand for Ukraine [until win], because we are few. And you are many. Keep sitting. Damn.

37-A555-U-Or, February 19, 2014

На Володимирській гірці щебечуть соловейки, FM-станції крутять веселу музичку, під задимленим небом центру кияни вигулюють чотириногих друзів. А за пару сот метрів за мурами Михайлівського Золотоверхого прямо на землі накриті скатерками і целофаном лежать тіла загиблих. Поруч шиють рани і бинтують голови. Дехто з киян з бурчанням на закрите метро добирається на роботу. Доброго ранку, Києве! (хоч як і тяжко назвати його добрим) Чи ти прокинешся? Чи спатимеш далі?

On the Volodymyr Hill<sup>22</sup> nightingales are tweeting, FM-stations playing joyful music, and Kyivans are walking their four-legged friends under the downtown smog. Yet, several hundred meters away, behind the St. Michael's Golden-Domed monastery walls, there are bodies of the dead laid down straight on the ground covered with table-cloths and cellophane. Alongside, volunteers take care of the wounded, sewing their wounds and bandaging their heads. Some Kyivans go to work, grumbling about the closed subway. Good morning, Kyiv! (Though, it's so hard to call it good) Will you wake up? Or will you keep sleeping?

Even more, the virtual space embraces not only people whose close physical proximity would enable them to come to the main square of Kyiv, but it may also provide international support. The next example is a letter mentioned above in the first subchapter as an example of reflective narrative, it was translated into English and received introductory comment from another author with the aim of being read by the maximum number of people outside of Ukraine.

9-A032-R/Engl-Com/Rep, February 1, 2014

---LETTER FROM DNEPROPETROVSK---

Мой друг, профессор из США (американец, владеющий русским) сделал перевод письма из Днепропетровска, которое сегодня опубликовал на ФБ [...]. Просьба распространить среди англоязычных друзей и журналистов. По опыту знаю, что такие personal stories действуют сильнее, чем десятки аналитических статей, обзоров и отчетов:

My friend, a professor from the USA (an American who speaks Russian) translated the letter from Dnepropetrovsk that was published today on Facebook. I ask you to spread it among your English-speaking friends and journalists. I know from my own experience that such personal stories work more efficiently, than dozens of analytical articles, reviews and reports:

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<sup>22</sup> Volodymyr Hill is a downtown location on the right bank of Dnipro river in Kyiv in walking proximity to the Maidan.

\* \* \*

Letter from Dnepropetrovsk

February 1, 2014, 19:44

[...]

The comment given by the person who published the text on his personal account mentions such examples of stories as a powerful tool to reach, engage and involve people who have not yet met with the reality of Ukrainian events. Such stories, in my opinion, are more close to “testimony,” a direct translation of the Spanish “testimonio,” or “personal experience.” William Westerman, discussing Central American refugees, calls testimony “the voice of the voiceless.” According to his definition, it is “about people rising from a condition of being victims, objects of history, and taking charge of their history, becoming subjects, actors in it.”<sup>23</sup> He states good testimony is what moves the audience “to a new level of understanding and action.” Westerman speaks about testimonies delivered after time has passed since the events took place. In the instances I have gathered, the longest time difference was weeks, but more often was days, and the stories did not always repeat one another’s structure as suggested by Westerman. However, the authors of such narratives do not intend to remain voiceless, but they try to act through their stories. This large number of stories can be assembled into one type – testimonial narrative – a first-person account of a real situation that involves repression, marginalization, and violence, intended to bear witness to and denounce human rights abuses. The variety of topics is rich, and they mostly refer to different aspects of the protests, casual meetings with other protestors, and sometimes about transformational experiences. Some authors speak of essential changes in their relationships with their family members or a personal transformation in their values and beliefs. After the most dramatic week in February 2014 many Facebook users reposted the story of a person looking for

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<sup>23</sup> Westerman, William. 1998. “Central American Refugee Testimonies and Performed Life Histories in the Sanctuary Movement.” *The Oral History Reader*. London and New York: Routledge. pp. 495-505.

the priest who saved his life on the night of February 19, 2014. The author states his inner transformation and willingness to be baptized by that priest. Not all the stories express their purpose to reach a large audience, some stories sound as if they have a need to be written as a way of sharing emotion.

446-A956-R-Or, February 22, 2014

Сижу...реву.....

Позвонила сейчас отцу, они с мамой в Харькове, чтобы не шли на провластные митинги в поддержку Януковича, там сейчас опаснее, чем в Киеве, и я переживаю за них, и последние наши телефонные разговоры обрывались на полуслове, они не понимали меня, я - их.

Суть - они тоже "одурманены" СМИ, а что еще ожидать от Харькова???

Я их не виню, но был очень больно.

И вот, позвонив в очередной раз, я снова слышу про НАТО и кому выгоден майдан, как его "спонсировали".... я перебила, расплакалась и рассказала папе о том, как мои знакомые, друзья, ходили сдавать кровь, несли медикаменты в Храмы, как убили молодого парнишку в голубой каске, за которым приехал отец его забирать. ..и не успел...О том, как убили моего бывшего коллегу, программиста, а у него жена на 9 месяце, о том, КТО эти люди. и кто стоял за майдан.

и ....

**ПАПА ПОВЕРИЛ!**

Он согласился, что это, народ наконец восстал....а не террористы-экстремисты, которым заплатил Запад...

Я плакала, а он слушал.... слушал ПРАВДУ

Любимый мой папочка ПОВЕРИЛ мне!

Как же я люблю его!

И как я ему благодарна, что удалось ДОСТУЧАТЬСЯ...он УСЛЫШАЛ....

I am sitting... and crying.....

I just called my father, he lives with my mother in Kharkiv. I called to ask them not to attend pro-governmental meetings in support of Yanukovich. It is now more dangerous there, than in Kyiv. I worry about them; our last telephone conversations were cut short, they didn't understand me, and I didn't understand them.

Because they are also "befuddled" by media, what one can expect from Kharkiv???

I don't blame them, but it was very painful.

So, having called them once again, I hear about NATO again and about someone making profit from the Maidan, and it was "sponsored".... I interrupted, burst into tears and told my father how my acquaintances and friends went to donate their blood, gave medicines to churches. I told about a young guy in a blue helmet who was killed. His father came to take him home... but it was too late... I told how my former colleague, a programmer, had been killed. His wife is [pregnant] on the 9th month. I told WHO these people were, and who stood up for the Maidan.

and....

**MY FATHER BELIEVED!**

He agreed that finally the people rose.... but not terrorists-extremists paid by the West...

I cried, and he listened.... he listened to the TRUTH

My dear daddy BELIEVED me!

I love him so much!  
And I am grateful so much to him that finally I could REACH him... he HEARD....

Ukrainians travelling outside of Ukraine, and concerned about their home country's situation, provide their stories about meetings they have had and scenes they have seen as they related to the "outer" perception of Ukrainian events. Other authors going about their usual daily life testify to the situations they have seen or experienced, and also about international awareness and concerns about Ukraine. These stories are numerous, as a confirmation that they need to be heard and to be supported. That was exactly the feedback I heard from my acquaintances during my visit to Ukraine in the summer of 2014; the stories about rallies and even a few words of support from the side of non-Ukrainian citizens were taken as a great source of hope and inspiration. This type of relations of "home and away" correlates with the figure of a traveller telling a story about what happens in faraway countries suggested by Benjamin.

67-A973-U/Surz-Or, February 2, 2014

Верхній Гудаурі. Черга на підйомник. Велика. Чувак з євроблакитною стрічкою на шоломі стоїть поряд. Кажу тихо: "Слава Україні". Натовп підхоплює: "Героям слава!" Голосно, багато. Якийсь Мамука чи Коба в куртці гірського патруля підсумував "Смэрт варогам". Ржач

High Gudauri [ski resort in Georgia]. A line to an elevator. A long line. A guy with an euro-blue stripe of his helmet stays beside me. I say to him quietly: "Glory to Ukraine." A crowd picks it up: "Glory to the Heroes!" Loudly and in many voices. Some Mamuka or Koba [Georgian male name and nickname] in the jacket of mountain patrol summarized: "Deeath to the Enimies." Laughing out.

285-A020-R/U-Or, February 21, 2014

Когда манифестанты в Тель Авиве кричат "Слава Украине! Героям Слава!" и даже "Слава нации! Смерть Ворогам", то тяжело писать.  
Руки дрожат. Подробный отчет и шедевральное видео чуть позже

When demonstrators in Tel Aviv are scanting "Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the Heroes!" and even "Glory to the Nation! Death to the Enemies,"<sup>24</sup> it's hard to write.  
My hands are shaking. A detailed report and masterwork video will come a bit later.

460-A963-U-Or, February 22, 2014

Ще в мене такого не було, щоб я на роботі на рецепції ревіла в трубку...

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<sup>24</sup> "Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the Heroes!" are the most popular slogans of the protests. "Glory to the Nation! Death to the Enemies!" are nationalists' slogans.

Дзвонить польський номер, дуже намагається російською говорити. Кажу розумію по-польськи. А він каже дзвоню від імені своїх друзів, сусідів і всіх поляків. Дзвоню сказати, що ми плачемо разом з Вами.

Тут я починаю ревіти... і чую і він плаче...голос тремтить... Каже я не знав ніякого номера, а друзі казали - що зараз навіть якщо в магазин подзвониш, потрапиш правильно... І до вас додзвонився. Хотів сказати що о 20.00 у кожному вікні палає свічка, цілий день увімкнена трансляція з майдану, повсюди жовто-блакитні стрічки. Ми із заходу Польщі, не маємо змоги приїхати, але ми разом з вами, боремося разом з вами і плачемо разом з вами. Ми за вільну Україну, в Європі чи без Європи. Ми у вас віримо, в незалежну ні від кого Україну. Десять разів вибачився що потурбував і просив усім передати, що прості поляки за простих українців і за наше велике майбутнє...

I have never before cried being on the phone at work in the lobby...

I get a Polish incoming call; a person tries so hard to speak Russian. I say that I understand Polish. He says that he is calling on behalf of his friends, neighbours and all Polish people. "I am calling to say, that we all cry together with you."

Then I start to cry... and hear and he cries...his voice is trembling... He says: "I didn't know any number, and my friends said: "now you can even call a shop, and you will reach the right place anyway..." And I reached you. I want to tell you that at 8 pm every window in our town has a burning candle. All day long live broadcasting from the Maidan is on, yellow-and-blue ribbons<sup>25</sup> are everywhere. We are from Western Poland, we couldn't come, but we are with you, we fight together with you and we cry together with you. We are for free Ukraine, in Europe or without Europe. We believe in you, in Ukraine independent from any other country." He said "Sorry for disturbing you" about ten times, and asked to tell everyone that ordinary Polish people were for ordinary Ukrainians and for our great future...

Walter Benjamin suggests the story can be created only if the experience is significant. The listener, who can follow the story while not focusing on him/her-self, appreciates this significance. The teller can be a witness to the experience but not interpret it, and the listener can interpret the story. The story interpreted by the teller is not a story anymore. According to Benjamin, the genre determines the form of communication. Analysis and interpretation of a text imagines a lonely work, where he suggests the genre of a novel, but storytelling requires listening, engagement and communication. Benjamin says the best story is a narrative, which "differs least from the speech of the many nameless storytellers."<sup>26</sup> He admits rare cases of storytelling in his time and explains this fact that experience has fallen in value. Applying this to my own project, I observe that the large number of stories during the active phase of the Maidan

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<sup>25</sup> Yellow and blue are the colors of Ukrainian national flag.

<sup>26</sup> Benjamin. p. 84

gradually decreased in my newsfeed when, instead of Kyiv, the focus was shifted to the events in Crimea and the very east of Ukraine. My Facebook connections included significantly fewer people who were directly involved in the war actions and could provide their first-hand experience. Still, personal stories of Ukrainian army officers and volunteers engaged to help the army and refugees from the affected regions were appreciated, but they were fewer in comparison to other topics raised on Facebook. However, a comparison of the Maidan with ongoing events in the east of Ukraine goes beyond the limits of my project, and cannot be a subject for detailed discussion here. That is, not any experience can create a story, but a listener or a social group forms a basis for a story about the experience. The experience of the Maidan for its participants was significant both in creating a story about the experience and a sense of being appreciated as they told their story to the broader and somewhat unknown audience. For example, here is a beginning of a post:

57-A114-R/U-Or, January 27, 2014

... Слушайте, я не знаю, в чий вуха це пишу, ті, хто читають і самі так думають, переважно, сподіваюся...

... Listen, I don't know, to whose ears I write that. Those reading me, I hope, mostly think in a similar way...

During relatively peaceful days in the first half and in the very last days of February 2014 many reflective and interpretative stories were published. They are different in modes, expressed feelings and selected topics, but they are often focused on inner reflections of the meaning of the occurrences to the author.

79-A159-R-Or, February 21, 2014

Силовики ушли. Все. Центр пустой. Прошел с утра по Грушевского, по Институтской. Дошел до того места, где убили людей. Метрах в тридцати всего от того места, где вчера сидел. Но их было не пройти.

Исковыряно снайпером там все. Деревья, тумба. Видно, как он их убивал. Видно, как убивал, как они прятались за этой тумбой, как он ковырял эту тумбу, и как все-таки попал, как тащили, как вкалывали обезболивающее, как перетаскивали потом за стеночку, как вытаскивали затем в тыл... Все читается.

Кровь еще не впиталась. Земля жидкая от крови. Это не метафора.

И - шапка со сгустками. Опять.

И вот стоишь здесь, стараясь не наступать на жидкую землю, крутишь башкой, смотришь на этот синий дом, в котором вчера сидел этот снайпер и откуда он и убивал этих людей - метров сто, не больше, практически в упор стрелял - смотришь на солнце, на этот теплый ветерок, пахнувший уже весной, на улицу, открытую теперь для прохода, и не понимаешь...

Зачем? Ведь всего тридцать метров. И эти тридцать метров прошли уже и сами протестующие. Которые тоже стали выползать из-за баррикад. Вот они, стоят со своими щитами, дубинками и касками на этом вот самом месте. Молчат. Смотрят на жидкую бурюю землю. Зачем? Ради чего? Чего добиться-то хотели? Ну все равно же: мы - здесь. Вот мы - стоим. Ну так на хрена тогда людей убивали?

Надо написать обо всем этом, а... Кончился завод как-то. Ничего не хочется сегодня. С утра сижу туплю в монитор, а ничего из себя выдавить не могу.

Только ощущение этой жидкой земли под ногами.

И еще - ботинок. Рядом с тумбой.

Тот один из десяти накрытых простыней погибших, который лежал вчера на Майдане, был именно без одного ботинка.

Это его ботинок.

Почему-то это оказалось очень важным.

Вот этот вот ботинок.

The security officers left. All of them. The downtown is empty. In the morning, I took a walk down Hrushevsky and Institute streets. I reached that place where people had been killed. That is about thirty meters from the place where I sat yesterday. But it was not possible to pass them.

A sniper has made the whole place a honeycomb. Trees, curbstone. One can see how he killed these people. It is visible how he killed, how they hid behind this curbstone, how he honeycombed this curbstone and finally he got them; how they dragged [one another], how they injected the anesthetics; how they pulled the wounded to a place behind the wall and further back... You can read everything.

The blood has not sunk yet. The ground is liquefied with blood. It is not a metaphor.

And a cap with clots [of blood]. Again.

You stand here trying not to step on the liquefied earth, you twist your head, you look at the blue house where the sniper sat yesterday and killed these people. That is about a hundred meters, no more, he shot at close range. You look at the sun, feel warm breeze smelling with spring, look on the street already open today, and you don't understand ...

What for? That is just thirty meters. Protesters already passed these thirty meters. Those who crept out of their barricades. Here they are standing with their shields, bludgeons and helmets exactly in this place. They are silent. They look at the liquefied brown ground. What for? For the sake of what? What did they want to achieve? We are here anyway. Here we are, standing. What the hell did they kill the people for?

I have to write about all that, but ... I have no more energy. I do not want anything today. Since the morning I am sitting in a stupor by the monitor and cannot squeeze out anything from myself. Only the feeling of this liquefied ground under my feet.

Also a boot. Near a curbstone.

The boot belongs to one of the ten dead covered with sheets who lay on the Maidan yesterday. He was without one boot.

That is his boot.

For some reason it was very important.

That boot.



Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub examine the issue of testimony and, in particular, testimonies of witnesses of the Holocaust. They recognize an even more crucial role of the listener: the person listening to the testimony actually creates an event. Laub states that an event that “had no witness to its truth essentially did not exist;”<sup>27</sup> inability to speak about an event is equal to non-witnessing. The situation on the Maidan is quite different from the Holocaust. The Maidan’s participants had a chance to share their witnessing virtually online from the venue. The similarity that can be observed is the issue of truth. A personal experience narrative is more likely to be subjective and focused on a particular aspect. The story is true as a particular personal experience though it might not be the same in terms of historical description. Discussing the film *Shoah*, Felman focuses on the issues of testimonial stances of the victims, the bystanders and the perpetrators who did not remember particular aspects of the event they had witnessed.<sup>28</sup> She speaks about different narratives describing the same locations where the victims, the bystanders and the perpetrators provide dissimilar testimonies. Answering the interviewer questions, they claim not to remember a particular fact. These issues might be a question for memory studies and reveal differences of memory stimuli after a time lapse since an event. However, if a project similar to mine would be conducted with data representing the pro-government side, the narratives could be compared according to this same approach.

As a feature of the transformation stage of participants’ personal experience during the Maidan, I would like to refer to the idea of *communitas* in liminal processes, as suggested by Victor Turner. Anton Shekhovtsov applied the concept of *communitas* to describe similar features during the

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<sup>27</sup> Laub, Dori 1992. “An Event Without a Witness: Truth, Testimony and Survival.” *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*. New York and London: Routledge. p. 83

<sup>28</sup> Felman, Shoshana. 1992. “The Return of the Voice: Claude Lanzmann’s *Shoah*.” *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*. New York and London: Routledge. pp. 204-283.

*Orange Revolution* 2004 in Ukraine.<sup>29</sup> Turner describes spontaneous *communitas* referring to Martin Buber's terms of "I" and "Thou" that are applicable to such modes of relationship between real people as a "happening." This means "instant mutuality, when each person fully experiences the being of the other."<sup>30</sup> This community is not restricted to dyadic relationships, it includes "essential We" of several independent persons, when "We" includes the "Thou." "Only men who are capable of truly saying *Thou to* one another can truly say *We with* one another..."<sup>31</sup> This is important to the sense of sharing and appreciation of the experience. In the *Storytelling* category in my collection, the majority of posts address the active protestors, their supporters, civilians arrested and persecuted, experiences of contiguity with internal troops, riot police and titushky, but almost no posts about direct interactions with top authorities. Despite the fact that the strongest messages of the protestors were addressed to the top administration of the country, its representatives were faceless and had no common experience with the protestors. Opposition MPs engaged in the protests, and journalists accredited to enter the Parliament provided their posts describing events during the days when clashes near the Parliament were the central point of the protests, but on other days they focused on issues not directly related to their professional occupation, and did not mention interaction with top authorities. I'm convinced these people experienced a form of *communitas*. Further the *communitas* embraced people who perhaps stayed physically in different geographical locations but shared the same appreciation of the witnessed experience. In connection to this idea, I would like to give an example of a post written about the meaning of the Maidan to a person who permanently resides in Lviv but

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<sup>29</sup> Shekhovtsov, Anton. 2013. "The "Orange revolution" and the "sacred" birth of a civic-republican Ukrainian nation." *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*. Vol. 41. Issue 5. Routledge. pp. 730-743.

<sup>30</sup> Turner. p. 136.

<sup>31</sup> Turner. p.137.

attended Kyiv from time to time; the text was translated and shared by a Ukrainian person residing in the US.

120-A153-Eng/U-Rep/Tr, January 28, 2014

My friend [...] reporting from the main camp of the EuroMaidan protest rallies in Kyiv, Ukraine: "This is a reality that is concentrated and surreal. I see guys in masks, armed with heavy clubs - and I feel that I trust them and I am secure with them. I am protected by hundreds of well-organized, disciplined soccer "ultras" who assumed the responsibilities of enforcing law and order. I feel also protected by God when I see people gather for prayers in special prayer tents 24/7, and once every two hours at night. Some of the people are not like me, they are VERY different, but I know that all of them are kind, and all of them are honest. I see women wearing expensive furs and gathering ice for fortifying the barricades. I see men who just yesterday gave me the impression they were weak and whiny, but today are honorable, manly fighters. This is my comfort zone." [But I lose it, when I leave the Maidan and open the Internet. I read news and run into the other, the "lobby" reality. That's why I'm afraid to leave Kyiv. This second reality without a touch to the living Maidan de-energizes me, it deprives me of my forces, scares and disorients me. Socializing with people on the Maidan inspires and calming down, although sometimes it puts the vigilance to sleep. These people are extraordinary. Authorities are unable to put us all to death, and the opposition cannot sell us. We are, and we are many. That's why we need to go out on our Maidans. In every city. We have to be with people and carry these Maidans to others.]

Майдан - це такий концентрований ідеальний світ. В якому незнайомі хлопці в масках і з палками викликають довіру. Дякуючи сотням дисциплінованих ультрасів чуюся у безпеці, а завдяки щогодинним нічним молитвам і двом постійнодіючим молитовним наметам - під Божою охороною. Тут добрі і чесні люди, навіть якщо вони ДУЖЕ несхожі на мене. Тут жінки в шубах збирають лід у мішки для укріплення барикад, а вчорашні хлюпика перетворюються на гідних і мужніх чоловіків. Тут - моя зона комфорту. Але я її втрачаю, коли йду з Майдану і заходжу в інтернет. Читаю новини - і стикаюсь з іншою, кулуарною, реальністю. Тому боюсь їхати з Києва. Ця друга реальність, без дотику до живого Майдану, знеструмлює, позбавляє сил і відчайдушно пробує налякати і дезорієнтувати. Але саме спілкування з людьми на Майдані надихає і заспокоює, хоча часом присипляє пильність. Ці люди надзвичайні. І влада не зможе нас всіх вбити, а опозиція - продати. Ми є, і нас багато. Саме тому нам треба виходити на свої Майдани. У кожному місті. Бути з людьми і разом з ними нести ці майдани іншим.

## Conclusions

Many of the *Storytelling* narratives remind me of the books by Svetlana Aleksievich built on personal stories, through her oral history approach, about transformative, often tragic, experiences.<sup>32</sup> Her books contain numerous extracts from interviews with average people,

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<sup>32</sup> Aleksievich, Svetlana. 1988. *War's Unwomanly Face*. Moscow: Progress Publishers; 2013. *Vremia sekond hend* [Second-Hand Time]. Moscow: Vremia; 1998. *Tsinkovye mal'chiki, Zacharovannye smert'iu, Chernobyl'skaia molitva*. Ostozh'e.

participants and eye-witnesses of the events. In her recent interview concerning the Ukrainian protests, she points out the contemporary interest and relevance of witnessing as the need to meet reality. The contemporary intensity of the events provided through media and the variety of values and moral interpretations requires an author to provide their fixed interpretation. Her work suggests that witnessing allows the listener or reader to get closer to the non-fictionalized reality, while the author-oriented approach suggests an already fixed interpretation and a given point of view.<sup>33</sup>

The majority of the collected texts on Facebook in this category are narratives from personal accounts. These texts are dispersed and not presented as a set or a particular project. However, there are instances of private initiatives that later received short term national and international support. One of the Maidan participants, Khrystyna Berdynskykh, a journalist who left her job because of policy changes and reinforced pro-governmental control over topics allowable for publication, started to publish short stories on her personal Facebook page about people she had met on a particular day. Quite soon, the initiative gained popularity and volunteers of different origins translated the stories into their native tongues. By the end of February 2014, the collection of stories was known under the name “Єлюди – Maidaners” (There are people – Maidaners) translated into more than a dozen languages.

136-A108-U-Or, February 17, 2014

№15 – фінська / Finnish. [https://www.facebook.com/pages/Maidaners-fi/1414963808751733?skip\\_nax\\_wizard=true](https://www.facebook.com/pages/Maidaners-fi/1414963808751733?skip_nax_wizard=true)

На цьому тижні скоріш за все з'явиться ще грецька, шведська, голландська і сподіваюсь вже скоро португальська. Волонтери на усі мови завжди потрібні)).  
І нагадую адреси Єлюди ще на 14 мовах:

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<sup>33</sup> “Білоруська письменниця Світлана Алексієвич: "Бандерівці" врятували моє життя.” Espresso TV. April 24, 2015. Retrieved July 25, 2015.  
[http://espreso.tv/article/2015/04/25/biloruska\\_pysmennycya\\_svitlana\\_aleksiyevych\\_quotbanderivciquot\\_vryatuvaly\\_moye\\_zhyttya](http://espreso.tv/article/2015/04/25/biloruska_pysmennycya_svitlana_aleksiyevych_quotbanderivciquot_vryatuvaly_moye_zhyttya)

Most likely, this week we will have Greek, Swedish, Dutch; I also hope for Portuguese soon. Volunteers for all languages are always needed )))

I remind the links for “Єлюди” (There are people) in 14 languages more:

1. Українська / Ukrainian <https://www.facebook.com/maidaners>
  2. Англійська / English <https://www.facebook.com/maidaners1>
  3. Польська / Polish <https://www.facebook.com/maidanerspl>
  4. Французька / French <https://www.facebook.com/maidanersFR>
  5. Литовська / Lithuanian <https://www.facebook.com/maidanerslt>
  6. Німецька / German <https://www.facebook.com/maidanersde>
  7. Італійська / Italian <https://www.facebook.com/maidanersit>
  8. Чеська / Czech <https://www.facebook.com/maidanerscz>
  9. Російська / Russian <https://www.facebook.com/maidanersru>
  10. Турецька / Turkish <https://www.facebook.com/maidanestr>
  11. Іспанська / Spanish <https://www.facebook.com/maidanersesp>
  12. Болгарська / Bulgarian <https://www.facebook.com/maidanersbg>
  13. Білоруська / Belorussian <https://www.facebook.com/maidanersby>
  14. Румунська / Romanian <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Maidaners-ro/254046298098207>
- Волонтери з усього світу - ви найкращі!!!! Знаю, що це вже писала. Але писатиму про це знову і знову). #maidaners #Єлюди

Volunteers from the whole world – you are the best!!!! I know that I’ve written this already. But I will write about this again and again). #maidaners #Єлюди

In May 2014, the author of the project received the Oleksandr Krivenko Award, *For Development in Journalism*; the project was closed, and the collection became one of the first published hard copy collections of Facebook posts.<sup>34</sup>

Shortly after the protests, more books were published reprinting Facebook posts; some of them even recalled the Facebook interface in their design.<sup>35</sup> In a review to the recent book by Borys Khersonsky based on his own posts on Facebook in the period January 1 – December 30, 2014, the reviewer notes a recent popular tendency in Ukraine, which started after the protests 2013-

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<sup>34</sup> Бердинських, Крістіна. 2014. *Єлюди. Теплі історії з Майдану*. Київ: Брайт Стар Паблішинг.

<sup>35</sup> Степова, Олена. 2014. *Все будет Украина, или истории из зоны АТО*. Київ: Книга-плюс; Ивлева, Виктория. 2014. *Мандрівка, или Путешествие фейсбучного червя по Украине*. Київ: Дух і Літера; Савицкая, Анастасия, Миргородский, Андрей. 2014. *Фантомная боль #maidan*. Київ: Саммит-книга; Димид, Михайло; Димид, Климентія. 2014. *Каміння Майдану*. Львів: Свічадо; Забужко, Оксана. 2014. *Літопис самовидців. 9 місяців українського противу*. Київ: Комора; Прохасько, Тарас, Ципердюк, Іван, Андрухович, Юрій, Жадан, Сергій, Винничук, Юрій. 2014. *Євромайдан: хроніка відчуттів*. Брустурів: Дискурсус; Kadyhrob, Volodymyr; Taylor, Kateryna; Gusev, Gleb; Liutyi, Taras; Hrytsak, Yaroslav; Sergatskova, Kateryna. 2014. *#Euromaidan: History in the Making*. Kyiv: Osnovy Publishing; Филипович, Людмила, Горкуша, Оксана, Титаренко, Віта. 2015. *Майдан і Церква. Хроніка подій та експертна оцінка*. Київ: Саммит-книга; Херсонський, Борис. 2015. *Открытый дневник*. Київ: Дух і Літера.

2014, to publish hard copy books based on Facebook posts.<sup>36</sup> The critic suggests this tendency disproves the general perception of the Internet as a stable resource, preserving its content for decades, but in fact social media reflects only immediate reaction and may not allow a person to go back even to the previous day. In this way, a hard copy seems to be the more durable material to preserve the intangible things; however, it is hard to assemble digital texts in their original settings. The efforts of preservation point out the significance of the texts for their writers, publishers and readers.

My role is as an observer, or a second listener/reader. Although personal narratives are quite a frequent genre of study in oral history research, in my project I had no influence on the topics and aspects of the narratives. I interpret the texts in this thesis, but a significant number of readers playing the role of virtual listeners/interpreters had earlier chosen the texts I used, due to the fact that they read them and thus passed them on through Facebook's reposting algorithms. The majority of authors in this *Storytelling* category are individuals unknown to me. The authors published their texts using the "public" setting on Facebook, allowing that the stories of their personal experience and impressions could be provided to everyone. This fact refers to a specific characteristic of protest lore and illustrates how different social groups can be mixed together in a virtual group of people connected through both their physical and emotional involvement. The texts describe the situation both during relatively peaceful and dramatic days; many of them refer to Kyiv, the square of the Maidan and surrounding streets, while some authors describe the situation in the city of Kyiv more generally. Many posts provide information about other locations in Ukraine and internationally. The posts of unknown users, according to Facebook settings, can be visible in my newsfeed only if my own Facebook "friends" read and appreciate

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<sup>36</sup> Шинкаренко, Олег. "Відкрита книга Херсонського: Лікування іронією." July 6, 2015. Retrieved July 25, 2015. <http://www.korydor.in.ua/ua/stories/vidkryta-knyga-hersonskogo.html>

them, give them a “like,” or share the post onto their own account. For these readers/interpreters, the experiences and events themselves were more important than knowledge of the author. The *Storytelling* posts employed features of oral communication and characteristics of personal experience stories as they influenced the formation of attitudes and values. *Storytelling* posts also represented a great diversity of topics. Facebook posts of this category also give evidence to how textual representations helped to build rapport and a sense of belonging to a community, defining and refining the participants’ identities, according to the concepts of Bakhtin, Stahl, Benjamin, Westerman, Felman and Laub. This chapter contributes to clarify the issue of opposing sides, “us vs. them,” providing most details and content of diverse topics, types, and functions within the narratives about building relations within one side, "us," even while it includes some texts about encounters with the opposing side.

## Chapter V. Nebesna Sotnia: Formation of a New Narrative

155-A109-R-Or, February 23, 2014

Вписываем главу в историю новых времен.  
Со временем это будет страница, позднее - абзац или два.  
Ученик у доски не вспомнит ни дат, ни имен,  
Информация в голове - что в речке плотва.

Только вспомнятся выстрелы, взрывы, костры в ночи,  
крики "слава!", тела убитых - страшно смотреть.  
Учитель скажет - а ну садись и учи!  
Страница сто сорок шестая, верхняя треть.

\*\*\*

We write a chapter in the history of modern times.  
Over time, this will become a page, later – a paragraph or two.  
A student answering his lesson would hardly remember any date or name,  
A total mess is in his head, like roach in a river.

Just remember shooting, explosions, fires at night,  
shouting "Glory!," dead bodies; it is terrible to watch.  
The teacher will tell him: sit down and learn!  
The page number is 146, the top third of the page.

[Rhythmical in Russian]

41-A117-U-Or, February 21, 2014

Це не просто революція, друзі. Це якийсь божевільний дайджест історії людства. Тут уже чого тільки не було. І 300 спартанців, і Січ, і гуситські війни, і махновщина, і УПА, і російська революція 1905 року, і Холодний Яр і ще один Бог знає що.

А завтра, схоже, відкривається нова сторінка: війна демократичної Півночі з рабовласницьким Півднем у США.

Це просто щось унікальне. На голову не налазить

It's not simply a revolution, friends. It's some crazy digest in the history of humanity. It embraces all possible events: 300 Spartans, and Sich<sup>1</sup>, and the Hussite wars, and Makhnovshchyna<sup>2</sup>, and UPA<sup>3</sup>, and the Russian Revolution of 1905, and the Kholodny Iar<sup>4</sup>, and God knows what else.

It seems tomorrow opens a new page: the war of the Democratic North with the enslaved South in the USA.

It's just something unique. All crammed madly together.

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<sup>1</sup> The administrative and military centre for the Zaporizhzhia Cossacks in 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>2</sup> "Makhnovshchyna" is a popular name for the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine, also known as the Black Army acted in the southern and eastern regions of contemporary Ukraine, an anarchist army formed largely of Ukrainian and Crimean peasants and workers under the command of the anarchist Nestor Makhno during Ukrainian National War, 1918-1921.

<sup>3</sup> UPA is for Ukrainska Povstanska Armiya, The Ukrainian Insurgent Army, a Ukrainian nationalist paramilitary and later partisan army that engaged in a series of guerrilla conflicts during World War II against Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and both Underground and Communist Poland.

<sup>4</sup> Kholodny-Iar Republic (1919–1922), a non-recognized state formation at the territory of Ukraine (at that time, Ukrainian National Republic), in Chyhyryn district, Cherkassy region, near a forest ravine Kholodny Iar. The Republic had its capital in Mel'nyky village and invented the insurgent greeting "Glory to Ukraine!" with the response "Glory to Ukraine!" that later was changed in "Glory to the Heroes!"



The category *Reflections* contains a subcategory *Juxtaposition with other historical events*, which includes a long list of references to different events from ancient to modern history. In the chapter, I review Facebook posts of this subcategory, and of the topic *Dead on the Maidan*. The aim is to trace the formation of the narratives on the Nebesna Sotnia (the Heavenly Hundred), a collective name given to all people who died on the Maidan, as an historical event, forms of its memorialization, and re-assessment of particular historical periods that contributed to the new narrative. I would like to outline the main topics included in the formative narrative with examples of personal stories, traditional songs and memorial rites, and the contribution of symbols popularized through commercial culture and adopted by the high culture. I will review five main points in this chapter:

1. All Historical References
2. WWII Discourse
3. Sotnias, the Cossacks and the Ukrainian National Republic
4. The Nebesna Sotnia Narrative
5. Cultural Trauma as a Trigger for Formation of a New Narrative

#### 1. **All Historical References**

The historical references mentioned in the subcategory *Juxtaposition with other historical events* address the following periods:

- Ancient History: Old Testament history (13 times), history of first Christians (17 times), Ancient Greece (4 times), Roman Empire (3 times), Ancient Armenia (1 time)
- Middle Ages: Byzantine Empire and Orthodox Church history (3 times), Kyivan Rus' (3 times), Medieval Europe (12 times)

- Zaporizhzhia Sich and Cossacks (14 times)
- 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries: French Revolution (5 times), American Civil War (1 time), Russian Empire (6 times)
- 20<sup>th</sup> century: Russian Revolution 1905 (4 times), Russian revolution 1917 and Ukrainian National War (25 times), WWI (4 times), fascism in Europe (Spain, Italy – 3 times), Nazis Germany in 1930s (7 times), Stalin regime in 1930s (18 times), Ukrainian Insurgent Army (10 times), WWII (82 times), The Norilsk uprising of the Gulag labor camp 1953 (1 time), The uprising in the Soviet prison labor camp Kengir, Kazakhstan, 1954 (2 times), Hungarian Revolution of 1956 (1 time), uprising in Temirtau, Karaganda region, Kazakhstan, 1959 (1 time), 1960s Latin America “death squads” (6 times), Sharpeville massacre in South Africa 1960 (2 times), Novocherkassk massacre 1962 (1 time), Prague Spring 1968 (2 times), Carnation Revolution 1974 (2 times), Romanian Revolution 1989 (3 times), Cold War (2 times), Polish Solidarność (6 times), late socialism of the Soviet Union (25 times), Soviet-Afghan war (8 times), Chernobyl disaster 1986 (3 times), Rwanda civil war in 1990s (1 time), Balkan war 1990s (12 times), Transnistria conflict 1990s (3 times), 1990s in post-Soviet countries (11 times), Israeli-Palestine conflict (3 times)
- Olympic Games: Berlin 1936 (1 time), Moscow 1980 (1 time), Sarajevo 1984 (1 time)
- Recent wars and conflicts: Chechen–Russian wars 1990-2000s (4 times), war in Darfur 2003 (1 time), Beslan school hostage crisis 2004 (1 time), Lebanon war 2006 (2 times), Russian-Georgian war 2008 (5 times), Libyan civil war 2011 (8 times), Egyptian protests 2013-2014 (5 times), Syrian civil war (7 times), Iran-Iraq war (1 time), Al-Qaeda organization (2 times)

- Colour Revolutions and civic movements: Rose Revolution in Georgia 2003 (1 time), Venezuelan protests 2007 (1 time), Armenian presidential election protests 2008 (1 time), Icelandic revolution 2009-2011 (2 times), Occupy and Indignados movements 2011 (1 time), Bolotnaya Square Russian protests 2011-2012 (2 times)
- History of modern Ukraine: Luhansk miners strikes 1990s (1 time), Nuclear disarmament 1993 (1 time), Pavlo Lazarenko charge in the USA 1999-2012 (1 time), Georgy Gongadze kidnapping and murder 2000 (3 times), *Ukraine without Kuchma* protests 2000-2001 (1 time), Orange Revolution 2004 (9 times), Vradievka protests 2013 (1 time)

This wide variety of juxtapositions suggests a search for an interpretative narrative for the contemporary event, as a construction of the present through the past. It seems that people were trying to assess the significance of the event in comparison with the past and through known events with symbolic meaning. The importance of the present events for the participants is evident but they felt the need for historical contextualization. One Facebook author reflects on this tendency to apply meanings of past events to the present.

17-A099-U-Or-Com+R/U/Eng, February 8, 2014

в історичні часи здається, що все це колись і десь уже відбувалося, що існують якісь чіткі закони, що історія повертається, тобто що ключ до майбутнього треба шукати в минулому. – це ілюзія, бо історія нас дивує саме тоді, коли ми думаємо, що все про неї уже знаємо

It seems that all this has already happened in historical times, there are some strict laws, and history repeats itself, thus the key to the future must be sought in the past. It is an illusion, and history surprises us just when we think we know all about it.

Another purpose of references to events of the past is the search for a narrative and a “language” of explanation, or definition and contextualization of the Ukrainian protests to observers outside of Ukraine. Another Facebook post is an example of this formulation:

16-A107-U-Rep, February 27, 2014

...Очевидно, що коли хочемо розповісти для європейських читачів про київську революцію, яка не має прямих аналогів у світовій історії, варто починати з наведення

аналогії з якоюсь відомою їм знаковою подією чи особою, а потім уже розповідати про відмінності. Тобто треба добре знати культурологічний аспект історичних подій у різних країнах. Дуже важливо пояснювати європейцям відразу дві речі: у чому оригінальність київських подій і в чому їх зв'язок із визвольними рухами всієї Європи.

...It is apparent that when we want to tell European readers about the Kyiv revolution, which has no direct analogy in world history, it is worth starting with an example of some significant event or person they do know. Then we can explain the differences. That means we have to really know well the cultural aspects of historical events in different countries. It is very important to explain two significant points to Europeans: the particularity of the Kyiv events and their connections with European liberation movements.

The most popular of the aforementioned historical periods is World War II. I will focus on this period in this chapter while also referring to two more: the Ukrainian national struggles of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and Zaporizhian Sich, a semi-autonomous Cossack polity in the 16th-18th centuries. The word “sotnia,” the names of the Maidan self-defence units and also the collective name of the dead on the Maidan, Nebesna Sotnia, refer to both the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and Cossack periods. The word “sotnia,” literally “hundred” in Ukrainian, refers to a military unit in the Cossack Sich and the Ukrainian People’s Army 1917-1920.<sup>5</sup> Some sociological studies in Kyiv during the protests made reference to the time of the Cossacks, discussing particular phases of the Maidan and naming them “Maidan-rally, Maidan-camp and Maidan-Sich.”<sup>6</sup> Cossacks and Ukrainian Insurgent Army of WWII are subjects for discussion about “heroic masculinity” in the context of ideological discourse of the Ukrainian nationalist party *Svoboda (Freedom)* in the recently published review of “searching for new heroes.”<sup>7</sup>

I conducted a search for frequent specific words in three categories: *Humor*, *Storytelling* and in the subcategory *Juxtaposition with other historical events* of the category *Reflections*. Two

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<sup>5</sup> Онацький, Євген. 1957. Українська мала енциклопедія. Вuenos Aires. Том 4. с. 1811; Словник української мови. 1978. Київ: Наукова думка. Том 9. с. 472; Українська радянська енциклопедія. Київ. Том 13. с. 330.

<sup>6</sup> “Від Майдану-табору до Майдану-січі: що змінилося?” *Фонд Демократичні ініціативи імені Ілька Кучеріва*. February 3, 2014. Retrieved May 9, 2015. <http://www.dif.org.ua/ua/events/vid-ma-zminilosj.htm>

<sup>7</sup> Bureychak, Tetyana, and Petrenko, Olena. 2015. “Heroic Masculinity in Post-Soviet Ukraine: Cossacks, UPA and “Svoboda”.” *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies*. Volume II. No. 2.

common words stand out for each period: “fascist/fascism” and “Bandera/Banderites” for WWII; “sotnia/sotnyk” (“sotnyk” is the commander of a military unit) and “cossack” are for Cossacks’ Sich and the Ukrainian National Republic period. These selected words showed significant frequency: “fascist” – 126 times, “Bandera/Banderites” – 86 times, “sotnia/sotnyk” – 121 times (including “Nebesna Sotnia” – 38 times), and “Cossack” – 29 times.

The most frequent historical period is World War II; the most relevant periods to the words used in the collective name, the Nebesna Sotnia, are Cossack Sich and the Ukrainian National Republic. I will review each of them in connection to collected Facebook narratives and the relevance of each period to the protests on the Maidan.

## **2. WWII Discourse**

The word “fascist” was used by both sides. Protestors used it to name the pro-government side, the unacceptable actions of the riot police, arrests and persecutions of civilians, titushky actions, and more. When the pro-government side began using “fascist” to name the protesters and the Maidan supporters, the latter also used this word with irony and sarcasm as evident in some examples in Chapter V and below. Most instances of the words “fascist” and “fascism” among my Facebook posts are depictions of “them” or “them about us.”

31-A001-U-Or-Com+R, January 22, 2014

Мені як історику було цікаво, з якого моменту починався фашизм у Німеччині і що відчували в цей момент люди. Тепер я це знаю напевно.

I’m as curious as a historian about the starting point of German fascism and the people’s feelings at that time. Now I know that for sure.

72-A797-R-Or, February 2, 2014

Если просто, то расклад сейчас такой: 1. Многочисленный Майдан стоит против Януковича. 2. Антимайдан стоит против фашизма. Насколько я вижу эти две линии никак не пересекаются. Это какие-то две совсем параллельные истории. Чтобы эти две сюжетные линии встретились, надо чтобы Майдан провел серьезный антифашистский митинг. В этой логике это будет объединение. За что после этого будет стоять Антимайдан я не знаю. Может против Кока-колы, может против жестокого обращения с животными...

In simple words, the situation is now as follows: 1. The multitudinous Maidan stands against Yanukovych. 2. The Anti-Maidan stands against fascism. As far as I see these two lines aren't crossed in any way. These are just two absolutely non-intersecting stories. The Maidan has to organize a serious anti-fascist meeting in order for these two subject lines to meet. Then a logical association will take place. I don't know, what the Anti-Maidan will stand for after that. Maybe, against Coca-Cola, or against animal abuse...

The media, mostly pro-Russian, and Russian media outlets used the word “fascist(s)” during the active phase of the Maidan and later during the invasion of Crimea and acts of war in the regions of Donetsk and Luhansk; this phenomenon was widely discussed. Egor Lapshov examines the symbolic language of Russian governmental media as it pertains to the discussion of conflict in terms of WWII with the aim of involving the audience on a high emotional level. He suggests the terminology prevents the audience from feeling distant and engages them in the “sacred war for liberation” as they view themselves “from the pages of the historical textbook with a clear distinction between good and evil.”<sup>8</sup> Lapshov notes the absence of a clear articulation of who is represented by the image of fascists or any clear distinction between an image of Ukraine and the West in the applied terminology of WWII in Russian media. I suggest that those Facebook authors in my collection used the word “fascist” as a synonym of their highly negative attitude towards the pro-government side and their actions as well. Some authors provide descriptions of historical facts of WWII inviting their readers to interpret and to juxtapose with current events. However, I intend to focus on the important period, in general, to the authors’ interpretation of memory. One of my Facebook collection authors reflects upon the former government of Ukraine, and the perception of the West by Russian government media outlets as presented through WWII terminology. In this view, the Maidan participants are the representatives of

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<sup>8</sup> Лапшов, Егор. “2014–1941. Почему аудитория госканалов воюет с фашистами.” November 7, 2014. Retrieved July 16, 2015. <http://slon.ru/calendar/event/1180893/>

Western images interpreted through WWII symbols. This Facebook post is outside my specific corpus, because it was written later than the defined timeframe, but is still relevant to the topic.

Facebook post from March 22, 2015

чому вони з такою легкістю називають нас фашистами? чому вони з такою легкістю називали фашистами балтів у 1989-1990-му, молдаван у 1991-92-му, грузинів у 2003-2008-му?

я знайшов відповідь у Владіміра Буковського, в "И возвращается ветер". Один із найкращих текстів про механіку життя у радянських таборах, спосіб мислення гебешників, причини і механізми жорстокості радянського режиму і т.д.

там є один епізод. Серед ув'язнених були і політв'язні, і звичайні кримінальні зеки. У певні моменти їм вдавалося боротися одним фронтом. Але перше ставлення до політв'язнів / дисидентів з боку злодіїв та вбивць було дуже ворожим. Чому? бо зеки, каже Буковський, називали дисидентів... фашистами.

але як грубі, агресивні, жорстокі зеки могли називати тендітних інтелігентів дисидентів фашистами? як це можливо?

відповідь проста, як на мене. Для них "фашизмом" є ВСЕ, ЩО ЙДЕ З ЗАХОДУ. Абсолютно все. Вони звикли дізнаватися про західний світ тільки через історії про другу світову війну. Найліберальніший європеєць, який проповідує толерантність та запрошує пообідати в ресторані - фашист. Бо "звідти".

Я колись пропонував створити словник путінізму. Бо путінізм ніколи не вживає слова в їхньому первинному значенні. "Федералізація" для нього - це анексія. "Право народу на самовизначення" - це агресія імперії. і т.д.

Так ось, фашизм для нього - це лібералізм

Why do they so easily call us fascists? Why did they so easily call Balts fascists in 1989-1990,<sup>9</sup> Moldovans in 1991-92,<sup>10</sup> and Georgians in 2003-2008?<sup>11</sup>

I found the answer in [the book by] Vladimir Bukovsky *And the Wind Returns...*<sup>12</sup>. It is among the best texts about the mechanisms of life in Soviet regime camps, the KGB functionaries' way of thinking, causes and mechanisms of Soviet regime atrocity, etc.<sup>13</sup>

There is an episode. Prisoners included political and ordinary criminal detainees. Sometimes they managed to fight [against the regime] on common ground. But initially criminals and killers were very hostile towards political prisoners/dissidents. Why? Because the criminals, as Bukovsky says, called the dissidents ... "fascists."

<sup>9</sup> In 1989-1990 Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia seceded from the Soviet Union.

<sup>10</sup> Late 1990-1992 the Transnistria conflict broke out between pro-Transnistria forces, including the Transnistrian Republican Guard, militia and Cossack units, and supported by elements of the Russian Army, and pro-Moldovan forces, including Moldovan troops and police.

<sup>11</sup> The protests in Georgia over the disputed parliamentary elections in November 2003, called The Rose Revolution, forced President of Georgia Eduard Shevardnadze to resign. In August 2008 the Russian-Georgian war took place.

<sup>12</sup> The book had first Soviet serialisation in the periodical *Teatr*, Moscow, 1987-1988; published in book form in the USSR in 1990. Vladimir Bukovsky, a writer and a neurophysiologist, was a leading member of the Soviet dissident movement of the 1960s and 1970s. He was arrested and imprisoned four times for political reasons: 1963, 1965, 1967, and 1971. In 1976, Bukovsky was deported from the USSR in exchange for Luis Corvalán, the general secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, imprisoned in 1973 by Augusto Pinochet. The USSR provided asylum for Corvalán. In 2007, Bukovsky was nominated a candidate for the presidency of Russia in elections of 2008, but the Central Electoral Committee did not register his candidature. Currently Vladimir Bukovsky resides in UK.

<sup>13</sup> The KGB is for Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti, in English as Committee for State Security, the main security agency for the Soviet Union from 1954 until its break-up in 1991.

But how could rude, aggressive and cruel criminals call subtle intellectuals and dissidents fascists? How is it possible?

I think the answer is simple. They consider “fascism” EVERYTHING THAT COMES FROM THE WEST. Absolutely everything. This is because everything they know about the Western world is solely through WWII stories. The most liberal European who promotes tolerance and invites you to dinner at a restaurant is a fascist, because he is "from there."

I once proposed creating a dictionary of “Putinism,” because “Putinism” never uses words in their original meaning. They say "federalisation" for annexation, or "the right of people for self-determination" means imperial aggression, etc.

So, for “Putinism” fascism means liberalism.

In discussing the meaning of the memory of WWII, Aleksei Bratochkin focuses on liberal, communist and fascist ideologies as the most influential structures before and during the war. He suggests the victory of liberalism and communism over fascism was interpreted in a moral context as the victory of “good” and “civilization” over “evil” and “barbarism,” and they became the essential symbolic resources for collective identity construction in the countries of the Allies. Not all post-Soviet countries went through critical re-assessment of WWII events and their symbolic meanings. Bratochkin states that the memory of WWII in Ukraine, Belarus and Russia after 1991 was used mostly for ideological purposes, while work in archives, academic research, publications and conferences appeared much more slowly.<sup>14</sup> Michel Bouchard, comparing the context and discourses constructed in Canadian and Russian museums, concludes that narratives in Russian museums and WWII memorials are highly politicized and “can be used to legitimate political and military actions.”<sup>15</sup>

Following the Maidan protests, during the Crimea invasion, and with escalation of the tension in the east of Ukraine, the revival and re-assessment of WWII memories have been employed in Ukraine all the way up to official levels; this continues to this day. In 2015, May 8 was officially designated Memory and Reconciliation Day according to the Western tradition, shifting the

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<sup>14</sup> Браточкин, Алексей. “Память о “Великой Отечественной войне” исчерпала себя?” April 22, 2015. Retrieved July 23, 2015. [http://n-europe.eu/article/2015/04/22/pamyat\\_o\\_velikoi\\_otechestvennoi\\_voine\\_ischerpala\\_sebya](http://n-europe.eu/article/2015/04/22/pamyat_o_velikoi_otechestvennoi_voine_ischerpala_sebya)

<sup>15</sup> Bouchard, Michel. “Curating the Canadian Nation: Harper’s Remake of Canada?” October 18, 2012. Retrieved July 23, 2015. <https://blogs.unbc.ca/michel/2012/10/18/curating-the-canadian-nation-harpers-remake-of-canada/>



focus away from Victory Day celebrated on May 9 according to the Soviet tradition.<sup>16</sup> The new laws about de-communization, which evoke public discourse, change of visual symbols, the name and the date of official memorial ceremonies of the end of WWII, are all instances of the memory-reassessment process taking place.<sup>17</sup> That is, the protests initiated the re-assessment process and the formation of a new perception of the historical period different from the Soviet-style narrative, which had implied negative attitude to the West and positive to the communist past of the country. The new narratives and symbols were widely discussed and institutionalized quickly.

The words “Bandera and Banderite(s)” are examples of the reflected narrative of “what they say about us.” Stepan Bandera is one of the most well known figures of the nationalist struggle in Western Ukraine during WWII. There are many facts and myths about the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the nationalists’ confrontation and cooperation with both the communist and fascist regimes, as well as with the military forces of neighbouring Czechoslovakia and Poland. In this context, Stepan Bandera is one of the most controversial figures, associated with more myths than facts about that time in general and his person in particular.<sup>18</sup> The term “Banderite(s)” was created based on his last name. Anti-Maidan supporters used this name, as a rule, for negative

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<sup>16</sup> “Порошенко затвердив 8 травня Днем пам’яті та примирення.” March 24, 2015. Retrieved July 23, 2015. [http://espreso.tv/news/2015/03/24/poroshenko\\_zatverdyyv\\_8\\_travnnya\\_dnem\\_pamyati\\_ta\\_prymyrennya](http://espreso.tv/news/2015/03/24/poroshenko_zatverdyyv_8_travnnya_dnem_pamyati_ta_prymyrennya); “Україна відзначає День пам’яті та примирення.” May 8, 2015. Retrieved July 23, 2015. [http://espreso.tv/news/2015/05/08/ukrayina\\_vidznachaye\\_den\\_pamyati\\_ta\\_prymyrennya](http://espreso.tv/news/2015/05/08/ukrayina_vidznachaye_den_pamyati_ta_prymyrennya)

<sup>17</sup> Червоненко, Віталій. “Рада ухвалила “декомунізаційний пакет””. BBC Україна. April 9, 2015. Retrieved July 23, 2015. [http://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/politics/2015/04/150409\\_communizm\\_upa\\_vc](http://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/politics/2015/04/150409_communizm_upa_vc); “Антикоммунистический” закон опублікован в “Голосе України”. Українські новини. May 20, 2015. Retrieved November 30, 2015. [http://ukranews.com/news/170021\\_Antikommunisticheskiy-zakon--opublikovan-v-Golose-Ukraini.ru](http://ukranews.com/news/170021_Antikommunisticheskiy-zakon--opublikovan-v-Golose-Ukraini.ru); *Голос України*. May 20, 2015. Issue 87 (6091). pp. 15-19; “Декомунізація.” Український інститут національної пам’яті. May 2015. Retrieved July 23, 2015. <http://www.memory.gov.ua/page/dekomunizatsiya-0>.

<sup>18</sup> Narvselius, Eleonora. 2012. “The “Bandera Debate”: The Contentious Legacy of World War II and Liberalization of Collective Memory in Western Ukraine.” *Canadian Slavonic Papers*. 54: 3-4. Pp. 469-490; Struve, Kai. 2014. *The Soviet Image of the Banderovtsy: Conflicting Memories and Propaganda from the Cold War to Maidan*. 10th Danyliw Research Seminar on Contemporary Ukraine, University of Ottawa, 30 October - 1 November 2014, Retrieved October 22, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hcCXEEs4KS8>

connotations to identify threats they expected from the pro-Maidan side. The Maidan's supporters use the word for their ironic and sarcastic feedback, as an example in the Chapter IV illustrates (145-A206-R-Or-Com+, January 27, 2014).

Stepan Bandera's popular image includes features of right-wing nationalism intolerant to other ethnicities including anti-Semitism. Emphasizing its misinterpretation in current events and parodying other types of anti-Semitic stereotypes, protestors use the word "Jew-Banderites" ("zhydo-banderivtsi") in the category "what they say about us" to underline its mutually as an oxymoron. They refer to this word in the context of the oft-repeated concern about ethnic confrontation on the Maidan in some national and international media, and popular images of an "enemy" typical for the Anti-Maidan side.

71-A178-R-Or, February 1, 2014

Слово "жидобандеровцы" прочно вошло в лексикон титушек. Эта обширная группа включает в себя следующие категории "чужих": 1. Все, кто живет западнее Востока и поэтому попали под тлетворное влияние Европы. 2. Все, кто носит украинскую символику и поэтому предали идеалы, за которые деды воевали. 3. Все, кто чему-либо учился и тем самым проявил свою чуждую классовую сущность. 4. Очкарики. Явно сильно умные, а значит, не наши. 5. Украиноязычные. Очевидно. 6. Киевляне. Ну не наши они, какие-то не наши, нутром чую. 7. Евреи. Тут всё понятно. 8. Велосипедисты.

The word "Jew-Banderites" became a part of titushky's vocabulary. This broad group includes the following categories of "aliens": 1. Everyone residing west of the East [of Ukraine] and due to this fact has been cankered by Europe. 2. Everyone wearing Ukrainian symbols and betraying all ideals their grandfathers had fought for.<sup>19</sup> 3. Everyone who has studied something and in this way revealed one's alien [social] class nature. 4. Barnacled. They are evidently too smart, so they are not ours. 5. Ukrainian-speaking [people]. It is evident. 6. Kyivans. Well, they are just not ours, somehow not ours, I know that instinctively. 7. Jews. It's all clear. 8. Cyclists.

As a result, the issue of ethnicities evoked numerous discussions on Facebook during the protests. Some authors claimed that media preoccupation with the issues of nationalist ideologies and potential ethnic confrontation was misguided in ignoring other participants of the protests like in the example below.

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<sup>19</sup> That is the referral to the Soviet-style narrative about the World War II.

«в нас є Самбірська сотня, є сотня «афганців», є сотня «Відсіч». А є сотня гандистів (послідовників батька ненасильницького спротиву – індійського лідера Магатми Ганді), яка виконує завдання прикриття цивільного населення». і як вам пояснити, європейські друзі, що в нас тут сотня гандистів? що в нас священники, ультрас, студенти, козаки, афганці, ліворадикали, поети, альпіністи, буддисти, гуцули, кримські татари - всі за одно! а ви питаєте, який відсоток правих бере участь у протестах...»

“We have a Sambir sotnia,<sup>20</sup> “Afghan” [war veterans] sotnia,<sup>21</sup> “Vidsich” sotnia.<sup>22</sup> There is Gandhi’s sotnia (followers of the father of non-violent resistance – Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi) that protects civilians.” How can we explain that to you, our European friends, that we have a Gandhi’s sotnia? That we have priests, ultras [soccer fans], students, Cossacks, Afghans, left-wing-radicals, poets, alpinists, Buddhists, Hutsuls,<sup>23</sup> Crimean Tatars – and they are all together! But you ask about the percentage of the right [wing groups] participating in the protests...»

### 3. Sotnias, the Cossacks and Ukrainian National Republic

“Sotnia” literally means “a hundred” in Ukrainian. The Maidan protestors organized themselves into “sotni” for self-defense purposes after confrontations with the riot police had started, but prior to the governmental use of fire-arms. The self-defense structure includes several dozen sotnias. Every group uses “sotnia” to describe their unit where the first word of the unit name can be the group members’ place of origin, their field of occupation, an ethnic minority group’s name, etc. The well-known *Right Sector* group grew out of the 23<sup>rd</sup> sotnia of the Maidan. For the purposes of coordination, the number of members in each group was about a hundred: although the number could vary, it should include at least several dozen. The leader of the group, called the “sotnyk” (or centurion<sup>24</sup>), must know all members of his unit and be able to get in contact with them when necessary. This type of organization makes reference to the Cossack army of 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries as an administrative, territorial and military unit. In Cossack times, a unit was

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<sup>20</sup> Sambir is a town in Lviv region.

<sup>21</sup> Veterans of Soviet-Afghan war 1979-1989.

<sup>22</sup> “Vidsich” is an active Ukrainian civic movement created in 2010 as a reaction to the policies of Victor Yanukovych and pro-Russian tendencies connected with his presidential administration.

<sup>23</sup> An ethnic group settled in Carpathian Mountains.

<sup>24</sup> “Centurion” is a synonym in meaning to the word “sotnyk”; but the word had no similar wide use on the Maidan. It refers to Ancient Rome and the Roman army organization with its echoes in the Cossack army.

usually named after the locality where its administration was situated. The “sotnyk” was either elected or appointed by the “Hetman,” or by a “colonel.” “Hetman” was a political title, assigned to military commanders, as the second-highest rank after the monarch in the 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries. “Sotnyk” occupied the third rank of power, after a “colonel” and the “Hetman.” “Sotnias” were officially eliminated in 1783 after Russian Empire’s type of territorial administration was instituted on Ukrainian territory. Infantry and cavalry units of the Ukrainian National Republic army in 1917-1920 were also called “sotnias.”<sup>25</sup>

Thus, the self-defense structure and its naming symbolically identifies the Maidan forces both as the Cossack army fighting with the Ottoman Porta, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth<sup>26</sup> and Moscow principality, and as the Ukrainian National Republic resisting Russian communists in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is important to note that no Facebook post in my collection refers to the source of the name. The initiative to name the self-defense structure in this way is anonymous and the first association with these particular historical periods is unclear. Later, when the name became well-known, other volunteers helping the permanent “inhabitants” of the Maidan named themselves according to their activity. They may have had no system of coordination, but used the name for a sense of belonging to the whole Maidan structure. These types of virtual units include an “Art Sotnia” of artists, an “Office Sotnia” of volunteers helping with documents and legal issues, a “Kitchen Sotnia” of volunteers providing food to the Maidan, a “Women’s Sotnia” of feminists, etc., and even the ironic “Couch Sotnia” of those not attending the Maidan but commenting on the events through social media.

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<sup>25</sup> Онацький, Євген. 1957. Українська мала енциклопедія. Buenos Aires. Том 4. р. 1811; Словник української мови. 1978. Київ: Наукова думка Том. 9. с. 472; Українська радянська енциклопедія. Київ. Том 13. с. 330.

<sup>26</sup> However, Facebook authors have much fewer references to Cossack confrontations with the Ottoman Porta and Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth but more to their fighting with Moscow principality, likely in respect to the real situation during the protests. Many Crimean Tatars took part in the protests; Poland and Lithuania declared their support of the protestors since early phase of the Maidan.

77-A306-U/Eng-Or, February 15, 2014

Дорогі English-speaking Революціонери!

Запрошуємо приєднатися до ударної Ютубівської десятки нашої EuromaidanPR-івської сотні. Бо разом-сила.

Dear English-speaking Revolutionaries!

We invite you to join the YouTubers subgroup<sup>27</sup> of our EuromaidanPR-sotnia<sup>28</sup>. Because together we are the strong.

75-A072-R-Or, February 24, 2014

АКТЁРСКАЯ СОТНЯ

Звучит убедительно и весело.

Актёрская сотня во власть не прорвётся, я уверен.

Скажите, а правда, что Юлию Тимошенко на Майдане сыграл Сергей Безруков?

Я не ходил, не видел. И даже не тянуло.

CELEBRITIES SOTNIA

It sounds earnest and funny.

I am sure that Celebrities' sotnia will not have strived for the power.

Tell me, is it true that Sergei Bezrukov<sup>29</sup> performed Yulia Timoshenko on the Maidan?

I did not go and did not see. It did not appeal to me.

Apparently, the Maidan participants intentionally used the name for self-representation. Some media used the name Maidan-Sich to define a particular phase of the protests which was already self-organized and had barricades as visual borders on the square. Why were the Cossacks important for self-representations? Serhii Plokhyy examines the history of the Cossack age interpreted through a historical treatise of 19<sup>th</sup> century called the *History of Rus'*, in which the term Rus' referred to the Ukrainian Cossacks.<sup>30</sup> He considers how the narrative told the history

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<sup>27</sup> The author uses the word “desiatka” that literally means “a ten,” a smallest unit of the Cossacks and territorial administration of Kyivan Rus' since 10<sup>th</sup> century. The Cossack subunit included 30-50 members. (Онацький, Євген. 1957. Українська мала енциклопедія. Buenos Aires. Том. 1. с. 334.) This subdivision also refers to the word “contubernium,” a smallest unit in the Roman Army that was composed of eight legionaries. Ten “contubernia” were grouped into a “centuria,” and the latter means “a hundred” in Latin.

<sup>28</sup> EuromaidanPR is an English language Facebook group created for the purpose of collecting materials about the Maidan and its participants and to provide the data for publication in international media outlets.

<sup>29</sup> Sergei Bezrukov is a Russian popular actor. In January 2013 he shared a record about the makeup technique used for his preparation to perform the role of Vladimir Vysotsky, a Soviet dissident musician, poet and actor, in the film by Petr Buslov *Vysotsky, Thank You for Being Alive* (“Высоцкий. Спасибо, что живой”). For a while, the performer of the main role was unknown, and the record caused many jokes about Bezrukov performing the role of politicians in the collisional and top mediated political events.

<sup>30</sup> *History of Rus'* is a book about the history of the Rus' people and their state from ancient times up to 1769. The book was written at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century by an anonymous author, and first published in 1846 in Moscow in Russian by Osyp Bodianski. The book focuses, first, on the idea of historical difference and antagonism between

of the Cossack “in a manner befitting the hopes and expectations of the Romantic age.” This text became the most influential source used as a historical myth in the formation of the Ukrainian nation.<sup>31</sup> Serhii Krymsky suggests an ethnos can become a nation when it becomes a subject of history and he considers the Ukrainian nation was formed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, “when Cossacks became the main military power and warriors of Europe for defence from the Ottoman invasion.”<sup>32</sup> According to Krymsky, national archetypes are essential components for collective memory and national identity construction, and these symbolic structures of mentality can have different interpretations in different epochs. Some media outlets after the Maidan make reference to self-defense structure as a symbol of warriors for the nation having continuity with Cossack times.<sup>33</sup> Together with that romanticized depiction, some Facebook authors ironically refer to an image of the Cossacks as permanent fighters. The next example implies a suggestion that the protestors need to develop and to coordinate their own views and strategies but not to be preoccupied with the issue of confrontation.

41-A032-R-Or, February 7, 2014

"...Казачество зевало от бездействия. Татары остались также безработными и уже подумывали о войне с казаками.  
Хмельницкий видел это и, наконец, предложил:  
- Давайте, братцы, отдадимся какому-нибудь государству!  
- Ура! - закричали радостно казаки. - Вот это золотые слова.  
- Отдадим Украину, а потом будем ее снова отнимать. Отнявши, снова отдадим, а отдавши, снова будем отнимать.  
- К кому же присоединимся? - спросил Хмельницкий.  
После краткого совещания казаки решили присягнуть на подданство московскому царю.  
Поляки же до нынешнего дня остались только при жене Хмельницкого.  
Казаки свободнее вздохнули. Потом они стали вздыхать не так свободно, но зато чаще..."

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Rus' (Ukraine) and Muscovy (Russia); and secondly, it argues the historical continuity of the Rus' people (Ukrainians) from the times of Kyivan Rus', 9<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries, until the early modern Cossack state.

<sup>31</sup> Plochy, Serhii. 2012. *The Cossack Myth: History and Nationhood in the Age of Empires*. Cambridge University Press.

<sup>32</sup> Кримський, Сергій. “Нації виходять з кризи завдяки культурі, релігії, ідеї державності та національних інтересів.” February 13, 2014. Retrieved July 16, 2015. <http://ar25.org/article/naciyi-vyhodyat-z-kryzy-zavdyaky-kulturi-religiyi-ideyi-derzhavnosti-ta-nacionalnyh>

<sup>33</sup> Рудяченко, Олександр. “Наливайко: Прапрадід Небесної сотні.” April 21, 2015. Retrieved July 16, 2015. [http://espreso.tv/article/2015/04/21/nalyvayko\\_prapradid\\_nebesnoyi\\_sotni](http://espreso.tv/article/2015/04/21/nalyvayko_prapradid_nebesnoyi_sotni)

"Всеобщая история, обработанная Сатириконом" (1910)

"...The Cossacks were yawning because of a standstill. The Tatars were also unemployed and had thought about a war with the Cossacks.

Khmelnysky<sup>34</sup> saw that and finally suggested:

- Chaps, let's surrender ourselves to some state!

- Hurray! – The Cossacks gaily shouted. – Such golden words.

- Let's give Ukraine up, and then we will take it back. Having taken it back, we will give it up again; and having given it up, we will take it away again.

- Whom will we join now? - Khmelnysky asked.

After a brief discussion, the Cossacks decided to swear fealty to the Moscow king. The Poles until today had still stayed with Khmelnysky's wife.<sup>35</sup>

The Cossacks breathed more freely. Later they breathed not so freely, but more often..."

"The world history finished by *Satyricon*" (1910)<sup>36</sup>

That is, the name "sotnia" mostly refers to romantic nationalism and a myth of a heroic past of the Cossacks and continues to the national struggle in modern times, together with self-awareness of the new implementation of the popular myth. Association with the Ukrainian National Republic emphasizes a critical re-assessment of the Soviet past and the communist regime. In addition to the implications of the mentioned historical periods, the protestors' self-representations gained a new meaning apart from historical heroic myths.

#### 4. The Nebesna Sotnia Narrative

The most tragic week in Kyiv took place in late February 2014 when more than a hundred people were shot dead on the Maidan. They were given the collective name Nebesna Sotnia; it became

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<sup>34</sup> Bohdan Khmelnysky (c. 1595–1657) was the Hetman of the Zaporozhian Host of the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (now part of Ukraine). He led an uprising against the Commonwealth and its magnates (1648–1654) which resulted in the creation of a Cossack state. In 1654, he concluded the Treaty of Pereyaslav with the Tsardom of Russia.

<sup>35</sup> Helena Czaplińska, originally Polish, was the second wife of Bohdan Khmelnysky. Her first marriage with Daniel Czapliński, a deputy head of Chyhyryn, a cavalry officer in the forces of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and a personal foe of Bohdan Khmelnysky, was registered in the Roman Catholic rite. Helena and Daniel formal divorce was not confirmed.

<sup>36</sup> Аверченко, Аркадий. "Всеобщая история, обработанная Сатириконом." Lib.ru. Last update October 12, 2015. Retrieved November 19, 2015. [http://az.lib.ru/a/awerchenko\\_a\\_t/text\\_0120.shtml#\\_toc\\_IDAVBZBC](http://az.lib.ru/a/awerchenko_a_t/text_0120.shtml#_toc_IDAVBZBC). The name *Satyricon* refers to the Russian weekly satirical journal with the same name issued in St. Petersburg 1908-1914. The journal was named after a Latin work of fiction believed to have been written by Gaius Petronius or Titus Petronius in the 1<sup>st</sup> century.

the central memory of the uprising. A hymn, poetry, monuments, memorial plaques and books<sup>37</sup> were produced.

The song *Plyve kacha po Tysyni* (*A Duck Swims on Tysyna River*) began to serve as a requiem spontaneously, without long build-up or public discussion. Amongst the first of the people to die, after being shot by a sniper on January 22, was Sergei Zhyznevsky, an ethnic Belarussian and a member of a Ukrainian nationalist association; *Plyve kacha po Tysyni* was one of his favorite songs. His friends asked for the song to be performed on the central stage on the Maidan during the mass farewell ceremony to the deceased. It is a mournful folk song originating, in different versions, in the far western regions of Trans-Carpathia or Lemkivshchyna (small ethnographic areas in the Carpathian Mountains). According to one version, Vasyl Grendzha-Donsky, a figure of the Ukrainian national struggle in the 1920s, adapted the song to its modern version. Another story claims the song was written in 1939 and first published in 1944 by a Ukrainian composer and folklorist Dezydery Zador.<sup>38</sup> A well-known Ukrainian *a cappella* vocal group *Pikkardiyska Tertsia* performed the obscure song, and made it known to a wider public. The group's repertoire focuses on folk songs, liturgical music, world hit songs, and original compositions by group members. The song *Plyve kacha po Tysyni* has been in the group's repertoire since 2002 as a folk song up until the winter of 2014. Prior to the Maidan events the group had performed it only once at a funeral ceremony, that of a Polish Solidarność member. The group members have remarked that since the song has been performed so often for people shot on the Maidan, it can no longer be perceived as a narrative of the past, but has built a strong connection with the most tragic parts of the Maidan. It has come to be considered as the requiem for the *Nebesna Sotnia*.

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<sup>37</sup> Богданович, К., Бондарева, Х., Бухтоярова, Ю., та ін. 2014. *Небесна сотня*. Упорядн. Трибушна, О., Соломко, І. Харків: Фоліо.

<sup>38</sup> Сокіл, Василь. 2014. Про пісню "Пливе кача по Тисині". Серія філологічна. № 4 (118). <http://nz.ethnology.lviv.ua/archiv/2014-4/23.pdf>; Синяк, Дмитрий. "История одной песни: Как "Плине кача" стала реквиемом героям Небесной сотни." Retrieved July 24, 2015. <http://focus.ua/long/325355/>



Now the group will rarely perform the song at a regular concert unless by special request.<sup>39</sup> The song has gained a new meaning, starting as a folk song of a small ethnographic area through performance by a commercial cultural group during dramatic events at a state level, and rising to high culture as it gained national importance.

351-A270-U-Or, February 24, 2014

А на Майдані знов труна із загиблим Героєм. І знову "Пливе кача по Тисині". Ненавиджу цю колись любиму пісню з кожним її виконанням все більше.

Again a coffin with a deceased Hero at the Maidan. And *Plyve kacha po Tysyni* is on again. I loved this song. Now I hate it with each new performance [during the mass farewell at the Maidan].

The places of confrontation and the places of origin of the deceased in the Nebesna Sotnia now have memorial plaques and monuments dedicated to these individuals.<sup>40</sup> There is a new state award called the Heroes of Nebesna Sotnia Order.<sup>41</sup> In 2015, February 20 was fixed as a national memorial day for the deceased on the Maidan.<sup>42</sup> After public discussion, the location of the shootings in Kyiv, a part of Institute street, was renamed to the Heroes of Nebesna Sotnia street.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Нудик, Ярослав. "У «Пливе кача» міститься історичний код нації." March 30, 2014. Retrieved July 24, 2015. <https://rozmovna.wordpress.com/2014/04/05/yaroslav-nudyk/#more-6156>

<sup>40</sup> "В Києве установили пам'ятник Сергею Нигояну." *Новости Армении – Tert.am*. March 3, 2014. Retrieved November 27, 2015. <http://www.tert.am/ru/news/2014/03/03/nigoyan/1019689>; "В Днепропетровской области установили памятник погибшему на Грушевского Сергею Нигояну." *Korrespondent.net*. July 22, 2014. Retrieved November 27, 2015. <http://korrespondent.net/ukraine/3395693-v-dnepropetrovskoi-oblasty-ustanovyly-pamiatnyk-pohybshemu-na-hrushevskoho-serheui-nyhoianu>; Кушнірук, Зіна, Токарська, Зіна. "У Бережанському агротехнічному інституті відкрили пам'ятну дошку Устиму Голоднюку." *За Збручем*. September 5, 2014. Retrieved November 27, 2015. <http://zz.te.ua/u-berezhanskomu-ahrotehnicnomu-instytutu-vidkryly-pamyatnu-doshku-ustymu-holodnyuku/>; Борис, Марія. "У Франківську відкрили пам'ятник Герою Небесної Сотні Роману Гурику." *Galka.if.ua*. October 14, 2015. Retrieved November 27, 2015. <http://www.galka.if.ua/u-frankivsku-vidkrili-pam-yatnik-geroyu-nebesnoyi-sotni-romanu-guriku-foto/>

<sup>41</sup> "Президент затвердив орден Героїв Небесної сотні." November 3, 2014. Retrieved July 24, 2015. [http://espreso.tv/news/2014/11/03/poroshenko\\_zatverdyy\\_statut\\_y\\_malyunok\\_ordenu\\_quotheroyiv\\_nebesnoyi\\_sotni\\_quot](http://espreso.tv/news/2014/11/03/poroshenko_zatverdyy_statut_y_malyunok_ordenu_quotheroyiv_nebesnoyi_sotni_quot)

<sup>42</sup> "Президент визначив 20 лютого Днем Героїв Небесної Сотні." February 11, 2015. Retrieved July 24, 2015. [http://espreso.tv/news/2015/02/11/prezydent\\_vyznachyv\\_20\\_lyutoho\\_dnem\\_heroyiv\\_nebesnoyi\\_sotni](http://espreso.tv/news/2015/02/11/prezydent_vyznachyv_20_lyutoho_dnem_heroyiv_nebesnoyi_sotni)

<sup>43</sup> "У Києві частину вулиці Інститутської перейменували на алею Героїв Небесної Сотні." 5 канал. November 20, 2014. Retrieved November 27, 2015. <http://www.5.ua/ukrayina/u-kyievi-chastynu-vulytsi-instytutskoi-preimenuvaly-na-aleiu-heroiv-nebesnoi-sotni-58271.html>

419-A072-R-Or, February 22, 2014

Погибших на Майдане назвали Небесной Сотней.

[...] выдвинул предложение переименовать Институтскую, которая начинается с Майдана, в улицу Небесной Сотни.

А на ней - Аллея Небесной Сотни. Звезды в асфальте.

Или снежинки, как память об этой зиме...

А 18 февраля сделать официальным Днём Защитника Отчизны.

Я - обеими руками За. Присоединяйтесь. Голосуйте.

Небесная Сотня этого заслужила. Еще при жизни...

The dead on the Maidan were called Nebesna Sotnia.

[...] proposed to rename Institute [street] that starts on the Maidan, in Nebesna Sotnia Street.

And to put the [names of] Nebesna Sotnia Avenue on it. [To make] stars in the asphalt.

Or snowflakes as memory about this winter...

And officially celebrate February 18 as National Defender Day.

I am for that with both hands. Join. Vote.

The Nebesna Sotnia deserves that. And still does during life...

64-A032-U-Rep/Com, February 23, 2014

"#ЄвроМайдан Сьогодні зранку нам все більше приходять повідомлень з пропозицією перейменування вулиці Інститутської в Києві у вулицю Небесної сотні. А що думаєте про це ви?"

Підтримую.

"#ЄвроМайдан This morning we have received more and more messages proposing to rename Institute street to Nebesna Sotnia street. What do you think about that?"

I support it.

Apart from and prior to official acts in memory of the deceased, many informal memorials and non-official plaques with the newly proposed street name were put up at Institute street. It has been closed to road traffic since the first barricade was erected. Many tributes appeared immediately after the events and looked very similar to those usually placed by relatives, according to folk tradition, near roads or other public places following an accidental death. Svitlana Kukharenko discusses abnormal death memorials in Ukraine as objects both of material culture and folk beliefs, a century long tradition of marking spots of "bad death."<sup>44</sup> Some time after, more permanent memorials in stone replaced the temporary ones (Pictures 1 and 2). These more permanent memorials were not limited to a particular place; the hometowns of the

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<sup>44</sup> Kukharenko, Svitlana. 2010. *Abnormal death memorials in Ukraine: The Folkloristic perspective*. University of Alberta: ProQuest Dissertations Publishing. NR62926.

deceased also mounted memorial plaques, erected monuments and renamed streets in memory to these individuals.<sup>45</sup>



Picture 1. Memorial items to Nebesna Sotnia in Kyiv on the Maidan and former Institute street, June-August 2014. Photo credit by the author.

<sup>45</sup> “В Україні з’явилася перша вулиця на честь героїв Небесної сотні.” Україна Online. February 24, 2014. Retrieved November 28, 2015. [http://ukr-online.com/hot\\_news/2304-v-ukrayin-zyavilasya-persha-vulicya-na-chest-geroyiv-nebesnoyi-sotn.html](http://ukr-online.com/hot_news/2304-v-ukrayin-zyavilasya-persha-vulicya-na-chest-geroyiv-nebesnoyi-sotn.html); “У Рівному з’явиться вулиця героїв "Небесної сотні".” Телеканал “Рівне 1.” December 20, 2014. Retrieved November 28, 2015. <http://www.rivne1.tv/Info/?id=41938>. Currently Ukraine has 42 streets and squares renamed in memory of “Nebesna Sotnia” or “Maidan Heroes” in different regions.



Picture 2. Memorial items to *Nebesna Sotnia* in Kyiv on the *Maidan* and former *Institute street*, June-August 2014. Photo credit by the author.

Since Ukraine has no contemporary tradition of urban public funeral ceremonies, the memorial services to the fallen employed traditional funeral and memorial rites usually reserved for private use. Milena Milenina in her research on oral narratives about the *Nebesna Sotnia* documents a spontaneous memorialization and large number of oral stories typical of traditional funeral rites such as biographical narratives about the deceased during the funeral dinner and attending a cemetery.<sup>46</sup>

My collection includes a large sampling of narratives about the deceased. The deceased are identified both in the collective name of the *Nebesna Sotnia*, as in the two latter examples, and

<sup>46</sup> Міленіна, Мілена. 2014. “Танатологічний дискурс української революції: прагматика біографічних наративів про Небесну Сотню.” *Суспільні злами і поворотні моменти: макроподії крізь призму автобіографічної розповіді*. Львів: Інститут народознавства НАН України. pp. 261-272.

personally about particular individuals. For example, the next text describes the erection of a monument at the place of a tent burned on February 18, 2014. It provides context and character to the memorial, both giving honour to the deceased as heroes and referring to them in intimate manner as to “sons” and “brothers” in the picture. At the same time, it provides the details of the funeral rites, which were adapted and accommodated to the circumstances. The text illustrates how many people were willing to come and place a stone at the base of the monument. At a traditional burial ceremony, participants throw a handful of earth into the grave before it is completely covered.



91-A027-U-Or, February 26, 2014

Люди самі, з власної ініціативи зводять пам'ятник загиблим. На місці намету навпроти Метро Хрещатик, спаленого беркутами 18 лютого.

Пам'ятник підписано: Киянин.

Вишикувалася черга бажаючих покласти свій камінь бруківки, з якого мурують постамент.

Слава Героям! — [Maidan Nezalezhnosti](#)

On their own initiative, people are now building a monument to the dead.

[It is] at Khreschatyk Metro [station] at the location of a tent that was burned down by Berkuts on February 18.

The monument is signed: a Kyivan

There is a line of people willing to put their cobblestones at the base [of the monument].

Glory to the Heroes! — [Maidan Nezalezhnosti](#)

In personal narratives, authors describe witnessing the death of people they knew personally, and participation in the funeral preparation together with their family members.

27-A020-R-Or, January 25, 2014

Сегодня в 3-30 ночи Сережа Нигоян приехал наконец домой с Майдана. Мертвым. Похороны завтра, как и сообщалось, в 12-00. А теперь о простом, но, тем не

менее, невероятном. Первые слова матери людям, которые привезли Сережу, знаете какие были? Нет, не "что вы, сволочи, наделали". Она сказала с порога: "На Майдане должны держаться. Мой сын погиб за всю Украину" Мои ощущения от происходящего невозможно описать словами. ...Мы все пишем Историю Нации...

Tonight at 3.30 am Seryozha Nigoyan<sup>47</sup> finally arrived home from the Maidan. Dead. [His] funeral was announced for tomorrow at 12.00 pm. Now [I want to speak] about simple, but, nevertheless, incredible [things]. Do you know the first words of his mother to people who brought Seryozha? No, not "What did you bastards do!" She said from the doorway: "[People] on the Maidan have to hold on. My son died for all Ukraine." I cannot describe my feelings about what is going on.... We all write the History of the Nation...

336-A254-U-Rep, February 24, 2014

"Ми просто стояли на Інститутській, нікого не чіпаючи і тут пролунав вистріл! - я повернувся, а Саша вже лежав(... куля попала йому в серце, але він ще був живий... До нас швидко підбігли медики і ми разом, відтягнувши Сашка в сторону, його оглянули - на жаль вердикт був беззворотній - медики сказали, що шансів вижити немає і вони вже нічого не можуть вдіяти - адже куля потрапила прямо в серце(((...

Саша ще це чув - це були останні секунди його життя...[...]

І знаєте що найстрашніше в цей час було!? - Це його останні слова, які Я пам'ятатиму усе своє життя!!!

Сашко сказав: Якби ж ти знав як хочеться жити!!!!...як хочеться жити. і все... після цих слів він закрив очі... назавжди закрив...

Я плакав... ні! - я не плакав, я ридав..."

"We were simply standing on Institute [street], hurting no one, when a shot sounded! – I turned around and Sasha had already fallen down(... a bullet had gone into his heart, but he was still alive...

Medics quickly came to us and together, having pulled Sashko aside, we examined him. Unfortunately, their verdict was irrevocable – medics said he had no chance of survival and they could not do anything, as the bullet had hit him right in his heart (((...

Sasha heard that, these were the last seconds of his life ...[...]

Do you know what the most terrible thing was then!? *His* last words that I will remember for my whole life!!!

Sashko said: If only you knew how much I want to live!!!!... how much I want to live. That's it... after these words he closed his eyes... closed forever...

I cried... no! – I did not cry, I sobbed..."

There are many posts revealing personal relations and intimate feelings about the deceased, and acquaintance with their family members in more detail. The next example also provides the context that the song *Plyve kacha po Tysyni* is already known in connection to the fallen on the Maidan, and newly created public memorial ceremony is accepted.

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<sup>47</sup> The first person shot dead on the Maidan. "Seryozha" is an intimate form of the name "Sergei", the latter is more formal.

187-A159-R-Rep, February 24, 2014

[...] Людмила Ивановна пожилая, невысокого роста, худая женщина одета очень скромно. Она вообще не плачет. Ее только волнует, чтобы чубчик в морге Ване красиво зачесали и она интересуется будет ли на Майдане та песня "про качу". И не разойдется ли сейчас Майдан? Я беру ее под руку и говорю "сейчас не разойдется", она улыбается, прижимается ко мне и говорит: "боже какие ручки то холодные у тебя". Она вообще не плачет. Ни в морге, ни на Майдане, ни на сцене, когда читает по-украински стих, который читала Ване по телефону, когда он поехал на Майдан. [...]

[...] Lyudmila Ivanovna is an old, short, thin and very modestly dressed woman. She doesn't cry at all. She only worries that Vanya's forelock is nicely combed in the morgue. She asks if that song "about a duck" will be at the Maidan. And if the Maidan will disperse now? I link my arm through hers and I say "no, it won't disperse now." She smiles, nestles to me and says: "my God, your hands are so cold." She doesn't cry at all. Neither at the morgue, nor on the Maidan or at the stage reading in Ukrainian the verse she had read to Vanya by phone when he went to the Maidan. [...]

One author commented "death online" when quoting a twitter post of a young medical student published immediately through her cell phone after she had been injured by a sniper shooting; the girl fortunately survived after this injury.

139-A137-U/R-Or, February 20, 2014

"Olesya Zhukovskaya @OlesyaZhukovska 3 ч.  
Я вмираю"  
Это самый страшный пост этого дня. Смерть онлайн. Последний твит студентки-медика, которая спасала раненых на Майдане. Ее застрелил из автомата убийца в форме "Беркута".  
Посмотрите на нее...  
Я плачу...

"Olesya Zhukovskaya @OlesyaZhukovska 3 hours [ago]  
I'm dying"  
That is the most scary post today. Death online. The last tweet of a medical student that was saving the injured at the Maidan. A murderer in Berkut's uniform shot her with a submachine-gun.  
Look at her...  
I'm crying...

Biographical details of the lives of the dead protestors also provided information about their occupation, social, and ethnic background aimed at illustrating the truth of ethnic, social and cultural diversity of the Maidan supporters.

30-A335-R-Or, January 22, 2014

Они говорят, что на Грушевского одни галичане. Сергей Нигоян из Днепропетровска. Они говорят, что все там бросают камни и коктейли Молотова. Сергей Нигоян просто пытался обеспечить порядок в толпе. Они говорят, что на Грушевского нацисты — те, кто

выступает за Украину для украинцев. Сергей Нигоян армянин. Ничто не разрушает мифы пропаганды лучше, чем пуля снайпера.

They say that only Galicians<sup>48</sup> are at Hrushevsky [street]. Sergey Nigoyan is from Dnipropetrovsk. They say that everyone there throws stones and Molotov cocktails. Sergey Nigoyan simply tried to support order in the crowd. They say that there are Nazis on Hrushevsky [street] — those who demand Ukraine for Ukrainians. Sergey Nigoyan is Armenian. Nothing destroys propaganda's myths better than a sniper's bullet.

189-A159-U-Rep, February 19, 2014

Не буде більше малюнків на воді... Вінницькі ЗМІ повідомляють, що минулої ночі на майдані загинув художник зі Жмеринки Валерій Брезденюк. Він був унікальним художником – працював у техніці ебру (малюнки на воді). Для створення шедеврів Валерію були потрібні лише чиста вода, фарби і трохи фантазії, аби за лічені хвилини на водяній основі розцвіли квіти, злетіли фантастичні птахи, засяяв підводний світ та зашуміли буйні ліси... RIP

There will be no more paintings on water ... Vinnytsia media reported that last night Zhmerinka artist Valery Brezdeniuk was killed at the Maidan. He was a unique artist – he worked in paper marbling technique (paintings on water). Valery required only a bit of clear water, paints, and a bit of imagination to create a masterpiece; then in few minutes the water blossomed with flowers, fantastic birds soared, an underwater world shone and lush forests made their sounds... RIP

388-A168-U-Rep-Com+R, February 20, 2014

Нема хлібороба...

Він не брав хабарі, не торгував наркотою, не крав кошти з бюджету.

Він вирощував хліб і тримав корів. За визначенням нашої держави - терорист.

Сашко, спитай у Господа, чи буває кара скотам.

Не стріну я тебе з рюкзачком у вишиванці на чумацьких шляхах. Світла тобі па'мять хліборобе.

A farmer passed away...

He did not take bribes, nor sell drugs, nor did he steal money from the [state] budget.

He grew grain and kept cows. By definition in our state – he is a terrorist.

Sashko, ask the Lord whether there is punishment for beasts.

I shall meet you not with backpack and in *vyshyvanka* embroidered shirt<sup>49</sup> on *Chumaks' Ways*<sup>50</sup>.

Bright memory to you, a farmer.

At the time of the first escalation in January 2014, all narratives about dead people were personalized; also, they gave the people respect and treated them as heroes. However, these narratives did not provide a specific collective name for the dead, just particular biographical

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<sup>48</sup> Halychyna/Galychyna is the name of Lviv region.

<sup>49</sup> “Vyshyvanka” is a traditional Ukrainian embroidered shirt, one among well-known Ukrainian symbols represented in material culture.

<sup>50</sup> Chumaks' Way is the name of the trade and transport system of Ukrainian traders (chumaky) of the 16<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries that carried salt from Crimea to Ukraine, and Ukrainian agriculture products – to Crimea. The way leads through the left bank of Dnipro river, Zaporizhzhia steppe and the Isthmus of Perekop. It is also a Ukrainian synonym for Milky Way. According to folk legends, chumaks used light of Milky Way at night for their navigation.



facts of each person. The features of memorialization were subsequent to the context already created on the Maidan.

15-A099-U-Or, February 25, 2014

всі великі історичні події мають свій ейдос. Тобто ту сутність, яка формулюється в кількох словах, які ці події пронизують і які їх визначають. Люди стихійно формулюють цей ейдос від перших хвилин.

В 2004-му це була віра в персоналізовану месію: «Ющенко – так». В 2013-му-2014-му – віра в героїзм простих конкретних людей, які поруч із тобою: «Героям слава».

All great historical events have their eidos. That means the essence formulated in several words penetrating and defining the events. People spontaneously formulate the eidos in the initial moments.

In 2004 it was a belief in a personified Messiah: “Yushchenko – Yes.”<sup>51</sup> In 2013-2014 it is a belief in heroism of simple specific people besides you: “Glory to the Heroes.”

In February 18-20, when the number of dead grew rapidly to almost a hundred and created difficulties in remembering all their names, the name of the Nebesna Sotnia appeared, based on frequent use and popularity of the word “sotnia” among the Maidan supporters implying the sense of belonging to the Maidan structure.

330-A011-R-Or-Com+R/U, February 21, 2014

Они верят, что мы спокойно разойдемся и будем ждать декабря? Что будем опускать друг перед другом глаза и стараться замять любой неловкий разговор о сотне умерших? Не дождутся.

Сегодня подвозил в морг львовянина, у которого снайпер убил друга, двадцатидевятилетнего сотрудника Украинского католического университета. Это мой возраст и мой род занятий. Это моя реальность, и в ней нет места януковичу.

Do they believe that we will quietly disperse and wait for December?<sup>52</sup> That we will lower our eyes in front of one another and try to hush up any awkward talk about a hundred dead? They will wait in vain.

Today I gave a Lvivian a ride to the morgue. A sniper had killed his friend, the twenty-nine-year-old faculty member of the Ukrainian Catholic University. This is my age and my field of occupation. It is my reality, and it has no space for Yanukovich.

By the end of February 2014, after Yanukovich had fled the country, the confrontation in Kyiv ended, and at that moment the killing of protestors became recognized as the most tragic event in

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<sup>51</sup> “Yushchenko – Yes!” was the slogan of Orange Revolution 2004 in support of Victor Yushchenko in presidential campaign.

<sup>52</sup> According to the agreement signed February 21, 2014, right before Yanukovich fled the country, the extraordinary presidential elections were set for December 2014.

Ukraine since its independence in 1991. The escape of Yanukovich and a number of top officials from Ukraine at that moment meant the end of dramatic fighting and the victory of the confrontations. This gave even more appreciation to the people who died several days before. Some authors, using the concept of “martyrology,” consider the dead as pure spiritual sacrifice for the sake of the country.

293-A1621-R-Or, February 26, 2014

Меня очень сильно затронуло выражение лица одного из умирающих активистов 20 февраля на фотографии, которую публиковали разные источники. В нем отражается какое-то неземное спокойствие и смирение, отсутствует страх и ненависть. А сегодня, посещая Майдан, я узнал, что после того, как были застрелены первые протестующие, священники не выпускали никого на передовую не исповедавши. Также священники со щитами в руках были непосредственно в зоне боевых действий и исповедывали тяжело раненных. Тогда я понял, что Небесная Сотня действительно была "небесной", я понял, зачем все эти три месяца священники были на Майдане, зачем активисты Молитвенной палатки раздавали Евангелия, молились с людьми о покаянии, говорили о Боге. Все это время христиане готовили этих бойцов к финальному сражению за свободу Украины, они готовили "Небесную сотню", "приготавливая тело" их к погребению подобно Марии Магдалине.

I was very impressed by the look of a dying activist on February 20 in a photo published by different sources. It reflected some unearthly tranquility and humility, no fear and hatred. And today, visiting the Maidan, I learned that after the first protesters had been shot, priests didn't let anybody out on the front line without confession. Also priests with shields in their arms were directly in the line of fire and heard the confessions of the badly injured. Then I understood that the Nebesna Sotnia really was "heavenly"; I understood, why all these three months priests were at the Maidan, why activists of the Prayer Tent distributed the Gospel, prayed with people for repentance, spoke about God. All this time Christians trained these warriors for the final battle for freedom of Ukraine, they prepared "Nebesna Sotnia," "preparing their body" for burial like Mary Magdalene.

Another author focused more on the military officer's point of view and interpretation of the protestors' behavior in the line of fire during the most dramatic days.

54-A159-R-Rep/Com, February 26, 2014

Понимаете, для профессионального военного сообщества, вся эта самооборона из детей и менеджеров в мотоциклетных шлемах - это, как бы сказать... смешно.

Ни один серьезный человек, за исключением нескольких, не высидел бы на Майдане в палатке, со всеми этими дежурствами и хождением строем. Это неприемлемо.

Не говоря уже о том, что работать палкой в шлеме, это не комифо.

Не говоря уже о том, что у серьезных людей - серьезные дела, которые просто так не бросишь, ответственность, знаете ли.

В общем, этому сообществу было смешно. До 18-го февраля. Избиение в Мариинском и ночной штурм стерли с их лиц улыбки.

19-го с утра ко мне начали приходить сообщения. Сначала израильтяне (публика,

прошедшая ливанские войны, интифаду, спецоперации):

- Дурные дети, - куда они лезут?! Компьютерных игр переиграли?..

Через некоторое время, англичане:

- Какой дурак отдал им такой приказ?! С деревянными щитами - на снайперские винтовки и автоматы?

Тут я нашел, что ответить:

- Вы всмотритесь в моторику. Очень хорошо видно, что действуют добровольцы, а не те, кому приказали.

- Да, действительно...

И еще позже:

- Зачем они это делают? Это бестолково, дурь, нелогично.

А я и сам не понимал - зачем?..

А потом - понял:

- Они оттягивают огонь на себя - от женщин, медиков, стариков, гражданских на Майдане.

- Такой ценой?!

- Да, такой ценой.

После этого было только молчание.

Мне тихонько передали с той стороны, что под влиянием этих "смешных мальчиков", которые раз за разом шли вперед, видя перед этим, как расстреляли такую же группу, содрогнулись даже те, кто в них стрелял.

На самом деле, мы не до конца себе представляем: чтобы нас всех ждало, если бы Майдан, и мертвые, и живые, в тот день дрогнул бы и побежал. Озверевшие толпы "Беркутни" и титушек пошли бы по городу, убивать, грабить, насилловать, и страна бы надолго попала бы в кромешный хаос, по сравнению с которым Беларусь и Россия - детский сад.

А так, уцелевшие и погибшие, закрыли собой страшную воронку, обломали и Путина, и дьявола.

Вот такая дилемма: огромная глупость с военной точки зрения и - огромная доблесть совести, победа Духа. Огромная.

You know, for the professional military community, all this self-defence of children and [office] managers in motorcycle helmets is, how to put it... ridiculous.

Any serious person, except for a few, wouldn't sit out in a tent at the Maidan, dealing with all these watching and marching. It is unacceptable.

Not to mention that work with a stick in a helmet, it is not *comme il faut*.

Not to mention that serious people have serious affairs, which you won't give up; it is a responsibility, you know.

In general, it was ridiculous for this community. Till February 18<sup>th</sup>. The beatings in Mariinsky [park] and night attacks erased smiles from their faces.

Since the morning of [February] 19<sup>th</sup> I have received messages. At first Israelis (the people that experienced the Lebanese wars, the intifada, special operations):

- Foolish kids, - where do they climb?! Have they finished with their computer games?.

After a while, British:

- What fool gave them such an order?! With wooden boards against sniper rifles and machine guns?

Here I found an answer:

- Look at their movement. It is clear that they are volunteers, but not those who follow orders.

- Yes, really...

Then later:

- Why do they do that? It is absurd, nonsense, illogical.

I also didn't understand - what for?.

And then - I understood:

- They draw the fire off onto themselves – away from women, doctors, old people, and civilians at the Maidan.

- At such a price?!

- Yes, at such a price.

After that silence came.

I was told quietly from that side that these "ridiculous boys" who went forward again and again, having seen the same group shot, caused even those shooting them to shudder.

Really, we cannot imagine what waited for all of us at the end if the Maidan, both dead and alive, would tremble and run away that day. Then wild crowds of Berkutnia [*Berkuts*] and titushky would go around the city killing, plundering, and raping; and the country would be in chaos for a long time, which would make Belarus and Russia – seem a kindergarten.

And those, escaped and lost, stopped by themselves a terrible swirling hole, broke off both Putin's and the devil's plans.

Here is such a dilemma: damn nonsense from the military point of view and – great valor of conscience, a Spiritual victory. Great [victory].

## 5. Cultural Trauma as a Trigger for Formation of a New Narrative

The historical periods central to the discussion, the Cossack Sich, Ukrainian National Republic and WWII, made a significant contribution to formation of new narratives related to the *Nebesna Sotnia* and referred to already existing important symbols. The combined narrative of the *Nebesna Sotnia* seems to have brought together components of all mentioned historical periods with different emphases in each. It includes the protestors' self-identification with the imagined warriors as the Cossacks, sacrifice for the sake of the country and emphasized civic national component vs. communist past, where the pro-government side romanticized the latter.

The Cossack heroic myth was employed without re-assessment to name the self-defence structure of the Maidan, and it served as its basis prior to the most tragic events. It is one of three main myths, including "the golden age," suffering and heroic struggle narratives, which influence a national self-identification, according to Danylo Sudin.<sup>53</sup> Certainly, the drastic confrontation that occurred in real time should evoke a large number of narratives on struggle and suffering. The Ukrainian National Republic period was not articulated so clearly but had

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<sup>53</sup> Судин, Данило. «Національні міфи в сучасній Україні.» December 12, 2014. Retrieved July 23, 2015. <http://uamoderna.com/md/sudyn-national-myths>

implied meaning. This period is connected both to the Cossack theme through the “sotnias,” and to WWII discourse through the protestors’ greeting “Glory to Ukraine!” and its response “Glory to the Heroes!” The latter was invented during Ukrainian National War, 1919–1922, and widely used in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during WWII being associated with the name of Stepan Bandera and other nationalist leaders. Andreas Umland suggests that the leader of the Ukrainian nationalist party *Svoboda (Freedom)*, Oleh Tyahnybok, initiated the use of the greeting on the Maidan; and Ievhen Nyshchuk, Ukrainian actor, a Maidan supporter, and the Minister of Culture of Ukraine February 27 – December 2, 2014, popularized its use.<sup>54</sup> Facebook authors in my collection make no direct reference to the source of the greeting, the same as to the word “sotnia.” Some authors are convinced that the response was meant to give respect to the protestors as in the example above (15-A099-U-Or, February 25, 2014). That is, the Ukrainian National Republic period embraces different, often conflicting narratives about the same period referring both to suffering and heroic struggle. As a result, it re-assesses the Soviet past in the context of contemporary Ukraine, and raises that reassessment from protest’ lore to the level of official institutions. In the discourse related to WWII, both sides used negative connotations typical for Soviet-style heroic narratives. The issue of nationalism referring to this period appeared mostly as a response to the pro-governmental side’s depiction of the protestors in the context of WWII theme. This period did not contribute directly to the Nebesna Sotnia narrative but served as a moral category. This period is documented with much historical data and research, and many facts related to this period had highly ideological interpretations, though few living witnesses remain, and some mythological symbols already exist. Apparently, the same interpretations of the period, used for negative portrait of the two opposing sides, could not fit

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<sup>54</sup> Умланд, Андреас. “Патриот ли Тягнибок?” LB.ua. December 31, 2013. Retrieved November 30, 2015. [http://lb.ua/news/2013/12/31/250594\\_patriot\\_li\\_tyagnibok\\_.html?print](http://lb.ua/news/2013/12/31/250594_patriot_li_tyagnibok_.html?print)

them any more. New perception and re-assessment of the discourse was required, and the new government institutionalized the process shortly afterwards. Further, the Maidan supporters imposed their own distinct interpretations on each period.

Some features of the *Nebesna Sotnia* narrative provide elements typical for a myth creation, such as sacrifice on behalf of community, which is, according to Anthony Smith, an essential requirement for the ideal of a national destiny and creation of a new national myth:

Some have even claimed that regular blood sacrifice of the nation's youth is essential to the creation and preservation of the nation. Without going so far, we can easily see how the ideal of public sacrifice could inspire in successive generations a desire to emulate their ancestors and repair or strengthen the bonds of political solidarity. Such a view shifts the emphasis away from the act of sacrifice itself to its mythic and symbolic consequences for the future direction of the nation, and to the successive representation of the 'identity' and goals of the national community.<sup>55</sup>

Although the dead of January-February 2014 have become national heroes, at the same time, they are still known as real people, documented with a lot of factual information, witnesses, and detailed biographical histories. According to Danylo Sudin's review of various definitions of "myth," a myth requires a specific social group's imagination about the sacred past that has no more witnesses, and historical memory can become a myth no earlier than three generations after a specific historical event. Several more studies suggest a 20-30 year re-assessment cycle for commemoration of the past. In the case of traumatic events, active public discourse about the events influences the formation of memory.<sup>56</sup>

Aarelaid-Tart states a society needs to re-evaluate the past and re-plan the future in the case of cultural trauma that usually accompanies "sharp, unexpected and deep social change

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<sup>55</sup> Smith Anthony D. 2009. *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: a cultural approach*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group. p. 97.

<sup>56</sup> Pennebaker, James W. and Banasik, Becky L. 1997. "On the Creation and Maintenance of Collective Memories: History as Social Psychology." *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers. pp. 3-19; Igartua Juanjo, Paez Dario. 1997. "Art and Remembering Traumatic Collective Events: The Case of the Spanish Civil War." *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers. pp. 79-102.

(revolutions, annexations, reigns of terror, massacres, but also rapid economic recession, famine, etc.), causing irregularities in common mnemonic practice.” After such events, especially those caused by politics, “the whole society or at least some groups can no longer remember the past as it used to be remembered and a new way of thinking about the past must be invented.” He states that cultural trauma produces at least two, and often more, competing modes of remembering: “the mode of the former (political) regime, and the mode the subject is required to use to remember under the changed circumstances. Usually one of these ways is publicly forbidden or restricted, and another is preferred and favoured.”<sup>57</sup> However, these competing narratives coexist in society emphasizing different aspects with the aim “to transform the past in a usable form.”<sup>58</sup> This chapter provides many examples of how components referring to the historical periods mentioned contribute to a new narrative based on personal stories, traditional songs and memorial rites. The folk elements are parts of symbols popularized through commercial culture and adopted by the high culture on the example of the song *Plyve kacha po Tysyni*. Facebook authors engaged in the subsequent traumatic events focused a lot on their personal reflections on the transformative experience after multiple deaths of protestors that shed light on the mechanism of the invention of new symbols through the *Nebesna Sotnia* narrative and the process of its institutionalization. It facilitated discussion in these circumstances among diverse narratives re-assessing the past and after the requisite time may lead to a new myth formation. The chapter also contributes to the general “us vs. them” narrative, but focuses more on new symbols and concepts invented among Maidan supporters. I suggest that other topics and juxtapositions to historical events not included in this review also contributed to a broader

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<sup>57</sup> Aarelaid-Tart, Aili. 2009. “Cultural Trauma as the Mnemotic Device of Collective Memory.” *The Burden of Remembering: Recollections & Representations of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society. p. 201.

<sup>58</sup> Aarelaid-Tart. p. 220.

narrative appraising the Maidan protests and provided more competing components that have still to be assessed.



## Summary remarks

The project demonstrates that Facebook posts served as timely, sensitive, expressive and interpretative communication medium about the Maidan event.

The study reveals the relevance of time and several patterns related to historical events, as Facebook posts immediately responded to the events occurring on the square and streets occupied by protestors, simultaneously with professional media outlets, and sometimes prior to them. Facebook served as a platform for the initial appeal, for coordination among the participants, and for dialogues of both protesters and their opponents. Facebook was a key space and a communicative means for practical and tactical purposes and a tool for interpretative narratives, consistent with Jennifer Dickinson's description of social media and livestreamed video functions during the Maidan.

The collected narratives have features of oral communication described by Mikhail Bakhtin's definition of *primary speech genre*, Sandra Stahl's concept of *personal narrative*, and John Foley's *oral traditions in the internet*. The collected Facebook narratives partly functioned as oral lore.

The posts in my collection are a protest lore that was spread digitally, similar to *Newslore* identified by Russell Frank and *Xeroxlore* by Alan Dundes and Carl Pagter. This lore includes informal primary texts and comments about the events, eye-witnesses' narratives, (re)telling of stories, jokes, allegories, poetry, songs, reflections, emotional evaluations, coordination comments, etc. Focusing on the diversity of forms and topics of the narratives, expressive elements, and narrative devices, I showed some of the mechanisms of the authors' self-representations of who they were and who they were not, their belonging and attitudes to one or the other side of confrontation, and to formulate "us vs. them" contraposition.

The allocated categories helped to reveal the different functions of the diverse forms and types of narratives outlined sometimes in clear, but sometimes in fuzzy and ambiguous contraposition. Different types of humor, allegories, allusions to known literary works and products of popular culture, and references to folklore traditions functioned to release the tension of the conflict and to formulate the attitudes of the protestors *vis a vis* their opponents. They revealed the paradoxes and inappropriate practices of the current political and social life in Ukraine, described negative attributes of the pro-government side, and demonstrated a critique and resistance to them according to the concept of *carnavalesque culture* by Mikhail Bakhtin, *stiob, necroaesthetic and anecdotes* by Alexei Yurchak, and *Aesopian language* by Lev Loseff.

*Storytelling* texts, by contrast, served for relationship building, suggested by the perspective on personal experience stories examined by Sandra Stahl. They also functioned to create a sense of community and to validate the participants' experience and the significance of the events for the engaged participants, consistent with concepts of Walter Benjamin, Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub. The sense of belonging to the newly created and fuzzily bonded group of authors virtually engaged in the protests shares features of Turner's *communitas* and Anderson's *imagined community*. Diverse cultural references and folkloristic elements made a major contribution as essential components in all the mentioned categories.

The engaged authors' reflections on their transformative experience shed light on the invention of new symbols the protests as a liminal phase in their community's life, as explored through the *Nebesna Sotnia* narrative. Aili Aareleid-Tart's concept of the need to re-assess the past and to re-plan the future in cases of *cultural trauma* contributes to the understanding of the creation of new symbols. It facilitates discussion among competing narratives that after a requisite time may lead to a new myth formation, in the terms of Anthony Smith. The *Nebesna Sotnia* narrative, and its

correlation to the repertoire of motifs and terms of selected historical periods, illustrates the interpretative means of this protest lore and hinted on its impact on institutional changes of commemorative practices.

Authors of the Facebook posts did not necessarily have any connection among themselves apart from commenting about this political protest. They were assembled as a virtual group, having little structure or hierarchical relations, few developed norms or prohibitions, no distinctions of age, gender, ethnicity, language, place of residence, religion, social group, professional occupation, etc. I suggest its representation shares features of Marshall McLuhan's concept of *global village* and Arjun Appadurai's *mediascape* applied to the functions of digital technologies.

My own position, both an insider and an outsider, observing participant and participating observer emotionally engaged in the events, gives rise to a question about biased conclusions and awareness of the researcher's subjectivity. I definitely found myself taking one side in the "us vs. them" general narrative that I focused on in this project, including elements of ambiguity and competing interpretations of the events that took place among supporters of the Maidan. My subjectivity likely influenced the allocation and formulation of the topics, which served as a basis for the statistical analysis. However, I suggest that the chosen methods and aspects of the research helped to avoid subjective interpretations in other respects. The *Humor* and *Storytelling* categories analyzed do not suppose objective neutrality in the texts, but my analysis focuses on the main types and functions of narratives in these categories. Other types of texts may shed more light about the authors' strategies of assessment, their biases and subjective or objective interpretations, but it was not the focus of the research. Analysis of one chosen topic and one sub-category provides evidence of competing narratives with differing implications.

The collected data includes a large number of topics, and each of them may become an independent theme for a new project. I think the methodology of this project can be applied to an analysis of the other side's narrative, and to any group's reaction to a particular event occurring in the limited period, including the same group of authors narrating in another period. I believe these findings have important implications that go beyond the Ukrainian context and that it contributes to the further explorations of social networks functioning in relation to factual events.

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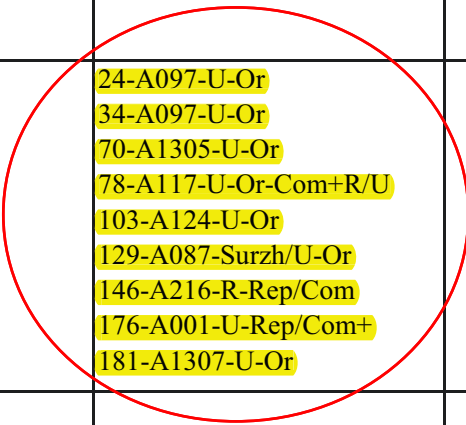
Appendix 1

February 17, 2014

	Yanukovich	Laws from January 16, 2014	Hrushevsky / Bank / Institute str.	Situation on the Maidan	Persecution of Civilians	Top Authorities	Tiushky / Berkut / Anti-Maidan / Internal	Priests / Church / Religion	Europe / West / World	Dead on the Maidan	Ethnic / Language / Region issues	Threat of Russian Invasion / Complicity	Facebook / Social Media	Crimea	Leninopad	Olympic Games
<b>Start/ending</b>																
eye-witnesses' stories			57-A027-U-Or 149-A027-U-Or	42-A006-U-Rep/Com 68-A137-R-Or 72-A071-R-U-Rep/Com* 126-A124-U-Or 131-A700-U-Or 156-A127-U-Or	97-A1170-U-Or						109-A034-R-Or					
stories about third persons-participants				47-A033-U-Rep/Com 90-AA32-U-Rep/Com* 112-A025-R-U-Rep/Com 126-A108-U-Rep/Com 136-A108-U-Or 144-A163-U-Or 187-A025-U/R-Eng-Rep/Com			137-A340-U-Or-Com*									
<b>Humor</b>																
ironical feedback	15-A1422-R-Rep/Com 17-A733-R-Or 147-A117-U-Or			27-A097-U-Or 65-A066-R-Or 179-A1434-R-Or 186-A440-R-Or-Com*		39-A870-Eng-R/U-Or 63-A042-U-Or 86-A0134-R-Rep/Com 86-A072-R-Or-Com* 134-A117-U-Or 180-A1415-U-Or 183-A335-R-Or 185-A1031-R-Or	64-A033-U-Rep 76-A066-R-Or 166-A700-U-R-Or	35-A1426-U-Or 162-A072-R-Or			58-A141-U-R-Rep/Com 80-A066-R-Or 188-A072-R-Or	92-A016-U-Or 128-A072-R-Or		71-A160-R-Or		
reference to fiction/fairy tales/ movies / songs				5-A024-R-Or 28-A1423-R-Or							18-A107-R-Or		100-A117-U-R-Or			
jokes			46-A025-U-Or			24-A097-U-Or 34-A097-U-Or 70-A1305-U-Or 76-A1174-U-Or-Com*/R/U 103-A124-U-Or 129-A087-Sarzh/U-Or 146-A216-R-Rep/Com 176-A001-U-Rep/Com* 181-A1307-U-Or					169-A322-R-Rep/Com					
satirical poetry/allegory	130-A117-U-Or-Com*/R/U 138-A117-U-Or			132-A016-U-Or		148-A1431-R-Or 159-A019-U-Eng-Rep/Com 160-A117-U-Eng-Rep/Com					51-A109-R-Or 61-A109-R-Or					
<b>Coordination</b>																
<b>Comments</b>																
call for action			11-A031-U-Or	60-A071-R-Or 127-A033-U-Or 125-A1257-U-Rep/Com 151-A283-U-Or 165-A077-U-Or 173-A1257-U-Or 175-A700-U-Or		21-A1314-U-Or 158-A054-U-Or						38-A305-U-Or				
emotional appeal				66-A467-U-Or 145-A110-U-Or	118-A025-U-Rep/Com 119-A031-U-Rep/Com 142-A970-U-Or	33-A1425-U-Or 174-A013-U-Rep										
public (personal) statement				88-A1298-R/U-Or												
<b>Reflections</b>																
facts description	14-A141-U-Rep/Com 41-A137-R-Eng-Or	182-A069-U-Or	6-A027-U/Eng-Or-Com* 10-A013-U-Or 54-A051-U-Or 62-A096-U-Rep	7-A024-R-Rep/Com* 19-A234-R-Rep 26-A034-R-Or 56-A128-R-Or 59-A013-U-Or 74-A077-U-Or 77-A024-U-Rep 79-A056-R-Or 87-A024-U-Rep/Com* 98-A031-R-Or 102-A117-U-Rep/Com 106-A027-U-Or-Com* 113-A033-U-Or 164-A283-U-Rep/Com 168-A189-U-Or 177-A027-U-Or 178-A0094-U-Or 189-A208-R-Or	16-A090-U-Or 81-A054-U-Or 133-A025-U/R-Rep/Com 150-A056-R-Or	13-A335-R-Or 20-A056-R-Or 25-A032-R-Rep/Com 48-A051-U-Or 75-A047-R-Or 89-A090-U-Or 91-A1174-U-Rep/Com 95-A148-U-Or 99-A013-U-Or 117-A137-R-Or 153-A137-R-Or 154-A1432-R-Eng-Or 161-A036-U-Or 170-A124-U-Or 184-A076-R-Or	9-A027-U/Eng-Or 22-A478-U-Or 30-A423-U-Or 67-A072-R-Or 121-A034-R-Rep 123-A153-Eng-Rep/Com*	93-A779-U-Or 94-A1399-U-Or 120-A066-U/Pol-Or-Com*/U/R 67-A072-R-Or 125-A005-R-Or 157-A336-U-Or 172-A200-R/U-Or	8-A027-U-Or 12-A013-U-Or 53-A006-U-Or 59-A025-U-Rep 82-A016-U-Rep/Com 83-A069-U-Or 86-A013-U-Or 105-A013-U-Rep 114-A1430-U-Or-Com* 122-A027-U-Or	40-A006-R-Or 104-A475-R-U-Rep/Com 115-A597-U-Rep 141-A096-R-Rep 143-A383-U-Or-Com/R	3-A1324-R-Or 23-A102-U-Or 36-A064-R-Or 85-A234-U-Rep/Com 110-A128-R-Or 116-A033-U-Rep					
exposition with other historical events				2-A006-U-Or 31-A0974-U-Or-Com*/R 32-A032-U-Or 43-A027-U-Or-Com*/U/R 52-A1427-R-Or 111-A138-R-Or			140-A131-U-Or	163-A117-U-Or	171-A049-Eng-Or		155-A216-R-Rep/Com				50-A148-R-Or	
reflection about not-involved known public figures / literary works				4-A054-R-Or 29-A1424-U-Or 49-A176-R-Or 55-A176-R-Or 107-A006-U-Rep/Com 139-A138-R-Or												
links to external sources																
<b>Epitaphs</b>																
emotional assessment				37-A102-R-Or 75-A1428-R-Eng-Or 101-A349-R-Or		1-A066-R-Or 45-A033-R-Rep 125-A176-U-Or										
poetry / songs				108-A1429-U-Or												
braves																

## Appendix 1

**Table 2: February 17, 2014, extraction**

	Situation on the Maidan	Persecution of Civilians	Top Authorities	Titushky / Berkut / Anti-Maidan / Internal Troops
<b>Humor</b>				
ironical feedback	27-A097-U-Or 65-A066-R-Or 179-A1434-R-Or 186-A440-R-Or-Com+		39-A870-Eng/R/U-Or 63-A042-U-Or 84-A013-U-Rep/Com 86-A072-R-Or-Com+ 134-A117-U-Or 180-A1415-U-Or 183-A335-R-Or 185-A1031-R-Or	64-A033-U-Rep 76-A066-R-Or 166-A700-U/R-Or
reference to fiction/fairy tales/ movies / songs	5-A024-R-Or 28-A1423-R-Or			
jokes	46-A025-U-Or		 24-A097-U-Or 34-A097-U-Or 70-A1305-U-Or 78-A117-U-Or-Com+R/U 103-A124-U-Or 129-A087-Surzh/U-Or 146-A216-R-Rep/Com 176-A001-U-Rep/Com+ 181-A1307-U-Or	
satirical poetry				
allegory	132-A616-U-Or		148-A1431-R-Or 159-A619-U/Eng-Rep/Com 160-A117-U/Eng-Rep/Com	

## Appendix 2

The highlighted extraction from Table 2 represented in Appendix 1 for February 17, 2014, topic

*Top Authorities* and category *Humor*, subcategory *jokes*:

24-A097-U-Or

Пишуть, що Янукович може внести в Раду кандидатуру Бойка. Опозиція тоді має запропонувати Лемка.

34-A097-U-Or

Горлівська міськрайонна організація ПР заявила про саморозпуск на знак протесту проти заборони ввезення мереживних трусів з синтетичних матеріалів на територію Митного союзу.

70-A1305-U-Or

Зустрічає мене після ефіру пес. Цілую його і примовляю: Боночко, сину, на тебе вся надія, от виростеш, навчишся натхненно гавкати і – змieniш країну на краще. [...], спросоння: "Два німецьких боксери у керівництві країною - це вже занадто!"

78-A117-U-Or-Com+R/U

Завтра на розгляд депутатів Верховної Ради внесуть труну з тілом небіжчика.

Comment 1: На похорони уже дали 2 млрд.

Comment 2: Якщо чесно, то три небіжчика вийшло з АП ще 24 січня.

Comment 3: кінах?

Comment 4: ще трохи невнятих дій з боку лідерів опозиції і до зали ВР внесуть три труни...

Comment 5: "Больной перед смертью потел?"

Comment 6: лікувати будемо чи хай живе?

Comment 7: а як, мо, виявиться пере\_біжчиком?

Comment 8: Доктор сказав – в морг, значит – в морг...

Comment 9: Таке та Богу у вуха!

Comment 10: Сподіваюсь, що ваш прогноз здійсниться швидко швидко і безболісно.

Comment 11: та запросто. можна пару сотень ректальних препаратів за раз.

103-A124-U-Or

В моїй групі у фракції двоє на милицях: вже давно Борис Тарасюк, а віднедавна і Леся Оробець. Небезпекою буває "кабінетна' робота опозиції))))))

129-A087-Surzh/U-Or

ВНСЗАПНО: Майкл Щур @MichaelShchur

План такий: всі вступаємо в Партію регіонів і більшістю голосів приймаємо рішення про її саморозпуск.

146-A216-R-Rep/Com

и я за арбузова тогда, если под таким ракурсом. под всеми остальными - похуй.

[...]

пока виктор федорович выбирает фамилию рулевого титаника, выскажу свое мнение.

я за арбузова. пиздец должен быть полным.

[...] поділилася [фотографією The Telegraph](#).

УВАГА! Термінова новина!!! Космічна фіговіна розміром як три стадіона "Динамо" Летить у напрямку Верховної Ради!



Comment 1: O dai Bozhe!

Comment 2: Ура!

Comment 3: таки як не місяць, то щось інше - впаде на землю, і прямо - через київ. зміни на краще?

Тут люди цікавляться - а як розуміти завтрашній "мирний наступ" на Верховну Раду. Пояснюю анекдотом.

Сиділи на даху дві дівчинки: одна зла, а друга - добра. І кидали цеглу на перехожих. Зла попала три рази, а добра п'ять.

Тому, що добро - завжди перемагає!



Appendix 3

Table 3: February 9, 2014

	Yanukov ych	Laws from Jan. 16	Hrush / Bank / ...	Situation on the Maidan	Persecut of Civil..	Top Author...	Titush / Berkut /	Priests / Church /	Europe/ West /	Dead on the Maidan	Ethnic / Lang /	Threat of Rus	FB/ Soc Media	Crimea	Lenino- pad	Olymp. Games	
<b>Storytelling</b>																	
eye-witnesses' stories			1	6						1							8
stories about third persons-					1	1		1			1	1					5
																	<b>13</b> 20%
<b>Humor</b>																	
ironical feedback	1			3		4											8
reference to fiction/ fairy tales/ jokes	2					1											3
satirical poetry				1			1										2
allegory						2			1			1					0
																	4
																	<b>17</b> 26%
<b>Coordination Comments</b>																	
call for action			1	3													4
emotional appeal																	0
public (personal) statement				1													1
																	<b>5</b> 8%
<b>Reflections</b>																	
facts description				5					4			1					10
juxtaposition with other historical events				1			1		1							1	4
reflection about not-involved				3		1											4
links to external sources																	0
																	<b>18</b> 28%
<b>Emotions</b>																	
emotional assessment				5			1		2		1					1	10
poetry				2													2
prayers																	0
																	<b>12</b> 18%
	3 4.6%	0 0.0%	2 3.1%	30 46.2%	1 1.5%	9 13.8%	3 4.6%	1 1.5%	9 13.8%	0 0.0%	2 3.1%	3 4.6%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	2 3.1%	

**Total: 65**

Appendix 3

Table 4: February 17, 2014

	Yanukov ych	Laws from Jan. 16	Hrush / Bank / ...	Situation on the Maidan	Persecut of Civil..	Top Author...	Titush / Berkut /	Priests / Church /	Europe/ West /	Dead on the Maidan	Ethnic / Lang /	Threat of Rus	FB/ Soc Media	Crimea	Lenino- pad	Olymp. Games	
<b>Storytelling</b>																	
eye-witnesses' stories			2	6	1						1						10
stories about third persons-participants				7			1										8
																	<b>18</b>
<b>Humor</b>																	9%
ironical feedback	3			4		8	3		2		3	2	1				26
reference to fiction/ fairy tales/ movies /				2							1		1				4
jokes				1		9					1						11
satirical poetry																	0
allegory	2			1		3					2						8
																	<b>49</b>
<b>Coordination Comments</b>																	26%
call for action			1	7		2						1					11
emotional appeal				2	3	2											7
public (personal) statement				1													1
																	<b>19</b>
																	10%
<b>Reflections</b>																	
facts description	2	1	4	18	4	15	6	6	10		5	6					77
juxtaposition with other historical events				6			1	1	1		1					1	11
reflection about not-involved known public				6													6
links to external sources																	0
																	<b>94</b>
																	50%
<b>Emotions</b>																	
emotional assessment				3		3											6
poetry				1			1		1								3
prayers																	0
																	<b>9</b>
																	5%
	7	1	7	65	8	42	12	7	14	0	14	9	2	0	0	1	
	3.7%	0.5%	3.7%	34.4%	4.2%	22.2%	6.3%	3.7%	7.4%	0.0%	7.4%	4.8%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	

Total: 189

Appendix 3

Table 5: February 22, 2014

	Yanukovych	Laws from Jan. 16	Hrush / Bank / ...	Situation on the	Persecut of Civil..	Top Author...	Titush / Berkut /	Priests / Church /	Europe/ West /	Dead on the Maidan	Ethnic / Lang /	Threat of Rus	FB/ Soc Media	Crimea	Lenino-pad	Olymp. Games	
<b>Storytelling</b>																	
eye-witnesses' stories	2			11		1	1	2	1	4	5						27
stories about third persons-participants							1			2	2				1		6
																	<b>33</b>
<b>Humor</b>																	7%
ironical feedback	10			3		15	1	1	1		3						34
reference to fiction/ fairy tales/ movies / songs	3			2		2											7
jokes	23			5		3			1			1	1		1		35
satirical poetry	1																1
allegory	1					1					2						4
																	<b>81</b>
<b>Coordination Comments</b>																	17%
call for action	2			25	2	5	2	1	2	3	3				3		48
emotional appeal	4			16		27	2	2	1	4	2				2		60
public (personal) statement						4		1	1		1						7
																	<b>115</b>
																	25%
<b>Reflections</b>																	
facts description	22			11	1	33	2	10	6	4	7	3			3		102
juxtaposition with other historical events				1		2		1		1	1				1		7
reflection about not-involved known public				2		2				1							5
links to external sources																	0
																	<b>114</b>
																	25%
<b>Emotions</b>																	
emotional assessment	9			32	1	43	2	2		11	1	5	1		4	1	112
poetry				2		1				4							7
prayers				3							1						4
																	<b>123</b>
																	26%
	77	0	0	113	4	139	11	20	13	34	28	9	2	0	15	1	
	16.5%	0.0%	0.0%	24.2%	0.9%	29.8%	2.4%	4.3%	2.8%	7.3%	6.0%	1.9%	0.4%	0.0%	3.2%	0.2%	

Total: 466



Feb.7	Feb.8	Feb.9	Feb.10	Feb.11	Feb.12	Feb.13	Feb.14	Feb.15	Feb.16	Feb.17	Feb.18	Feb.19	Feb.20	Feb.21	Feb.22	Feb.23	Feb.24	Feb.25	Feb.26	Feb.27	Feb.28	
14%	12%	20%	24%	25%	22%	19%	22%	11%	13%	9%	29%	29%	17%	16%	7%	13%	12%	11%	13%	10%	3%	16%
18	9	8	18	44	19	22	23	7	15	10	95	81	68	41	27	36	35	22	25	12	7	
18	7	5	2	17	13	17	11	4	6	8	22	20	14	15	6	17	9	10	29	15	2	
<b>36</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1398</b>
32%	24%	26%	27%	22%	22%	21%	12%	24%	15%	26%	8%	14%	8%	13%	17%	16%	20%	16%	18%	20%	28%	18%
42	17	8	9	26	16	16	11	11	12	26	24	38	26	20	34	44	50	23	38	15	87	
5	2	2	2	2	0	2	5	2	1	4	1	7	3	5	7	2	10	4	6	3	10	
23	7	2	7	15	8	12	3	8	6	11	7	1	4	13	35	16	11	8	21	19	2	
2	1	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	
8	5	5	5	9	9	13	0	4	4	8	0	3	1	6	4	7	1	12	5	14	0	
<b>80</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>1559</b>
13%	11%	8%	12%	11%	13%	8%	13%	12%	9%	10%	23%	20%	26%	16%	25%	27%	24%	29%	21%	17%	18%	19%
19	12	4	5	18	13	14	11	6	7	11	53	41	75	27	48	25	31	28	26	18	16	
11	1	0	4	9	6	3	4	6	8	7	33	19	37	27	60	87	52	51	47	23	34	
2	1	1	1	1	0	0	5	0	0	1	6	10	13	3	7	0	5	5	14	3	14	
<b>32</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>1684</b>
28%	33%	28%	28%	38%	35%	39%	40%	47%	55%	50%	27%	25%	25%	34%	25%	22%	27%	35%	36%	44%	35%	32%
55	37	10	20	72	35	67	47	38	77	77	89	64	90	101	102	79	90	89	139	107	115	
14	7	4	3	15	10	11	1	9	6	11	8	14	20	8	7	6	4	6	3	5	7	
1	0	4	1	2	4	3	0	0	5	6	8	9	5	8	5	5	1	6	4	1	3	
0	0	0	0	7	2	0	14	2	0	0	5	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	3	
<b>70</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>2879</b>
13%	20%	18%	9%	4%	8%	13%	13%	6%	8%	5%	13%	13%	24%	21%	26%	22%	17%	9%	12%	9%	16%	16%
28	20	10	6	6	11	23	19	4	10	6	28	33	91	62	112	87	50	20	38	16	52	
6	4	2	1	4	1	4	2	2	2	3	9	7	8	10	7	6	9	7	10	7	1	
0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	17	6	13	2	4	1	2	1	0	0	6	
<b>34</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>1386</b>
252	132	65	85	250	147	209	156	103	160	189	405	353	472	349	466	418	362	292	407	258	362	<b>8906</b>