Revolution Unfinished: Comparing Collective Memory in the Kyiv Post and RT

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ABSTRACT

From November 2013 – February 2014, Ukraine's Independence Square (or Maidan) became the site of revolution. The Maidan Revolution culminated in the deaths of over 100 protesters and law enforcement, and the removal of former President Viktor Yanukovych. Subsequently, several studies have observed how Maidan is being remembered (see Kozachenko, 2020; Nuzov, 2016; Shevel, 2016). I rely on the perspectives of Maurice Halbwachs (2011/1925) on collective memory, Robin Wagner-Pacifici (1996; 2010; 2017) on events, and various perspectives on media framing in journalism. This paper builds upon existing literature by exploring the formation of collective memory in 52 newspaper articles from the *Kyiv Post* and *RT*. From my findings I argue both news outlets accept Maidan as part of their taken for granted memory. Both outlets primarily frame Maidan using national memory narratives. Like Kozachenko (2020), I observed the presence of Ukrainophile and Sovietophile historical frames. Though both news outlets frame Maidan as a failed revolution, I argue Maidan is characterized differently by the *Kyiv Post* and *RT*. Whereas, the *Kyiv Post* frames Maidan as a tragic unfinished revolution, *RT* constructs a framing of Maidan as a coup which allows them to compare it to current events.

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Introduction

This research explores the kinds of collective memory that have developed in response to Ukraine's 2013-14 Revolution of Dignity (also referred to as the Maidan Revolution). In particular, I examine the ways in which two international newspaper outlets (*Kyiv Post* and *RT*), have depicted Maidan. I rely upon recently developed "Twitter" methodologies to gather a bounded population sample of 52 newspaper articles that reference Maidan. These were coded using a grounded theory method to understand the degree that Maidan was the focus of individual articles, what narrative themes were present in each article, and what narrative events were used to frame Maidan. From my findings I argue that Maidan has become an event within specific journalistic outlets, while being forgotten in others. But news outlets that do the work of remembering Maidan also build up different versions of Maidan. Not only do these outlets characterize Maidan in general terms, such as characterizing it as a "coup", "failed revolution", or "tragedy", they also frame it by highlighting specific events within Maidan while ignoring others. In the *Kyiv Post* these factors culminate in what I call a sense of *unfinishedness* in which the event is still being socially constructed. *RT* also actively constructs Maidan. However, they do not place as much work into understanding Maidan as an event in itself. Instead, *RT* is more likely to frame Maidan as a background event which contextualizes current events. Both news outlets construct versions of Maidan that give us insight to the formation of collective memory.

To study these processes, I focus on three primary questions. How central of a focus is Maidan in news articles from the *Kyiv Post* and *RT*? How is Maidan constructed as a collective memory and event by these newspaper outlets? And ultimately, what kind of Maidan "stories" have been developed and are circulating in these outlets from 2014-2015? The purpose,

therefore, is to better understand the process of collective memory formation not only in Ukraine, but in postmodern electronic landscapes.

Background

From November 2013 to February 2014, in an act of protest, discontented Ukrainians occupied Kyiv's central square (Maidan Nezalezhnosti). At its height Maidan covered 10 city blocks where protesters voiced their concerns over government corruption, human rights, national identity, and numerous other topics (Stepnisky, 2018). Throughout these cold months protesters and law enforcement clashed on several occasions, but it was the last three days, from February 18 to 20th, which led to the protest's bloody conclusion. Then President Victor Yanukovych was successfully ousted, but Kyiv's city streets had become grounds on which over 100 protesters and law enforcement died (Marples, 2014). The events of these last three days have subsequently been heavily featured in newspapers and other forms of popular media.

Similar revolutions, including Occupy Wall Street (OWS) and the Arab Spring, have also become the focus of popular media. These protests disrupted the day to day workings of life and captured the global imagination. As a result, the narratives of these protests have become prominent in popular protest memory (Lustiger-Thaler, 2016). Even during Maidan some protesters wore the Guy Fawkes masks that were synonymous with OWS. Although it is important to understand that Maidan has been connected to global memories, the purpose of this research is to understand how collective memories about Maidan are constructed in the *Kyiv Post* and *RT*. Both the *Kyiv Post* and *RT* publish content that is more focused on Ukraine and Eastern Europe (see Kyiv Post, n.d.; RT, n.d.). However, they also provide opposing perspectives on current events. The *Kyiv Post's* content can generally be understood as pro-European and anti-Russian. *RT* markets itself as providing a Russian perspective that contrasts "mainstream media"

(RT, n.d.). On occasion both news outlets have even published articles with content that is critical of each other (see Postnikova, 2017; MacDonald, 2017). Therefore, these news outlets provide two contrasting perspectives that are likely to construct different interpretations of Maidan.

Equally as important as the prevalence of memories created is the content of those memories. What kinds of memories have developed as a consequence of Maidan? Answering this question requires an understanding that memory is not only a biological or individual psychological phenomenon. Rather, as initially argued by Emile Durkheim's student, Maurice Halbwachs, groups of people also form memories of their shared past. These are collective memories. Drawing heavily from Maurice Halbwachs (2011/1925), Robin Wagner-Pacifici (2011/1996), Jeffery Olick (1999), and other scholars, I hold the idea that collective memories are a particular form of narrative told by groups to serve their interests. Understanding collective memories is about understanding group identity; who they are, who they were, and who they think they should become. Maidan is important to study because it represents a disruption in the continuity of Ukrainian and possibly global memory. Accordingly, it is important to understand how Maidan is being remembered by local and global communities.

Past studies of collective memory have tended to analyse how storytellers use various mediums to communicate memory such as books, museums, and monuments (See Baptist, 2015; Koselleck, 2011/2002; Vinitzky-Seroussi, 2011/2002). Barbie Zelizer (2008), Carolyn Kitch (2008), and Jeffery Olick (2014) point out that memory studies have largely ignored the impact of news media on memory. The rapid pace of the news cycle has led academics and journalists to often disregard its role in the production of collective memory. Incorrectly it is assumed that news media is about the here-and-now and not the past (Zelizer, 2008). But these perspectives

fail to account for the narrative structure of news media and memories. In making claims about the present, the author must first understand the audience's understanding of the past. While memories about Maidan can be studied through more traditional forms of commemoration (including books, museums, and monuments), for this study I am interested in discovering the memories of Maidan expressed through news media. This is in part for methodological reasons, but it is also appropriate since the Maidan revolution, like so many other recent social movements (e.g. OWS, Arab Spring), was conducted (and subsequently remembered) using electronic media (see Castells, 2015).

Collective Memory

At its core, this study is about collective memory: how it is shaped, who shapes it, and its practical application and functions. Earlier I provided a broad definition of collective memory as, "a particular form of narrative told by groups to serve their interests," but this definition is vague and leaves much to the subjective interpretation of the reader. Therefore, I will dedicate this next section to define how this study will use the concept 'collective memory.'

Collective memories are a foundational component of group life. Halbwachs (2011/1925) argued that the very existence of group life is dependent upon its members' ability to periodically look over representations of the past and reconstitute the sacred nature of its existence. Halbwachs' (2011/1925) perspective is rooted in the functionalist theories of Émile Durkheim. Durkheim (2011/1912) established the foundations for the study of collective memory by conceiving group identity to be conditional on the group's ability to periodically convene and engage in ritual activity. Ritual practices subsequently re-establish and reaffirm the collective feelings of belonging and commitment to the collective. Such rituals of group intensification were visible throughout Maidan. Protesters recited prayers, sang revolutionary

ballads, and patrolled barricades. In all of these activities they were engaged in a continual

process of imagining themselves as a community (Zorgdrager, 2016). Building off Émile

Durkheim's theories, Maurice Halbwachs conceptualized collective memory as a social fact.

Unlike purely biological understandings of memory, Halbwachs' argued that collective memory

lives a social life independent of the individual, but it is nonetheless tied to a particular social

milieu. Furthermore, outsiders to a group are unable to access those memories which are foreign

to them; they lack the group knowledge, experience, and emotions that are created from a shared

understanding of the past (Halbwachs, 2011/1925). Individuals belonging to a particular milieu

share such strong ideas about their collective identity that they vibrate in unison, unaware of

where their memories came from or how they were formed (Halbwachs, 2011/1925).

Scholars of collective memory have been particularly aware that memories are formed by

memory agents. Wagner-Pacifici (2011/1996) states that no matter how much potential an event

has to be built into collective memory, it still requires the work of individuals and groups to give

it structure and "tune" it so that its frequency resonates with its intended audience. For Wagner-

Pacifici (1996) numerous actors work together and in opposition to build events into stories. In

the interest of this research, I use the *Kyiv Post* and *RT* as memory agents who build Maidan into

a collective memory. I am also interested in how these new outlets create similar and different

collective memories.

Collective Memory and the Nation State

Although there are many types of collective memory, I am particularly concerned with

national memory in relation to the memories that are being created about Maidan. National

memory has been studied primarily through two foci. First, memory has been understood as

essential to how nation states are created and continually reimagined. As society transformed

from sparsely populated 'traditional' communities of geographic connection to densely

populated industrialized modern nations, numerous scholars argue about the important role that

memory plays in creating national communities. Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton

(2011/1985) insist that nations are "communities of memory" which continually retell their

constitutive story in order to create a common commitment to the past and the future (p. 229).

Additionally, Benedict Anderson (1991) argues that the newspaper was a crucial mechanism for

developing national identity. By reading the daily news, individuals independently engage in a

"mass ritual" that allows them to conceive themselves as an "imagined community". The news

was instrumental in spreading and sharing common stories that allowed for nations to be

imagined as abstract communities connected through a shared imaginary of their present, past

and future (Anderson, 1991).

Additionally, the nation state fundamentally changed the ways societies remember.

Koselleck (2011/2002) connected the rise of the nation state to the shifting of war memorials

away from church cemeteries and towards the centers of towns, where monuments became part

of ongoing political projects. For Koselleck (2011/2002) the decline of Christianity's influence

over the understanding of death allowed for nations to create new spaces of death which

dissolved the memory of individuals into larger narratives of national remembrance. Building off

the importance of rituals in creating national identity, Anthony Smith (2011/1987) remarked,

"creating nations is a recurrent activity, which has to be renewed periodically" (p. 235).

Therefore, national memory ought to be thought of as "imagined communities" created through

the sharing of stories of collective achievement, suffering, and even shame. Additionally, these

stories are shared through various mediums which allow groups to continually reaffirm

representations of their past identity, their present identity, and their common commitment to a shared future.

The second way that national memory has been studied is through the examples of specific collective memories. Studies that focus on specific collective memories are grounded in a realization that memories are not only instrumental to creating a nation but must also be continually reworked in order to justify the present. For example, Corney (1998) argued that it was the Bolshevik party's ability to quickly create institutions, like the Commission on the History of the October Revolution and Communist Party, which glorified and added legitimacy to the October Revolution, allowing them to create a dominant memory of the Soviet Union's past. Likewise, Zamponi (1998) argued that fascist Italy was created by positioning blood and martyrdom as sacred narratives of community identity. These stories were legitimized by connecting them to myths about the Rome Empire and the history of Italy which positioned "Rome [as] the antecedent of fascism, its harbinger" (p. 437).

Studies of national commemoration have also focused on conflicts in creating commemorative activities. Baptist's (2015) study of New York's National September 11 Memorial and Museum demonstrates the complexities in negotiating memory within specific contexts. The National September 11 Memorial and Museum acts as a burial place, a site of national remembrance, and a commercial museum. Tensions must ultimately be negotiated between how to remember an event. The existence of numerous interests ensures that commemorative events are "inevitably multivocal" (Bodnar, 2011/1992, p. 267). Additionally, specific commemorative acts have also been studied for how they help groups to forget. Buzinde and Santos' (2018) study of Hampton Plantation and State Historic Park prominently presents the historical significance of regional politics and economic achievement while memory of

slavery becomes absent. Similarly, Palacios (2018) argued the importance of visibility for

maintaining memories when it was revealed, to the public's surprise, that one of Chile's

wealthiest neighbourhoods was located on top of a former execution camp. Although Palacios

(2018) argued the importance of visual visibility, memory must also be figuratively visible in

nations. For this reason, groups who have faced extreme hardships such as America's gay

community or Black South Africans, use commemorative actions (parades, truth and

reconciliation commissions, and museums) to tell their stories to a wider public audience

(Armstrong and Crage 2006; Teeger & Vinitzky-Seroussi, 2011). National memories should,

therefore, be recognized for their ability to remember as well as forget.

All of the above provide examples of interest groups (communists, fascists, gay rights

activists) that have negotiated difficult interpretations to suit their interests. Of interest to this

study, many have argued that since its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, Ukraine's

national identity has become a topic of contention (see Khreban-Hörhager, 2016; Kuzio, 2006;

Shevel, 2011; Soroka, 2012; Watcher & Shapiro-Obermair, 2018). Due to its contested status

post-Soviet Ukrainian collective memory can be considered as a "battleground" (Kozachenko,

2019). One of the interesting possibilities considered in the present research is that Maidan has

provided an opportunity for the formation of a dominant collective memory. Thus, it is worth

considering Ukraine's historical memory struggles.

Discussions about Ukrainian national memory have tended to focus on the conflict

between the former master narrative memories of the Soviet Union, and alternative memories

which emerged and re-emerged once the leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev,

instituted his policy of Glasnost reforms, allowing for greater political, economic, and social

openness (Shevel, 2011; Wachter & Shapiro-Obermair, 2018). In the wake of the Soviet Union's

collapse and Ukraine's independence, numerous groups clashed over Ukrainian identity and memory (Shevel, 2011). Khreban-Hörhager (2016) remarks that the fragmentation of Ukrainian collective memory was largely due to the Soviet Union's cultural domination in which they distorted, falsified and omitted memory. The clearest depiction in which national memory promotes the active forgetting of the past is the Soviet Union's attempts to erase memory of the Holodomor, in which millions of Ukrainians perished in artificial famines caused by the Soviet Union (Luciuk, 2008). The effects of Soviet memory still play a role in Ukrainian and Russian memory politics. As recent as 2008, the Duma (the Russian parliament) passed a bill denying historical evidence of the genocide (Marson, 2008). The result of the Holodomor's contested status in also visible in Ukraine's own population. In some regions 98 percent of the population agree that the Holodomor was a genocide against the Ukrainian people, while in other regions only 64 percent agree (Raiting Group, as cited in Shevel, 2016). This visible disconnect in memory leads to clashes and ruptures in how Ukrainians understand and negotiate their historical identities. These dichotomous traditions of memory that stem from conflicts with the Soviet Union and Russian state continue to shape how Ukrainians discuss their shared history. Kozachenko (2019), for example, shows that events as recent as Maidan continue to be discussed within older memory frames.

Kozachenko (2019) further demonstrates these disconnections. By studying how Ukrainian national identity was discussed on social media during the initial stages of the Ukraine crisis (2014-2015), he states that users often mirrored two historical perspectives on Ukrainian national identity. These categories were respectively the Ukrainophile and Sovietophile traditions. These categories are derived from Kuzio (2006), who originally outlined four traditions of historical writing about Ukrainian national identity. In the context of this thesis I am

only concerned with these two categories. The Ukrainophile tradition is a post-colonial

interpretation of the past that attempts to depict Ukraine as a "real" independent nation

(Kozachenko, 2019). Here Ukraine is defined by how it relates to other nations. Primarily, this

tradition adopts a narrative of victimhood at the hands of oppressive empires, such as the Soviet

Union. Bekus (2018) sees these narratives in other post colonial nations, including Belarus.

Because the Ukrainophile tradition is pro-Ukrainian and anti-Soviet it often becomes framed as

nationalist by other traditions (Kuzio, 2006). In contrast, the Sovietophile tradition glorifies

Ukraine's place in the Soviet Union, while rejecting Ukrainian national identity in favour of a

unified Slavic identity (Kozachenko, 2019). Instead of seeing Ukraine as a victim of Soviet

imperialism, this tradition depicts modern Ukraine as a nation in decline after being separated

from its Slavic origins. Both traditions of national memory create a battleground on which

Ukrainian memory and identity are fought.

As noted by Watcher and Shapiro-Obermair (2018), since the collapse of the Soviet

Union, no narrative has been able to secure itself as the dominant form of Ukrainian national

memory. In response to its desire to create a common memory of the past, the Ukrainian

government has created a series of decommunization laws and the Ukrainian Institute of

National Remembrance. Nuzov (2016) studied Ukraine's collective memory by focusing on the

decommunization laws as a "search of an 'acceptable past' that could serve as a basis for a

positive national identity, and the impossibility of neglecting the memory of victims of

oppressive regimes" (p. 151). But Nuzov (2016) also warns that transitional memory laws

promote revisionist accounts of history which repress and deny counter narratives. Further

uncertainty about Ukrainian national memory has been created by the events of Maidan. Maidan

acts as a fissure in Ukrainian memory which separates the past from the happenings of the

present. Already the effects of Maidan are becoming visible. During Maidan, protesters demolished a statue of Lenin in the nearby Bessarabsky Square. In the following year approximately 552 monuments to Lenin were dismantled (Podobed, 2014). In comparison, less than 600 monuments of Lenin were destroyed from 2005 to 2010 (Podobed, 2014). The destruction of these monuments demonstrates how Ukrainians are actively shaping the way their society remembers its difficult past. Therefore, it is important to understand the kinds of memories that are being created about Maidan in order to understand how or if it is shaping present Ukrainian identity.

Global Memories

Just as groups shifted away from small local communities and towards larger imagined communities of nation states during the modern era, the increasing globalization of societies has led to global communities of memory. A large body of literature exists debating the nature of the current structure of this epoch. However, for the interests of this study, it is enough to understand that collective memory is shaped by social processes that have led to a current state of global interconnectedness.

One trend that has been observed in our global world is the disembedding of communities (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton, 1996). Groups bound by their geographical contexts are being increasingly being influenced by global "communities of interest" (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton, 1996; as cited in Edy, 2014). Recently Bellah's ideas have been applied by Edy (2014) to describe how international journalism aids in spreading memories of events to international communities, providing them with a common narrative for understanding the relationship between the past and the present. However, "communities of interest" are not replacing "communities of place"; instead, they provide avenues for the creation

and maintenance of group identity. Similarly, Manuel Castells (2015) developed his idea of

network societies to describe the rapidly increasing degree of interconnectivity in society caused

by technology. In particular, Castells (2015) notes the importance of networks in coordinating

the Arab Spring and allowing protesters to connect to global audiences and gain international

support from global citizens, institutions, and governments alike.

Parallels can be drawn between the Arab Spring and Maidan. MacDuffee Metzger and

Tucker (2017), like Castells (2015), described Maidan as being organized through the use of

social media websites like Facebook. Social media sites have become a common tool for

protesters to communicate to a larger audience, which allows them the opportunity to create wide

scale awareness and offline mobilization (Boulianne, 2018). Additionally, during Maidan the

number of Ukrainians using Twitter doubled from one year before the protests (MacDuffee-

Metzger & Tucker, 2017). This spike in Twitter usage allowed the Maidan protesters to reach a

global audience. Perhaps the clearest case of global digital memory and Maidan was the

#digitalmaidan. In January of 2014, the Ukrainian diaspora community organized a "Twitter

storm," which succeeded in making the hashtag *#digitalmaidan* one of the top trending hashtags

on Twitter (MacDuffee-Metzger & Tucker, 2017). Although this spontaneous action does not

constitute the ongoing work required to be considered a commemorative event; *#digitalmaidan*

was only possible through a diasporic memory which allowed Ukrainian emigrants to maintain a

Ukrainian national memory across vast geographical distances (MacDuffee-Metzger & Tucker,

2017). The ability of both Ukrainian protesters and the Ukrainian diasporic community to reach

out to global audiences through Twitter demonstrates the connective capabilities of social media.

And by extension, these networks of interconnectivity allow for memory to reach larger

audiences than ever before.

However, global memories are not only the expansion of memories due to technologies and social processes which connect peoples, goods, and ideologies across vast geographical distances. The globality of the modern world has created the conditions for certain types of memories to emerge. Levy and Sznaider (2002) demonstrate that the current epoch has provided the conditions for the formation of "cosmopolitan memory". Cosmopolitan memory derives its meaning from the modern concerns of humanism and human rights that were developed during the western enlightenment. In Levy and Sznaider's (2002) study of cosmopolitanism and holocaust memory, the master ideological narratives of nations give way to self-critical narratives that recognize the memory of the 'Other'. Memory of the holocaust therefore becomes about reconciliation and serves as a moral lesson for current conflicts such as Bosnia and Kosovo in the 1990's (Levy & Sznaider, 2002). Misztal (2010) adds that cosmopolitan memory is "embodied in a supranational identity and offers a less dualistic view of the relation between the particular and the universal and starts with 'what is human in humanity'" (p. 37). Misztal's (2010) perspective clearly articulates a humanist concern as the foundations for cosmopolitan memory. These humanist perspectives are further visible in Stepnisky's (2005) study of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) Memory of the World (MOW) project. The MOW project actively contributes to the global memory of humanity by creating a digital catalogue of documents and artifacts that are deemed significant to "the memory of the world" (Stepnisky, 2005). Additionally, the MOW project exhibits a concern for memory as it is actively opposed to the destruction of historical documents and artifacts. The regard for memories exhibited by cosmopolitan memory shows that cosmopolitanism is primarily a type of memory that is concerned with memory.

The point then is not only that electronic networks provide new media for the formation of memory, but that in the present moment new kinds of memories are emerging. Electronic networks can be used, as Castells (2015) showed, to promote and develop traditional national identities/memories, but as Levy and Sznaider (2002) argued they can also form cosmopolitan memories. This is helpful in considering the formation of the memory of Maidan. In its earlier stages Maidan emerged as a desire for greater connections with the European Union (EU). Here Ukrainians were in search of cosmopolitan ideals. But as the revolution developed, protesters became more interested in fighting government corruption and building Ukrainian identity. This leaves an interesting question: is Maidan remembered as a global, cosmopolitan event (alongside OWS, Arab Spring) or is it remembered as a national revolution? Or perhaps some combination of both? Or perhaps it is remembered differently in different electronic news media?

Journalism and Memory

So far, I have briefly discussed journalism as a key part of the formation of collective memory and group identity. This section will now further explore the relationship between journalism and collective memory. Journalism is not a passive conduit through which audiences receive collective memory. It is part of a broader process of memory formation. According to Kitch (2008) "journalism [is] as a process rather then a product…" (as cited in Zandberg, 2010, p. 8). In particular, I focus on how news media actively engages in creating memory of Maidan. In the introduction, I briefly mentioned that the role of journalism in the field of collective memory studies has been highly understated. Traditionally memory studies have shied away from studying journalism by regarding journalism as 'history's first draft,' a recording of facts (Zelizer, 2008). However, these perspectives ignore at least two major ways that journalism creates memory.

First, journalism provides narratives of events that are later reflected upon (Kitch, 2008).

Often the public shapes their opinion of an event based on the narratives told by the news. In

their study on memory and international perspectives on the September 11 terrorist attacks,

Volkmer and Lee (2014) found that memory differed based on the emotions portrayed by the

news sources to which individuals were exposed. Edy (2014) even argues that "those who avoid

the news may have a fundamentally different sense of lived history because they would not have

shared news narratives" (p. 72-73). Edy's (2014) concern with media's role in creating narratives

for the past relates back to the emphasis that Benedict Anderson placed on news media and its

role in the formation of imagined communities.

Second, journalism acts as commemorative ritual activity. Not only do news articles

frequently cover commemorative events, but they also continually reconstitute a shared

understanding of the past in framing news stories about the present. Additionally, journalists

only report on events which are deemed newsworthy and therefore worth remembering (Olick,

2014). Thus, the degree to which Maidan is still present in news media is a clear signifier of its

importance to those consuming the news. Furthermore, when journalism continually revisits

events it also has the ability to rework old memories such as the Holocaust with new narratives

(Herfroy-Mischler, 2016). It is through the continuous labour of making memories that events

like the Holocaust shift away from local meanings and towards the large-scale political project of

cosmopolitan memories. Given the presence that certain events have in the news over time and

journalism's ability to communicate to large audiences, it is best understood as an important

storyteller through which memory of an event is repeatedly performed.

Finally, I want to note, news media is increasingly reaching narrower audiences with

niche interests (Edy, 2014). When Benedict Anderson (1991) first connected the rise of news

media to the formation of imagined communities, national news corporations were relatively

scarce, with only a few newspapers providing broad and relatively moderate dominant narratives

to citizens. However, in a globalized world, news has shifted away from print mediums and

towards cyber internet content (Edy, 2014). Instead of creating content for communities of place,

internet media creates content for communities of interest. Online media shapes how individuals

access news, leading them to selectively consume media that confirms their pre-existing biases

(Edy, 2014; Messing & Westwood, 2014). As of 2019, news stories continue to create memory

about Maidan. On January 25, 2019, *RT* news published an article asking if the political turmoil

in Venezuela is equivalent to Ukraine's Euromaidan (RT, 2019b). In the context of this article

Maidan has become an important event in global protest memory that should be understood and

evaluated along with other revolutionary movements. However, my research does not focus on

the current production of memories. Instead, I focus my attention on the kinds of memories being

created one year after the revolution started.

Media Framing and Collective memory

Communication studies in particular have made sense of how journalism presents

memories in the news by incorporating framing theory. Often news outlets present their content

as unbiased and objective. But framing theory moves past the initial "objective" presentation of

the news and studies how it actually "packages" or *frames* information to "create a desired

impression" (Steuter & Wills, 2008, p. 158). Frames allow the news to communicate information

effectively but also affect how it depicts reality. I use Entman (1993) to provide a more in depth

understanding of what framing is and does,

Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a

perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to

promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or

treatment recommendation for the item described (p. 52).

Thus, framing is essential for news journalists. In journalism, as all media, the author is

responsible for communicating information that can be digested by their audience. Framing

theory, therefore, demonstrates how media content is produced by actors who make conscious

and unconscious decisions about what is communicated, what is not communicated, and how it

communicated through structure and language.

Frames have consequences. For example, Steuter and Wills (2008) argue that the

dehumanizing frames used by American media during the War on Terror "have a powerful

impact on the way we think about and treat other human beings" (p. x). Emblematic of this

perspective is the prevalence of animal metaphors, which frame middle eastern persons as insects

or other nonhuman beings (Steuter & Wills, 2008). During Maidan, frames were also important

for shaping how local media depicted the events (Ojala, Pantti, and Kangas, 2017). Ojala, Pantti,

and Kangas (2017) found that state funded local media framed Maidan negatively. Although the

revolution consisted of diverse groups, local media primarily focused on the right-wing violent

extremists in the headlines (Ojala, Pantti, and Kangas, 2017). It was not until after Yanukovych

fled Ukraine that local news outlets began to include more messages of unity (Ojala, Pantti, and

Kangas, 2017). Ojala, Pantti, and Kangas' (2017) study of Maidan, therefore, demonstrates that

media frames shape how audiences see events and that they also change over time.

But media framing does not just frame events that later become collective memories.

Following Zelizer (2008) and Kitch (2008), Zandberg (2010) insightfully remarks, "journalists

'lean' on the past in order to give meaning to the present" (p. 7). The news repeatedly evokes the

past in order to compare and contextualize the present (Zelizer, 2008). Herfroy-Mischler (2016)

demonstrate this process by observing how national and international news outlets circulate new

narratives which can help restructure collective memory over time. If we take Zandberg's (2010)

words truthfully, we must recognize that every time Maidan is mentioned in the news it must be

framed in a way that gives meaning to the present.

Media and collective memory have a circular relationship. The ritual activity of telling

stories through the news creates morals, values, and a sense of identity; but the group's shared

morals, values, and identity also influence what stories are important to tell in the news. In short,

we require the past to frame the present, but we also create the past by framing the present.

Hence, journalistic collective memory, like all forms of collective memory, is continually

created, shared, interpreted, and reinterpreted. Barb Zelizer (2008) contends that journalist

memory, therefore, treats memory in three distinct forms. First, is when the form of journalism

"necessitates memory" (Zelizer, 2008, p. 83). By looking to the past more "newswork" is created

(Zelizer, 2008, p. 83). The clearest example is obituaries which require us to directly focus on the

past. The second treatment is when journalistic form "invites memory" (Zelizer, 2008, p.83).

Here the past is neither central nor is it necessary for the article (Zelizer, 2008). It is only

relevant because it can be discussed in relation to the present. An example of this would be when

journalism discusses protests in comparison to each other. The past is not required to frame the

article, but it can still be useful. The final treatment of memory is when journalism "indulges

memory" (Zelizer, 2008, p. 84). For Zelizer (2008), here the past is only "brought into a news

story as an aside or afterthought" (p. 85). In relation to my research, these three ways memory is

framed pose the question: how will news articles focus on Maidan in relation to the present?

Collective Memory as Events

Throughout the previous sections I have generally discussed events in relation to collective memory and journalism. In this section, I aim to confront the topic of events directly. The question of what events are, is part of a large philosophical and historical debate dating back to Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010). However, for the purpose of my research I primarily draw inspiration from Robin Wagner-Pacifici's sociological works on memory and events (1996; 2010, 2017). Events can generally be understood as ruptures from the everyday rhythms of social life (Wagner-Pacifici, 1996). They are moments or spans of time that stand out from the mundane and "make us aware of what is at stake" (Wagner-Pacifici, 1996, p. 395). But events do not exist naturally; they require moral actors to create meaning for them (Wagner-Pacifici, 1996). Certain features such as the magnitude, time span, area of effect, and presence of violence might appear to make a phenomenon more "eventful," but these features only serve to highlight the exceptional nature of the event (Wagner-Pacifici, 1996). However, they do not constitute it. For Wagner-Pacifici (2010) this brings upon the question, "what makes an event an 'event'?" (p. 1358).

To study events Wagner-Pacifici has developed what she calls "political semiosis", a process of understanding how events form through three features. First, is the performative feature consisting of "performative speech acts" that change the world through their utterance (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010). We can think of performative speech acts as claims like "Maidan is a coup" or "Maidan is a revolution of dignity". Both speech acts profoundly change how the event is unfolded to us. The second feature is the "demonstrative feature", which gives context to the eventful moment. Context, for Wagner-Pacifici (2010), is achieved linguistically through words that locate us in relation to the event, such as "we" or "they", and "here" or "there" (p. 1360-

1361). Last, is the "representational feature" which I am most concerned with. Wagner-Pacifici (2010) describes this feature as "copies of the event…[which] need to be sent outward into the wider world of audiences and witnesses at a distance" (p. 1362). This aspect is most closely associated with collective memory and journalism as it signals the transformation of the event into representation of itself.

As such, an event can only be an event if it is being continuously retold, "for no event can live for more than an instant without copies, and no event escapes representational transformation" (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010, p. 1362). Thus, the nature of events lends itself to journalistic collective memories, which structure and are structured by narrative representations of the event. Both Kitch (2008) and Zelizer (2008) even state that contemporary journalism is full of events due to their newsworthiness. Kitch (2008) even partially describes how events are created in the news.

References to the past help journalists regularly make sense of a rapidly evolving present, build connections, suggest inferences, create story pegs, *act as yardsticks for gauging an event's magnitude and impact*, offer analogies and provide short-hand explanations (Kitch, 2008, p. 312; italics added).

Here, Kitch (2008) shows that journalists actively engage in structuring events by attempting to define the eventfulness of a moment through questions about their impact and magnitude.

In the context of my research Maidan can be visibly identified as an event. Both the *Kyiv Post* and *RT* appear to be trying to structure what Maidan is; in developing collective memory of Maidan they are not merely interpreting details of some known event. Even if they present Maidan as a known event, they are still defining the event of Maidan as something distinct.

Furthermore, understanding Maidan as an event is crucial to understanding it as a collective memory in journalism.

I have explored some of the ongoing debates and challenges that previous works have addressed about collective memory. These topics will be revisited in my discussion. However, to study collective memory, I am interested in the questions raised at the outset of my introduction: How central of a focus is Maidan in news articles from the *Kyiv Post* and *RT*; how is Maidan constructed as a collective memory and event by these newspaper outlets; and ultimately, what kind of Maidan "stories" have been developed and are circulating in these outlets from 2014-2015?

Methods

To answer these questions, I examine the ways in which two international newspaper outlets (*Kyiv Post* and *RT*), have depicted Maidan. I rely upon recently developed "Twitter" methodologies to gather a bounded population sample of 52 newspaper articles that reference Maidan. These articles were coded using a grounded theory to understand the degree that Maidan was the focus of individual articles, what narrative themes were present in each article, and what narrative events were used to construct and frame Maidan. This section will detail my methods: how I constructed my sample and how I coded my sample.

Sampling

Today, news articles are often shared globally through the internet. Although not much research has been done on Maidan and how it relates to Twitter, MacDuffee Metzger, Bonneau, Nagler, and Tucker (2015) observed that Twitter was a valuable media tool during the protests as a tool for coordinating protesters and broadcast messages. Additionally, MacDuffee Metzger, Bonneau, Nagler, and Tucker (2015) noted that Twitter was used to communicate to both local

and global audiences, which was reflected in global protest tactics such as a Twitter storm and the fact that English was the third most tweeted language behind Russian and Ukrainian. Because I am interested in what collective memories are being communicated by the *Kyiv Post* and *RT*, Twitter provides an internationally used platform which has been used previously to spread information about Maidan. I used a bounded population sample consisting of news articles posted by *RT* news (@RT_com) and *Kyiv Post* (@kyivPost). Initially, I wanted to include western news outlets in my sample: CBC, BBC, and the New York Times. This led to one of my first research findings. Upon reviewing these outlets, I learned that articles about Maidan nearly vanish entirely after 2014. Thus, while I will comment on the relevance of this absence in my Discussion section, the methods described below apply only to articles found in *Kyiv Post* and *RT*.

Rafail (2018) describes bounded population samples having topical restrictions and user account restrictions, which makes them more constrained than any other type of Twitter sample population. Current news outlets post (and often repost) numerous articles to Twitter daily. I chose a bounded population sample to sift out the plethora of repetitive or non-relevant data. Thus, I use a bounded population to study a very specific topic which is otherwise lost in the sea of content being uploaded to Twitter daily. Below I describe both the user account restrictions and the topic restrictions I used to achieve my sample.

User accounts were limited to the @Kyiv_Post and @RT_com. These accounts belong to the *Kyiv Post* and *RT*. Each of these news publishers provides different perspectives, while still reaching large English-speaking audiences. The *Kyiv Post* is an English language newspaper located in Ukraine. On their website, the *Kyiv Post* states that their "editorial policy has consistently supported democracy, Western integration, and free markets for Ukraine" (*Kyiv*

Post, n.d., para. 3). Additionally, the *Kyiv Post* reaches a large global audience. The *Kyiv Post*'s

website claims that in 2019 their website was close to receiving 10 million views. As of 2020,

their Twitter has approximately 185, 000 followers. Only 25 percent of the *Kyiv Post's*

viewership is Ukrainian (*Kyiv Post*, n.d.). They report that 75 percent are international readers

from countries like the United States, Canada, Great Britain and Germany (*Kyiv Post*, n.d., para.

9).

 In contrast to the *Kyiv Post*, *RT* represents an alternative perspective. *RT*'s stance is clear

by their motto, "question more," which challenges readers to question dominant narratives in the

news, by which is often meant the western European and North American media. *RT* proclaims

on their website that they cover "stories overlooked by the mainstream media, provide alternative

perspectives on current affairs, and acquaint international audiences with a Russian viewpoint on

major global events" (*RT*, n.d., para. 2). Notably, Fisher (2020) argues that *RT* is not only funded

by the Russian government, but it often acts as a mouthpiece for the government. Although they

do not report the number of online viewers, they report that their news broadcasts attract over

100 million viewers from 100 countries (*RT*, n.d., para. 6). Additionally, their Twitter account

has approximately 3 million followers.

 Both the *Kyiv Post* and *RT* were chosen because they publish extensively on Ukrainian

news to global audiences. In contrast, other news publications such as the *New York Times*, *CBC*,

and *BBC* had ceased their publishing on Maidan shortly after its end. Additionally, my

description of the *Kyiv Post* and *RT* demonstrates that they have different journalistic approaches

to the content they report on. I predicted that these differences should result in different

journalistic framings of the past. In Ojala Pantti, and Kangas' (2017) study of visual framing in

news media coverage about the ongoing Ukraine conflict, they state that "National and

international news media have therefore become key sites in the Ukraine conflict…" (p. 475).

For Ojala Pantti, and Kangas (2017) news media about this conflict can be considered an area in

which hegemonic narratives are formed and contested. Because I am studying how journalists

construct memory about Maidan at a time when Ukraine and Russia are in conflict, I anticipated

that the current events of the ongoing crisis would affect how news publications from Russia and

the Ukraine chose to frame Maidan. To this end, while the *Kyiv Post* generally align themselves

with ideals of western integration, *RT* attempts to provide a counter perspective to "mainstream"

or "western" media. Because of their ideological differences these publications should embody

different collective memories about Maidan.

From these two publishers, a purposive sample was created by collecting individual news

articles through Twitter's advanced search engine. First, 52 articles were collected from the

official Twitter accounts of *RT* (n=22) and the *Kyiv Post* (n=30) from the dates 19 November

2014 to 21 November 2015. I chose these dates in order to capture what collective memories

were being created and disseminated one year after Maidan until the second-year anniversary of

its beginning. After 2014, journalistic coverage of Maidan becomes increasingly sporadic. By

choosing to focus on news articles from this timeline, I am better able to observe memories that

are created within a specific context. For example, articles written in 2019 focus on

commemorating Maidan five years after its end, which is different than articles in 2015 which

commemorate the one-year anniversary of Maidan. There may be overlaps in the kinds of

memories present in 2015 and 2019. Thus, the time period of 1 November 2014 to November

2015, provided the most appropriate sample population for my research.

I further limited my sample to posts that contained the keywords: "Maidan,"

"Euromaidan," or "revolution". These keywords further filtered out irrelevant content. Of the

content included in the initial Twitter search, I further limited the sample to news articles posted by the aforementioned news outlets. Tweets from *RT* and the *Kyiv Post*, which linked to videos, images, or articles posted by another publisher, not to news articles, were excluded.

Notably several posts from the *Kyiv Post* were excluded because they linked to articles from publishers like Halya Coynash and the Euromaidan Press. Both Halya Coynash and the Euromaidan Press are English language Ukrainian news publications. However, they were excluded because they were not news articles published on the *Kyiv Post's* website. Including these publications could have skewed my data by presenting collective memories which were not constructed by the *Kyiv Post*.

In choosing to use a bounded population sample, my data contains several other restrictions. As a native English speaker, I focused on English language news outlets (*Kyiv Post* and *RT*). Therefore, my sample only includes English language tweets. During Maidan, MacDuffee-Metzger, Bonneau, Nagler, and Tucker (2015) observed that 50% of tweets were posted in Russian, while Ukrainian and English each accounted for 20% (the rest of the tweets were comprised of various other languages). The distribution of tweets based on language reveals that Twitter was used with the intention of reaching both local and international audiences. Although English content cannot be assumed to provide a representative sample of all published news media, it still represents one of the major languages in which content is published for audiences. Another problem with bounded populations is that they only account for the perspectives of news elite while excluding content produced by individual users (Rafail, 2018). The point of using a bounded population sample, therefore, is not to have a broad representative sample of all memories of Maidan being created. Rather, a bounded population is used to gain a deeper understanding of a selected group of memories. Even though I cannot make

claims about all the kinds of memories created to describe Maidan, the sample still allows me

insight into how two different media outlets constructed Maidan. In turn, this affords me insight

into the social process of memory construction.

I collected my sample from 19 September 2019 to 25 September 2019. During this time, I

screened each article using the above-mentioned inclusion and exclusion criteria. I downloaded

them from Twitter, converted them into PDF files (using https://webpagetopdf.com/), and then I

uploaded the PDFs to MAXQDA qualitative research software. Finally, I coded each file using

MAXQDA. All coding was conducted in Edmonton, Alberta from the 26th of September 2019

until the 4th February 2020.

Coding

Although collective memory studies have flourished in recent decades, there is very little

literature on how memory ought to be studied. This may be due to the interdisciplinary nature of

the field, which has had rich contributions from numerous disciplines (see Olick & Robbins,

1998, p. 109-112). In the absence of a single method, I structured my research using grounded

theory. Grounded theory is primarily used to synthesize new theories, often by incorporating

fields and theories which have been disjointed (Strauss & Corbin,1990;1998). More recently,

Starks & Trinidad (2007) have remarked that the goal of grounded theory is to explain

phenomenon and generate new theories. In the absence of a clear methodology, grounded theory

allows the researcher to develop their methods by creating an "interactive space that pulls you

[the researcher] deeper into the data and keeps you involved with [the data] far more than a

casual reading fosters" (Charmaz, 2007, p. 115). By repeatedly reading, rereading, and analysing

news articles I was able to not only develop a deeper understanding of the articles but also the

representations of collective memory within them. Based on these initial close readings, my goal

was to create a set of coding categories that would help me to discuss the research questions

introduced at the outset of this project.

My initial rounds of coding were done in the absence of theoretical guidance (Charmaz,

2007; Starks & Trinidad, 2007). Rather, I let the data inform what my categories would be.

Later, when analysing my codes, I incorporated theories about collective memory, theories about

the event, and theories about journalism and media framing. By combining these approaches, my

research was able to create a unique and interdisciplinary understanding of collective memory as

it appears in the news. Through my coding, I identified three broad coding categories. The first

asked whether articles merely "evoke" Maidan or directly describe Maidan. The second

describes the broad "character" of the memory of Maidan as depicted in the article. The third

categorizes the main events described within each article. The significance of each of these

categories is described below.

Coding the Evocation of Maidan

Journalism is a media which is committed to covering the present, but it also frequently

interacts with and relies on the past. As such, scholars have noted that memory is treated

differently by the news based on the topic and structure of the article (see Kitch, 2008; Zelizer,

2008). Zelizer (2008) emphasizes this point by conceptualizing three ways that the news treats

memory within journalism: when form necessitates memory, when form invites memory, and

when form indulges memory. When form necessitates memory, the past is key to the story

(Zelizer, 2008). For obituaries, rewrites, and commemorative and anniversary journalism, the

past is what creates the need for journalistic work (Zelizer, 2008). When form invites memory,

Zelizer (2008) states that the past is "neither necessary nor central to the journalistic coverage

that ensues…" (p. 83). Consequently, journalism treats the past in a variety of ways, but mostly

evokes it in order to give context to the present (Zelizer, 2008). Lastly, when form indulges memory, the past is only brought up as an "aside or afterthought" (Zelizer, 2008, p. 85). Drawing on Zelizer (2008), I have simplified these distinctions to whether Maidan is: (1) the main focus of the article; (2) if Maidan is only mentioned to contextualize or complement another topic; or (3) if it is other. The goal of this question is to understand how Maidan is treated as an event by different news outlets. By observing the extent to which news articles directly engage with events we can better gain a sense for how memory is being constructed. If more articles directly focused on Maidan, it might indicate that a news outlet is actively trying to construct and understand what Maidan was. In contrast, articles which only evoke a brief description of Maidan may signal that a dominant narrative of the event already exists that can be applied without much justification.

Articles that primarily discussed Maidan referenced the event frequently throughout the article. For example, Macdonald (2014) wrote an article for *RT* titled "#Euromaidan 1st Birthday: How the Kiev Coup Grew." This article describes the life course of what the author refers to as a "coup." Macdonald (2014) clearly portrays Maidan as the main focus of the article. Typically, these kinds of articles refer to Maidan and eventful moments during Maidan. In comparison, articles that only evoked Maidan to discuss other topics brought up the event sparingly. Instead of focusing solely on Maidan, they used it to frame or give context to another event. Krasnikov's (2015) article from the *Kyiv Post* titled "Paper Chase: One US Businessman's Story Shows a lot has yet to Change in Post-Maidan Ukraine," only evokes Maidan in order to frame the current issues that a US businessman has with Ukraine's then struggling economy and bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption. Typically, these kinds of articles only mention Maidan once or twice and then move on to the main topic of the article.

Coding Narrative Themes

Collective memories can be fundamentally understood as narratives. Key to narratives is the presence of themes, which help characterize the story through the use of what Price (2003) calls "idea frames" (p. 99). Idea frames can be thought of as ideas which are present throughout a text and serve to influence how the text itself communicates that idea. With this in mind, I looked to see how Maidan was characterized, in general, within particular news articles. My research yielded five categories: (1) Maidan described as a protest turned coup; (2) Maidan described as a coup; (3) Maidan described as a failed attempt for change, (4) Maidan described as a revolution of dignity; and (5) Maidan described as the violence of an oppressive government.

The first code was applied to articles that characterized Maidan as a coup. These articles framed Maidan as an overthrow of a democratically elected government. One example from *RT* is,

> He [Sergey Lavrov] pointed to the failure of the EU to engage Russia about Ukraine
> signing an economic association agreement with the bloc, Western involvement during
> the Maidan protests, the failure of the West to condemn Ukraine for calling its own
> citizens terrorists and *for supporting a coup*, which led to the toppling of a democratically
> elected president (*RT*, 2015a, para. 7, italics added).

The second category of articles characterized Maidan as a protest turned coup. This category is observable as *RT* (2014a) wrote,

> Over the course of several weeks, which followed [the November 30 dispersal of
> Maidan,] the face of Maidan started to change – peaceful protesters were more and more

giving way to masked and armed rioters, often from far-right groups. A collective of

radicals called the Right Sector were among the most prominent. *Peaceful protests*

evolved into a continuous stand-off between the rallying people and riot police (para. 3;

italics added).

This story is similar to the first category, but it presents a more nuanced perspective that depicts

Maidan as a more dynamic event with shifting demographics, goals, and strategies.

The third category characterizes Maidan as a failed attempt to create change. This

category is similar to the second category; however, instead of focusing on the nature of the

protest it focuses on the perceived goals of the protest and whether they were achieved. Thus,

although these articles expressed disappointment in Maidan, they did not necessarily frame it as

a coup. For example, Denys Krasnikov (2015) of the *Kyiv Post*, describes Maidan as a failure

stating,

The EuroMaidan Revolution was supposed to change Ukraine for the better, cutting

corruption and bringing the country into line with standards in the rest of Europe. *But if*

any such changes have been made, U.S. businessman Bruce Crowe hasn't noticed them.

Indeed, Crowe said for him things have only gotten worse since the new government

came to power (para. 1; italics added).

In light of present events, these stories question what has been accomplished by Maidan. If

collective memory is understood as the "active past that forms our identities," then this category

must be understood as one way in which the active past lives in the present (Olick & Robbins,

1998, p. 111). Therefore, these stories are also notable because they reflect on Maidan and

interpret it in relation to the present.

The fourth category is stories that characterize Maidan as a revolution of dignity. These articles remember Maidan as a revolution based on the cosmopolitan and European values of respect and human dignity, and ultimately frame Maidan as a revolution based on the universal principles of human rights and justice. Levy (2015), of the *Kyiv Post,* is emphatic in his description of Maidan as cosmopolitan as he writes,

> European, indeed, were the Ukrainians because *they were the children of Voltaire, Victor Hugo, and the great Taras Shevchenko*, and—soon enough—because in the Maidan, for the first time in history, *young people would die clutching the starry flag of Europe*" (para. 14; italics added).

This quote frames Maidan as the children of enlightenment thinkers who proudly represent the values of the European Union.

The last category characterizes Maidan as a story of government violence against its people. This category can be broadly understood as a trauma narrative. After the shocking events and deaths on Maidan, these articles emphasize the violence enforced by the government on its people. Trach (2015), of the *Kyiv Post*, recalls,

> *On Feb. 18 one of the bloodiest clashes between EuroMaidan supporters and the police took place.* This was after the warehouses of the Ministry of Internal Affairs were unsealed and weapons that were kept there were given with no registration to hired thugs and riot police. '*Pump action guns were very popular. Some (thugs) even managed to take two rifles. A least 300 Kalashnikovs were distributed (that day)* (para. 7; italics added).

Trach (2015) frames the government as purposeful in its decision to harm protesters by supplying firearms to riot police and hired thugs. All stories in this category similarly frame the protesters as victims of a violent and oppressive government.

Coding Narrative Events

Maidan lasted for three months and contained a multitude of noteworthy moments. The abundance of events within Maidan ultimately means that publishers and audiences must decide what content is worth memorizing and what content can be forgotten. Both Wagner-Pacifici's (1996; 2010; 2017) theories on events and theories on media framing (see Entman, 1993) acknowledge that actors craft understandings of events through the news. Meaning is created by defining what the event is and framing it in a manner that is salient to audiences. From these perspectives, an understanding of the stories told about Maidan also includes understanding what aspects of those three months make up their understanding of Maidan. Subsequently, it can be assumed that different publishers will select different events based on their understanding of Maidan and how they want to present it to others. Each event was only counted once per occurrence in an article. A single event may appear numerous times in an article (see Trach, 2015). However, by only counting an event once per article, I am able to see how frequently the event is used by journalists to construct and discuss Maidan.

Additionally, events were only coded if they occurred three or more times, otherwise they were counted as "other". Maidan is full of eventful moments and every author has a unique perspective on the event. Following Maurice Halbwachs (2011/1925), we should assume that each individual holds a unique position upon the collective memory and is unable to grasp the full thing. By looking at the events which are found across numerous articles, we can observe which ones are part of the collective memory of Maidan. Collective memories are repetitive.

Events that only appeared once are anomalies and cannot be confirmed as a part of the

journalistic memory of Maidan.

Eight events met the criteria listed above: (1) the November 21st start of protests, (2) the

failure/choice of Yanukovych to sign the European association agreement, (3) the November 30

dispersal of Maidan, (4) the January 22nd clashes, (5) the clashes from February 18th to 21st, (6)

general mentions of community/art on Maidan, (7) the ousting/fleeing of President Yanukovych,

and (8) the subsequent sniper investigations. These events represent the most frequently

referenced moment in Maidan from the *Kyiv Post* and *RT*.

Findings

I observed several significant findings in my research. Before I discuss the implications

of these findings, I will provide a general overview.

Evocation

I first observed the degree to which memory was the focus of news articles. Drawing

inspiration from Zelizer's (2008) three ways that memory is treated by the news (see "Coding of

Narrative Events" for a full explanation of how journalism treats memory), I explored *RT* and the

Kyiv Post to see how they treated memories about Maidan. From my coding two major

categories emerged. The first category was tweets that only evoked Maidan so that it could frame

other topics or events. This first category accounted for approximately 36 of 52 total new articles

(see Table 1). One example is demonstrated by the *RT* article "Lavrov: US escalated Ukraine

crisis at every stage, blamed Russia," which barely discusses Maidan. Instead, the article focuses

primarily on American influence and support of Ukraine and their shared opposition of Russian

influence in eastern Ukraine (2015a). Maidan, in this case, is only evoked so that *RT* can

contextualize present events and create an argument about the Maidan's supposed sanctioning of fascism in Ukraine.

Table 1

Frequency and Percent of Articles Coded for their Focus on Maidan.

	RT Frequency	*RT* Percent	*Kyiv Post* Frequency	*Kyiv Post* Percent	Combined Frequency	Combined Percent
Focuses directly on memories of Maidan	5	22.73%	10	33.33%	15	28.85%
Only evokes Maidan to discuss other topics/events	17	77.27%	19	63.33%	26	69.23&
Other	0	0.00%	1	3.33%	1	1.92%
Total per outlet	22	100%	30	100%	52	100%

The second category that I observed was articles that focused directly on the memory of Maidan, which comprised approximately 28.85% of the total articles (see Table 1). This category included articles which made Maidan the primary focus of the article. Although current events were also often featured within these articles, the primary focus was on the past. Some articles initially appear to be about current events, like memorials or the ongoing investigations into the deaths of protesters during Maidan; however, these articles in fact pay little attention to the present (see *Kyiv Post*, 2014a; Quinn, 2015; *RT*, 2015b). Instead, these articles focus their attention on prefacing or making sense of the past. In contrast to articles which evoked the past to contextualize the present, these articles only mentioned the present so that they could return to

the past. The difference at times is subtle, but nevertheless reveals the primary focus of the article.

Furthermore, the frequency that these categories occurred was different between *RT* and the *Kyiv Post*. Proportionally, articles from *RT* were more likely to evoke memories about Maidan. Of the 22 articles from *RT*, 17 were coded as only evoking memory, which made up approximately 77.27% of *RT's* content (see Table 1). Certain topics such as geopolitics, the conflicts in Ukraine's eastern regions, and economics were popular topics for these articles. For example, the *RT* article "Expectations and reality: What Maidan gave Ukraine's economy," only discusses Maidan so that it can make claims about current economics (*RT*, 2015c).

The other 22.73% of *RT* articles focused directly on Maidan itself (see Table 1). By focusing directly on Maidan, these articles dedicated more time to describing and directly engaging with themes and events. For example, *RT* released a two-part series titled "My Maidan memories: Living through Ukraine's nightmare year" (see *RT*, 2014b; *RT*, 2015d). The series initially framed Maidan both as a failed attempt for change and then as a coup, while also providing detailed accounts of the "coup's" beginnings and end. Similar to *RT*, the most frequently recorded category in the *Kyiv Post* is articles that only evoked Maidan. Approximately, 63.33% of the articles from the *Kyiv Post* fit this category (see Table 1). However, in comparison to *RT* which had 17 articles coded as only evoking Maidan, the *Kyiv Post* had 19.

A higher proportion of articles from the *Kyiv Post* were coded as directly focusing on Maidan. I observed this category in 10 articles (33.33%) for the *Kyiv Post* (see Table 1). These articles revisited the protest as a whole or focused on specific events. For example, an article by the *Kyiv Post's* Allison Quinn (2017) titled "Prosecutors Finally Reveal Identity of Protester

'Beheaded' During Maidan" revisits the events of the 18th of February 2014. The *Kyiv Post*

initially covered the death a protester who had been shot in the head, but they had little

information on the event. This article returns to the event and provides a conclusion to a story

that was missing many pieces. Although this article is a unique case, it demonstrates how articles

about the present can return to past events.

The last category was articles that were coded as other. This category only comprised one

article (see Table 1). The article titled "EuroMaidan Revolution remembered: After crackdown

on protesters, riot police take control," was part of an ongoing series of *Kyiv Post* articles called

"From the Archives," which republishes articles written during Maidan. Unlike the prior

categories which were published after Maidan, this article was originally published during

Maidan. Therefore, the article was coded as "other" because its treatment of Maidan was as an

event of the present not as a past event which is being retold. The article, "EuroMaidan

Revolution remembered: After crackdown on protesters, riot police take control," contained no

commemorative content about Maidan, however the article itself is a form of commemoration.

This article draws readers back to Maidan so that they can relive the feeling and events as they

were reported during the event itself.

The series "From the Archives" demonstrates the versatility that journalism has as a

mnemonic device. At the time of its original publishing the article would have served to frame

the event in a salient manner to its readers. Now that the article is being republished it serves as a

way to reaffirm the original feelings, ideas, and morals described in the past. "From the

Archives" expands upon the ritual elements of new readership originally described by Anderson

(1991). For Anderson (1991) reading the news was a daily ritual that united persons living in

"imagined communities". The news was a way for groups to share information and stories about

their perceived present and past, allowing them to vibrate to a similar rhythm of life. But the ritual activity of "From the Archives" is ritual in the sense that it literally retells the same stories, it reminds its readers of the past and by drawing on specific topics or events, it states that these articles are important to remember. Lastly, I want to note that although my sample only included one article from this series, the *Kyiv Post* has continued publishing this series as recently as 2019 (see Bonner, 2019). The continued presence of this series of articles demonstrates the versatility that journalism has for forming collective memories.

Narrative Themes

Collective memory can be understood as stories (see Wagner-Pacifici, 1996; Wertsch, 2008). As a result, understanding the kinds of collective memories present requires us to understand the narratives present within each article. Following Creswell (2007), I used grounded theory to develop a deeper understanding of my data by continually reading and interpreting my data. This process was repeated until I had sharpened my observations into concrete categories. In particular, I incorporated media framing perspectives (see Entman, 1993; Matthes, 2009) and collective memory theories (see Halbwachs, 2011/1925; Wertsch, 2008; Vinitzky-Seroussi, 2011/2002) to focus and direct my inquiry. Media framing theories were useful for understanding how publications create and structure media content. By pairing them with collective memory theories I was able to better understand how collective memory was created and structured in news articles. For this category I coded at the level of the article, but within each article I also highlighted specific sentences or paragraphs which embody the perspective of the article. This additional highlighting helps to ground the findings in the language of the text. By continually interacting with text and then reflecting on the content gathered, five observable codes emerged. Each code represents a different type of

characterization used to frame Maidan. Various scholars have interpreted media content about Ukraine as a site of conflict or a "battleground" (see Kozachenko, 2019; Ojala, Pantti, & Kangas, 2017; Shevel, 2011; Wachter & Shapiro-Obermair, 2018). Similarly, my findings showed that Maidan was largely characterized differently and often in antagonistic frames by *RT* and the *Kyiv Post*.

These differences can be first observed in articles that described Maidan as a coup, which were only found in *RT*. Approximately 38.36% of *RT*'s articles were coded as Maidan described as a coup. As a result, narratives that described Maidan as a coup were the most frequent in *RT* (see Table 2). The characterization of Maidan as a coup consisted of articles which narrowly defined the event as the overthrow of a democratically elected government.

Table 2

Frequency and Percentage of Narrative Themes of Maidan in the Kyiv Post and RT.

	RT Frequency	*RT* Percent	*Kyiv Post* Frequency	*Kyiv Post* Percent
Maidan described as a protest turned coup	7	31.82%	0	0.00%
Maidan described as a coup	8	38.36%	0	0.00%
Maidan described as a failed attempt for change	6	27.27%	9	30.00%
Maidan described as a revolution of dignity	0	0%	6	20.00%
Maidan described as the violence of an oppressive government	0	0%	12	40.00%
Other	1	4.55%	3	10.00%
Total	22	100%	30	100%

Similarly, articles that described Maidan as a protest turned coup was unique to *RT*. Approximately 31.82% of the articles found in *RT* characterized Maidan as a protest turned coup (see Table 2). In comparison to articles which framed Maidan as a coup, articles that framed Maidan as a protest turned coup appear only one less time, making them the second most frequent narrative found in *RT*. In total, approximately 68.18% of articles in *RT* describe, in one way or another, Maidan as a coup. Although I have emphasised that there are qualitative differences for how each article describes Maidan as a coup, it is nevertheless important to distinguish that the label of coup is used to frame a majority of *RT* content about Maidan.

Articles that characterized Maidan as a failed attempt for change was the only category that I observed in both the *Kyiv Post* and *RT*. Approximately 27.27% of the articles found in *RT* contained this narrative, making it the least frequently recorded category (see Table 2). In the *Kyiv Post*, approximately 30% of their articles were characterized as failed attempts for change. However, the ways in which publishers framed this characterization as narratives varied greatly. The *Kyiv Post* generally interpreted Maidan as a failure to change the status quo, leading to the continuation of corruption, erosion of human rights, and economic decline. *RT* interpreted Maidan as Ukraine's failed attempt to join the EU, which has since backfired and led to economic ruin in Ukraine (see *RT*, 2015c).

Next, articles which framed Maidan as a revolution of dignity were unique to the *Kyiv Post*. These articles framed Maidan as a movement which was built on a universal notion of human respect and human rights. Approximately 20% of the articles in the *Kyiv Post* described Maidan as a revolution of dignity (see Table 2). Notably, half of these articles focused on other forms of commemoration. For example, Shevchenko (2014) describes the Maidan museum which features exhibits and art installations, "one art piece is a mirror that invites visitors to

'reflect' on their own ideas about freedom by writing them on the mirror" (para. 2). Thus, these articles suggest that narratives which frame Maidan as a revolution of dignity may be found in other forms of commemoration.

The second last category observed was articles which characterized Maidan as the violence of an oppressive government. Once again, this category was only found within the *Kyiv Post*. This characterization accounted for approximately 40% of the articles published by the *Kyiv Post* (see Table 2).

Finally, approximately 7.69% of articles belonging to both the *Kyiv Post* and *RT* were coded as other (see Table 2). Only one *RT* article was coded as "other", while three *Kyiv Post* articles were counted as "other". Articles that were counted as "other" failed to either have a visible narrative or their narrative failed to fit within any of the previously mentioned categories. For example, Krus (2014) published an article which described the most frequently googled terms, recipes, and persons of 2014. Although Krus (2014) mentioned Maidan several times and even noted the removal of Yanukovych, he only describes what was googled about Maidan. For example, Krus (2014) noted "Molotov cocktail, a handmade bomb used by the EuroMaidan protesters, was the most googled recipe of 2014. Other searched-for recipes [that were] more boring: pizza, cake icing and Easter bread" (para, 8). Krus's (2014) report is certainly interesting however, because he is merely describing what various people have searched for on google, there was no clear story created about Maidan.

From the above categories I would like to stress that these findings support the assertion that collective memories are embodied in journalism. First, collective memories are not one-time stories, they are mimetic and repetitive (Halbwachs 2011/1925; Wagner-Pacifici, 2010). By observing the same characterization across numerous articles, I was able identify these

characterizations as part of the ongoing process of memory making. Within my sample of 52

new articles, I observed five distinct but repeated characterizations of Maidan. The fact that these

characterizations were repeated across time supports the idea that they represent collective

memories embodied within news articles.

Narrative Events

In the previous section I discussed themes as a component of narrative, but narratives are

also made up of events. Additionally, I have discussed events as deviations from the mundane

moments or phenomenon which are placed outside of the expected daily rhythms of life. But

events do not emerge naturally. They require the work of social actors to give them their status.

As Wagner-Pacifici (1996) states, "There is no dialogue between content and form. Everything

waits to be decided" (p. 302). Put plainly, events only occur when humans engage in the work of

making and organizing meaning. In this sense no event is inherently memorable, including

Maidan. However, there are certain qualities like its duration, its impact on a population, or its

consequences which make Maidan likely to be remembered; but still, there is no innate quality

that ensures it will be remembered (Wagner-Pacifici, 1996). Once again, the only way Maidan

can be remembered is through the work of people to remember it. But even when Maidan is

being remembered, there remains the question about what is included or excluded from

journalistic memory. As I have argued, nothing is naturally eventful, which means that

everything can be equally eventful. In this section I will describe events which have made

themselves a part of narratives within news media.

Within my sample, I observed eight events which were frequently found in the *Kyiv Post*

and *RT* (see Table 3). The top events found were the November 21st start to the protest, the non-

signing of the EU deal, the November 30 dispersal of Maidan, the January 22nd protest clashes,

the presence of community and art on Maidan, the protest clashes from February 18th to 21st, the

ousting/removal of Yanukovych from office, and the ongoing sniper investigations (see Table 3).

Notably, several potentially eventful moments were not found in my sample.

One example was the event that unfolded the night of February 21st. After days of

violence between police and protesters resulting in tens of deaths, Yanukovych's political

opposition, Vitali Klitschko, unsuccessfully attempted to console the grieving and angry

protesters and assure them of peace moving forwards. However, he was ignored as Volodymyr

Parishuk, a right-wing activist, jumped onto the stage, stole the microphone from Klitschko, and

demanded the immediate resignation of Yanukovych. During Parishuk's speech, open coffins

holding the bodies of deceased protesters were carried through the crowds towards the stage. But

amongst the chaos a single priest uttered "let us pray, there's nothing else left." Disorder and

grief turned into prayer. In this moment, Zorgdrager (2016) contends, "*Maidan* transformed into

one liturgical space without clear boundaries in which everybody participated" (p. 182). From

the conflict between political actors, to prayers and open caskets, the night of February 21st was

undeniably an *eventful* moment. Despite holding qualities which made the night of February 21st

potentially memorable, the event was not found in my sample. This suggests that only certain

memories are also determined to be newsworthy.

Table 3

Frequency and Percentage of Narrative Events Mentioned in the Kyiv Post and RT.

	RT Frequency	*RT* Percent	*Kyiv Post* Frequency	*Kyiv Post* Percent
November 21st start of protests	2	9.09%	3	10.00%
Non-signing of EU agreement	10	45.45%	2	6.67%
November 30th dispersal of Maidan	4	18.18%	5	16.67%
January 22nd protest clashes	2	9.09%	3	10.00%
Community/art events on Maidan	1	4.45%	3	10.00%
February 18th to 21st Protest clashes	9	40.90%	17	56.67%
Yanukovych is ousted/flees	13	59.09%	17	56.67%
Sniper investigations	4	18.18%	8	26.67%
Other	7	31.82%	12	40.00%
Total Articles	22	100%	30	100%

In my sample, the most frequently observed event across all articles was the ousting/removal of Viktor Yanukovych, which was mentioned in 30 articles across the *Kyiv post* and *RT* (n= 52). This event applies to articles which mentioned that Yanukovych left Ukraine regardless of his motivations. Within *RT* the ousting/removal of Viktor Yanukovych was mentioned in 13 articles (see Table 3). Often Yanukovich was depicted as being forced out in a violent coup. RT (2014b) brought up the event stating, "The protests, spearheaded by far-right radicals, lasted for several months and culminated in heavy violence in February 2014, which forced Yanukovich to flee the country" (para. 9). In the *Kyiv Post*, the ousting/removal of Viktor Yanukovych was mentioned 17 times out of the 30 articles. For the *Kyiv Post,* the event is

characterized as Yanukovych fleeing from the justice of Maidan. Additionally, Krus (2014) writes in the *Kyiv Post,* "The list of the most searched people is topped by Viktor Yanukovych, the overthrown Ukrainian president who escaped to Russia during the Euromaidan Revolution in February" (para. 2).

The only event which was mentioned as frequently in the *Kyiv Post* was the protest clashes that occurred from February 18th to 21st, which were mentioned 17 times. February 18th to 21st represents the most violent days of Maidan and the unofficial climax and end of the protest. In comparison, the protest clashes that occurred from February 18th to 21st were mentioned nine times by *RT*. Both the *Kyiv Post* and *RT* were similar in terms of depicting the event as violent. However, *RT* was more likely to frame the protesters as the aggressors or as extremists. The *Kyiv Post* depicted the government and Berkut as the aggressors and the protesters as heroes. Goncharova and Kyiv Post+ (2014b) reflect this perspective as they report: "earlier Anton Heraschenko, an adviser to the interior minister, said the police has figured out that the administration of fugitive President Yanukovuch worked out a plan of kidnapping, intimidation and killing of EuroMaidan activists" (para. 5). This quote suggests that the violence that occurred during Maidan was orchestrated by Yanukovych, known by the police, and targeted at the protesters.

One significant difference between the events reported in the *Kyiv Post* and *RT* was the frequency that the publications covered the decision of President Yanukovych to withdraw from talks about an association agreement with the EU. The decision was considered to be one of the main catalysts that mobilized Maidan (see Marples, 2015). Within my research, the association agreement appeared in 10 *RT* articles. Often this event appeared within articles that characterized Maidan as a failed attempt for change. As I mentioned in the section above, *RT* often

characterized Maidan as a failed attempt to bring Ukraine closer to the EU. Consequently, for *RT*

to hold that opinion, they must support their beliefs by showing the importance of the event

within Maidan. In contrast, this event only appeared in two articles from the *Kyiv Post.* This

difference shows how certain aspects of an event become more or less important based on how

they are framed within a narrative.

It is not unexpected that the initial emphasis of the EU association agreement would not

be popular within the *Kyiv Post*. Over the course of revolution Maidan varied greatly in terms of

its demographic, population size, and overall goals. Zorgdrager (2016) points to the popular

protest slogan, "We looked for Europe and we found Ukraine" to show how the movement

transformed over time (p. 168). For the protesters, the movement became increasingly a

movement opposed to governmental oppression not economic agreements. However, this

transition away from European integration and towards Ukrainian identity is framed by *RT* in at

least two major ways.

The first frame I observed depicted the transition as a shedding of its European disguise

and the revealing of its true nature as a coup. This mirrored the narrative theme that Maidan was

a protest turned coup (see Table 2). For example, *The RT* article "#EuroMaidan revolution: 2014

Ukrainian coup timeline" prefaces that after the European association agreement failed,

> Many of those who clashed with law enforcers *looked more like well-trained extremists*
>
> *rather than ordinary demonstrators*. Wearing black masks, helmets, some also equipped with
>
> bulletproof vests, they pelted riot police with rocks and Molotov cocktails, as well as
>
> shooting fireworks (*RT*, 2015e, para. 4; italics added).

RT (2015e) labels Maidan as a coup while drawing attention to the fact that the protesters seemed more like "well-trained extremists." The second way *RT* framed this transition was from protest to coup. In these articles Maidan was framed as a response to President Yanukovych's decision to not sign the association agreement. However, right-wing extremist hijacked the revolution for their own coup. *RT* (2015f) defines Maidan using this transition: "officials used the Ukrainian word 'Maidan' to describe a string of protest actions that eventually turned into mass unrest and the ousting of the legally elected president and parliament" (para. 3).

Another event that differed in terms of its frequency of occurrence between the *Kyiv Post* and *RT* was the sniper investigations. Ever since the first protesters where shot on January 22nd there have been calls from both sides to investigate the use of firearms responsible for the deaths of over 100 protesters and law enforcement. In *RT*, the investigations were mentioned in four of their 22 articles. In comparison, the *Kyiv Post* mentioned the investigations in eight of their 30 articles. Both articles mentioned the failure of the investigations to yield any tangible results. One possible reason that the *Kyiv Post* mentioned the investigation twice as many times is because the event relates to the narrative characterization of Maidan as a failed attempt for change. In the above section I assert that the *Kyiv Post* frames Maidan as a failure because it was unsuccessful in pursuing justice and removing corruption from the status quo. In the context of these articles, the failure of the sniper investigations to prosecute the "Maidan killers" is understood as evidence that Ukraine's criminal justice system remains corrupt and ineffective.

Another event featured in both the *Kyiv Post* and *RT* was the November 30 dispersal of Maidan. The dispersal occurred when Berkut special forces beat student protesters and drove them off the square so that a Christmas tree could be erected. I coded the dispersal nine times in the *Kyiv Post* and *RT*. The *Kyiv Post* mentioned the dispersal in five out of 30 articles. Similarly,

RT mentioned the dispersal in four out of their 22 articles. Both news publications tended to frame the students as victims. However, *RT* still maintained Maidan was, as whole, a coup. *RT* (2014b) writes:

> [t]he brutal dispersal of a protest camp on the morning of November 30 was a turning point in the ensuing events. It's still unclear whose idea it was to use force against demonstrators. Yanukovich laid the blame on the city's police chief and sacked him. But that was not enough for the Maidan protesters, who switched from demands of signing the EU deal to calls for the toppling of the government (para. 3).

Even though, *RT* (2014b) initially acknowledges the brutality of the dispersal they go on to state that the protesters abandoned their initial economic goals for radical antigovernment ends.

The clashes that occurred on January 22nd were also featured in both the *Kyiv Post* and *RT*. January 22nd was mentioned twice in *RT* and three times in the *Kyiv Post*. During this event the first casualties of the protester movement were recorded. For the *Kyiv Post* the deaths of the two protesters was the most important component of this event. Goncharova and Kyiv Post+ (2015) recall, "[on] Jan. 22, snipers from behind police lines took the first lives of the EuroMaidan Revolution — those of Belarussian Mykhailo Zhyznevsky, Armenian native Serhiy Nihoyan and Ukrainian Roman Senyk from Lviv Oblast" (para. 1). While the *Kyiv Post* placed a fair amount of emphasis on the identities of the deceased protesters, *RT* only mentions that protesters died in one of the two articles that featured the event.

The category community/art events on Maidan differed from other categories because it does not refer to a single community event. Instead the category broadly captures events which spoke to the sense of community generated on Maidan. Past studies such as Zorgdrager (2016),

Buyskykh (2016) and Stepnisky (2018) have emphasized that Maidan created its own sense of

community identity with its own atmospheres in which social life occurred. However, in my

sample I only observed community and art events mentioned in four articles. Only once was a

community event mentioned in *RT*. The other three mentions of community and art events were

found in the *Kyiv Post*. In both publications, these events were consistently described in a

positive manner. In conversation with past studies, my findings suggest that these events are

likely not remembered within news media. Zorgdrager (2016), for example, indicates that these

events may be remembered linguistically by those who were present on the square during

Maidan. Future research should examine multiple mediums and groups to better understand if

and how community events during Maidan are remembered.

Lastly, the November 21st start of Maidan protests was mentioned five times in my

sample. I defined this event as mentions of the first day that people began protesting on Maidan.

RT mentioned the start of the protests twice. The *Kyiv Post* only mentioned the start of the

protests three times. All together, both publications used the event to contextualize Maidan and

place it within a point in time. Goncharova (2014) contextualizes Maidan by stating, "[t]he

killings of more than 100 Ukrainians by the ousted president remain unpunished a year later,

enraging those who took part in the Revolution of Dignity, which started on Nov. 21" (para. 2).

In this brief summarization of Maidan, Goncharova (2014) does not mention specific details of

November 21st. The event instead acts as a kind of placeholder from which the other events can

be positioned around. As a result, neither *RT* nor the *Kyiv Post* provide much detail about the

first day that protests started.

Summary of Findings

Thus far, I have described the major findings that have resulted from my three categories (evocation of memory, narrative themes, and narrative events) independently of each other. By drawing together these three coding categories, I characterize the overall construction of collective memory in *RT* and the *Kyiv Post* in the following ways.

Typically, *RT* treats Maidan and depictions of it as a background event that frames present events (see "Evocation of Memory"). In these articles, Maidan is treated as an established fact. It did happen, but thematically it is always portrayed negatively. Maidan is framed as a failed attempt for change or more frequently it is depicted as a failed coup (see "Narrative Themes"). Given this overarching thematic framing, it makes sense that the events most frequently featured in *RT* are those that emphasize failure and conflict. These themes become highlighted by events such as Yanukovych's decision not to sign the EU association agreement, February's violent protest conflicts, and Yanukovych's departure from Ukraine (see Narrative Events). The implications of these events and how they are framed is a limited perspective of Maidan. Rather than giving a detailed account of its successes and failures, Maidan appears two-dimensional, as a marker with which journalists can contextualize the present.

The Kyiv *Post* also primarily treated Maidan as a background event. But unlike *RT*, the *Kyiv Post* often framed Maidan as an event that has created uncertainty. Here Maidan is depicted as an event, but no dominant narrative has been created to define what exactly Maidan was. Rather, Maidan is still unfolding. Aspects of Maidan such as the investigations into the use of deadly force against protesters were still ongoing during 2014-2015. Goncharova and Kyiv Post+'s (2014a) article titled "On EuroMaidan anniversary, killings of its activists still

unpunished" captures some of the feelings during this time. In articles like Goncharova and Kyiv Post+ (2014a), Maidan is evoked because is seen as necessary to contextualize current events in Ukraine.

Although many of the articles from the *Kyiv Post* treated Maidan as a background event to explain the present, it nevertheless spends more time than *RT* exploring Maidan as an event in itself. Whereas, Maidan was an event depicted as transparent and known by *RT*, the *Kyiv Post* was more engaged in the process of unpacking and understanding what Maidan was. This difference was highlighted by the frequency at which the *Kyiv Post* brought up the sniper investigations. Like the investigations, the *Kyiv Post* can be seen as trying to interpret and understand exactly what the event was. It is in the *Kyiv Post* that we get closest to witnessing the journalistic construction of memory. Thematically, *RT* does less work constructing meaning; they are more involved in the continuous repetition of themes. But journalism, as demonstrated by the *Kyiv Post*, does not only keep memory alive by describing it time and time again it actually shapes the way the Maiden is constructed.

Finally, though I have described differences in the way the two media outlets handle the memory of Maidan, there are some interesting similarities. First, both outlets treat the Maidan as something that actually happened; it has become part of the taken for granted memory of recent events in the history of Ukraine and the post-soviet landscape. Returning to Wagner-Pacifici (1996) we must remind ourselves that no event, even Maidan, is inherently meaningful to a group's history. Both outlets continually make Maidan memorable, even if it is for different reasons. Building on this point, there is general agreement between the two publishers that it was a failed revolution. Especially in the *Kyiv Post*, Maidan could have led to different possibilities. Krasnikov (2015) plainly states "The EuroMaidan Revolution was supposed to change Ukraine

for the better, cutting corruption and bringing the country into line with standards in the rest of

Europe. But if any such changes have been made… [we haven't] noticed them." Hopes for

change quickly disappear in both outlets, while their articles fixate on the shocking and violent

events which concluded the revolution (see "Narrative Themes"). Most frequently reported was

the violent clashes that started on February 18th and ended three days later with the ousting of

Yanukovych. The tendency to focus on violence and political conflict leads away from framings

that depict Maidan as a revivification of the Ukrainian national identity and spirit or sense of

community, which has been recorded in past research (see Buyskykh, 2016; Stepnisky, 2018;

Zorgdrager, 2016). Narratives of hope seem to have been replaced by narratives of failure.

But as I have noted already, digging down further into these similarities we find

important differences. As I have mentioned above, though the *Kyiv Post* sees Maidan as a failure

it is only so because it was unable to bring about broad sweeping changes to Ukraine's politics,

economy, and overall living conditions. The abrupt, chaotic, and tragic end to the revolution left

much undone. As the findings from my narrative events codes show, 26.67% of articles in the

Kyiv Post focused on the Maidan murder trials, an event that was still unfolding (see Table 3).

The combined findings from my narrative themes and narrative events indicate that, even though

Maidan is no longer physically present in Kyiv, its spirit and goals continue to exist in Ukraine.

Throughout the *Kyiv Post* there is a sense of *unfinishedness*, as if Maidan, although over, is not

completed (some examples include: Goncharova & Kyiv Post +, 2014a; Goncharova & Kyiv

Post +, 2014b; LeGasse, 2014; Shevchenko, 2014; Tucker, M., & Kyiv Post+, 2015). LeGasse

(2014) captures this strange sense of *unfinishedness* as he asks whether Ukraine deserves change,

"Are the people worthy? Perhaps, but they have left the job undone from the EuroMaidan

Revolution" (para. 18). Though Maidan itself is remembered as a failure its values are not laid to

rest with the past. By retelling and seeking to understand Maidan through the daily news morals, values, and lessons about the past continue their march into the present.

Whereas the *Kyiv Post* saw potential for Maidan's success, *RT* viewed the movement as damned from the start. Some articles saw the failure as coming from its inevitable transition from protest to coup. While others framed Maidan as a naïve attempt to join the EU. According to *RT's* Bryan MacDonald[1] (2014), the initial protesters did not even know what they are protesting for,

> Within a few days, the Maidan was full of university students, attracted by a slick social media campaign. Given that Ukrainian students, generally, purchase rather than earn their diplomas, it's doubtful most could even comprehend what they were protesting for. Could they understand the difference between an association agreement and an offer of EU membership, which was another matter entirely?

Given Macdonald's (2014) description of failure versus those in the *Kyiv Post*, it clear that the historical framing within each outlet creates a different understanding of what Maidan was, what it tried to accomplish, and how it relates to the present.

Discussion

My findings have shown that the *Kyiv Post* and *RT* both play an active role in forming collective memories about Maidan. Through their coverage of the past, Maidan continues to have a place in the present. In this section, I will relate my findings back to theoretical topics raised at

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[1] It is not clear if Brian MacDonald is a 'real' person. Despite claiming to be an Irish reporter living in Russia there is no evidence that a Brian Macdonald exists outside of *RT*. *The Interpreter* has written an article which speculates that Brian MacDonald is a fictional person created to make *RT* appear more credible. https://www.interpretermag.com/life-of-bryan-how-an-rt-columnist-tries-to-influence-the-debate-on-russia-and-ukraine/

the beginning of this paper. I will discuss how journalistic memory of Maidan makes use of national and cosmopolitan frames. In addition, I will explore how Maidan is remembered as an event in itself and how it is built up within both news outlets.

Cosmopolitan and National Memories in Journalism

Collective memories never exist passively. They are the celebrated, mourned, and shameful stories of a group's past that position their current identity and project their future possibilities (Olick & Robbins, 1998). As such, memories are always in service to the identity and political motivations of the group who retells them. Furthermore, different kinds of collective memories can be created through different mediums of communication. In the literature review of this thesis I discussed two forms of memory which have developed from political motivations and communicative technologies: national memories and cosmopolitan memories.

For national memory, communicative technologies and political desires work in tandem to create networks of identity not defined by geographical barriers. These networks help humans to imagine themselves as part of "communities of memory" (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 2011/1985). For Anderson (1991), national newspapers were one such form of media through which "imagined communities" were able to form. Everyday members of a society engage in the ritual of reading the daily news enabling them to share important stories and current events (Anderson, 1991). Through this they begin to imagine themselves as part of a collective who share the same stories and sense of group belonging. Consequently, understanding the concept of imagined communities requires us to understand that communicative technologies, like newspapers, help groups to create social bonds which could not otherwise be maintained. However, the pace of globalization in the 21st century has further shrunk the barriers of time and space permitting a new kind of memory to emerge.

This new kind of collective memory is called "cosmopolitan memory". Levy and Sznaider (2002) first studied the formation of cosmopolitan memories as a reaction to the atrocities of the Holocaust. In this sense, collective memories are fundamentally political. As their name would suggest they assert a global humanistic type of memory. Here memories are in service to a human group or a 'global village'. According to Misztal (2010), through cosmopolitan memories, traumatic events like the Holocaust reveal to us our shared vulnerability. From this vulnerability "cosmopolitan memory can potentially create a new awareness of globality, enhance new solidarities and offer support for norms for the effective spread of human rights" (Misztal, 2010, p. 38). Unlike national memories, there is no "us" and "other", as a global community we are forced to acknowledge our shared role in the past.

One question I had when beginning my research was if Maidan would be constructed as a cosmopolitan memory or national memory in the news. The reason that Maidan might be constructed as a cosmopolitan memory is because as the events unfolded many of the themes introduced were cosmopolitan. For example, comparisons were made to the global "occupy movements" (see Fisher, 2017; Stepnisky, 2018) and the theme of dignity is generally recognized as a cosmopolitan theme (see Beck, 2007). Yet, my results show that in the news, collective memories about Maidan were predominantly framed as national memories. Only six articles in the *Kyiv Post* that characterized Maidan as a revolution of dignity could be considered as constructing cosmopolitan memory. The prevalence of national memories is somewhat unexpected. Part way through Maidan, various groups began to describe it as a "revolution of dignity". This title frames the revolution as a quest for human rights. Because of this title, I expected that the *Kyiv Post* would frame Maidan accordingly. However, only six articles characterized the Maidan as a revolution of dignity.

Even though these cosmopolitan memories and themes were in the minority amongst the articles studied, it is nevertheless worth reviewing these, as they provide some indication of what a cosmopolitan memory would look like in the context of the Ukrainian Maidan. All six of these articles framed Maidan not only as local revolution, but also as a community united by a cosmopolitan moral ethic. Shevchenko's (2015) tragic article about Mikhail Zhyznevsky, a Belarusian born protester who was killed by sniper fire at Hrushevskoho Street on January 22nd, 2014, illustrates a relationship between national and cosmopolitan memories which Levy and Sznaider (2002) believe is fundamental to the nature of cosmopolitan memory. For Levy and Sznaider (2002) cosmopolitan memories do not replace national ones, "[they] exist as their horizons" (p. 93). Thus, the universal themes of cosmopolitan memories are always understood as being embedded into particular contexts.

In her article, Shevchenko (2015) interviews those who knew Zhyznevsky. In particular, the words of his girlfriend Yevheniya Dzubanenko stand out as cosmopolitan. "He thought fighting for Ukraine was a chance to restore justice – a chance that Belarus would probably never get," Dzubanenko's words seem to characterize justice not as a personal crusade specific to Ukraine (para. 16). Instead, her words paint justice as something that extends beyond Ukraine and into other nations like Belarus. Here justice appears to be universal, something that Belarus and Ukraine have lost, something that Zhyznevsky sought to restore. Both Maidan and its protesters are seen here as advocates of justice and human dignity.

Half of the articles which characterized Maidan as a revolution of dignity appeared to depict other locations where memorialization was being performed. These sites offered a rich sense for how Maidan was being commemorated nationally and internationally. Torhan (2014) explores various works of street art that paint the streets of Kyiv and even one which has

appeared in Varkala, India. Whereas, Torhan (2015) details the designs of various international

architects, who participated in a contest to create four sites of commemoration in the area where

Maidan occurred. Lastly, Shevchenko (2014) reports on the Maidan Museum and the range of

community events, artworks, and exhibits it uses to keep Maidan from being 'mummified' (para.

5).

These articles suggest that from 2014-2015 cosmopolitan memory might have been more

present in other forms of commemoration. Cosmopolitan memories are difficult to navigate.

They compel us to think of ourselves not just as heroes or victims but also as perpetrators and

instigators. As members of a global community there can be no "other" to blame. Victories and

atrocities must be shared. But rather than mediating complex narratives, journalism tends to

polarize opinions by locating itself in one perspective (Herfroy-Mischler, 2016). In the sections

below I will argue that these perspectives are the Ukrainophile tradition for the *Kyiv Post* and the

Sovietophile tradition for *RT*. Publishers such as the *Kyiv Post* and *RT* must market their content

for their audiences. Consequently, this may lead them to frame memories in a way that privileges

simpler stories oriented towards the particular identities of their audiences.

By far, both outlets relied on national memory frames over cosmopolitan memory frames.

Unlike the latter, national memory privileges the status of a particular group while "othering"

outsiders. If cosmopolitan memory believes that human dignity is sacred, it can be said that

national memory believes the status of the national group is sacred. But even within the field of

national memory *RT* and the *Kyiv Post* present different kinds of national memories about

Maidan. Similar to Kozachenko (2019) my findings revealed two general dichotomous

communities of characterization: articles which glorified and sympathised with Maidan (the

Ukrainophile tradition) and those which condemned and opposed it (the Sovietophile tradition;

see also Kuzio, 2006).

In the context of my research, the *Kyiv Post* echoes aspects of the Ukrainophile tradition,

which depicts Ukraine as a peaceful nation whose history has been plagued by the often-violent

oppression of aggressive empires, such as the Soviet Union (Kozachenko, 2019). This tradition is

fundamentally post-colonial and creates a narrative of victimhood upon which to base its

national identity. Elements of Kuzio's (2006) categories can also be found in Bekus (2018), who

asserts that these narratives of victimhood are a common tool for building national identities in

post-communist nations, such as Belarus. The *Kyiv Post's* characterization of Maidan as the

victims of government oppression echoes the Ukrainophile tradition. Often, this victimization

narrative appeared to include two parties: the protesters, who were often peaceful, and some

form of authority who oppressed the protesters.

The *Kyiv Post* typically did not depict the protesters as the instigators of aggression, only

as victims who act in self-defence. Even though Maidan was a national conflict, the *Kyiv Post*

was still able to adopt a narrative of victimization by characterizing Yanukovych's government

as a corrupt and oppressive regime which did not represent true Ukrainians. For example, one

article from the *Kyiv Post* detailed the experiences of Oleh Kravtsov, an AutoMaidan activist,

who stated, "We were just Kyiv residents who protested using cars, and we did it in the most

peaceful way" (Sukhov & *Kyiv Post+,* 2015, para. 6). Sukhov and *Kyiv Post+* (2015) go on to

mention that Kravtsov was improperly detained and beaten by the Berkut, in Kravtsov's own

words, "I'm sure that if there had been an order from above and the EuroMaidan Revolution had

not won, we would be in prison for decades, because prosecutors were fabricating a terrorism

case against us" (para. 7). The dynamic here is framed as between the people and the corrupt law

enforcement systems (the Berkut and government prosecutors). In total, approximately 40% of

the articles in the *Kyiv Post* embodied this dynamic (see Table 2). Although Ukrainian identity is

not framed in opposition to a foreign empire, it is presented as being threatened by a corrupt

regime that uses violence against peaceful protesters. Thus, the stories present in the *Kyiv Post*

give the impression that Maidan was just another example in which free and peaceful Ukrainians

were oppressed by a violent regime.

While the *Kyiv Post* emphasised pro-Ukrainian sentiments, *RT* undermined Maidan by

labeling it as a coup. Consequently, *RT* can be interpreted as presenting Maidan within a

Sovietophile frame of national collective memory. One key aspect of the Sovietophile tradition is

that it denies the existence of a Ukrainian national identity (Kozachenko, 2019). As a former

member of the Soviet Union, Ukraine is understood as a part of Russia which since its fracturing

has become misled. The social, political, and economic troubles of Ukraine become interpreted

by *RT* as a result of a misguided attempt to fabricate an identity that does not exist or one that is

fundamentally fascist. In an opinion piece from *RT*, political analyst Alexander Pavic states,

> A year and a half ago you may have had a corrupt Ukraine; you did not have a neo-Nazi
>
> Ukraine. What is happening now is that this new government, this new regime in Ukraine
>
> is trying to forge an artificial new identity. Unfortunately, the only identity on which
>
> [they] have to lean on in the near history is that of Nazi collaboration. This is the result of
>
> the Maidan after a year and a half. We're having the 70th year anniversary of the victory
>
> in WWII and we're seeing a full revival of Nazism and fascism in Ukraine." (*RT*, 2015g,
>
> para. 3).

Pavic's statement denies any form of "authentic" Ukrainian identity. Though he does not state

that Ukraine belongs to Russia, he argues that the only aspect of identity which they could call

their own is a "history of Nazi collaboration" (para. 3). In this frame, Maidan is presented as an event which has altered the trajectory of Ukrainian identity.

Instead of drawing itself closer to Russia and its Soviet past, Maidan arguably further polarizes perspectives on Ukrainian identity. And instead of celebrating their shared past, Maidan inspired the toppling of thousands of Soviet era statues (Podobed, 2014). Thus, within the Sovietophile tradition, Maidan is framed in a dramatically different light. Even though both publishers perpetuate and develop national collective memories, they use different frames with which to present it to their readers. These frames are polarizing and at times antagonistic. Furthermore, these antagonistic frames demonstrate that even Ukraine's recent past is contested.

The Eventfulness of Maidan in Journalism

In the literature review section, I described events as a part of collective memory. In collective memory, events can often be thought of as stops in a group's history that alter its trajectory. For example, Wagner-Pacifici (2017) uses 9/11 as an example of an event which diverted America's trajectory and became a major part of their collective identity. Maidan can similarly be thought of as a major event in Ukrainian national memory. But even though an event such as Maidan seems so clearly *eventful,* it relies on moral actors to bring it into existence. Wagner-Pacifici (2010) astutely notes that we do not remember events themselves; we remember their representations, which are performed through speech acts that "literally change the social world in and through their utterance" (p.1359). This section aims to discuss Maidan as an event that is being performed in the *Kyiv Post* and *RT*.

In both the *Kyiv* Post and *RT,* we can say that Maidan is in fact an event. This conclusion is drawn because both outlets evoked representations of Maidan to frame current events. Although Maidan is not always treated as the main object of discussion, it is nevertheless treated

as a familiar point in recent history that can be easily referenced. When *RT* makes a point about the illegitimacy of Ukraine's post-Maidan government, they are able to almost reflexively point to Maidan as a familiar event for its readers (see *RT,* 2015a). Similarly, when Maxim Tucker of the *Kyiv Post* writes an article titled "One year after Euromaidan deaths, not a single official serving prison time", he knows that his audience is familiar with Maidan as an event that resulted in the deaths of protesters. In both examples, the Maidan serves as a distinguished point in journalistic memory from which meaning can be fought over. Whether it is a "coup" or a "revolution of dignity", there is a taken for granted assumption that Maidan exists.

In the above paragraph, I argued that Maidan has been constructed as a "contested event," a concept which I will now further explore. For John Bodnar (2011/1992) collective memory and by extension events "[are] rooted not simply in the time dimension between the past and the present but is ultimately grounded in the inherent contradictions of a social system…" (p.266). In this sense Maidan is particularly memorable because it is a contested event. Whether "coup" or "revolution of dignity" it requires interest groups to assign moral significance to it. When either news outlet discusses Maidan, we can think of it as a performance in which they are signalling to their audiences that they share a common understanding of the past. Furthermore, they are proving their commitment to the group by performing the correct narrative of the past. Although the *Kyiv Post* does not always discuss Maidan favourably, it would seem blasphemous for them to publish an article which condemned Maidan as a fascist coup. Thus, because Maidan is contested, there is a need for each news outlet to incorporate it into their stories and more importantly there is a need for them to tell the "correct" story of Maidan.

But Maidan is not only framed differently as a whole. Both news outlets construct different versions of Maidan by focusing on and ignoring certain smaller events within it.

However, when these smaller events are taken individually, they make "no sense" in the context of the larger narrative (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010). Once organized into a series of events, they hold together its meaning (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010). By selecting and organizing events, journalists craft the plot of Maidan's narrative. *RT*, for example, was far more likely to mention the decision of former President Yanukovych to sign the EU agreement, viewing the agreement as the spark which ignited protests (see Table 3). *RT* frames the rest of Maidan based on this point. Frequently, this event was followed by *RT's* second most cited event, the ousting of Yanukovych. The pairing of these smaller events reinforce the narratives that Maidan was either a failure or, more insidiously, its initial goals were a springboard with which a coup was incited. In comparison, the *Kyiv Post* only mentions the EU association agreement twice. Instead, they frame the majority of their articles around February's violent climax and the ongoing investigation into the Maidan murders (see Table 3). By focusing on different events, new outlets not only define how Maidan should be labeled, they also define what events make up Maidan.

Interestingly, there was an absence of particular events in both news outlets. The "carnival" and community events described by Zorgdrager (2016), Buyskykh (2016), and Stepnisky (2018) appear to have not made their way into the narratives of the *Kyiv Post* and *RT*. Across both news outlets only four articles discussed the events about community and art on Maidan. These events can generally be thought of as more positive. Natalia Otrishchenko (2015) paints a vibrant image of Maidan and community activities within it. On the square those who were religious erected prayer tents, artists created a permanent picket called the "Artistic Barbican", and the "Free University" was created for those wanting to learn, amongst other acts of community (Otrishchenko, 2015). Because of their emphasise on coming together, these events have potential to help craft a cosmopolitan framing of Maidan. But by forgetting these

events, journalistic memory of Maidan is often framed negatively (*RT*) or traumatically (*Kyiv Post*).

In particular, the *Kyiv Post* focuses on the last days of the protest. The events and general atmosphere during this period can be characterized as "darker", "tense," and "warlike" (Stepnisky, 2018, p. 11). In contrast, the initial phase was predominantly characterized as "peaceful" and "festive" (Stepnisky, 2018, p. 5). I believe the different phases of Maidan and the events within them are associated with different actions, emotions, and visuals. By focusing on events from only one phase, a very different sense of Maidan is created. In the *Kyiv Post,* seven of the nine articles that framed Maidan as a failed attempt for change included late February's violent conflicts, five articles included Yanukovych's departure from Maidan and four of the article contained the ongoing sniper investigations (see Table 3). The result of this pairing creates what I have called a sense of *unfinishedness*. In these kinds of stories Maidan is still unfolding. The deaths of the protesters are continually revisited and brought into the present as journalists discuss whether or not they will be given justice. One year after Maidan started Goncharova and Petrov (2015) reported the somber mood of a memorial commemorating the Holodomor and Maidan. The act of combining Maidan with one of Ukraine's deadliest tragedies alone demonstrates the status that Maidan has acquired as a traumatic event in Ukrainian identity. But those attending also echoed this sense of *unfinishedness*,

> 'I don't want to change the world anymore,' Oleksandra Nizelska, a native of Kyiv, said. 'We should change ourselves, because it (change) still hasn't happened.' Nizelska believes the EuroMaidan Revolution was the first step towards what she called a 'better future,' but she acknowledged that 'the best people gave their lives on Maidan.' 'Now it's

up to us – and not only to the people in power – to change the situation,'… (Goncharova & Petrov, 2015, para. 17-20).

Nizelska's words capture feelings of sorrow for the deceased, but also a sense that the goals of Maidan are yet to be resolved. Here Maidan is only a "first step". Furthermore, Nizelska appears to communicate an abandonment of Maidan's original cosmopolitan goals. Instead of changing the world she now confides that we should "change ourselves" (Goncharova & Petrov, 2015, para. 17). This statement is vague, but it succeeds in communicating the idea that change still needs to occur even if it is not at the same scale she originally imagined.

Notably, the unfolding of Maidan in the *Kyiv Post* corresponds with the "restless" nature of events (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010). Wagner-Pacifici (2010) notes that events (and by proxy collective memories) are paradoxical because they must have structure to be communicated, but they are also continually being structured. Thus, they are restless, always in motion. In the case of *RT*, the story is fairly linear. Like the *Kyiv Post*, they ignore the community aspects of Maidan's first phases. However, they differ by framing revolution in relation to the more violent events in February, "which led to the toppling of a democratically elected president" (RT, 2015a, para. 6). However, the *Kyiv Post* better captures the restlessness of events as it characterizes Maidan more broadly as both a failed attempt for change, a revolution of dignity and as violent governmental oppression of its people (see Table 2). The last category, in particular, seeks to develop further understandings of Maidan as an event which is still unfolding.

Lastly, despite the importance of Maidan as an event in the *Kyiv Post* and *RT*, it is not an event in western journalism. In the Methods section, I noted my intent to include the BBC, CBC, and the New York Times in my sample. Unfortunately, I was not able to find enough articles from these outlets to create a robust sample. The lack of articles on Maidan in western

journalism indicates that Maidan has not been taken up by moral entrepreneurs to work it into a memorable moment of the past. Collective memory lives in the world not the confines of the human brain (Wagner-Pacifici, 1996). Scholars like Maurice Halbwachs (2011/1925) and Robin Wagner-Pacifici (1996) contend that collective memory vibrates in harmony with our rhythm of life. They resonate with our values, beliefs, morals, and group identity in a manner that feels as though they are a natural part of us. As Halbwachs (2011/1996) states "we vibrate in unison, ignorant of the real source of the vibrations" (p.140). Given the lack of content in western journalism about Maidan it is doubtful that it has been taken into their understanding of the past in the same way that it has been for the *Kyiv Post* and *RT*.

Conclusion and Prospective Research

My research focused on identifying the kinds of collective memories being created and distributed one year after Maidan began. This allowed me to identify collective memories by focusing on their production over the course of a short span of time. However, I cannot make claims about how long these collective memories endured. Wagner-Pacifici (1996) states that in a sense all memories are "provisional". Narratives about the past are created to serve the interests of its authors and members of their groups (Halbwachs, 2011/1925). As Levy and Sznaider's (2002) study of cosmopolitan memory and the Holocaust demonstrates, collective memories change over time and depending on who is telling them. In this sense, we continually reinterpret the past for the present moment (Halbwachs, 2011/1925). Thus, our understanding of it is never static. Memory must match the interests of the group it lives within. From a framing standpoint we might also say that the salience of a characterization occurs within the context of a group at a specific point in time (Entman, 1993).

This leads to three aspects of future research that I would like to develop. First, it is worth studying how Maidan is framed in journalism over time. It is almost certain that some collective memories will fade away while new ones emerge. Aside from showing us how Maidan is being remembered over time, we would also be able to study the pace at which it takes for some memories to fade away or develop. Second, I noticed that numerous articles were posted in the months of November and February; the months associated with the start and end of the protest. It may be that publishing on the anniversary of major events is part of the ritual activity of journalistic memory. By examining numerous years, I would be able to see if news outlets follow ritual patterns of publishing. Third, media framing theory can show how media content is framed but it cannot say how audiences respond to such frames. Therefore, I would also study which narratives are salient within specific audiences.

Lastly, this project only focused on how texts from online articles framed Maidan. However, journalistic framing of memory takes place in numerous mediums. News articles are often accompanied by images, audio recordings, television broadcasts, podcasts, YouTube videos, and vlogs. This study can therefore be seen as a platform for future research about journalistic memory. By incorporating this study into a broader framework of journalism, we can gain a more comprehensive understanding of collective memory.

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