Article

Euromaidan Values from a Comparative Perspective

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Abstract

Ukrainian revolution frequently called the "Euromaidan" changed Ukrainian society in 120 days and, later, became a regional conflict and a challenge to a global order. This primary social revolution was followed by value and paradigmatic shifts, middle class revolution, and a struggle for human rights, equality, justice, and prosperity. This study examines values and social structure of the Euromaidan. In addition to ethnographic study consisting of participant observations and informal interviewing, data from European Social Survey (2010-2013) and face-to-face survey conducted by an initiative group of sociologists on Maidan were used in order to approach this goal. Results of the study show that values of the Euromaidan (Universalism, Benevolence, Self-Direction, Stimulation, and Security) coincide more with European values, especially those of developed Western and Scandinavian countries, than Ukrainian ones. Furthermore, values of protesters find its reflection in deeply rooted Ukrainian identity. Moreover, Maidan was consisted of three major groups of protesters: "moralists," "individualists," and "explorers."

Keywords: Ukrainian revolution, Euromaidan, Revolution of Dignity, Maidan, values, social structure, Ukrainian identity

Introduction

On the 21st of November, Mustafa Nayyem, Ukrainian journalist of Afghan origin, posted on his Facebook a note of protest against Yanukovych and Azarov, the former president and PM of Ukraine respectively, following their refusal to sign the Association Agreement with the EU, together with a call for expression of disagreement among Ukrainian citizens. Four months later, on the 21—22nd of February, after bloody confrontations in the heart of Kyiv, Yanukovych was deposed from the post of President of Ukraine and ran away to Rostov-na-Donu city, Russia. These 120 days have significantly changed Ukrainian society. It is the responsibility of social scientists to study this Ukrainian revolution, also known as the Euromaidan Revolution of Dignity, Maidan, together with its social legacy and make it comprehensible for both global academic and non-academic audiences.

There are a few points about this Ukrainian Revolution that we should first stress to establish a framework of reference for further thoughts. First, the Euromaidan is not the first revolution in modern Ukrainian history, but it is unique as the Orange revolution in 2004 was a political revolution, while the Euromaidan is primarily a social, or even "values revolution." The Euromaidan could also be characterized as both a middle and a creative class revolution, with intellectuals, artists and entrepreneurs being involved. According to the results of a social survey conducted by Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, professionals with higher education constituted the major part of Maidan (*Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation, 2014a)*. No doubt, it was a struggle for human rights, justice, and prosperity for Ukrainian citizens. Furthermore, even on the days when conflict escalated, the Euromaidan expressed romanticism, emotionalism. On the other hand, Maidan protestors underlined an absence of materialist goals.

Other important processes that happened on Maidan were 'de-sovietization' and 'paradigmatic shift'. From a retrospective point of view, the Euromaidan stimulated processes of nation building, as well as decolonization from the Soviet legacy. Evidence of this could be so-called "*leninopad*," when people ruined monuments of Lenin as a sign of unacceptance of Soviet ideology. Another example is a red-black flag of UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) that was nothing more than a symbol of unity against Soviet past. Mainly, this shift of values was manifested by transition from state-reliance behavior to self-reliance, self-direction, and people autonomy that has deep roots in Ukrainian identity and history. Altogether, it leads to the development of civil society and growing demand for social activism and social capital building. Lately, the Ukrainian revolution has turned to local crisis, and, afterwards, to global aggression, terrorism, and war. The Euromaidan as a community has the potential to become a prototype of a postmodern society that allows people of different origins, language preference, or religious denomination to live together in harmony without any leader, except common values and ideas. Thus, social structure and values of Ukrainian revolution deserve special attention from social scientists.

Many critical questions that have to be answered arose on the Euromaidan. Who are the protesters? What are the values priorities of protesters? How has this revolution changed Ukrainian society? These questions will be discussed further in the article.

Significant attempt to understand the Euromaidan's values was made by Shestakovskyi (2014a). He claims that values of protesters are closer to ones of Europeans, than to Ukrainians, however, with a few things to clarify. Shestakovskyi argues that the values are changing slowly, and, moreover, these values are values of a radicalized group of society, while Ukrainian deserves changes as a state. In fact, Shestakovskyi (2014b), as a precondition of further development of Ukrainian society, sees the establishment of friendly conditions to the holders of such priorities, but not spreading these 'European values' further. In fact, given that our methodology is slightly different even though we use the same data, we will explore new dimensions of the Euromaidan's values, and look at how these values are reflected in Ukrainian identity. Moreover, we will go further and define what the value clusters are on the Euromaidan. As a result, our findings and discussion lead us to an alternative interpretation and conclusion.

The Euromaidan can be analyzed from three angles. First, as a physical sphere where the community of protesters was located. Secondly, as a virtual sphere that includes dozens of evolved media, social media communities and other activities in a virtual public sphere. Thirdly, as a state of mind: social dimension of people involved in a movement that consist of norms, values, and ideas. The primary focus of our research lies within the last perspective, and in particular, on the values and social structures of Maidan.

Empirical foundations of the research on the Euromaidan included two traditions: interpretative and positivistic. Actually, we conducted ethnographic study by being participant observers and informally interviewing people from the second day of protests till the very end. Moreover, research was also based on quantitative data on protesters values and motives, gathered by an "initiative group of sociologists" headed by Nadiia Lintsova[1] on 7-8th of December on Maidan in Kyiv and Lviv. For comparative analysis of values of Ukraine and the EU, we used quantitative data from the European Social Survey 2010-2013. We need to stress that events after Yanukovych's resignation (Russian military aggression, Crimea annexing, presidential elections, ATO) are not in the focus of this research. As the data were gathered in a specific stage of the Euromaidan, we have to provide some background on Maidan's periodization. We believe that this is in order to refer the reader to a particular timeframe.

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[1] We, as authors, are extremely grateful for 'initiative group of sociologist" and Nadiia Lintsova in particular for giving us the access and permission to use the data gathered on Euromaidan on 7-8 December. Thus, their contribution to this article is crucial. However, they are not responsible neither for the content nor for any mistakes in the article.

Euromaidan Periodization

The Euromaidan was a mass protest that arose as a peaceful rally to comply with Ukraine's path towards European integration, which eventually developed into a wide national uprising against the ruling regime of former President Yanukovych. Actually, the Euromaidan (Eurorevolution, Maidan, Dignity Revolution, Ukrainian Revolution)—involved national-patriotic protests all over Ukraine that highlighted problems of corruption, social inequality, biased police, and overuse of prescribed power by special forces, as well as expressed support for the European orientation of Ukraine's foreign policy. Nevertheless, the events of the Ukrainian revolution, such as peaceful rallies, demonstrations, and the capture of regional administrations, were dispersed all over Ukraine, although the crucial ones happened in its capital—Kyiv. Thus, further analysis will mostly be connected with Kyivan Maidan.

From my ethnographic experience, with flow of time the Euromaidan was not the same in terms of social structure, motives, demands, and activities. Actually, we can divide the Euromaidan in three consecutive stages: 1) pro-European student demonstration; 2) Revolution of Dignity; and 3) violent Maidan (Table 1).

Table 1. The stages of the Euromaidan

Stage	Dates	Brief description
1. Pro-European student demonstration, or "Euromaidan"	21st—31th of November	Peaceful student demonstration against decision of Ukrainian authorities not to sign the AA with the EU
2. Revolution of Dignity	1st of December – 16th of January	Peaceful civil anti-state, anti-police protest
3. Violent Maidan	16th of January to 22th of February	Violent clashes between Ukrainian citizens and Yanukovych's regime

As the survey was conducted on the 7th of December, the analysis will mostly concern the second stage of the Euromaidan and do not necessarily represent further developments.

1. Pro-European Student Demonstration

As mentioned before, the reason for the mass protests was the Resolution of the Ukrainian Government to suspend the process of preparation for the signing of the Association Agreement with the EU on November 21, 2013. On the same day, more than 1,500 people had gathered in Kyiv on Independence Square to rally against this decision of the government (*Ukrainska Pravda, 2013a*). On November 26, student activists from the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (NaUKMA) and Kyiv National University (KNU) started the first student strike. Around 1,500 students of NaUKMA, which constitute nearly half of the overall number of students at the University, went to the Shevchenko monument where, after joining

with students of KNU, went together to Independence Square. Simultaneously, student demonstrations under the slogan "*molod natsii za ievrointehratsiiu*" ("Youth of the Nation for European Integration") took place in many cities across Ukraine. On the night of November 30, the Ukrainian governmental forces, "Berkut" and riot police attacked and brutally dispersed the Euromaidan protestors, mainly consisting of students. Part of the protesters could find refuge inside St. Michael Cathedral which was extremely symbolical as the last time Ukrainians hid there from an external enemy was during Mongolian Yoke in the middle ages. A few hours later, monastery bells rang informing Kyiv about threats and calling for help, which was the first time in modern history of Ukraine.

2. Revolution of Dignity

After brutal, barbaric beatings of defenseless students, the Euromaidan became complicit with anti-state and anti-regime policy. As a result, on December 1, the anniversary of the referendum on the sovereignty of 1991, hundreds of thousands of protesters came to Maidan. Protesters occupied the House of Trade Union and made it a base of operations. The most popular slogan of that period widely used by protesters was "*our children have been beaten.*" One week later, Kyiv hosted the "March of Millions," consisting of about half a million participants (*Ukrainska Pravda*, 2013b). Political and cultural leaders of Ukraine had their word from the stage. After a relative lull, on January 16, Ukrainian parliament, mainly Communist Party of Ukraine and Party of Regions who formed a coalition, voted for and adopted, with clear violations of established voting procedure, the so-called "Dictatorial laws" aimed to limit constitutional rights and freedoms (free assembles, right for expression, etc.). These laws, in fact, allowed massive reprisals against civilians. The opposition called these a coup, as did the society (*Ukrainska Pravda, January 16, 2014*). Finally, the last, most violent stage started with the passing of these laws.

3. Violent Madan or Maidan as Clashes

On January 19, another "*viche*" took place where about 150 thousand people were present (*Ukrainska Pravda*, 2014). Protesters expressed outrage at the adoption of "Dictatorial Laws." United opposition announced the creation of the People's Council ("*narodna rada*"), as an alternative to the current government. Gradually, peaceful protests turned into confrontation with riot police and internal troops near "Dynamo" Stadium on Hrushevskoho Street. The bloody confrontation on Hrushevskoho Street forced government officials to negotiate with the opposition leaders. After these negotiations, a proposal to abolish the laws adopted on January 16 was announced (*Deutsche Welle, January 16, 2014)*. After a month of intense atmosphere, on February 18, riot police and Special Forces renewed their attacks on protesters. The epicenter of these clashes spread over central parts of the city: Hrushevskoho Street, Mariinsky Park, European Square, Independence Square; but reports of armed assaults came from all over Kyiv. On February 20, as a result of clashes with riot police and Special Forces, more than 100 people were killed ("The Heaven's hundred"), fifteen hundred wounded, and over 200 were considered

missing (Radio Svoboda, 2014). The confrontation with the government and police spread to other blasts of Ukraine. As a result, on February 22, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine removed Yanukovych from his duties as President of Ukraine and called for early presidential elections. A few days later, the "coalition government" that included representatives of the democratic political forces, non-partisan experts, and protesters from Maidan was formed. In fact, this day can be regarded as the last days of anti-feudal, national, and democratic revolution.

Methodology

In the early 1990s, a Professor at the University of Jerusalem, Shalom Schwartz put almost all previous achievements in the field of sociological theory of values into a single methodological system of measurement – Schwartz Value Theory. First, in one of his key articles that develops the theory, Schwartz (2006) identifies basic properties of values, four of which deserve specific attention:

1. Values define the desired goal that motivates to act

2. Values define the scope of the specific interactions

3. Values are standards and criteria that help people evaluate and choose ways of interaction, politics, and people.

4. Values are hierarchically ordered by importance, which distinguishes them from norms and attitudes.

Thus, basic personal values are motivations for a particular behavior. Later, Schwarz (2014) proved the hypothesis, that political thought and political domain express basic human values. In fact, Schwartz has defined the total number of 21 values and value systems classified by type of motivational goal regarding the basic needs of human existence (Schwartz Value Scale, SVS). Schwartz's approach passed the test of time and is now a widely-used methodology in values studies, proving its soundness and validity of measurement in cross-cultural longitude surveys (Schwartz et al., 2012). Twenty-one values (value index of the first order according to PVQ) are classified by type of motivational goals regarding the basic needs of human existence into generalized 10 values (value index of second order). In turn, 10 values are aggregated into four value categories: 1) Openness to Change, 2) Conservation, 3) Self-Transcendence, and 4) Self-Enhancement (third-order index values) (Schwartz et al., 2012) (Table 2).

Table 2. Classification of value orientations for motivational goals by S. Schwartz (2012)

Value category	Value priority	Values definitions
Conservation	Security	Family security, national security, public order, mutually beneficial exchange, belonging to social class.
	Tradition	Modesty, vital contribution, religion, respect for tradition.

	Conformity	Restraint, politeness, obedience, self-discipline, respect for parents and elders.
Openness to Change	Self-direction	Creativity, freedom, independence, self-esteem, curiosity.
	Stimulation	Courage, excitement, diversity of life, the thrill.
	Hedonism	Pleasure, enjoyment of life and comfort.
Self-Transcendence	Benevolence	Usefulness, honesty, kindness, loyalty, responsibility.
	Universalism	Wisdom, social justice, equality, peace, beauty, tolerance, unity with nature, protecting the environment.
Self-Enhancement	Power	Prestige, wealth, control over public opinion, social status, influence.
	Achievement	Ability, intelligence, ambition, competence, standards compliance.

Analysis of respondents' values by the method of Schwarz involves the construction of indexes for each of the 10 categories of values. Correction is made by subtracting the respondents' initial assessment of the respondent's average score for all answers given by the respondent in order to get rid of the subjectivity of respondents, their individual propensity to overstate or understate their estimates. The resulting adjustments like "centered" value, in fact, is the assessment of the relative importance (priority) of a value in the structure of values of each respondent (Schwartz, 2003). The lower the value index is, the more important this value is to the respondents; therefore, the higher the index, the less significance the value in the hierarchy of values respondent is.

Schwartz value theory is further used in order to achieve three goals: 1) to compare the values of the Euromaidaners with the values of Ukrainians and the EU citizens; 2) to analyze the position of the Euromaidaner on the Value Map in comparison to other countries of Europe; 3) to study the values-related social structure and the corresponding value clusters of protestors.

First, Schwartz`s value indexes were built separately for the Euromaidan, Ukraine and the EU. Moreover, value differences among countries were tested with an Independent Samples T-test. In our research, we used data from three surveys that all had the standardized 21-question Schwartz Value Questionnaire. The European Social Survey (2012) was used to evaluate European values. Actually, as my focus was on the EU, the total sample was 34087 respondents from 17 Member states of the EU: Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Germany, Denmark, Estonia, Spain, Finland, United Kingdom, Ireland, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Slovenia and Slovakia[2]. To evaluate values of Ukrainian citizens, we used quantitative data from the European Social Survey (2010), the total national sample included 1931 respondents. Finally, to assess and measure values of protesters on the Euromaidan, we used quantitative data gathered via face-to-face interviews on the Euromaidan by the initiative group of sociologists headed by Nadia Lintsova. Sampling was random and the total sample counted

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[2] The latest publicly available data at the moment of abstract submission

for 443 protesters in Kyiv and Lviv. Interviewers chose people according to instructions that ensured random route sampling. The survey was conducted on December 7-8, 2014; so, it mainly represented the second stage of Maidan, which refers to "Revolution of Dignity."

Second, similarity of values of protesters to European instead of Ukrainian ones deserves further in-depth analysis. Obviously, the EU is diverse, as it consists of various socio-economic regions such as Scandinavia or East Europe that have significant differences. Moreover, some of the countries in the analysis joined the EU in 2004, while others either joined earlier or were its initiators of the European Steel and Coal Community in 1951. Thus, a more comprehensive look inside Europe is needed. The Value map (Fig. 2) shows the position of values of average protesters ("Euromaidan") compared to Ukraine and 17 Member States of the EU on two integral's value axes built on four generalized value categories: "Conservation—Openness to Change," Self-Transcendence—Self-Enhancement. In fact, these two dimensions are derived from previously measured four values categories (see Table 2) by calculating the difference on the final indexes for two opposite values categories according to Schwartz's methodological advice (Schwartz, 2003).

Third, to study the values-related social structure of participants of Ukrainian Revolution, we used the same quantitative data that were analyzed before—data gathered on Maidan via survey in Kyiv and Lviv on December 7-8. As the main aim was to define groups that share the same values inside, but have different values from other groups, we used K-means cluster analysis to approach our goal. As in previous cases, ten calculated basic human values were used for this. In all cases, IBM SPSS Statistics 17 was used for statistical analysis.

Comparative Study of Euromaidaners' Values to Values of Ukrainians and the EU Citizens in General

Comparative analysis shows that the values of protesters significantly coincide more with the values of the EU citizens while mostly discordant with the values of the population of Ukraine in general (Fig.1).
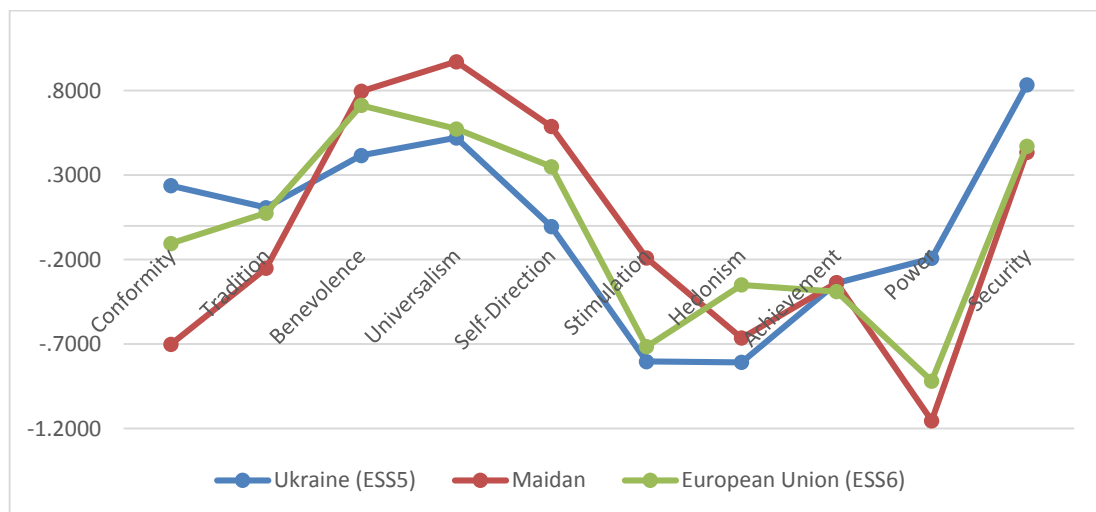

Figure 1. Values of Ukraine, the Euromaidan and the EU.

According to results of the Independent-Samples T-test for Equality of Means, there are no statistically significant differences (confidence interval 99%) between the protesters and Ukrainians in value Achievement (t= .057, mean difference = .0027, sig. 2 tailed = .955). At the same time, there are no significant differences between protesters and citizens of the EU in values Achievement (t= -1.283, mean difference = -.053, sig. 2 tailed = .199), Benevolence (t= -2.845, mean difference = -.08282, sig. 2 tailed = .022) and Security (t= .951, mean difference = .0357, sig. 2 tailed = .341). Thus, we can state that the values of protesters have more in common with the values of the EU, where three values have the same priorities, than with Ukrainian ones, where there is only one such a value. Moreover, the four most important values (Benevolence, Universalism, Self-Direction and Security) are the same for the EU and Maidan, while, on contrast, Tradition and Conformity are among the most important values for Ukrainians. Actually, the abovementioned dominant values on Maidan give an understanding of what a "**Revolution of Dignity**" means and consists of:

1) creativity, freedom, independence, self-esteem, curiosity — *Self-direction*;

2) objectivity, integrity, compassion, loyalty, responsibility — *Benevolence*;

3) wisdom, social justice, equality, peace, beauty, tolerance, unity with nature, protecting the environment — *Universalism*.

Thus, the essence of the 'concept of Dignity' is embodied in the synthesis of collectivistic values of Universalism and Benevolence together with the individualistic value of Self-Direction. We should also point to another specific feature of the Euromaidan, connected with the "individualism vs collectivism" issue. Mychailo Wynnyckyj (2014), professor of National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, highlighted that Ukrainians are unique to some extent, as they value individual rights, but, on the other hand, want to share collective responsibility. Moreover, Wynnyckyj sees the concept of "*Hidnist*" (not-easily transferable but the most accurate word is Dignity) as a synthesis of individualism and collectivism, as it requires personal dignity, but also other people, in other words—the collective, to recognize and admit one's dignity.

We should also stress that the values of Self-Direction and Stimulation, that were dominant on Maidan, may further stimulate professional and personal growth of protesters founded on values of creativity, freedom, independence, and curiosity. Thus, Maidan could became a precondition for changes, innovations, and further development of Ukrainian society based on predominant values. Furthermore, protesters on the Euromaidan share a collective identity, which is manifested by the dominant values of Security (security, harmony, stability), in contrast to the insignificance of Hedonism (pleasure) and Power that underlines the orientation towards post materialism and emotionalism. From one point of view, protesters disregarded attributes of power and social hierarchy. They did not want to be public and have control over the others. Therefore, it is hard to "buy" the Euromaidaners a chair in a well-furnished government offices [again dignity—hard to imagine that a Euromaidaner could give/take a bribe]. Moreover,

protesters would always critically debt acts of authorities. On the other hand, it is the habits of the Euromaidan people who had the ability to mobilize themselves quickly and without any orders or control. Probably, the absence of the value of Power is another factor indicating why the Ukrainian revolution did not have a leader. Another question is whether the leader was necessary as the Euromaidan successfully regulated itself using, we would say, its invisible hand. In other words, habits, or norms and values that the protesters shared led and regulated their behavior. Such social invisible hand of the Euromaidan consisted of "Dignity values" (Self-Direction, Benevolence, Universalism) together with high demand for Security and high expression of Stimulation with, in contrast, the insignificance of Power and Hedonism.

To sum up, value priorities of protesters on Maidan are significantly closer to European ones rather than to Ukrainian priorities. Paradoxically, such "European" values as Universalism and Self-Direction are more important to protesters than, on average, to representatives of the 17 Member States of EU. We think, Ukrainian revolution proposes a new paradigm of society. While the EU is oriented mainly on trade and common Economic Area, which through mechanism of, we would say, economic invisible hand regulates relations among member states in order to achieve peace and prosperity; Maidan has a social invisible hand: value priorities, which regulated its interaction.

Even though to prove such a statement of value shift, we have to examine the whole Ukrainian society after some period of time; we propose an alternative to Shestakovskyi (2014a) explanation of the Euromaidan Values. He argues that the Euromaidan was nothing more than a mobilization and radicalization of some limited part of society. No doubt, Ukrainian revolution arose around some core ideas as freedom, human rights, and fairness; however, these ideas spread far away with the flow of time, as the number of protesters rose dramatically over the period, including in areas outside the physical Maidan in the center of Kyiv (Sviatnenko, 2014). Moreover, the Euromaidan as a movement ended, but people still share its ideas and reproduce its values. One such example is a newly established phenomena of a patriotic consumption which is a legacy of Maidan, which is supported not only by the Euromaidan activists, but throughout Ukraine. There is a profound number of theories on innovation and diffusion (see Rogers, 1995; Bass, 1969), but the common idea is that there are innovators and leaders who are among the first who share the ideas and values, but later these ideas are spreading outside the primary social group by various channels to the "late majority." Thus, we believe that as a result of spreading the Maidan values and ideas, the whole Ukrainian society is experiencing some sort of a value shift.

Position of Euromaidaner on Value Map in Comparison to Other Countries of the EU

As Figure 2 shows, the average Ukrainian and average protester on Maidan are situated on different ends of a trend line. That is why we are speaking about some sort of value or paradigm shift: compared to Ukraine, the Euromaidan shows a "value shift," where instead of conservatism and dependence on state, the dominant value orientations are Universalism and

Benovelence together with orientation towards others. Moreover, the Euromaidan protester is situated at the edges of both horizontal and vertical axes. This means that a Euromaidaner, similar to a typical resident of Denmark, Finland, Germany, Sweden, Netherlands, and Belgium, can be characterized with high demand for openness to changes. In addition, protesters show extremely high importance to the Self-Transcendence value category, the trait that is common for Spain, Cyprus, Estonia, Great Britain, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, Germany, and Belgium. The protester on Maidan is also characterized by a high degree of independence and non-conformism, courage to take responsibility, appetite for risk; (s)he is not in need of defense by the state, strongly expresses the need for novelty, creativity, freedom, and seeks fun and pleasure.
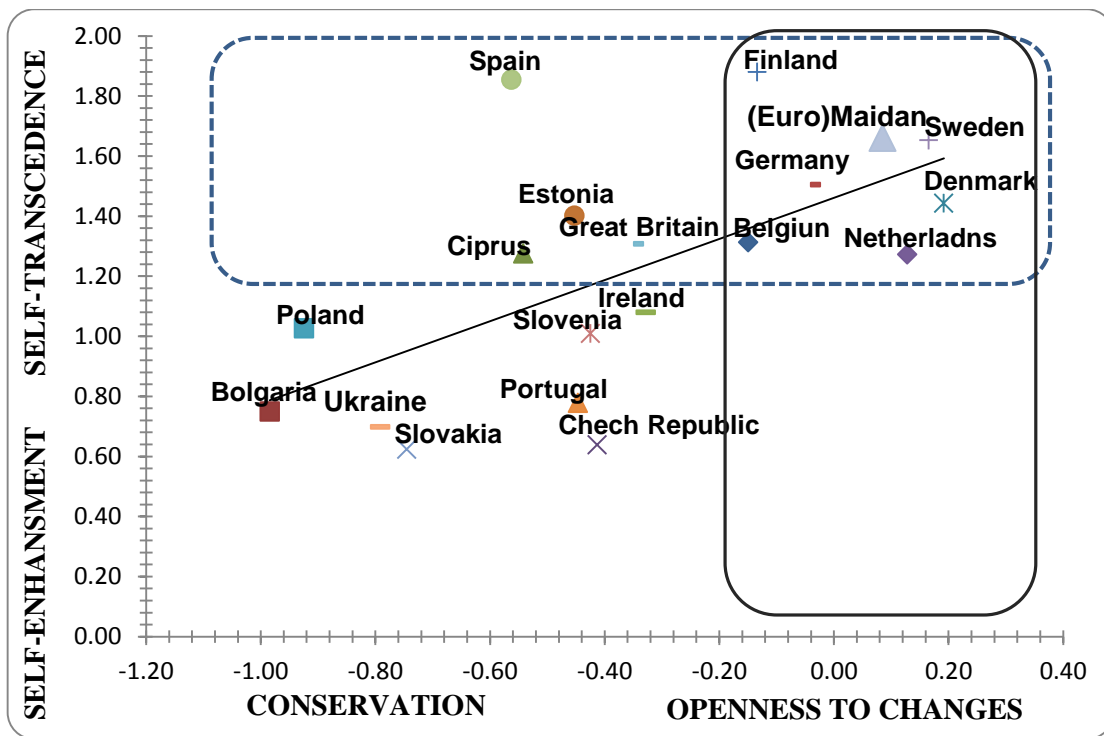

Figure 2. The Euromaidan on a value map

To sum up, values of the protesters are similar to those of Scandinavian countries, together with Western European values, such as highly developed Germany and Netherlands who formed the "Openness to Change-Self-Transcendence" cluster in the top-right corner of the value map. Accordingly, further development of Ukrainian society will be based on truly "European values" that are shared by the most developed European countries in terms of social policy, economy and politics according to Better Life Index (OECD, 2014). Given our theoretical assumption,

these features of the social sphere that have emerged during Ukrainian revolution will stimulate changes in political and economic spheres, and as a result, Ukraine may develop into a country similar to the ones mentioned.

Value Clusters among the Maidaners

After we highlighted major differences in value priorities between the protesters and Europeans and Ukrainians, as well as the social diversity and heterogeneity on Maidan, it is necessary to carry out an analysis of values to examine value differences inside Maidan. We analyzed protesters by differentiating groups of protesters that share different values.

As a result of K-means cluster analysis, Maidan was divided into three major groups (Fig. 3 & 4). In cases of more clusters, the last ones consist of an insignificant (less than 5%) number of marginalized outsiders.
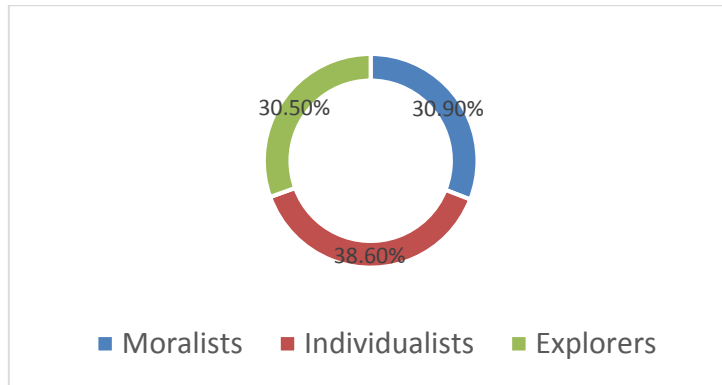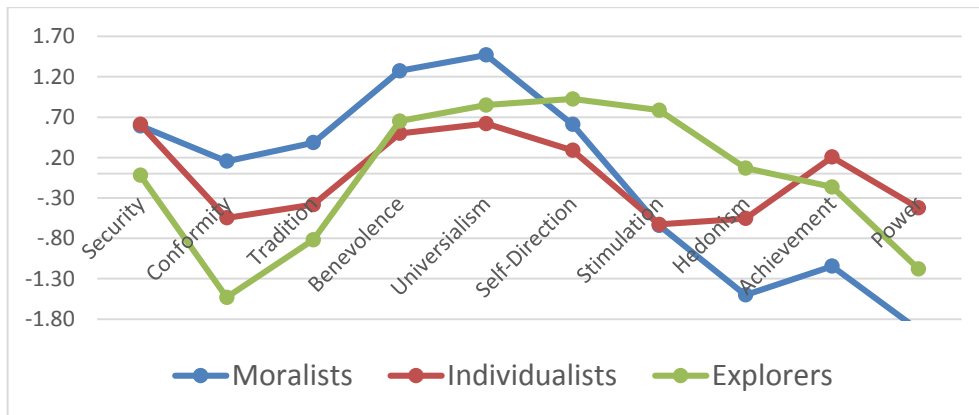

Figure 3. Three major groups of the Euromaidan

Figure 4. Values of the Euromaidan groups

The first group (**"moralists," 30.9%)** is characterized by the will for justice and goodness. They follow traditions and live in harmony with others and nature. In comparison to other groups, Power and Hedonism are not so important for moralists. **"Individualists" (38.6%)**, who constituted the largest group on the Euromaidan, want to have a high social status, prestige, and control over resources and others. We think individualists were those who went to work for NGOs and the government after Yanukovych's deposal. Moreover, it is important for them to emphasize success by demonstrating competence and professionalism. The features of **"Explorers" (30.5%)**, compared to the previous two groups, are the desire to be independent and unrestricted in their actions as well as permanently discover something new, and enjoy it. They are not conformists and do not appreciate Security and Traditions. "Explorers" were always in the first rows of protesters during the clashes with riot police (Sviatnenko, 2015).

Societal and Value Transformations

Our empirical findings found its reflection in theoretical generalizations of Shulman (1999). Schulman in particular, identifies five key characteristics of Ukrainian national identity: 1) individualism, 2) love of freedom and democracy, 3) love of the land and folklore, 4) emotionalism and romanticism, and 5) tolerance.

The expression of independence and non-conformism and tolerance during Ukrainian Revolution was, actually, the Revolution of Dignity, as the nature of the concept "dignity" means that a person values his/her own dignity; but, it also requires other people to recognize it. Actually, protesters showed respect to other people that was reflected in interaction and language. There is even a joke about it: the most common words in the first rows of protesters during clashes were "excuse me" ("pereproshuiu"*).* However, every joke is only partly a joke. Another proof of this manifestation of tolerance is a high degree of representation of different religious denominations that coexisted peacefully, based on common values. There were also members of other races, particularly African-American and Asian. In a conversation with them, we did not find any significant substantive differences in arguments from those we heard from Ukrainians. Besides, we had conversations with different, even opposing, ideological forces: United Left Party of Workers and Peasants and the UNA-UNSO. It is important to note that the rhetoric they used was similar. Members of both forces on the question of how they relate to each other said that they are brothers, and despite the fact that their ideologies differ, they now are united in the effort of the Ukrainian Revolution (Sviatnenko, 2014). They showed respect for each other and recognize that there were other opinions. This is one of the distinguishing features of Maidan compared to Ukraine as a whole, where the xenophobic sentiment increased from 2001 to 2007 (*Paniotto, 2008).*

According to Shulman, Ukrainians also value freedom and democracy that has its origins back to Kyivan Rus with its first democratic laws, as well as Zaporizhian Sich, which was a place where people gathered, seeking freedom, equality, and fraternity. It was Sich that held the first

democratic council and popular assembly, echoing that which we could see on Maidan during *viche*.

Another feature of Ukrainians which found its expression on Maidan is love of land, folk culture, and folklore. In fact, the Euromaidan began with singing and dancing and continued periodic performances of the national anthem. We have repeatedly seen protesters with national musical instruments who played folk songs in the House of Trade Unions and Kyiv City Hall. Another testimony of love to the land is the fact that protesters indicated their regional and local identities. First, many tents were adorned with a town or village insignia that was a sign of the origin of the people who lived inside. Second, a wall of wooden bars, with each bar corresponding to the name of a city or village protesters had come from, was built as a side monument to Kyi, Shchek, Horyv and their sister Lybid.

Speaking of romanticism and emotionalism, Shulman (1999) emphasized the dominance of irrationality, love of life, and poetry, and indicated that "first is heart and then head" (p. 1019). In fact, a lot of idealists gathered on Maidan. To celebrate holidays together was also quite romantic and emotional. The value of human life and the depth of feelings were manifested during the days of mourning after the deaths of the Heaven's Hundred when Maidan was unnaturally quiet. Postmaterialsim was manifested in people's desires to see fairness and equality but not to enrich personally. People did not receive money for protests, but rather donated their own funds for the needs of the revolution. Moreover, to stand on Maidan during Ukrainian winter is not a comfortable thing to do. Altogether, it once again underlines the insignificance of the values of Power and Hedonism on Maidan.

There are another two points about this "societal and value shift" that should be further discussed. First, the Euromaidan, we believe, and as we pointed in previous discussion has a number of common traits with Zaporizhian Sich in terms of its organization and social features that we are explaining further in this article. This means that transformation that happened in Ukraine during revolution as a result of a "value shift" could be explained by the re-establishment of historically rooted forms of organization of Ukrainian society. Second, frequently misunderstood and misinterpreted by foreign press is the multicultural nature of Maidan. Although media frequently described Maidan as a neo-Nazi or fascist movement, it has little truth in reality. From ethnographic experience, it is true that there was an insignificant number of radically oriented protesters, but regardless of whom, Maidan in general remained tolerant in a number of dimensions (Sviatnenko, 2014). Maidan was multicultural, meaning that diverse cultural backgrounds such as religious denomination, language, or nationality, were accepted during Ukrainian Revolution. Thus, two sides of Maidan will further be discussed as it is a reflection of its values.

Euromaidan as a Descendent of Zaporizhian Sich

The Euromaidan, in the center of Kyiv, strikingly ressembled the organisation of the Zaporozhian Sich in many aspects of its social environment (Sviatnenko, 2013). Actually, Maidan

stimulates the creation of new social forms and practices with historical backgrounds that are deeply rooted in Ukranian national history. Thus, similar to Sich, Maidan covered a wide area of Khreshchatyk Street, Independence and European Squuares, which housed the farm buildings and tents, like *kureni* on Sich. Externally, they were surrounded by barricades (the Cossacks also built high shafts with a fence) in order to protect territory from enemies: state security forces, *Berkut, titushky,* and other provocateurs. As on the Sich, the Euromaidan was always guarded by so-called *samooborona Maidanu* (Self-defense of Maidan). Samooborona consisted of *sotni* (hundred of people) with its own name, flag and the commander—*sotnyk*. Protesters erected watchtowers to observe the surrounding streets. As of mid-February, the total number of protesters engaged to Self-Defense of Maidan was about 15, 000 people which is also quite similar to Cossacks Sich. Moreover, results of the sociological survey (*Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation, 2014a)* have shown that the percentage of men on Maidan constituted 88% of the total population that lived there. In geographical terms, on Maidan visitors prevailed (88%), while 12% of protesters were Kyiv citizens. Moreover, Maidan was geographically diverse; the majority of 55% of visitors were from Western Ukraine, 24% were residents of Central Ukraine, and 21% from the East and South. Another common feature is high rates of villagemen both on Sich and Maidan, as residents of the regional centers constituted 20%, residents of large cities included 17%, residents of small towns and villages comprised 42%, and rural residents included 20%. In fact, a sociological study confirms historical dependency of the modern Maidan to Ukrainian Cossacks as Cossacks were not only runaway peasants, but people from other regions and states.

The main form of governance on both the Euromaidan and Zaporizian Sich was autonomy and self-organization, which could be linked, even though there is not much empirical evidence available on the values of Cossacks, to the importance of non-conformism and independence. As a result of such a highly autonomic organization, Maidan had a continuous supply of firewood, warm clothing, protective clothing, ammunition, technical communications and fast moving consumer goods, as well as volunteers who provided medical care, legal advice and educational services. Such forms of community, civil society organizations, independent media, entrepreneurs, students, and of course other social activists but not a governmental body played a crucial role.

Even though there is not enough empirical evidence of values of Zaporizhian Sich and Cossacks, the Euromaidan, as some of the protesters pointed to us, shared a spirit of Sich, which is manifested in a sense of freedom and equality between people, values of security, peace and self-direction. Participants of the Euromaidan frequently told us that they are all equal, and as evidence of this, famous musicians, writers, artists, and scientists discussed various issues together with ordinary people, as well as participated at the forefront during clashes. Zaporizhzhian Sich punished drunkenness, injustice, and thefts. Similarly, discipline and order dominated on the Euromaidan. No wonder, the Euromaidan was considered the safest place in Kyiv during the revolution. During the entire time of its existence, there have not been any serious conflicts among its participants. Respect for women is evident during clashes with the

riot police and special forces on Maidan, when men took women under the defense of "Samooborona" but not to the forefront of clashes. I should stress that these common practices were not always accepted by women present at Maidan as a significant part of them have been permanently trying to take part in clashes with riot police explaining their behavior in terms of gender equality. Thus, such respect for women can be interpreted also in terms of gender inequality.

The church played a major role in the life of Zaporizhian Sich. Cossacks were deeply religious people, and began their breakfast and dinner with a prayer. Cossacks always generously donated hefty funds for the construction of churches (Sviatnenko, 2013b). Protesters began every day and every meeting with prayers too; however, it is hard to estimate what number of protesters did pray. It should also be mentioned that it was St. Michael's Cathedral that defended students on the night of November 30. There were various cultural activities, especially folk ones, that Cossacks enjoyed too. In Kyiv City Hall, various performances by famous Ukrainian writers and poets took place. Another indicator of culture development on Sich was respect for the book. As of February, the Public Library on Maidan had more than 6,000 books (RBK Ukraine, 2014).

So, the Euromaidan in many ways demonstrated the historical legacy of Sich that was embedded in interaction and social structure of Maidan: democratic spirit, self-organization, self-defense, and a love for a folk culture. Maidan, itself, displayed deeply rooted Ukrainian identity and forms of self-organization together with unique combinations of post materialistic values, and religious and cultural traditions.

Maidan as a Multicultural Sphere

The policy of multiculturalism promotes equal treatment of all minority, ethnic, and religious groups. The Ukrainian revolution was also multicultural to some extent. One piece of evidence for this is the ethnic and national composition of protesters and the people who supported them financially. Of course, most of them were Ukrainian, but there were Russians, Jews, Tatars, Georgians, Belarusians, Poles, and others standing together on the barricades. Moreover, Serhiy Nihoyan, of Armenian origin and Belarusian Mikhailo Zhyznevskyi were among the first to be killed by the bullets of the special forces, as well as other ethnically non-Ukrainian representatives of the Heaven's Hundred. Various supporters came from outside Ukraine, especially from Canada and Europe. But, donors were not necessarily of Ukrainian origin. We have to mention that Maidan was bilingual, which is another example of unity, despite different language preferences. As slightly more than half of the protesters spoke Ukrainian at home, still 27% spoke entirely in Russian and 18% were bilingual, and 1% spoke other than Ukrainian or Russian language (*Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation, 2014b*). It was not hard to meet a Russian speaking Ukrainian nationalist on Maidan.

Another ethnic and religious community that has been actively participating in the revolution were Crimean Tatars. They did not only take part in protests in the Crimea, but also were

present at the Euromaidan in Kyiv. A lot of protesters we spoke with ensured us that one of the most delicious dishes on the Christmas holidays in Kyiv, that has strong food traditions as *kutia* and the twelve dishes on the celebratory table, was rice prepared by ethnic Tatar Mustafa Ottomans. Multiculturalism could also have been seen in the religious sphere, as the representatives of various religions that exist in Ukraine stood together and helped each other on the Square. Moreover, Chapel tents together with inter-faith prayer tents were set up on Maidan. Priests from the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kyivan Patriarchate), Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the Roman Catholic Church, Lutheran Church of St. Catherine, and Protestant pastors (Pentecostals, Baptists and others) once became a live first-row shield between the protesters and riot police, trying to calm and defend both sides of conflict (Nedavnya, 2014). Thus, the church was not a dividing factor but united people with various backgrounds, and became one of the component of the Revolution of Dignity. Thus, the cosmopolitan community was formed and based on the leadership of shared ideas and values and was effectively built on Independence Square—such a form of society that should be considered by other multicultural societies to avoid conflicts.

Conclusion

Ukrainian revolution has changed Ukrainian society not only in political but in social dimension which resulted into a value shift. It started from peaceful student demonstration, which later turned into regional crisis and international military conflict. Actually, Ukrainian revolution can be divided into three main stages: 1) the Euromaidan as a peaceful mainly student demonstration. 2) the Revolution of Dignity as an anti-state, anti-police, and anti-Yanukovych movement, and finally, 3) the Violent Maidan as clashes between protesters and regime. After the first week and after the brutal beating of students, the Revolution of Dignity began. It was followed with the expression of negative attitudes towards government, police, and personally Yanukovych and Azarov together with the manifestation of the values of equality, fairness, security, human rights, and respect for dignity.

On the other hand, pro-Ukrainian attitudes as well as the manifestation of Ukrainian identity spread throughout the revolution. Actually, Universalism, Benevolence, and Self-Direction were among the dominant values on Maidan; they form together the concept of Dignity. Moreover, values of the Euromaidan are more similar to European values, especially those of developed Western and Scandinavian countries, than Ukrainian ones. Thus, the social foundation that was established on Maidan could stimulate professional and personal growth of protesters in accordance to values of creativity, freedom, curiosity,and independence and, more importantly, might become a precondition for innovations and development of Ukrainian society towards most progressive European countries. Moreover, Maidan was consisted of three major groups of protesters: 1) "moralists" who follow traditions and seek justice, 2) "individualists" who want to have high social status and frequently emphasize success by demonstrating

competence, and 3) "explorers" who show the desire to be free and independent, to discover, and to enjoy life.

Moreover, one could draw a parallel between the Euromaidan and Sich, as the Euromaidan to some extent finds its reflection in Ukrainian identity and social organization and structure on Zaporizhian Sich. There are similar features presented both on Maidan and on Sich: democratic spirit, self-organization, autonomy, self-defense, a love for a folklore, and respect for religion and culture. Furthermore, Maidan was a diverse and multicultural social community. Even though the majority of protesters were of Ukrainian origin, representatives of ethnic and religious minorities such as Jews or Crimea Tatars took part in the revolution. Moreover, the Ukrainian revolution was bilingual. In fact, it was common to meet Russian speaking Ukrainian nationalists in the first rows during the clashes.

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