

Culture and Framing in the 2013-2014 Ukrainian Conflict

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Abstract

In November 2013, Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich suddenly reversed an ongoing process toward Ukrainian membership European Union in favor of strengthening economic ties with Russia. His action triggered mass demonstrations in Kiev's Maidan Square and eventually resulted in his removal from office. Yanukovich's opposition in the government solidified the regime change by assuming interim control of the government. Their supporters, composed mostly of ethnic Ukrainians from the Central and Western oblasts, became known as the Maidan movement. In response, separatist movements formed in the Southern and Eastern Ukrainian oblasts of Donetsk, Luhansk, Crimea and Kharkiv. Following Russia's annexation of Crimea, separatist leaders in Donetsk and Luhansk united to form the self-proclaimed Novorossiia (New Russia) Union. This thesis used a grounded-theory approach to identify culturally charged framing devices within Maidan and Novorossiia Union discourse. This paper found that the framing devices of Maidan and Novorossiia invoked Ukrainian and Russian belief systems. Analysis of elite cultural discourse demonstrated that Russian and Ukrainian beliefs and attitudes manifested as thematic concepts, which identified problems, suggest solutions and motivate action. Thus, the frame existed within the culture of Ukrainian and Russian interpretive communities. Framing devices and labels used by Novorossiia and Maidan aligned positions regarding the future of Ukraine with such systems of beliefs.

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	1
Thesis Statement.....	3
2. Historical Context.....	4
3. Historically Based Assumptions.....	14
4. Justification.....	17
5. Literature Review.....	22
Framing.....	22
Constructionism and Interpretive Systems.....	30
6. Research Questions.....	33
7. Grounded Theory Methodology.....	34
8. Method.....	36
9. Results.....	43
Research Question 1.....	47
Research Question 2.....	59
Research Question 3.....	87
10. Discussion.....	91
The Explanatory Power of Cultural Frames.....	91
Implications.....	93
Limitations.....	97
13. Conclusion.....	99
14. Sources.....	107
15. Appendices.....	114
Appendix A (Initial Search Words for Ideological Discourse).....	114
Appendix B (Novorossiya Ideological Discourse).....	116
Appendix C (Russian Cultural Discourse Sorted by Theme).....	122
Appendix D (Maidan Ideological Discourse).....	146
Appendix E (Ukrainian Cultural Discourse Sorted By Theme).....	153

16. List of Figures

Figure 1: Results of RQs for Novorossiya.....47

Figure 2: Results of RQs for Maidan53

Figure 3: Illustration of Novorossiya framing process.....89

Figure 4: Russia and U.S. Scores along Hofstede’s Cultural Dimensions....102

Figure 5: Example of Russian cultural frame.....102

Introduction

In November 2013, former Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich suddenly reversed an ongoing process toward Ukrainian membership European Union (EU) in favor of strengthening economic ties with Russia. Ostensibly, he did so in order to salvage the struggling Ukrainian economy. However, by accepting Moscow's offer to purchase \$15 billion in Ukrainian debt as well as reduce prices for imported natural gas, Yanukovich ensured Ukrainian's participation in the Russian economic sphere and dashed hopes of Europeanization among certain portions of the Ukrainian population. His action served as the catalyst for mobilizing unrest among large segments of the Ukrainian community. Within days, mass protests and violent clashes filled the streets of Kiev. Protestors consisted of ordinary Ukrainians, oppositional political leaders, celebrities, and members of various social organizations. Protest leaders officially dubbed their movement "Maidan" after the central square in Kiev where the majority of activity and violence took place.

By the end of February 2014, the Yanukovich regime fled Kiev. Opposition leaders Arsiney Yatsenuk and Oleksander Turchynov immediately formed an interim government. However, all was not well. The sudden ascendancy of the Maidan Leadership outraged Russians and ostensibly worried a large portion of the Eastern Ukrainian population. The new government's legitimacy was immediately challenged in early March as Russian Federation President Vladimir Putin requested and received permission from the Russian Parliament to use military force to "protect Russian interests" in the Crimean Peninsula. Russian forces immediately annexed the peninsula under cover of a Crimean separatist referendum. Further, pro-Russian Ukrainian separatists seized key government buildings in the Eastern Ukrainian

cities of Donetsk, Luhansk and Kharkov. The fledgling government in Kiev responded by reinstating military conscription and forming a new 60,000-person national defense force.

The following weeks saw the Eastern Ukrainian oblasts of Donetsk and Luhansk declare independence from Kiev and unite to form the Novorossiia Union (New Russia). Novorossiia's leadership declared its allegiance to Russia and vowed to fight the "fascist" government in Kiev. The government in Kiev, in turn, designated such separatist forces "terrorists" and launched an offensive that resulted in bloody clashes in the areas surrounding Donetsk. As of this writing, Ukraine remains a strongly divided country on the brink of civil war. Even the presidential election of Petro Poroshenko (to replace interim Maidan leadership) and resumed talks with Moscow have done little to ease tensions.

The rapid unraveling of stability in Ukraine seems to pose many questions regarding the motives and composition of the groups involved. Competing governments and organizations characterize the conflict and label their opponents in order to manage public opinion. For example, the Maidan Movement claims to fight government corruption; the Ukrainian government claims to defend national sovereignty against terrorists; separatist oppose fascist oligarchs; and the Russian Government claims to protect the interest of Russian-speakers. Are these characterizations accurate, or are they invoking more deeply rooted concepts? Do certain labels have a contemporary or historical basis? Who provides the ideology behind the competing groups in Ukraine? How do such labels apply belief systems to the current conflict? What is the Ukrainian national identity with respect to Russia? At face value, the language of the current conflict can be puzzling. However, an analysis of the language used by the opposing parties might suggest some answers.

This work is based upon the premise that the language of the current conflict has its roots in the collective memory and cultural institutions of Ukrainians. Thus, to understand how and why seemingly bombastic characterizations and explanations of the conflict might resonate with certain Ukrainians, one needs a method for understanding how the culture informs understanding. To achieve this understanding, this work examines (a) how the conflicting parties have chosen to characterize the conflict and each other as well as (b) how cultural discourse explains the deeper meaning of such choices.

Thesis Statement

This paper argues that examining framing devices within ideological discourse alone is insufficient for identifying and describing frames. Rather, the frame should be conceptualized as the aggregate of an audience's cultural beliefs and attitudes. Such beliefs and attitudes manifest as thematic concepts in elite cultural discourse. Further, thematic concepts may serve as framing functions that identify problems, assign blame, suggest solutions, and motivate action. Framing devices employed by ideological sponsors serve to link a specific issue with such beliefs.

As such, this work specifically answers calls by scholars (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, 1989) to increase knowledge surrounding issue framing by inductively discovering frames. Chong & Druckman (2007) urge research to continue "going further by examining the frames produced by various elite actors and organizations on both sides of an issue as in... beliefs, editorial writings, and the publications of intellectual groups or social movements" (p. 107).

Historical Context

In order to answer calls for (a) a multifaceted examination of an issue-specific discourse, and (b) the inductive discovery of measurable frames, this work begins with an overview of potentially divisive issues in Ukrainian-Russian history, as well as a discussion of how such events are interpreted by ideologically aligned scholars. Historians differ in their interpretation of how key events shape Ukrainian identity structures (origin of language, distinctiveness of ethnicity, role of Orthodoxy, relations with Russia, etc.) Examples of competing versions of Ukrainian historiography include (a) Ukrainian nationalist history, (b) Russian Imperial history of Ukraine, and (c) Soviet Ukrainian history (Kuzio, 2006, p. 407; Kas'ianov, 2011, p. 71). For each version, the distinctiveness (or lack thereof) of Ukraine and Ukrainians plays a key role in supporting the ideology behind the social system advocated by the historian (Kuzio, 2006, p. 416). For example, evidence that Ukrainians are a distinct people, with their own history, supports the idea of Ukrainian nationhood. Thus, nationalists (typically in academic centers such as L'viv in Western Ukraine) highlight aspects of the past that contrast lineage of the Ukrainian people and language from their Russian (and sometimes Polish) counterparts (Kuzio, 2006, p. 412). Russian nationalists may highlight areas where Ukrainian and Russian peoples converge. These events emphasize the similarity between peoples to support the idea that Russians and Ukrainians are “one,” or that Ukrainians are the “little brother” of Russians (Kuzio, 2006, p. 412; Yakolev-Golani, 2011, p. 396). Soviet historiography acknowledges difference between Ukrainians and Russians. However, historians highlight common ancestry and historical union while minimizing a unilateral Ukrainian experience. Such ideas can be used in logics justifying the subjugation of Ukrainians or forced partnerships between the two peoples. Finally, histories differ in the ways they interject agency into historical events. For example, nationalist and Soviet

histories differ in characterizing mass famine of the early 1930s. Soviet historians characterize the famine as a natural event, while Ukrainian nationalists describe it as a genocidal act by the Soviet government. (Kas'ianov, 2011, pp. 78-81; Motyl, 2010, p. 60). Further, both nationalist and Soviet historians disagree on the role of Ukrainian nationalists during World War II. Soviet historians characterize the former as Nazi collaborators, and nationalist historians characterize them as anti-Soviet partisans (Kas'ianov, 2011, p. 73). However, even competing histories seem to have certain key events in common.

The ethnic Ukrainian and Russian stories both begin in the ninth century with a group called Kievan Rus. According to Ukrainian and Russian historiographies, Scandinavian merchants known as the Varangians (Vikings) navigated the rivers and waterways of Eastern Europe – at approximately the same time other Norse groups entered Western Europe. The trade-oriented Varangians founded the city of Kiev along the Dnieper River in present-day central Ukraine. In Kiev and the surrounding areas, the Varangians mixed with the local ethnic Slavic population. Thus began an early medieval monarchic society known as the Kievan Rus. Both Russians and Ukrainians consider Kiev to be the cradle of their culture, and the Rus to be their ancestors (Kuzio, 2006, p. 408). Here, however, two competing versions of history emerge. The issue is the continuity of Rus culture. In the 13th century, the Rus kingdom began a rapid decline because of interrupted trade within Byzantium and an impending Mongol threat. Weakened by political turmoil and infighting, the Rus eventually fell in 1240 to the invading Mongols. During this time, a group of Slavic speakers, presumably affiliated with the Rus, migrated northeast and founded Moscow. Thus, descendants of the Rus lived in both Moscow and Kiev. Although many aspects of their culture remained similar, differences in language, appearance, and religious affiliation eventually emerged. Thus, differing ideological histories do not necessarily conflict on

the origin of either group. Rather, they argue about which group (Muscovite Rus or Kievan Rus) carried forward the cultural mantle of the original Rus. This point is important for the ideological Soviet, Ukrainian nationalist, and Russian historians because the relative age and continuity of Ukrainian culture holds implications regarding distinctiveness, self-determination, and sovereignty. For example, if Ukrainian nationalist historians are to be believed, present-day Ukrainians maintain a cultural continuum with the Kievan Rus, while present-day Russians carry forward a different culture – one that originated with the Rus but developed separately through Muscovite interaction with the Asiatic peoples of the Steppe (Shulman, 2012, p. 1020). Conversely, Russophile historians argue either (a) present-day Ukrainians and Russians carried forward the same Rus culture, and are thus one people with Russians, or (b) the Rus culture survived in Moscow, but culture in present-day Ukraine was altered or diluted by Polish and Austrian influence (Shulman, 1999; Zaharchenko, 2012, p. 256). Both Russophile versions assert that Ukrainian culture is junior (yet inherently related) to Russian culture. This logic underpins pan-Slavism, as well as current references to Ukraine as “Little Russia” and Ukrainians as “Little Russians” (Russia proper is “Great Russia,” and Russians are “Great Russians”) (Kuzio, 2006, p. 415; Shulman, 1999; Taranenko, 2007, p. 133).

The Kievan and Muscovite groups existed under separate rule for several centuries. The Russian and Eastern Ukrainian lands remained under the control of the Mongol Golden Horde until the end of the 15th century. Western Ukrainians lands fell under Polish domination until incorporated into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1569. While part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, many Western Ukrainians (particularly in the urban center of L’viv) broke with the Russian Orthodox Church, pledged allegiance to the Pope in Rome, and formed the Uniate (Eastern Catholic) Church (Rubchak, 2000; Shulman, 1999). Eastern Ukrainians and

Russians maintained Russian Orthodoxy. The period of separation, beginning with the collapse of Kiev Rus in 1240, came to an end in 1653, when Ukrainian Orthodox Cossacks (aka the Cossack Hetmanate) rebelled against the Polish Crown. What followed was another historical event that receives diverse interpretation from historians. By all accounts, in 1654 the Ukrainian Cossack leadership met with representatives of the Russian Tsar and formed the Treaty of Pereyslav. The treaty seems to have entailed an alliance between the Cossacks and the Russian Tsar against Polish and Catholic aggression. However, no written record of the accord exists, and speeches authorized by the representative parties have been lost to history. Thus, Ukrainian and Russian historians are free to allow the treaty to represent what it must in order to serve their ideology. For example, Russian and Soviet historians claim that the Treaty of Pereyslav was an act of reunification between long-separated groups of one people (“Little” Russians reuniting with “Great” Russians) (Kuzio, 2006, p .408). In this act of reunification, the Ukrainians pledged support and subjugated themselves to the Tsar in return for a protection against the Poles. Ukrainian nationalist historians, however, counter that the treaty was a military alliance against the Poles and that the Cossack Hetmanate was actually a sovereign Ukrainian proto-state, rather than a voluntary vassal of the Russian Empire (Kuzio, 2006). Maps of the time do little to clarify the discrepancy because they depict Eastern Ukraine as a semi-autonomous region within the boundaries of the Russian Empire. For their part, Western Ukrainians would remain a part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth for another century. Despite belonging to different kingdoms, Ukrainians remained a distinct ethno-linguistic group. However, their institutions (or interpretive structures) began to reflect those of their Polish or Russian state affiliations. For example, Western Ukrainian cities developed decentralized municipal governments and trade guilds typical of Europe at the time (Rubchak, 2000). Eastern Ukrainian cities (those that had not

previously been ruled by the Polish crown) became increasingly accustomed to the Russian style of centralized government and feudal collectivism (Shulman, 1999).

Beginning in 1772, the Russian, Austrian and Prussian Emperors agreed upon a series of hostile annexations of Polish territory. The three monarchs occupied Polish land by force and divided it amongst their empires. This partition marked the end of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Polish Partition, as it became known, still has major cultural implications in Ukraine today. Western Ukraine (Galicia) became part of the Habsburg Empire and subject to the Austrian crown, while all lands east of the Dnieper River (as well as central Ukraine) became part of the Russian Empire. Thus, the semi-autonomous Ukrainian region of the Russian Empire now expanded westward to the Dnieper. Ukrainians accustomed to decentralized Polish governmental systems were now incorporated into the centralized Russian system. This divided Ukraine would remain until Russia bowed out of the World War I to deal with its own inner turmoil. Thus, for nearly 140 years, Western Ukrainian oblasts maintained a cultural affinity with Europe under Austro-Hungarian rule. Catholicism (the Ukrainian Uniate church) thrived under the Habsburg monarchy and became an integral of the Western Ukrainian national self-concept (Burant, 1995, p. 1126).

The conclusion of the World War I, and the October (1917) Revolution in Russia, led to major upheaval in Ukraine. The decaying Habsburg and Russian Empires collapsed under the weight of economic demand and social change. Ukraine was once again “up for grabs.” Ukrainian nationalists fought openly with socialists as each attempted to establish an independent state. Ultimately, Ukrainian Communists aligned with the Bolshevik Red Army, and Ukraine unified in 1922 as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Thus, the Ukrainian SSR became a founding nation within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), and the area

of Russian control included all of modern Ukraine, with the exception of the territory then known as Galicia (L'viv, Ternopol, and Ivano-Frankivsk). Galicia, the hotbed of Ukrainian nationalism from that point forward, became part of the Polish Independent State. Galicia, however, finally fell under Russian control when it was annexed in 1939 by the Soviet Union under the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

Ukrainians undoubtedly suffered hardship and turmoil during the early years of the Soviet rule. However, the agency behind such suffering is another point of debate among scholars and political leaders. In the early 1930s, the Bolshevik regime under Josef Stalin began forced agricultural collectivization throughout the USSR. The cataclysmic result of rapid collectivization would be a subject for future debate among scholars and politicians. From 1932 through 1933, an estimated 3-to-10 million ethnic Ukrainians (numbers vary widely by source) starved to death (Madden, 2008; Marples, 2009; Mass, 2013). Contemporary and current Ukrainian nationalists blamed the Soviet leadership and claimed that grain was intentionally withheld. That action forced an artificial famine upon the peasantry. Thus, nationalists characterize the period of starvation (known as the Holodomor in Ukraine) as a deliberate act of genocide (Kas'ianov, 2011; Motyl, 2010, p. 60). Further, the genocide was punishment for resisting collectivization and an act to facilitate Russification. Russian (and some pro-Russian Ukrainian scholars / politicians) dispute the characterization of the Holodomor as an act of genocide. Unlike their Soviet predecessors, who initially denied that a famine occurred (Kuromiya, 2008), pro-Russian scholars readily admit that it took place. Few dispute nationalist estimates of the death toll. Further, some even fault the accelerated pace of Soviet collectivization for creating an unnatural famine. However, they cite widespread starvation throughout Eastern Europe as evidence that poor policy combined with natural events to allow

such a catastrophe (Motyl, 2010). Today, it is illegal in Ukraine to debate whether the event occurred. In this way, nationalist sensitivities regarding the famine are comparable to those behind holocaust denial laws in Israel. Further, some Ukrainian nationalist politicians (former President Viktor Yushchenko among them) have temporarily enacted laws prohibiting the characterization of the Holodomor as anything other than genocide (Kas'ianov, 2011, p. 83). As might be expected, such laws were subsequently overturned by pro-Russian "Party of Regions" President Victor Yanukovich. The famine left an indelible sense of tragedy upon the Ukrainians who lived through it, their children, and the Western Diasporas (primarily in Australia, Canada, and the U.S.) who recounted the events when doing so was illegal in the Ukrainian SSR. As Himka (2013) notes, the notion of the Holodomor, which itself is a loaded term implying the genocidal interpretation, remerged in the nationalist discourse of the 2004 Pro-European "Orange" revolution in Ukraine. Nationalist politicians sponsored memory projects to ensure stories of the famine did not die with its remaining survivors. Thus, a Ukrainian's stance on the subject might imply much about his or her understanding of the past as well as indicate his or her current political leaning.

Regardless of how historians choose to characterize the Holodomor, more turmoil and controversy would soon follow. When Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, Ukrainians faced a dilemma. They were subjects of the Soviet Union while occupied by the Nazi regime. Thus, in the West, Ukrainian nationalists saw the Nazi occupation as a means to cast off the Soviet yoke and force their own independent state (Narvselius, 2012, p. 470; Serbyn, 2003, p. 61). Further, some nationalists saw partisan military cooperation with the German forces as a way to ensure statehood – should the Germans win the war. In many parts of the country, however, Ukrainians mobilized in support of the Soviet Union and fought the Nazi's as part of

the Red Army. In fact, nearly two-thirds of the Red Army fighting in Ukraine from 1941 to 1944 was ethnically Ukrainian (Serbyn, 2003). Thus, it could be said that the Ukrainians were fighting themselves on behalf of the Soviet and Nazi regimes (Zaharchenko, 2012, p.253).

This period also marked the rise of controversial partisan figures such as Stephan Bandera and Roman Shukhevych. Bandera and Shukhevych were charismatic Ukrainian nationalists who founded the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UIA). The UIA fought both Nazis and Soviets in the quest for Ukrainian statehood (Motyl, 2010, pp.55-60, Narvselius, 2012; Serbyn, 2003). However, OUN and UIA were accused of war crimes and Nazi collaboration. In fact, some members did openly collaborate by forming a Waffen SS Division (Galician) to combat the Red Army. As always, the interpretation of Shukhevych, Bandera, OUN, and the UIA are subject to the ideology of historians and politicians. Even the legacy of the Galician SS Division is disputed by those who viewed the Soviet Union as a hostile occupier (Khromeychuk, 2012). In 2010, the outgoing Yushenko administration bestowed the “Hero of Ukraine” upon Bandera. The controversy continued in 2011 when the Yanukovich administration revoked Bandera’s posthumous title and portrayed the OUN as a terrorist organization (Narvselius, 2012). Symbolic use of Bandera, OUN, and the UIA might create widely varying perceptions among Ukrainians. Such symbols may represent existential threat to pro-Russian Ukrainians, national pride for pro-European nationalists, or the complicated struggle toward statehood (Motyl, 2011; Narvselius, 2012). In total, collective memory of the war seems to differ between a pro-Russian view (“Great Patriotic War”) in which Russian-led Slavic peoples united to defend the entire Soviet Union from an attack by the West (vis-a-vis Germany) (Kas’ianov, 2011, p.74; Linan, 2012; Serbyn, 2003) and an alternate view that the war presented a lost opportunity for Ukrainian independence and

alignment with Europe (Narvselius, 2012). Divided perceptions of the war still play a prominent role in the ideological discourse of modern Ukraine and Russia.

The post-World War II period (1945-1991) of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkSSR) will not be discussed at length here, except to remark that historic memory of the period varies widely in present-day Ukraine. Some nostalgically remember 1945 to 1991 as a period of relative prosperity while others lament it as a period of occupation (Motyl, 2010, Zaharchenko, 2012). The differential nature of Ukrainian memory regarding the Soviet / Communist period may be related to the widely varying amount of exposure each group had to Russian rule. For example, when Ukraine marked independence in 1991, citizens of Luhansk ended a 337-year affiliation with Russian rule (beginning with the treaty of Pereyslav). Their counterparts in the L'viv, however, ended a 52-year affiliation that was interrupted by Nazi occupation.

In 1991, the Soviet Union formally collapsed, and Ukraine declared independence. The past 23 years have demonstrated that a political tug-of-war still exists for the identity of Ukraine. Ukrainians vote along sharp geographical lines, with Western oblasts supporting nationalist and rightwing candidates and eastern oblasts supporting the pro-Russian “Party of Regions” candidates (Zaharchenko, 2012, p. 245). Fluctuations in leadership result in varying policy regarding economic alliances, foreign relations, education, language, and conception of history. The 2004 Orange Revolution and 2013 EuroMaidan demonstrations, typically viewed as referendums on corruption, might be more accurately viewed as strong movement toward Europeanization by certain segments of the Ukrainian population. Thus, the ouster of pro-Russian President Viktor Yanukovich, “anti-corruption” Maidan demonstrations, rise of the

Novorossiya (New Russia) insurgency, formation of a Western-oriented government in Kiev, and involvement of Russia proper are all forged in a continuing identity crisis.

This history should provide background and context for two major factors that play prominently into the discourse of the current conflict in Ukraine. First is the emergence of two separate interpretive communities within a single ethnic nation. An interpretive community describes a group of people who share common structures or institutions for understanding and communicating with the world around them (Stewart, Smith & Denton, 2012). Such structures may include religion, language, ethnicity, ideology, or common historical interpretation. Each Ukrainian community will be described in the following section. Differences in cultural affiliation; understanding of government, economics, language, religion; and historical interpretation drive the undercurrents of each groups discourse (Kuzio, 2011, p.411; Shulman, 1999, p.1021). Further, interpretive structure groupings lead to culturally based issue groupings. Thus, the framework for understanding and developing discourse may be different for each. Second, historians, scholars, politicians, and other leaders actively interpret and develop separate lines of logic in order to support their ideology. Thus, these leaders are reifying the separate frameworks by which Ukrainians perpetuate the discourse of conflict. The continuing dialectic between the two levels of discourse is at the heart of this work.

Historically Based Assumptions

This paper is grounded in several assumptions about Ukrainians, social movements, political parties, and the relationship between them. The first assumption is that two separate interpretive communities exist within the Ukrainian nation, each representing opposing sides in the current conflict. Although neither is “more” or “less” Ukrainian, each has divergent historical experience and collective memory that form different opinions about the essence and actions of “real” Ukrainians. In short, this work treats interpretive structures, such as religion, language, ethnicity, or common historical interpretation, as the building blocks of culture and understanding. Eastern and Western Ukrainians share different historical experiences. These result in differing interpretive structures.

This work will refer to the groups as *Russophile Ukrainians* and *Europhile Ukrainians*. Russophile and Europhile Ukrainian are assumed to be the target audience of a hostile dialogue between competing movements. The ideological calls to action emerging from the Novorossiya Union are assumed to be intended for Russophile Ukrainian consumption, whereas the discourse of the Maidan Movement is assumed to be for Europhile consumption.

The Europhile community aligning itself with the Maidan movement is assumed to adhere to the following interpretive structures; (a) European self-concept, (b) Western economic orientation, (c) preference for decentralized government, (d) Ukrainian language used in private, (e) Uniate Catholic religion, and (e) nationalist ideology. Russophile Ukrainians is described as (a) Eurasian or pan-Slavic ethnic self-concept, (b) Russian or “Eurasian” economic orientation, (c) preference for centralized government, (d) Russian Orthodox religion, (e) Russian language

used in private, and (f) preference for collectivism over individualism. Each descriptor alone is not significant to produce broad disagreement on matters of policy or interpretations of history. Nor is any single quality strong enough to produce differing allegiances in times of stability. In fact, economic dependence between the two communities has proved sufficient to keep a lid on conflict since the demise of the Soviet Union. However, when viewed as a whole, one can see where differing logics produce ideological disagreement in times of economic crisis, when proposed solutions include “becoming European” vs. “becoming Russian.”

Thus, this work assumes that the Euromaidan movement represents Europhile Ukrainians is based on a priori knowledge of the movements pro-European orientation, alignment with Western Ukrainian rightwing politics, and opposition to inclusion in the Russian sphere of influence. Along the same line of logic, Novorossiia is initially assumed to represent Russophile Ukrainians because of its base of support from Russian-speaking Ukrainians and ethnic Russians, geographic location in the historically Russian-influenced Donbass region, overt pro-Russian language, and use of the historic Novorossiia (new Russia) title. Each movement has ties to the political structure within Ukraine. For example, the “All Ukrainian,” “Fatherland,” and “Svoboda (Freedom)” parties are assumed to be aligned with both Maidan and the Europhile community. Conversely, the “Party of Regions” (the Russian-language party) is assumed to represent the interests of the Russophile community. Thus, each movement might claim to represent the ideology of communities with homogenous linguistic, ethnic, and political structures.

Some areas of this work will examine the political discourse of EuroMaidan and Novorossiia in terms of framing functions developed for understanding calls to action within social movements. Euromaidan might be considered a social movement. However, the

Novorossiya should be understood as a separatist political organization or an insurgency. This distinction is important because Novorossiya participates in violent acts not associated with the normal conception of a social movement. However, techniques for mobilizing a highly targeted audience are assumed to be similar because each group has an interest in sponsoring a specific frame.

Justification

Understanding relationship between thematic cultural concepts and the language of mobilization in contemporary Ukraine, as this study attempts, is important for several reasons. Such a study (a) provides a practical and contemporary answer to Gamson and Modigliani's call for two-sided, multilevel discourse analysis to identify culturally relevant frames, (b) identifies such frames in the context of a relevant real-world situation with implications for European and American national interest, and (c) provides implications for organizations like the U.S. military and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that must frequently devise counter-messaging and de-escalation strategies to prevent conflict and accomplish their missions.

Many framing scholars (Entman, 1993; Van Gorp, 2007; Hertog & McCloud, 2001; Reese, 2001) note the importance of understanding frames in terms of culture. Several (Snow et al. 1986, Benford & Snow, 2000; Dardis, 2007) note the connection between culture and the language used in popular and social-movement mobilization. Others (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, 1989; Chong & Druckman, 2007) note the need for studies that connect cultural discourse with mobilization language in a way that allows for the discovery of definable and testable frames. This work seeks to make that connection in a way that allows researchers to (a) recognize the elements of a frame within the language of separatist and social movement actors, (b) demonstrate thematic cultural concepts that constitute the cultural frame, and (c) illustrate how ideological actors invoke the cultural frame by tailoring language devices for their target audience.

Researchers have investigated the use of news frames in the context of ethnic conflict (Uysal, 2009; Yang & Ishak 2012), European politics (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000), and contested international incidents (Entman, 1991). However, the majority of such studies focus on

the role of mass media, more specifically journalists' use of news frames to interpret current events. This study directly examines discourse of frame-sponsors (actual parties to conflict with an interest in manipulating beliefs and attitudes) as manifested in their ideological manifestos and declarations. Benford and Snow (2000) highlight the value of this type of discursive framing analysis but note that few studies have been done to date because the process is "highly labor intensive" and requires "access to and retrieval of the discourse that is part and parcel of the framing process" (p.624). However, as many social and partisan movements take advantage of web resources to spread their message, such analysis becomes possible. For example, press releases, speeches, and ideological statements from Maidan, Novorossiia, and their parent governments are readily available for translation, categorization, and analysis.

Answering the call of framing scholars in the context of Ukraine is important because Ukraine itself is important. U.S. and European interest and safety depend upon successful resolution of conflict in the Eastern Ukrainian Oblasts. In a practical sense (from a Western Perspective), Ukraine's geographic location, people and natural resources can make it either a "bridge" between the growing Russian-led Eurasian Union and Central / Western Europe or a "wall" of instability preventing trade and diplomacy with Russia and Asian partners. A stable and economically reformed Ukraine can serve as a valuable partner to the EU and the West. Ukraine's historical, cultural and trade ties with Russia would allow it to be a valuable conduit for improving EU relations with the Russian Federation and Eurasian Customs Union. Open conflict in Ukraine benefits no one. Ukraine as a "wall" of instability could disrupt vital trade and energy transactions between the Eurasian Union and the EU – to the detriment of the world economy. Disputes surrounding Ukrainian sovereignty and stability are obstacles to cooperation between Russia and the West. Further, a zone of conflict in the separatist-held Eastern Ukrainian

oblasts (along the Russian border) creates international security concerns. Such instability prevents the Ukrainian government from providing the oversight necessary to curtail foreign incursions into Ukraine as well as the transit of extremists and weapons into Europe.

Simon Saradzhyan, a research fellow at Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University, notes that if separatists effectively destabilize the Eastern and Southern Ukrainian oblasts, and the Ukrainian government is unable to effectively manage the crisis, Ukraine could become a failed state and a “giant bazaar for customers seeking ICBM [intercontinental ballistic missiles] and other deadly technologies.” (Taylor, 2014). This very realistic possibility would pose an even larger security threat (than individual extremists and weapons) to Western Europe and the United States.

The specter of instability and the looming threat of Russian expansionism naturally brings up the prospect of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military involvement in Ukraine. As of this writing, no such action has been specifically called for. However, Russian military incursions (e.g. violations of U.S. and EU airspace, ground troops and equipment in Eastern Ukraine, the annexation of Crimea,) make such action a definite possibility. Because the U.S. military, and NGOs have played a key role in NATO action since 2001, they will likely continue to do so. Quite often, small groups or units must quickly learn to understand the cultural landscape and implications of dialogue in a foreign country. Those lessons can mean the difference between exacerbating conflict and unnecessary loss of life or de-escalation, in which cooperation can lead to resolution without such losses. Understanding the cultural implications of language strategies is important because it can allow people on the ground to develop flexible communication plans that (a) recognize the effect their opposition is trying to achieve through

communication, and (b) develop effective strategies to reach the oppositions target audience in a meaningful way.

As an Information Operations Officer for the U.S. Army, I develop and synchronize such strategies. As such, I take a personal interest in the use of language to motivate action, especially when language is intended to make deeply held cultural beliefs salient in order to incite violence. In a very real sense, I think that continuing to refine the study of frames and mobilization language is deeply important. Such work can help counteract destructive messages before they put U.S. soldiers in harm's way or cause the deaths of more Ukrainians.

As an aside, this project is of great personal interest. My last name is an Americanized version of Bakumenko. My father adjusted our name as happens when some families assimilate. My relatives (Bakumenko and Makar) were national-democrats from Galicia (Halychnya). They experienced Austrian, Polish, German, and Soviet rule prior to immigrating to United States. Thus, the Ukraine they left was not the same one they grew up in. My grandparents were born when Galicia was the northernmost province of the Austrian Empire. The Western Ukrainian European-agrarian identity described throughout this work reflects an idealized version of the society they considered to be truly Ukrainian. By the time my father's family members left Ukraine, their orchards had been collectivized, their relatives killed for anti-communist partisan activities, and their language nearly extinguished from public life. Upon arrival in the U.S., they were active in the Ukrainian diaspora in New York City as well as with the Ukrainian Institute of America. They longingly discussed the Ukraine old but considered it gone forever. My grandmother, who lived to be quite old, witnessed the first 11 years of Ukrainian independence – but not any of the stark pro-European romanticism with which the Orange Revolution or Maidan Movement discuss the old “European” Ukraine of her childhood.

. I am a Ukrainian Catholic, attended Ukrainian language catechism, and attended Ukrainian community events in New York as a child. However, I have always identified as an American and do not claim special expertise regarding Ukrainian culture or insights beyond the perspective my immediate family. While growing up, however, I did become accustomed to my family's beliefs regarding Ukrainian history and identity. At the outset of the November 2013 Maidan protests, some language and lines of logic recurring in the discourse seemed to reflect familiar concepts and events. As a result, I suspected some of the mobilization tactics had roots in cultural structures quite a bit older than the participants themselves. In this respect, Van Gorp's writing, regarding the cultural frames existence outside the "frame packages" of the text, struck a chord. That chord was particularly resonant because my profession might require me to contend with the same cultural discourse my family left behind in Ukraine.

Literature Review

Framing

Some of the most interesting aspects of political discourse lie in the construction and interpretation of meaning among participants. This work takes the position that politically motivated communication is an intentional conveyance of meaning between two parties for the purpose of shaping policy or guiding action. Thus, deliberate discourse necessarily involves meaning at many levels. Speakers and audiences construct and interpret the contextual meaning of discourse through the lens of their life / cultural experience, attitudes, individual differences, motivations and perceptions of others. Further, such meaning can be shaped by the medium, structure, and content of the messages encompassing the discourse. Certain elements of the discourse may invoke meaning by alluding to belief structures of an intended audience, intentionally or unintentionally naming objects, linking issues, or simply making certain points of view salient. Such attempts at the construction of meaning may exist in the text of a news article, the speech of a public figure, the manifesto of a social movement, or the placement of a headline. The framing paradigm seeks to identify, explain, categorize, and predict the presence of deliberate meaning among the artifacts of political discourse. Owing to the extremely complex (and sometimes elusive) nature of the phenomenon it investigates, the study of framing can appear to be haphazard and contradictory. However, this work assumes that the diverse methodologies, definitions, and objects of investigation outlined below all seek to uncover meaning and motivation in different ways.

Definitions and the “fractured paradigm”

Competing conceptualizations of framing stem from its interdisciplinary roots as well as the complexity of its subject matter. Miller and Reichert (2001) succinctly note that “sociologists, psychologists, and communication scholars have used the term (framing) in a variety of contexts that would be hard to capture in a single conceptualization” (p.109). Entman (1993) recognized the diversity of uses but sought to add clarity by calling upon communication scholars to bring together theories and insights that would otherwise remain “scattered” in other disciplines. Thus, he places frames firmly within the communication process and notes four possible locations of the frame: (a) the communicator, (b) the text, (c) the receiver, and (d) the culture (Entman, 1993; p. 52). The possible locations of the frame play a crucial role in organizing conceptions of framing because competing definitions and methodologies seem to vary based upon researcher perception of the frame’s location.

As such, D’Angelo’s (2002) evaluation of Entman’s effort to organize framing adds additional depth to the concept. D’Angelo proposes that “three paradigms endemic to communication, called cognitive, constructionist, and critical, enable the news framing research program to function” (p. 871). His argument that there is not (nor should there be) a distinct paradigm of framing acknowledges the value of diverse viewpoints. This concept is not at odds with Entman’s single conceptual framework. For example, one might merge D’Angelo’s “meta-theory” with Entman’s paradigm and conclude that (a) the constructionist paradigm is conducive to investigating cultural frames, (b) the cognitive paradigm is conducive to investigating how frames are perceived by the receiver, and (c) the critical paradigm is conducive to uncovering frames in the news. This reconceptualization allows qualitative and quantitative framing scholars

to join efforts for a comprehensive study that combines discourse analysis with empirical verification of frames.

Entman's (1993) widely cited definition of framing, "*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), seems sufficiently broad to allow multiple perspectives. This definition is important because it standardizes framing as a purposive shaping of reality and describes how communicators "do framing." This foundational description of the framing process provided the catalyst for researchers to define and contextualize the frame in its varying locations throughout the communication process. For example, Scheufele (2006) discusses frames at the individual level as "a set of schemata for different aspects of reality" (p. 66). Benford and Snow (2000) argue that frames "are not merely aggregations of individual attitudes and perceptions but also the outcome of negotiating shared meaning" (p. 614). Such definitions are not in conflict but represent refinement of Entman's all-inclusive definition for the researcher's object of study. Thus, because this paper investigates frames from the cultural standpoint, it borrows Hertog and McLeod's (2001) definition of frames as "*cultural structures with central ideas and more peripheral concepts – and a set of relations that vary in strength and kind among them*" (p. 141). This definition was selected because it places weight on the importance of culture. However, it also matches nicely with Entman's multiple frame locations. Thus, this work investigates and suggests what relevant cultural structures and central ideas exist between communicators and their audiences. Further, this study identifies relationships and associations between such structures and their manifestation in text and speech. In short, using

Hertog and McLeod's conceptualization of the frame, this work examines the communicators, the text, the audiences and culture.

Cultural frames

The framing literature (Benford & Snow, 2000; Entman, 1993; Hertog & McLeod, 2001; Reese, 2001; Scheufele 1999, 2006; Snow et al., 1986; Van Gorp, 2007) highlights the interaction of cultural structures and context with the production and interpretation of meaning within frames. Van Gorp (2007) defines culture as “an organized set of beliefs, codes, myths, stereotypes, values, norms, frames and so forth that are shared in the collective memory of a group or society” (p. 62). As such, he argues that because individuals cannot change persistent cultural phenomena, “the repertoire of frames is conceptually situated largely externally of the individual.” This viewpoint reinforces the idea that framing devices in a text “trigger” beliefs on the part of the audience. However, Van Gorp's view represents a break with cognitive-based understandings of individual differences and schemata advocated by Scheufele (1999) and Iyengar (1990, 1993) in that the frame exists separate from the individual. Van Gorp's (2007) conceptualization of cultural frames is predicated on several premises. Important among these are: (a) The actual frame is not encompassed in the media content. (b) Because frames are related to cultural phenomena, their use seems normal. (c) A frame changes very little over time. (d) The essence of framing is in social interaction (p. 63-64). Although this list is not all-inclusive, it falls directly in line with Reese's (2001) concept of frames as “an abstract principle and not the same as the texts through which it manifests itself” (p. 12). Reese elaborates that culturally based frames (a) are shared, (b) are persistent, (c) form identifiable structures, and (d) are revealed in symbolic forms of expressions (p. 12-13).

However, the conceptualization of frames as embedded in permanent cultural structures (e.g. shared history or collective memory) necessitates definition of how such structures are invoked in text. Van Gorp (2007) notes that frames in culture are difficult to grasp but possible to reconstruct. As such, elements of the cultural frame become embedded in the artifacts of discourse through the use of “frame packages,” defined as clusters of “logically organized devices that function as an identity kit for a frame” (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 64). Thus, the frame package consists of (a) the manifest framing devices (e.g. word choice, metaphors, descriptions etc.), (b) manifest or latent reasoning devices (e.g. statements that deal with justifications, causes and consequences), and (c) implicit cultural phenomenon that display the package as a whole (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 64). The first two components of Van Gorp’s “framing devices” fall directly in line with the four framing functions (Benford & Snow, 2000; Dardis, 2007; Entman, 1993) that will be discussed in the following section.

Taken as a whole, the literature regarding cultural frames seems to necessitate two parallel courses of investigation to understand how meaning is shared through the use of cultural frames. These courses include detailed research regarding the cultural phenomenon creating the frame (e.g. interpretive structures, history, and collective memory) as well as examination of the framing devices (or manifestation of the framing functions) within artifacts of a discourse. Both avenues for investigation will be discussed in following sections.

Thematic and Episodic frames

Some framing scholars, particularly those who take a cognitive approach to the study of frames within news media (Iyengar, 1990, 1991; de Vreese, 2005; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000), note the existence of two types of frames. Episodic, or “event-oriented,” frames focus on concrete acts or “live events at the expense of general contextual information” (Iyengar, 1990, p.

21). Conversely, the thematic frame consists of more general or contextualized information. Thus, an issue might be discussed in terms of trends or policy implications. Thus, as this work examines cultural discourse for the roots of a frame, one might expect a bias in discovery of thematic frames because participants in the discourse (e.g. politicians or religious leaders) are often interested in creating identity and influencing policy. Further, as Gamson and Modigliani (1989) note, such cultural themes are often consistent over time.

Collective action frames and the framing functions

Although this work takes the position that the meaning of a frame exists within the culture, frame-packages functions still must be manifested in speech or text. Because frames deal with purposive communication (defined earlier as an intentional conveyance of meaning for the purpose of shaping policy or guiding action), the degree of purposive content within a text can vary by form (e.g. text of a political stump speech vs. syndicated newspaper article). For example, much of the literature (Entman, 1991, 1993, 2003; Lechler & de Vreese, 2012; Scheufele 1999, 2006; Tankard, 2001; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) examines the use of frames within the news media. However, within political discourse, politicians, media, social movements, and interest groups may all vie for control of a cultural frame. As Chong & Druckman (2007) note, “politics is typically competitive, fought by parties or ideological factions, and issues that are debated are framed in opposing terms” (p. 102). Thus, this work assumes that the discourse of political and ideological actors within Ukraine is (a) more purposive than news interpretations and (b) provides more blatant examples of appeal to the cultural frame.

Because this paper seeks to uncover the cultural basis for and use of frames in a politically contested scenario, it focuses on how ideological spokesmen for social and separatist

movements construct meaning. As Benford and Snow (2000) note, “movement actors are viewed as signifying agents actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning” (p. 613). Thus, they are “deeply embroiled in the politics of signification” (p. 613). In Ukraine, where even recent national history is hotly contested (Kuzio, 2006), the choice of seemingly unimportant characterizations by ideological actors can play a critical role in communicating the link between cultural structures and a particular action. The vehicle for linking the two is the collective-action frame. Benford and Snow define collective-action frames as “action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement” (p. 614).

Although this definition is broad, Benford, Snow, and others (Entman, 1993; Dardis, 2007; Scheufele, 1999; Snow et al., 1986, Stewart et al. 2012) seem to reach a consensus that a collective-action frame works as a function of certain “core framing tasks.” These “framing functions” or “core framing tasks” include (a) diagnostic framing, involving identification of the problem and assignment of blame; (b) prognostic framing, suggesting solutions; and (c) motivational framing, urging people to act. The “framing functions” form the basis for analyzing the content of the current Ukrainian ideological battle between pro-European Euromaidan leaders and Novorossiia separatists.

Frame alignment strategies

If there is an interaction between the collective-action frame and the cultural frame, it follows that the discourse of movement actors might contain (a) some - if indirect - reference to the cultural frame (salient interpretive structure) or (b) an expectation that the cultural frame will be applied by the audience. This section reviews the literature regarding this process – frame alignment.

Political figures and movements use the framing functions discussed above to make certain cultural aspects salient to solidify identities, create polarization, and ultimately elicit action. However, the extent to which this dynamic occurs depends on specific interactions between the frame and the audience. The processes of *frame alignment* sheds light on how, why, and to what extent this interaction occurs. Frame alignment is an individual's "acceptance or agreement with at least some of the collective-action frames" advocated by a social movement (Dardis, 2007). Snow et al. (1986) tie the concept of resonance to the interpretive community and define resonance as the linkage of individual and movement interpretive actions such that "individual interests, values, goals and ideology are congruent and complimentary with those of the Social Movement Organization (SMO)" (p. 2). Further, Snow et al. state alignment is a necessary condition for movement participation.

The research of Snow et al. (1986) led to the development of four instrumental processes by which a movement's frames achieve alignment and participation. The four processes are:

(a) *Frame bridging*, which refers to the linkage of two or more "ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue" (Snow et al., 1986, p. 5). This bridging entails the linkage of the collective-action frame with individuals who share "attributional orientations" (interpretive structures and cultural frames).

(b) *Frame amplification*, the invigoration or increased salience placed upon a particular interpretive frame with respect to a particular issue.

(c) *Frame extension*, the promotion of actions or causes that might not be readily apparent to the interpretive community or potential supporters.

(d) *Frame transformation*, the radical alteration or redefinition of “activities, events or biographies that are already meaningful from the standpoint of some primary framework” (Snow et al., 1986, p. 13). An example would be, the recasting of anti-Soviet partisans from Nazi collaborators to nationalist heroes and vice versa.

When a frame reaches a high degree of alignment with the interpretive structures and frameworks, it is said have achieved *resonance*. Thus, resonance represents the framing condition under which potential supporters become movement participants and participants undertake actions with respect to the issues advocated by the social movement.

Constructionism and Interpretive Systems

In the Ukrainian conflict certain aspects of groups (e.g. language and history) – even within the same ethnicity – have become salient markers for polarization. Shulman (1999) points out that Ukrainian society is “bipolar... but the fundamental bipolarity should not obscure the numerical predominance of ethnic Ukrainians” (p. 1012). Thus, in a political discourse where specific ethnic markers and identity play a key role, a constructionist ethnic view of identity is conducive to analyzing the contested components and suggesting cultural frames. The constructionist view acknowledges that an individual’s personal characteristics play a role in shaping how he / she views the world. However, the predominant concept is that the “meaning of an ethnic identity – who is included in the group, what its values are, and so on, - is a set of ideas” (Kaufman, 2001, p. 23). Further, these ideas are continually interpreted and reinterpreted in the broader cultural dialogue by influential leaders and intellectuals. This constructionist view, borrowed from political science literature, provides a conceptual base for investigating cultural frames. However, communication literature provides a practical approach for understanding the dimensions of such dialogue by way of the interpretive systems model (Stewart et al., 2012).

The interpretive systems model is “an integrated framework that helps us see that controversies arise because people have different needs, preferences, and verbal constructions of reality” (Stewart et al., 2012, p. 36). The model begins with the idea that people form groups to meet individual needs. As groups form, they develop “social interpretive structures” as ways to coordinate personal needing, linking, symbolizing, reasoning and preferencing” (p. 37). Examples of interpretive structures include (a) languages that help coordinate symbolizing, (b) logics that help coordinate reasoning, and (c) ideologies that help coordinate preferencing. As such, groups that share one or more interpretive structure are termed “interpretive communities.” The concept of “interpretive communities” sharing “interpretive structures” is particularly important because it gives researchers a way to operationalize an otherwise vague understanding of the cultural frame. Interpretive structures are a culturally negotiated way of organizing and preferencing information. To merge this idea with framing, one can say: *(a) the interpretive community is the audience. (b) The aggregate of the interpretive communities relevant interpretive structures form the culture. (c) Issue-value groupings associated with one or more of a communities’ salient interpretive structures form the cultural frame.* Thus, the cultural frame helps define the appropriate actions of an interpretive community when an ideological, partisan or social movement actor contextualizes events in terms of a specific value, issue, or interpretive structure. The power of such framing devices lies in their relationship to the beliefs associated with that particular interpretive structure. Such devices derive even deeper meaning when the invoked interpretive structure is aligned with other powerful interpretive structures within the cultural discourse.

For example, an interpretive community (culture) linked by the interpretive structure of Ukrainian nationalism, and its component beliefs, might characterize an Eastern Ukrainian

separatist as a “terrorist.” Such a label might not only imply that he/she seeks political autonomy but also that he/she probably opposes Europeanization, implementation of Ukrainian language laws, glorification of Western Ukrainian heroes, and the desire to reduce Russian regional influence. Such issues, associated with the nationalist agenda, need not be directly addressed by the text of discourse. A culturally charged label, characterization, or term might be enough to influence the nationalist audience member’s characterization of the separatist on the whole range of issues. This interpretive-community conception allows researchers to distinguish between groups and name cultural frames.

Further, the interpretive perspective might indicate how a frame suggests or limit the appropriate strategies for resolving conflict. For example, if a practitioner understands the implications of a characterization across the range of culturally relevant issues, he or she might be understand which one(s) is most important to counter. Further, he or she might understand which beliefs are central, and thus must be changed in order to affect a range of behaviors.

The concept of “interpretive structures as the culture” can now merge with the constructionist concept that the meanings of such structures are continually reinterpreted by political and intellectual leaders. As moderators of the cultural dialogue, such elites shape the meaning and linkage of important interpretive structures and use such association to shape the identity of their interpretive community. Thus, a researcher can analyze historiographies, ethnic-identity literature, language, nationalism, and identity to determine what salient interpretive structures are at issue, the linkage between interpretive structures, and the attitudes they evoke.

This conceptualization provides a window for examining and suggesting how a movement’s ideological communicators might directly or indirectly invoke cultural belief systems through the framing devices of a text / speech.

Research Questions

Given the above literature review, this work seeks to answer three research questions with respect to the framing in contemporary Ukraine:

RQ1: What framing devices and constructions appear thematically in the ideological discourse of Novorossiia and Maidan?

RQ2: What recurrent concepts within the cultural discourse serve as component framing functions for the cultural frame?

RQ3: How does the discourse of each ideological movement (Novorossiia and Maidan) use framing devices to align a specific cultural frame with its target audience?

Grounded-Theory Methodology

This work uses a grounded-theory approach to reconstruct and describe the cultural frame and to suggest its invocation within ideological statements produced by social movements. The grounded-theory approach was selected because it is conducive to a systematic qualitative analysis of the social-movement discourse and identification of thematic categories within the cultural frame. Grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) is also useful in that it calls for developing categories to re-contextualize the originally examined discourse. Thus, the approach can suggest how the authors of discourse frame their persuasive attempts by invoking (or linking) elements of a particular interpretive community's cultural frame to the issue at hand.

Grounded theory developed as an inductive method for assisting researchers in discovering and describing a social reality such as the Ukrainian (or Russian) cultural frame. Its foundational developers agree upon certain tenets and characteristics of the approach. Each of these seeks to address change and continually integrate new data to inform continued research. These tenets include (a) simultaneous data collection and analysis to inform each other, (b) the recognition of change and its incorporation into method, and (c) the rejection of determinism and the ability to accept varied explanations for the phenomenon under investigation (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Charmaz 1990, 2008). Such tenets are important because the study of dynamic human interaction requires an approach that treats people within the phenomena under study as having free will and of being capable of continually shaping their reality. These tenets are uniquely useful as social movement dialogues change to indicate shifts in the social structure itself. As such, observed interaction may suggest additional avenues of investigation of the cultural frame.

A grounded-theory approach aids in describing and categorizing the discourse that reinforces, invokes, or links themes within an interpretive community's cultural frames. Specifically, it allows researchers to uncover framing devices / functions (Van Gorp, 2007; Benford & Snow, 1986) that occur thematically throughout a movement's ideological discourse. The evolving understanding of such themes informs ongoing investigation into cultural belief structures. Knowledge of dialogue and cultural beliefs then allow the researcher to suggest how frames function to explain *what is at issue* in terms of the target audience's system of cultural belief structures. This type of investigation is solidly in the grounded-theory tradition in that grounded theorists seek to "create theoretical categories from the data and then analyze relationships between key categories." (Charmaz, 1990; p. 1162)

Method

To answer the three RQs, I first directly examined documents and statements by Maidan and Novorossiia leaders in order to note the presence of thematic framing devices. Second, I used thematic devices as guides for investigating relevant issues within pro-European Ukrainian and Russian cultural discourse. Thematic concepts emerging from the examination of the cultural discourse served as the building blocks of the cultural frame. Finally, I reexamined the thematic framing devices of Maidan and Novorossiia discourse to discourse how they might be linked.

Data collection of ideological-movement discourse (RQ1).

Maidan and Novorossiia leaders use framing devices to create an understanding of the conflict that is favorable to their objectives. Thus, analysis of movement discourse was limited to statements and writings by or directly attributable to movement leaders. Such documents were typically 1-4 pages in length, described a movement's position on an issue, and contained one or more historical or cultural references. The period of analysis included each movement's formation through July 16, 2014. July 16 represents the first 100 days of Novorossiia's existence as well as the final day before the shoot down of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 (MH17) in Eastern Ukraine. This cutoff date proved important because the shoot down of MH17 drastically changed the tone and topics of Novorossiia discourse as well as that of the Ukrainian and Russian governments.

Documents that met the criteria for evaluation were printed, read for overall context, and coded for potential framing devices. The list of words and associated meanings in Appendix A served as the initial guide for locating possible frame packages and devices. Words in Appendix A were selected are based on my perception that they were (a) provocative and (b) repetitive in

either news coverage of the event or my initial scanning of documents on the Novorossiia and Maidan website. Some of these, like “Nazi” labels were clearly negative labels from the outset. Others, like “Banderite” were based upon previous knowledge of who Bandera was and the divisive nature of his organization (the UPA). However, additional devices such as “tolerance” and “propaganda” (in the Maidan discourse) were included based upon my assessment of their repetitiveness and seeming importance to the meaning of website documents as I began coding. Ultimately, most historically suggestive phrases and symbols, as well as cultural or individual characterizations, were recorded in a chronologically sorted table (see Appendix B for Novorossiia and Appendix D for Maidan). Most potential framing devices were repetitive in the discourse of both movements. However, I did not associate thematic devices with a particular frame until after examining the cultural discourse as part of RQ2. Thus, this step in the method simply identified thematic devices in order to steer the direction of research into Russian and Ukrainian cultural discourse.

If one assumes that Novorossiia and Maidan discourses are rooted in cultural frames, then the method for discovering the *relevant* thematic concepts needed to begin with the separatist / social movement discourse. This methodological order (movement discourse before cultural discourse) ensured that later examination of academic / political / historical discourses remained relevant to the issues of Maidan and Novorossiia.

Thus, the analysis began with a search for thematic language within the writings and statements of the Novorossiia and Maidan leadership. Novorossiia and Maidan maintain official websites that serve as each group’s online presence. During the period of analysis, each group routinely posted relevant ideological statements from movement leadership as well as other documents (e.g. press releases and battle updates) that were not relevant to the current study.

Analysis of this type requires an understanding of culture and context. Thus, it is important to note that the quality of translation differed between websites. Maidan material was intentionally translated by movement sympathizers through an online collective project known as “Maidan Translations.” Thus, accurate versions of ideological documents were available in Ukrainian, Russian, English, Polish, German, Spanish and other languages. Novorossiia documents, however, were available only in Russian for the period under examination. An English website opened in late August 2014, but material is past the final inclusion date for this study. Therefore, Novorossiia documents were translated using Microsoft translation shareware. Such programs translate the literal content (aka word for word) documents word forward with nearly 100% accuracy. Thus, identifying labels and names like those listed above was fairly easy. However, nearly all software reviewers note the inability of translation programs to recognize context, slang, sarcasm, and so on. Thus, potential existed for devices to be ignored.

Ultimately, the thematic devices in Novorossiia and Maidan ideological documents (Appendix B and D) served as the initial research topics for RQ2.

Researching the cultural discourse (RQ2).

RQ 2 asked what recurrent concepts within the cultural discourse might serve as component functions for the cultural frame. This RQ was the most complex because it required (a) research into relevant cultural discourse, (b) identification of relevant thematic concepts, (c) identification of possible functions each thematic concept might serve for the cultural frame, and (d) description of the cultural frame as a whole.

Research into Ukrainian and Russian cultural discourse began with the thematic references recorded in the previous step. For example, the Maidan discourse frequently mentioned “Europeanization” and “government corruption.” Thus, when researching the cultural discourse

of pro-European Ukrainian elites, “Europeanization” and “corruption” were initial search topics. However, when researching pro-Russian thematic devices like “Great Patriotic War,” I returned to the speeches and writings of Russian (rather than pro-Russian Ukrainian) elites. For example, numerous speeches by Vladimir Putin highlight the role of Russian unity during the war. Russian politicians and filmmakers discussed using the “Great Patriotic War” as a device for building Russian patriotism. Ukrainian discourse on World War II seems to be regarded as divisive (either reminiscent of Soviet domination or Nazi collaboration and was far less prevalent among Ukrainian politicians. Therefore, I characterized the discourse surrounding the “Great Patriotic War,” and similarly, that of “Pan-Slavism,” as Russian, rather than pro-Russian.

Because cultural discourse is assumed to be relatively stable (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987; Van Gorp, 2007), elements of the cultural frame might be more evident in the discourse of elites who are accountable to their respective interpretive communities. I assumed that to be the case because writers, public figures, religious leaders, and politicians depend on public approval to maintain status and power. Thus, I assumed they were more likely to align their discourse with the belief systems of their constituencies. Critics, journalists and foreign sources (aside from regional experts) might be more interested in (a) reporting the “truth” than invoking beliefs, (b) countering prevalent belief systems, or (c) preventing misinterpretation / promoting understanding events in terms of their own beliefs.

Therefore, I restricted analysis to statements / speeches made by elected Russian / Ukrainian politicians, statements made by religious leaders, published academic work written by Ukrainian or Russian scholars, books written by regional experts (e.g. Laruelle), and historical artifacts. Thus, for an artifact to be selected as part of the “cultural discourse” for this thesis, it had to (a) discuss Ukrainian / Russian identity and nationhood in the context of Novorossiia / Maidan

framing devices and (b) be authored by someone meeting the above requirements. In order to identify sources for the cultural discourse, I searched the personal websites and blogs of influential writers, reviewed online newspaper archives for references to political speeches, and searched academic databases like EBSCO for speech transcripts, persuasive articles, and public debates in influential academic journals (e.g. *Russian Politics and Law*, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, *Canadian Slavonic Papers*). In some cases, government sources, like the United Russia website and “Voice of Russia” (a Russian government sponsored propaganda website and broadcast organization), carried speech transcripts and commentary regarding contemporary issues, such as the role of democracy in 21st century Russia.

Documents meeting the criteria above were printed and coded in much the same way as the Novorossiia and Maidan documents. Specifically, I searched for repetitive or provocative language that characterized Ukrainians or Russians as a group, engaged in historical or contemporary debate about Russian / Ukrainian identity or systems of government, proscribed solutions to social issues, or assigned blame for problems. This coding allowed identification of thematic concepts that potentially serve the Entman (1993) and Dardis (2007) framing functions.

As devices indicating such thematic concepts were discovered, they were recorded in a spreadsheet, along with the document, date, and author / speaker. This coding allowed me to see whether specific political parties and individuals regularly used specific themes and to refine categories themselves. Once all thematic concepts were recorded in the spreadsheet, they were sorted by topic. This sorting allowed me a comprehensive view of how such concepts were used in multiple contexts and gave me insight regarding how other themes were normally grouped (see Appendix C and Appendix E for complete spreadsheets of Russian and Ukrainian discourse).

Using the compiled themes, I made a qualitative judgment as to whether certain thematic concepts could be consolidated into broader themes and as to the function each thematic concept served within the frame. I consolidated a “lesser” theme under a “larger” theme if the “lesser” theme’s use was predicated on the existence of the “larger theme. For example, the thematic concept of the “Eastern / Western Ukrainian cultural divide” seemed to fit within the larger concept of “failure to achieve the Ukrainian idea” because the “cultural divide” is symptomatic of a failure to unify (in the context of the documents analyzed). When determining the probable function a given thematic concept served, I examined it in the context of the Novorossiya (or Maidan) discourse. For example, “Western conspiracy” occurred frequently in the Novorossiya and Russian cultural discourse. Based on the interplay between the discourses, I determined that “Western conspiracy” served the diagnostic function of “blame assignment.” The cultural discourse provided reasonable evidence to indicate that Novorossiya leaders expect their interpretive community to believe foreign intervention is possible, while the Novorossiya discourse clearly indicated that the device was used as a logic to convince Eastern Ukrainians that Russian military intervention is in their interest.

The final portion of RQ2 entailed describing the cultural frame. Because this work considers the cultural frame to be an aggregate of thematic concepts, each of which serves a function (diagnostic, prognostic, or motivational), this step required synthesis of the concepts and functions discovered above. Synthesis entailed a comparison of the diagnostic (problem identification / blame assignment) and prognostic (suggesting solutions and motivating action) functions performed by the thematic concepts of each cultural discourse. The functions performed by the cultural frame were compared with definitions of ideologies to determine if the cultural frame itself advocates an ideology. For example, the Russian discourse blames other

nations for its post-1991 decline in status. The discourse also advocates traditionalism, ethno-linguistic unity and aggressive policies that serve the Russian interest. These qualities match Webster's (2014) definition of nationalism as the "unification sense of national consciousness exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations or supranational groups." Thus, the Russian cultural frame seems to be a nationalist frame. Russian nationalism is often called the "Russian Idea" (Gryzlov, 2014), which is the name I give the Russian cultural frame underpinning Novorossiia discourse.

Each frame was given a name (usually associated with a commonly used device that seemed to capture most of the ideas within the frame) and described in a narrative form.

Identifying frame alignment: (RQ3)

Once the cultural frame was named and described, I returned to the compiled list of movement dialogue (Appendix B and Appendix D) for another reading. Here, I specifically looked for mechanisms that connected the thematic concepts of the cultural frame with the devices used in the ideological documents. For example, appeals to "do as our grandfather did" and "defeat the Nazi invasion," as well as characterizations of Ukrainians as "Nazi fascists," clearly referenced Soviet / Russian World War II history. Analysis of the cultural discourse surrounding the "Great Patriot War," particularly that of Vladimir Putin, showed that this thematic concept is intended to solidify Russian identity and patriotism with a historical example. For example, a Novorossiia characterization of a Ukrainian "Nazi," or an appeal to "do as your grandfathers did," serves as a frame bridging strategy intended to induce Russian (rather than Ukrainian) identity.

Results

Overview of sources and discourses

The Novorossiia Union, posted nearly 600 documents to its central website during the period of analysis. Many of these postings were battle updates, press releases, or administrative announcements. Thus, the final sample included 32 documents that met the criteria for an ideological statement. Those described throughout this section were each 1-to-4 pages long, authored or spoken by a leader (or influential sympathizer) with the Donetsk People's Republic (forerunner to Novorossiia) or Novorossiia, and contained a definable objective. In total, the ideological discourse of Novorossiia provided very recognizable and repetitive frame devices.

The Maidan website hosts well over 1000 documents in a difficult-to-navigate blog style. Among these, 20 documents met the criteria described above. Like Novorossiia, Maidan's ideological statements included a foundational manifesto, explanations of ideology, and responses to opposition. Again, repetitive frame devices were clearly evident. However, thematic devices appeared to change as the discourse progressed. This evolution was a significant difference between the consistent ideological discourse of Novorossiia and dynamic nature of Maidan discourse.

At the cultural level, sources were similar for the Russian and Ukrainian discourses. Sources included speeches of current and former presidents (e.g. Putin and Yushchenko) and politicians, academic debates in influential journals, and sociological studies commissioned by each respective government. My research found 55 items of cultural discourse that met the

screening criteria. Thus, each side had 30 artifacts, each of which had to be a speech or statement made by elected national official (or politician / religious leader), published academic work written by a Ukrainian (or Russian) scholar, a book written by regional expert, or a historical artifact. Five sources overlapped because they were written by scholars with detailed knowledge of Russian and Ukrainian perceptions regarding issues (e.g. the famine or World War II) of importance to both sides. Russian and Ukrainian cultural discourses yielded clear thematic concepts that seemed to serve framing functions for the cultural frame. The remainder of the analysis will contain two sections. The first section will discuss contextual information that emerged from reading the ideological discourse. Such information is important in understanding the general tenor of Novorossiia and Maidan discourse as well as how the cultural discourse relates to each movement. The second section addresses the specific research questions.

Context for Novorossiia

The discourse of separatist leaders in Eastern Ukraine paints a portrait of a group fighting a steady battle to keep Donbass Ukrainians and Russians convinced of their legitimacy, maintain combat operations against the Ukrainian Army, curry favor with Russian elites, and govern their self-declared country. As a group, they are quite small in number. The leaders are all men in their 30s and 40s from Eastern Ukraine or Russia. Alexander Boroday and Igor Strelkova (aka Igor Girkin or “Shooters” – who was infamously recorded claiming responsibility for the shoot-down of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 before recanting) are Russian citizens from Moscow. (Balmforth, 2014) For the period of study, Girkin was the “Defense Minister” of Novorossiia and in charge of militia operations. Boroday was the “Prime Minister” of the Donetsk People’s Republic. According to the U.S. Government, Strelkova is a Russian intelligence officer with experience leading separatists in Trans-Dniester (Moldova) and Crimea (Shkandrij, 2014). Boroday is a self-

styled “crisis manager” and former Russian nationalist newspaper editor with experience in numerous Russian trouble spots. Both appeared on the Eastern Ukrainian scene in early spring of 2014. Pavel Gubarev and Denis Pushilian are natives of Donetsk. Gubarev, the most outspoken of the Novorossiia leadership, is the “Peoples Governor” of the Donetsk Peoples Republic, and Pushilian is his deputy. Gubarev has experience in corporate marketing and alleged ties to ultra-nationalist groups (Balmforth, 2014). Pushilian has military experience in the Ukrainian Army and a work history with ties to criminal enterprises (Balmforth, 2014). In each case, the leaders have firsthand cultural experience in the region and/or experience mobilizing separatism in similar populations.

Rinat Akhmetov is a Donetsk-based Ukrainian businessman and former Rada (Ukrainian Parliament) member for the pro-Russian Party of Regions. Akhmetov is a billionaire with alleged ties to organized crime and control of the Donbass mining and metallurgy industries. Separatist leaders court Akhmetov for his social influence and money. However, he routinely undermines the separatists by mobilizing Donbass miners to voice support for the Ukrainian government.

Context for Maidan

“Maidan” (sometimes called Euromaidan) is the pro-European Ukrainian social movement that began in November 2013, when Party of Regions President Victor Yanukovych rejected a pending agreement with the European Union. Several features of the Maidan movement create a communication paradigm that is distinctly different than that of Novorossiia. First, the distinction between Ukrainian political elites and movement leaders is much more ambiguous. Rather than proxies, Maidan leaders are, in many cases, current and former power-holders, journalists, and celebrities. The speech and writings of shadowy paramilitary commanders and imported “crisis-managers” are far less evident than in the discourse of Novorossiia. Instead,

shadowy figures are replaced by that of political leaders like Arsiny Yatsenyuk, Oleksandr Turchinov, and Oleh Tahnybok; journalists like Mustafa Nayem (Keiv Post); and boxer Vitali Klitschko. Maidan leaders are better known entities than their Novorossiia counterparts. Further, their affiliation and sympathies with the established cultural and political elite are more straightforward.

Second, the Maidan movement took place in Ukrainian cities among primarily ethnic Ukrainians. Therefore, references to history and identity are more directly used in the social-movement ideology. Rather than depending on framing devices to allude to conceptions of “Ukrainian-ness,” movement leaders more directly refer to the events and social constructs underpinning that conception. However, the dominance of the Russian cultural frame, as perpetuated by years of Soviet and Russian Imperial affiliation, requires constant attention within the Maidan discourse. Thus, although Maidan predated Novorossiia (and its predecessor Donetsk People’s Republic), it is forced to respond to pro-Russian framing devices – such as the labels of “Nazi” and “fascist” used in conjunction with the “Great Patriotic War.”

Research Question 1



Figure 1: Results of RQs for Novorossiya

RQ1 asked what framing devices and constructions appear thematically in the ideological discourse of Novorossiya and Maidan. Figure 1 lists RQ 1-3 results for Novorossiya. With respect to Novorossiya, the three main framing devices are (a) **“The Great Patriotic War,”** (b) **“Western conspiracy,”** and (c) **“the union of Slavic peoples (pan-Slavism).”** With respect to Maidan, the framing devices appeared as a series of three conflicts. These conflicts were (a) **“Europeanization vs. government corruption,”** (b) the **“Long-term national struggle vs. historic Russian oppression,”** and (c) **“Ukrainian tolerance vs. Russian Propaganda.”** Discussion of these framing devices will be separated by movement below.

Novorossiya (RQ1).

“Great Patriotic War.”

Separatist discourse routinely uses this Russo-centric vision of World War II to characterize the Ukrainian Government, problematize Ukrainian military action, create identity and pride among Eastern Ukrainians / Russians (vis-a-vis their shared past victory), and mobilize populations for fighting. This frame is intended to portray an idealization where a potential separatist fighter knows exactly how he should conceptualize his enemy, is sufficiently convinced of urgency, believes it is his duty to fight, identifies with his comrades, and believes he can win. Within such context, a fight would have meaning. The associated devices of this frame are easily recognizable. The terms “Nazi,” “fascist,” “SS,” “death squads,” and “Junta” appear almost to the point of absurdity. These terms identify pro-European Ukrainians as a threatening “other.” The allegation of an ideological link with the German Nazism of the 1940s allows the audience of Donbass Ukrainians and Russians to visualize an almost supernaturally evil enemy. Visual propaganda efforts, although not specifically under analysis for this work, often portray Ukrainian military forces with red-glowing eyes and wearing German-style military regalia. Separatist discourse is quite specific about the supposed intentions / actions of the Ukrainian military as well. Devices such as “impending human catastrophe,” “humanitarian disaster,” “genocide of ethnic Russians and Russian speakers,” “burned alive in ovens / furnaces” and “interred in camps” are among the most frequently cited outcomes of unchecked Ukrainian aggression. The ultimate goal here seems to be the production of fear through repetition.

The frame device defines the problem (for Eastern Ukrainians) as the aggressive and ethnically motivated action of an illegitimate and inhumanely evil Ukrainian government. Beyond the dehumanization built into the Nazi/fascist label, there is an added benefit of a built-in solution. That is, the “Russian peoples” have faced and defeated the Nazi hoard before. Thus, the solution and call to action are closely linked with “Great Patriotic War” history. According to the

“Great Patriotic War” mythology (Marples, 2012, p. 287), all Soviet peoples, with the exception of traitorous outliers, united to defend their motherland. Therefore, the appeal is for citizen to do their “duty” as their “fathers and grandfathers” did. Novorossiia’s invocation of a traditional duty to protect the homeland specifically means resisting and taking up arms against the Ukrainian military. Gubarev’s July 7th appeal to the citizens of Donetsk is a telling example. He states, “At this critical juncture, we must be equal to the example of our fathers and grandfathers, who back in ’41 rallied in unison... and managed to defend the capital of our motherland and resist the fascist invaders.” The use of this frame is further reinforced by the rhetorical resurrection of Russian military prowess and the reinstatement of discontinued Russian military decorations. Specifically, Novorossiia leaders attempt to provide efficacy to potential fighters by using symbolism of the St. George Medal. Strelkov awards the medal to militia members and compares their battle citations with those of past Russian military heroes. Lastly, statements refer to May 9th Victory Day celebrations and use such events to demonstrate a link between the past and current situations.

Western conspiracy.

Pro-Russian separatists rarely express a vision of their future without Russian involvement. In the long term, their vision may entail economic cooperation and cultural affinity with Russia. However, in the short term, separatists need military assistance and humanitarian aid. To ask for such things while maintaining legitimacy, Novorossiia’s leaders seem to need a framing device that is palatable to their base of potential fighters in Donbass. Specifically, Novorossiia’s leaders need a reasoning device that allows them to ask for Russian intervention without undermining military legitimacy with their base of potential fighters. That reason, according to Novorossiia’s leaders, is that they are fighting more than just the Ukrainian

government and Army. In fact, the deck is stacked against them by way of Western intervention in Ukrainian affairs. The concept of an assault from the West is closely linked with the Russian conception of the “Great Patriotic War” and of “fascism.” Hicks (2014) describes how Russian memory of the conflict evolved such that “victims of the unchecked rise of Nazism are not so much the Jewish population of occupied Europe, but rather Russia and Russians. [...] Fascism is therefore not seen in terms of its anti-Semitic and anti-democratic dimensions, but as an anti-Russian phenomenon springing from Western Europe” (p. 1).

Within this frame, the pro-European government in Kiev is either openly manipulating Western opinion to leverage assets or is a stooge of historically hostile governments. The former is closely linked with the “Great Patriotic War” frame in that authorities in Kiev seek to push a fascist ideology and ethnic cleansing upon Eastern Ukraine. In pursuing this agenda, authorities in Kiev mask their true intentions from potential Western benefactors to receive money and financial assistance. This version of the “Western Conspiracy” frame cites the European Union (EU) and Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) as “short sighted,” “a barrier to Novorossiyan sovereignty,” “out of touch,” and “illegitimate.”

The latter version is used far more frequently, perhaps because separatists believe it is more resonant with Eastern Ukrainians. In this version, the West is openly manipulating pro-European dupes within the Ukrainian government to destabilize the Russian near-abroad (loosely defined as the former Soviet space). In some cases, the logic for this manufactured subversion is the establishment of NATO bases in Eastern Ukraine (ostensibly to undermine Russian power). In other cases, the logic is the establishment of U.S. energy dominance in Europe through the disruption of Ukrainian pipelines connecting Russian natural gas with European customers. In any case, the U.S. and EU now have agency and responsibility for the violence in the region. If

Ukrainian fascist activities are taking place, these actions are with the knowledge or direction of Western authorities. Representative devices of this frame include descriptions of U.S. officials (John McCain, Joe Biden, Victoria Nuland) interacting with Maidan or Ukrainian governmental leadership. Descriptions are sometimes accompanied with a picture of the U.S. official meeting with Svoboda Party (right-wing Ukrainian Nationalist) leader Oleh Tyahnybok. Further example characterizations of this frame include “the Kiev junta and its European owners,” “U.S. energy conspiracy,” “NATO’s hidden agenda,” “responsibility for war crimes,” and “Coups orchestrated by the U.S. defense industry.”

The Western Conspiracy definition of the issue at hand comes with a ready-made solution. Thus, the conspiracy always calls for Russian intervention. In some cases, these appeals for intervention are addressed in open letters to the Russian Federation leadership, President Putin, international bodies, or outright supporters. Here, the impending catastrophe demands “a Russian peacekeeping contingent,” much-needed humanitarian assistance,” “acceptance into the Russian Federation,” or a “provision of large scale military aid.”

The “Western Conspiracy” frame seems to have yet one more component – although it is normally cited in a different context. Separatists borrow Alexander Dugin’s idea of a “6th column” in the Russian Government. That is, unlike the traditional “5th column,” in which a minority group is said to “undermine” the host country by actively supporting its enemies, the “6th column” represents Russian government officials who ostensibly support Putin but undermine support for actions that are truly in the Russian interest. Again, Russian interest seems to be paramount here. Thus, frequent citation of the “6th column” required additional research, which yielded very interesting results.

Pan-Slavism.

The final framing device draws upon a particular interpretation of Ukrainian and Russian ethnicity as the logic for pursuing union and strategic partnership with the Russian Federation (rather than the pro-European vector advocated by Maidan and the government in Kiev). This is the logic of Pan-Slavism. Pan-Slavists profess Belarusians, Russians, and Ukrainians to be one people. Thus, Belorussia, Russia, and Ukraine can be conceived as part of “greater Russia.” Here, Ukrainian alignment with Russia constitutes “the natural order of things.” Within this frame, the problem is an unnatural break between “brotherly” peoples resulting from the ambitions of a few Western Ukrainian elites. Novorossiia leaders employ the pan-Slavic frame by highlighting Ukraine as “part of the Russian world,” “historic ties between brotherly peoples,” “our orthodoxy and our faith,” and “common mother tongue.” The solution to this unnatural break is restoration of ties with Russia. Practically, however, this restoration means Russian intervention in Ukraine. In many ways, the Pan-Slavic frame works in conjunction with the “Great Patriotic War” and the “Western Conspiracy” in that appeals call for the same action. For example, the Pan-Slavic frame may conclude with an appeal to act as “our grandfathers did.” The implication here is that Ukrainian and Russian grandfathers are one in the same and that duty demands defense of Slavic homelands against Western aggression.

Maidan (RQ1)

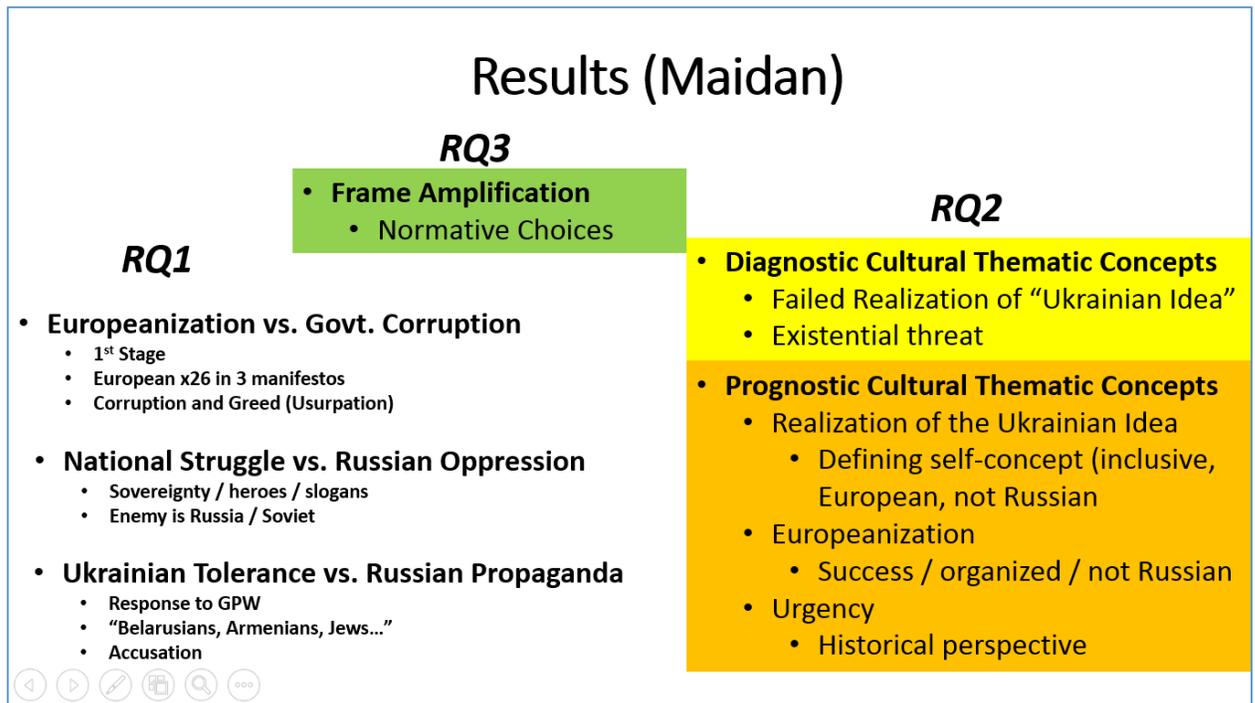


Figure 2: Results of RQs for Maidan.

. Figure 2 lists RQ 1-3 results for Maidan. The Maidan discourse uses a series of two evolving conflict frames to legitimize its ideology and respond to the dominant Russian (pro-Russian) frame. In the mobilization phase of Maidan, the discourse reflects a conflict between Ukrainian Europeanization and government oppression. As the Maidan movement matures, however, speakers invoke historical Ukrainian Nationalism. Thus, the conflicting devices evolve from (a) “Europeanization vs. government corruption” to (b) the “long-term national struggle vs. historic Russian oppression.”

In response to the labeling devices of Novorossiia, Maidan leaders seem to highlight their diversity and inclusiveness as well as the ongoing Russian “information war” against them. This dichotomy encompasses the second conflict frame of “Ukrainian tolerance vs. Russian

propaganda.” Each of these will be discussed further before moving toward the Ukrainian cultural underpinnings.

Conflict 1: Europeanization vs. government corruption.

Perhaps the most thematically consistent and repetitive concept to emerge in the first days of the Maidan movement is that of Europeanization. Europeanization, specifically eventual membership in the European Union, might be viewed as a core concept of the movement itself as well as an item of discourse. The Western Ukrainian desire for Europeanization was certainly a driving force behind the emotional demonstrations of November 2013. Mustafa Nayem, an Afghan-born Ukrainian journalist credited with mobilizing the first demonstration, recounted the reaction in Kiev after Yanukovich ceased negotiating an EU Association Agreement. He writes:

I thought Yanukovich was just playing politics... . [S]oon it became clear that the agreement was truly dead. Facebook erupted with rage, people’s posts dripping with venom. They were so disappointed after all the buildup. They had so little faith in their own institutions, in their ability to make their voices heard; many had come to see the EU as their chance to change everything” (Nayem, 2014).

Within days, political opposition leaders from a wide variety of parliamentary opposition formed a core of Maidan leadership called the “Popular Assembly on Maidan” (PM) association. The PM published a manifesto December 28, 2013, and a revised version in January 2014. Further, the online affiliation of the Maidan movement published a related manifesto. In all, the three manifestos characterize the Ukrainian people as a “European nation” and Ukraine as a “European state” with “European values” more than twenty times. The original PM manifesto railed against integration into the Russian-led Eurasian Customs Union and urged resistance

against gravitating toward Moscow's sphere of influence. Nearly all of the manifesto's prognostic solutions included the implementation of democratic principles, de-centralization (which might be viewed in opposition to Russian autocracy), universal human rights, economic development and the eradication of corruption. Each, coincidentally, would benefit eventual membership in the EU.

The Ukrainian government, according to Maidan discourse, stands in the way of European aspirations. All three manifestos vilify President Yanukovich, Prime Minister Azarov, and Interior Minister Zakharchenko as embodiments of corruption. This corruption ostensibly originates from a personal desire for wealth and power. In essence, the acceptance of Russian bailout money and rejection of the EU Association agreement by corrupt Ukrainian leaders was both a deal with the devil and a betrayal of ordinary Ukrainians. Such actions, coupled with Yanukovich's consolidation of presidential authority, was deemed a "usurpation of power." The assertion that official's usurped power implies that they have become illegitimate (although they were elected). Further, the manifestos accuse the regime of beatings, murder, kidnapping, torture, threats, terrorism, and nepotism. All three leaders named in the manifestos were members of the pro-Russian "Party of Regions." The "Berkut" and "Griffon" police forces, the physical perpetrators of abuse, were alleged to be an extension of the regimes ability to crush Europeanization in order to line their own pockets with Russian money.

Russians and President Putin are not directly implied in any vilification or portrayal of conflict. Rather, they are indirectly referenced as a self-interested, if not indifferent, entity with an ability to influence Ukraine's morally deficient leadership. This non-confrontational tactic, however, changes when the Russian government and pro-Russian separatists begin to employ Great Patriotic War labels like "Banderite," "anti-Semite," and "fascist." The next two

conflicting devices represent indirect and direct attempts to characterize conflict while responding to accusation.

Conflict 2: the Ukrainian national struggle vs. historical Russian oppression.

The introduction of Novorossiia's oppositional discourse seems to have brought about a conceptual shift in the expression of Maidan ideology. Because the separatists used language to encourage Ukraine's breakup, the Maidan movement needed to clarify its goals and provide achievable steps toward Europeanization. For example, to be a viable candidate for EU membership, Ukrainians must organize, eradicate corruption, and (most importantly to Ukrainian nationalists) finish the work of creating a coherent ethno-linguistic Ukrainian nation-state. This shift in focus toward the importance of ethnic Ukrainian statehood takes several forms in the Maidan documents. The shift manifests in (a) historical references to Ukrainian attempts toward sovereignty, (b) references to heroes, (c) use of nationalist slogans, (d) appeals for patience, and (e) calls for civil education. In this sense, each device collaborates to invoke history, educate followers on the roots of the struggle, and curtail demands for immediate results. The first evidence of this shift (among the available documents), occurs in a January 2014 speech by Josef Zisel, leader of the congress of National Communities of Ukraine. He states that 22 years of Ukrainian independence have not resulted in realization of the Ukrainian idea because lies and corruption have undermined progress. Zisel finishes his speech with the slogan "Glory to Ukraine," to which the crowd responds "Glory to Heroes!" This slogan is the traditional greeting used by Ukrainian nationalist forces in the 1917-1921 "War for Independence" against the Bolsheviks. Additionally, the phrase echoes the greeting of Ukrainian Insurgent Army fighters during the World War II (Mann, 2014). Thus, Zisel is simultaneously roiling the crowd with a call / response while suggesting that they view the struggle as connected with past conflicts.

Further, as noted earlier, the “heroes” invoked by the saying are often highly controversial among the Russian, Polish and Jewish communities. Zisel himself is a Jewish community leader. That status allows him to use nationalist symbolism while resisting the stereotypical labels of the Great Patriotic War frame. “Glory to Ukraine” appears frequently in the documents that chronologically follow Zisel’s speech. Reinforcing the point, documents characterize the short-lived Independent Ukrainian State of 1918, nationalistic movements of the 1940s, independence of 1991, and Orange revolution of 2004 as unfinished business.

In this context, the historic enemy of Ukrainian unification is not the Ukrainian government; it is Russia. Although references to the brutality and corruption of the Yanukovich regime remain throughout the discourse, Russian historical oppression is nearly always mentioned as well. Zisel refers to the years he spent in “Brezhnev’s camp” to highlight the punitive policies of Communism. Activist Roman Donic calls for “liberation of Ukraine from its Soviet legacy and from Russian dominance” as part of a larger call to “mobilize and knock out the Muscovites.” Further, Serhiy Kyit, Ukrainian Minister of Education, highlights the Russian and separatist trend of awarding “St. George” ribbons for actions against the Ukrainian government. The St. George Ribbon, according to Kyit (and the Novorossiia website) is a symbol of pre-Soviet Imperial Russian military might. Thus, whether in imperial, communist, or nationalist form, Russia serves as the roadblock to a unified Ukrainian nation-state.

This conflict frame might be viewed as an indirect response to the characterization of Maidan as “fascist” etc. The next conflict frame, occurring primarily toward the end of the period under study, is a direct response to the Great Patriotic War framing device.

Conflict 3: Ukrainian tolerance vs. Russian propaganda.

Novorossiia's "Great Patriotic War" framing devices paint pro-European Ukrainian nationalists as xenophobic, linguistically exclusive, anti-Semitic, fascistic, and Nazi-collaborators who pose a threat to national minorities and Russian speakers. However, such labels are in direct opposition to the Ukrainian cultural self-concept (Shulman, 1999) and sparked an immediate counter-frame device by Maidan's leadership. Thus, Maidan's primary self-characterization shifted from "European" to "inclusive." Evidence of this attempt to dispute pro-Russian characterizations can be found in the content of ideological documents as well as the movement's choice to highlight minority authors / speakers. For example, in March 2014, the Maidan movement published an "Open Letter from the Jews of Ukraine" to Vladimir Putin. The document, signed by 21 prominent Ukrainian Jewish business, cultural, political, and academic leaders sarcastically addresses the Russian Federation president. Putin did not appear to be the primary audience for the letter, which served as a vehicle for launching a multifaceted attack on the logic for Russian intervention in Ukraine. The Jewish leaders accused Putin of selectively listening to advisors, manipulating the media, inciting separatism, and allowing neo-Nazi movements to flourish in his own country. Further, they disputed accounts of anti-Semitism, pogroms, and hostility toward Russian speakers.

Josef Zisels, a signer of the open letter, struck a similar tone in the speech addressed earlier. In particular, he cited the absence of "Banderites." Some accounts, such as that of Minister of Education Kyit, painted such a rosy picture that one might wonder about its credibility. He described a scene in which "ethnic Ukrainians are waving their flags and are joined by Crimean Tatars, Jews, Poles, Belarusians, Georgians, Armenians, and others" (Kyit, 2014). Kyit used the opportunity to address Maidan concerns regarding the sustainability of the movement. He described a union between political opposition leaders in which their agendas

were put aside to work for a better Ukraine. Leaders highlighted their willingness to include LGBT and other marginalized populations. This aspect of inclusivity seemed questionable because portions of the movement (Svboda and Right Sector) were radical rightwing groups with a highly exclusionary worldviews. Thus, some of the inclusive rhetoric might be an attempt to contrast Putin's discriminatory policies with those of Ukraine.

The other side of the coin within this conflict is a steady drumbeat of accusations against the Russian government. The concept of the "other" had already evolved from vilification of Ukrainian politicians toward vilification of Russia. This frame device, specifically narrows on the Russian "information war" (aka propaganda) against Ukrainians. In documents prior to January 18, there are 19 accusations of oppression against the Ukrainian government (and only 2 allegations against Russia). Following January 18, the documents I examined contained 31 accusations of Russian propaganda and attempted to smear the Ukrainian reputation. There were still 22 accusations against the Ukrainian government; however, if one removes statements by Dymtro Yarosh, leader of the Right Sector, the number drops to six. The typical accusation implicates Putin, the Russian Media, and a conspiracy to scare / divide the Ukrainian people. For example, "the presidential administration used specialized propaganda techniques to scare many citizens who are not ethnic Ukrainian" (Zisels, 2014), or "he is trying to convince Russians that evil has overtaken Kyiv" (Nayem, 2014). Again of note, Nayem originates from Kabul, and Zisels is Jewish.

Research Question 2

RQ2 asked what recurrent concepts within the cultural discourse serve as component framing functions of the cultural frame. Thus, this section examines the presence of thematic concepts within cultural discourse, and suggests the purpose that each serves for the cultural

frame. Thematic concepts are evaluated and categorized based upon the extent to which each identifies a problem and assigns blame (the diagnostic function)-or proposes a solution and motivates action (the prognostic function). Russian cultural discourse suggests that the concept of (a) “*post-Soviet angst*” functions prognostically to characterize contemporary problems, (b) “*anti-Western*” rhetoric functions to assign blame, and (c) the “*distinctive Russian character,*” “*Russian messianic role,*” and “*Eurasianism*” function prognostically to describe solutions. “*Pan-Slavism*” and the “*Great Patriotic War*” might be viewed as a “bridging strategies” (Snow et al., 1986) for implementing the Russian frame in Ukraine.

Ukrainian cultural discourse contains six thematic concepts that function diagnostically and prognostically. The diagnostic concepts include (a) the “*failed realization of the Ukrainian idea*” and (b) the “*existential threat to Ukrainian culture.*” Prognostic concepts include (a) “*realization of the Ukrainian idea*” and (b) “*Europeanization.*” Speakers and writers repeatedly contextualize current events through the lens of “*historical Ukrainian state-seeking.*”

The thematic concepts of Russian and Ukrainian cultural discourse are described in further detail below.

Thematic concepts in the Russian cultural discourse (RQ2).

The primary concepts repeated throughout the Russian cultural identity discourse are as follows: (a) *post-Soviet angst*, (b) *Western conspiracy*, (c) *Great Patriotic War*, (d) *pan-Slavism*, (e) *distinct Russian character*, (f) *messianic Russian role*, and (g) *Eurasianism*. Each of these concepts interlocks, with certain themes providing the logic for others. Like pillars, each concept supports the contemporary Russian cultural frame. Of note, each of the three framing devices from the separatist ideological discourse (“*Great Patriotic War*,” “*pan-Slavism*,” and “*Western*”

conspiracy”) appears thematically in the cultural discourse. Therefore, the nature of a devices usage in movement discourse was helpful in determining its function in the cultural frame. Conversely, a synthesis of the cultural frame suggested the usefulness of specific frame devices in the ideological movement discourse.

This work links the concepts in a one-directional manner as they function within of Benford and Snow’s (2000) collective action frame. The Russian cultural frame consists of *(a) problem identification using post-Soviet angst, (b) assignment of blame via anti-Western rhetoric, (c) suggested solutions by offering who (distinctively Russian people) should do what (assume their rightful messianic role) and how (Eurasianism). Pan-Slavism and the “Great Patriotic War,”* as resurrected from the Russian past by Putin, might be viewed as a “bridging strategies” (Snow et al., 1986), which will be discussed as part of RQ3.

Each concept will be discussed below.

Post-Soviet angst.

As the name implies, post-Soviet angst within the discourse captures the sense of loss and uncertainty experienced by former Soviets, after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Although the Soviet Union was a specifically Communist institution, it still placed Russians at the political, military, economic, and cultural center of an imperial framework. A deep dive into the centrality of Russia within the Soviet Union is beyond the space available here. However, the resulting sense of importance held by Russians cannot be overstated. Discussion surrounding the Soviet collapse generally center on decreased living standards, sense of loss, and concerns of security and sovereignty.

The post-Soviet era decrease in living standard has been one of the most politically useful devices for connecting with Russians since the early 1990s. Russian leaders from all positions along the political spectrum decry the decreased wage and income inequality. When discussing Russia's development strategy through 2020 at the end of his second presidential term, Putin remarked that "inflation ate away at people's already low incomes," "real incomes were only 40% of what they were in 1991," and "wealthy Russia had become a land of impoverished people." (Johnson's Russia List, 2008). Prominent academic, Communist Party leader, and former Russian Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov noted the decline in Russian economic clout in an academic discussion with other Russian elites. He remarked, "The time is long past when Russia's Far East, for instance, was able to conduct foreign trade, including trans-border trade, and attract foreign investment only via Moscow" (Primakov, 2008). Some political elites use the differential in economic status to highlight the utility of their own agenda. For example, Gennady Zyuganov (current Communist Party leader) (Cicik, 2012) highlights the economic rise of the oligarchy as a result of the disappearance of socialism. Boris Gryzlov (United Russia Party leader and former speaker of the Russian State Duma) highlights the relationship between financial weakness and national security (Gryzlov, 2008).

This sense of loss is palpable in Russian discourse. Elite discourse describes a loss of power, prestige, security, feelings of betrayal, and embarrassment. Embarrassment stems from the grand failure of the Soviet system and as the death of a European Russian idea (Laruelle, 2012). Feelings of betrayal are closely linked with declining influence in the "near abroad" and on the world stage (Igumnova, 2011). Revolution and rejection of Russia abounded in Ukraine, Georgia, and the Baltic states. The loss of Slavic states such as Ukraine, which many Russian elites genuinely considered their ethnic brethren, was particularly salient. Putin articulated this

sentiment in a 2005 interview with German television. He said, “One morning people woke up and discovered that from now on they did not live in a common nation... although they [had] always identified themselves as part of the Russian people. ... [T]here are 25 million of them. [...] This is the obvious tragedy” (Yakovlev-Golani, 2011, p. 396). Such loss important was not only on the human front, but also on the resource and security front. Discussion of Russian loss of resources is noticeably absent from the discourse analyzed in this work. However, security concerns brought on by the loss of “buffer” countries is particularly salient.

Security concerns seem to be a particularly useful concern of the Russian right. Here, I define the “right” as Putin’s United Russia Party, Zhirinovsky’s Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR), ethnic nationalists, and Dugin’s Eurasianists. Each has undertones of traditionalism (Laruelle, 2012) and exhibits a nationalist agenda in some way. From the left, Primakov notes how “[the war in] Chechnya, U.S.-led NATO military alliance, American military bases in Central Asia, orange revolutions liberating ex-Soviet countries from Moscow’s orbit, [and] terrorist attacks...” fuel nationalist sentiment. In some cases, this nationalism extends into xenophobic antagonistic racial conceptions. For example, Zhirinovsky (LDPR) frequently blames security concerns on “subversive southerners” [read Islamic / Turkic]. His platform requires Russians to unite for the “salvation of Russia and the world from the subversive activity of southerners...” (Umland, 2012, p. 32), in his ethnic conception of “Russia for Russians” (p. 2). Putin himself continually references security concerns. In the final speech of his second presidential term (2008), and in his speech at the Munich Conference on Security Policy (2007), he paints a picture where U.S. military expansion combined with diminished Russian influence in the “near abroad” leaves Russian interest vulnerable and where terrorists in Chechnya and Dagestan threaten the wellbeing of citizens.

“Post-Soviet angst,” as portrayed in the speech of the Russian political elite, is clearly a problem that needs to be solved. Anger and humiliation enhance the notion that an already fragile nation is under attack from hostile forces (terrorists) while former enemies (the West) gobble up Russian interests within their former zone of influence. Furthermore, ungrateful beneficiaries (Slavs among them) of the Soviet system have turned their back on Russia as it bears the financial burden of Soviet collapse. In this concept alone, one can already begin to see how anti-Westernism, pan-Slavism, and the need to forge a distinct (non-Soviet) Russian identity are logically linked. Next, I will examine the concept of Russian character. Russian discourse provides a useful contemporary solution to the ongoing cultural identity crisis before turning its attention outward.

Unique Russian character.

Russians continually struggle to define the characteristics and composition of their national identity. Questions surround exactly what makes Russian culture distinct and who belongs within the nation. This struggle seems to be the natural result of historical cultural amalgamation. The popular conception that Russia serves as a crossroads between Europe, Asia, and the Middle East is quite correct. Russia’s geographic position allowed it to be influenced by many cultures while not allowing it to fully align with any. Thus, the homogeneous construction of cultural and ethnic identities that occurred within other European nation-states did not occur in Russia. Dianina (2012) adds that “Russia was not a national state of Russians: politically, it had been and remained a multi-national dynastic empire... . [T]he building of an empire impeded the formation of a nation” (p. 226). The previous discussion of the Kievan Rus provides the example of how an initially European group gradually drifted from European mainstream development under Mongol rule. Historians of all previously mentioned ideologies (e.g. pro-Soviet, Russian

Imperial or Ukrainian Nationalist) seem to agree that Russia emerged as its own distinct culture relative to Europe. Nevertheless, most historic Russian identity discourse occurs in the context of comparison with Europe. This discourse seems to follow a process whereby Russians westernize, reach a cultural limit, reject further westernization, examine their history, highlight tradition, and redefine themselves vis-a-vis the West. In this context, we might consider Gorbachev's Perestroika and Yeltsin's "democratization," or as Laruelle (2012) suggests, Communism, as the most recent limits of westernization. The angst described in the previous section represents that cultural limit and beginnings of western rejection. Thus, contemporary Russian identity discourse focuses on history, traditional Russian values, and redefined relationships with the West.

Cicik (2012) notes that Russia's distant past often becomes a valuable source for answering questions of national identity and destiny. Within contemporary Russian discourse, historical discussion centers on two different types of insights – hard and soft. I define hard insights as the writings of past thinkers who specifically define Russian characteristics and forms of government. In contrast, soft insights are those that draw upon anecdotal or folk wisdom, such as the sentiment voiced by Trubetskoi, one of the original Eurasianists, that "characteristics of the Russians is knowledge of the world through religious intuition as an organic whole" This analysis is primarily concerned with hard insights because of their prevalence in discourse as well as their ability to anchor Russian identity in specific political ideas.

For Russian leaders, usable hard insights apparently must reject a Soviet past that implies failure and certain modernization periods (such as that of Peter the Great) that imply mimicry of the West. Thus, historical discourse anchors Russian political character in the values of 19th and early 20th Century Imperial Russia. Specifically relevant is the concept of "Official

Nationalism.” Official Nationalism dates from the rule of Czar Nicholas I and was officially codified by Count Sergei Uvarov in 1832 as “Pravoslavie, Samoderhaviye, Narodnost,” or Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationality (Bykova, 2008; Cicik, 2012; Laqueur, 2014). These three pillars of former Official Russian Nationalism are important because they specifically define who is a member of the Russian nation and how Russians ostensibly prefer to be governed. Further, these three concepts dominate the discussion of “Russian” character among elites. The depth of discussion surrounding each concept would be quite impossible to represent in its entirety. However, each will briefly be covered below.

Orthodoxy is much more than the Russian state religion. Dostoevsky asserted that the Russian “ideal of authentic fraternal community is preserved in Orthodoxy” (Cicik, 2012, p. 9). As a religion and as an institution, Orthodoxy represents the Russian “spirit,” traditionalism, means of identifying members of the nation, and a logic for rejection of the West. One of Orthodoxy’s key aspects is its traditionalism and conservatism. Orthodox conservatism can easily be juxtaposed with Western liberal values and standards that many Russians consider unacceptable (Igumnova, 2011). Thus, in a distinct turn from the atheistic Soviet Union, Russian leaders routinely align themselves with the Orthodox Church. The legitimacy provided by official Orthodox sanctioning of political policy continues to carve out an ever increasing role for the clergy, particularly the outspokenly nationalist Patriarch Kirill (Cicik, 2012; Igumnova, 2011). Kirill, in turn, provides unprecedented reciprocal support for the United Russia platform and for Putin’s Eurasian vector of cultural / economic development. For example, in 2009 Kirill chastised the pro-European Ukrainians and Russians who would “enter Europe for the sake of our stomach and our pockets... [while] losing spiritual primacy [and] renouncing our tragic but incomparable experience” (Igumnova, 2011, p. 269).

Kirill's statement is important because it demonstrates his sway over Ukrainians, many of whom are Russian Orthodox. Further, because Orthodoxy is a hallmark identifier of who belongs to the Russian nation, it demonstrates a level of pan-Slavism – or an implicit grouping of Orthodox Ukrainians within the Russian nation. Thus, nationality and Orthodoxy are deeply entwined and in many cases synonymous. Recent turns toward ethnic nationalism have highlighted the exclusivity of ethnic Russians. One can see evidence of this in Zhirinovskiy's LDPR motto of "Russia for Russians" or Putin's use of "Ruskii" (meaning ethnic Russian) rather than the traditional "Rossiskii" (meaning Russian peoples of multiple ethnicities) in a March 2014 speech to the Duma (Martin, 2014; Umland, 2008). However, as noted previously, Putin's pan-Slavist worldview (Ukraine is Little Russia) quite possibly leaves open the interpretation that all Orthodox Slavs are "Ruskii."

The discourse of Russian identity highlights the autocratic nature of traditional Russian government and the "natural" proclivity of Russians to prefer centralized government. There is evidence of this logic throughout historical Russian self-reflection. Interestingly, Ukrainian discourse distinguishes Russians in this way as well (Himka, 2002). Recent discourse seems to highlight this characteristic as a logic for consolidating power, not only within the Russian Federation but abroad with other "Russian peoples." Primakov normalizes Russian autocracy in a 2008 article. He writes, "Totalitarianism, autocracy, and other authoritarian forms of government also have their roots in special national characteristics" (Primakov, 2008, p. 98). Surkov validates the consolidation of power by linking it with "soft" historical characteristics of Russians. He writes, "... we recognize centralization, personification, and idealization as three special characteristics of our political culture... . [C]ertain parties cannot be imagined without

their leaders” (Surkov, 2008, p. 84). Here one might note that Surkov belongs to the United Russia Party headed by Putin.

Lastly, the discourse of Russian distinctiveness uses the framework of Orthodoxy, Nationality, and Autocracy to promote a position of strength. Thus, following these principles will lead to a rejection of the liberal values that have polluted traditional Russian strength and will save it from the inevitable decline of the West. Gryzlov (2008) echoes Putin in stating, “We want Russia to maintain itself in a global world, to preserve its own traditions and culture... . [O]nly a strong state can do it... . [A] strong Russia is a united Russia” (p. 84).

In summation, the historical search for identity finds its mark in the tenets of Imperial Russia’s Official Nationalism. Using the lenses of orthodoxy, nationality, and autocracy allows traditionalist elements of the Russian right and left (aka the red-brown coalition) to define Russians as ethnically Slavic, Orthodox, traditional in value, and preferring a centralized government. Further, this framework allows Russian expansionists to define those who meet the proper criteria as “Ruskii,” even if they do not physically live in Russia.

This conception of Russian identity sets up the next major component of Russian discourse – that of the Messianic role. The construction of a Russian identity different from and in opposition to the West and more liberal neighbors sets up the logic that the Russian people have special mission to unite other peoples and save the “world” from decline.

The Russian messianic role.

In terms of the cultural frame, certain functions (Benford & Snow, 2000; Entman, 1993; Dardis, 2007) have been established within the Russian discourse. Degradation of the Russian condition in the post-Soviet Space (problem) is a result of liberal values, opportunistic

Westerners, and non-ethnic Russians who threaten security with terrorism and encroachment. The problem calls for redefinition of the true Russian character, consolidation of “Ruskii,” and the assertion of Russian values upon a declining world. The last portion of the solution describes the self-perceived Russian Messianic role. Again, the discourse surrounding the export of Russian ideas and the special role of Russians as world leaders is not exclusive to the post-Soviet dialogue. Victor Yasmann’s (1993) prophetic analysis of Eurasianist and nationalist thought links messianic rhetoric with the earlier Russian/Soviet proclivity to view the Russian people as a pioneers on the brink of a new world order. As such, Russians would be destined to export Communism and save other nations from the pitfalls of early capitalism. This self-perceived role as a “savior” or a people with a special mission is intricately linked with the centuries old self-conception of Russians as being “in between” East and West. As such, choices between (a) democracy and communism, (b) Eastern or Western values, and (c) Asian or European identity are false. The rejection of dichotomies and conception of Russia as its own civilization leads to the centuries old idea of a “third way” (Yasmann, 1993; Bykova, 2008) or “third Rome” (Surkov, 2008; Laruelle, 2012), where the Russian civilization plays the leading role in a new geopolitical order. Ideologists like Dugin and Surkov provide moral impetus for Russian assertion in the current context by citing Western decline in values and necessity of traditionalist Russian Orthodoxy to fill the void (Surkov, 2008; Laruelle, 2012). Following their lead, United Russia Party Leader Boris Gryzlov pushes Putin’s international agenda when he says, “Russia is compelled to restore strategic equilibrium practically on its own... . [W]e have to look for asymmetric responses” (Gryzlov, 2008).

If, as Putin says, Russia is to “assert a substantial influence upon the development of a new architecture of international relations” (Igumnova, 2012, p. 257), it must first consolidate

and include all “Ruskii.” In this conception, a strong and united Russia cannot exist or participate in expanded vectors of development without uniting the Orthodox Slavs in Ukraine and Belarus. They are a necessary component of the evolving “Russian Idea.” The “Russian Idea” couples national characteristics with the messianic vision to create a more holistic vision of Russian meaning. Ershov describes this type of holistic conception as “a system of social strategies and tactics for determining society’s position in historical time and space as a unity of the nation’s self-determination in a context of distinction from other systems of socio-cultural values” (Alekseev, 2013, p .12).

Eurasianism.

Eurasianism is an incredibly complex geopolitical ideology that is sometimes described as the logic behind Putin’s aggressive policy in the “near abroad” and his turn to the east for economic partnership. A full discussion of Eurasianism is not possible here. For the purpose of this discussion, Eurasianism represents just one of many specific avenues for implementation of the “Russian Idea.” As such, Eurasianism is one way to clarify of the solution within the cultural frame. However, it deserves singling out for its alignment with most major tenets of the Russian Idea, its high level adherents (Dugin, Zyuganov, Primakov, Zhirinovskiy, and perhaps Putin), and specific mentioning in the discourse. Eurasianism fits with the “soft” description described in previous sections. Charles Clover (1999), Chief of the Kiev Bureau of the *Financial Times*, described Eurasianism as “whimsically all-encompassing, romantically obscure, intellectually sloppy and likely to start a third world war” (p. 9). Chairman of the Communist Party Gennady Zyuganov, an adherent of Dugin’s version of Eurasianism, succinctly sums up the ideology in a “harder” way. He states, “Russia’s main enemy is democratic liberalism, and its geopolitical and ideological future lies with Asia, not the West” (Laqueur, 2014, p. 76). Zyuganov, however, does

not explain all of the key tenets of Eurasianism such as its Messianic role for Russia, conceptions of ethnicity, traditionalism, and orthodoxy.

Eurasianist ideas were originally cultivated among post-revolution Russian expatriates in France and Germany as way to simultaneously reject communism and westernization (Laruelle, 2012). Eurasianists proposed a social and political order intended to provide a uniquely Russian alternative to both systems. Similar ideas regarding Russian social and political uniqueness can be found in repetitive Russian writings regarding of a “third Rome / third way.” The next generation of Eurasianists, including author Lev Gumiliev (1912-1992), defined each world culture as its own “ethnos.” Gumiliev’s “ethnos” is a pseudoscientific construction that provides a racial basis to judge the suitability of ethnic groups for leadership. As such, different “ethnos” vary by their amount of “energy” and ability (Yasmann 1993, Laruelle, 2012). The Russian “ethnos,” with an ostensibly large share of “energy,” is destined to rule neighboring groups. Further, the traditionalism of Russian Orthodoxy, according to Eurasianists, is ideal for partnership with the traditional Asiatic ethnos. However, this “partnership” does little to incorporate any aspect of Asian cultures. In fact, the Eurasian vision is quite anti-Asian in the sense that Orthodoxy and central government by Russia form the key components of cooperation (Bykova, 2008; Clover, 1999). Eurasianism is unmistakably imperial. It advocates an elite class of technocratic Russian rulers over subordinate (but complicit) class of “less energetic” races (Laruelle, 2012). The centrality of government seems to be a direct spin off of the tenets 19th Century “Official Nationalism.”

From a Eurasianist standpoint, Russia has not reached the point of integration with the Asian ethnos because it must first consolidate “Ruskii” people and lands. Dugin himself views the initial step as the “separation of former Soviet republics with their Russian-speaking

territories,” specifically Crimea and Eastern Ukraine (Cicik, 2012, p. 10). Thus, Dugin’s interacting directly with and providing encouragement for the leadership of Novorossiia is no coincidence.

We have come nearly full circle in describing the Russian cultural frame. Two more aspects, the “Great Patriotic War” and “pan-Slavism” remain. These two thematic concepts serve the dual purpose of making the “Russian Idea” salient among Russians, as well as bridging that idea with Ukrainians.

The Great Patriotic War and pan-Slavism.

Scholars (Maples, 2012, Serbyn, 2003; Norris, 2007; Laruelle, 2012; Brandenberger, 2010, Linan, 2012) continually note the large Russian discourse surrounding the “Great Patriotic War.” Linan (2012) describes this vision of World War II as the “foundational myth of the new Russia... [that] helps confront change with energy and vigor” (p. 23). Over the last seven decades, the “Great Patriotic War” has become enshrined in Russian public memory through “hero cities,” museums, movies, folk stories, and celebrations (particularly May 9th Victory Day). However, not until Putin’s first term as President did the war reenter discourse in a meaningful way. For Putin, the war serves multiple purposes. First, the war is universal that allows a common frame of reference with potential audiences. Putin wrote in 2011, “Practically every family in Russia had its own casualties in that war. Both the pride in the victory and the pain of the losses are passed along from generation to generation” (Putin, 2011, p. 16). Thus, in times of identity crisis, the war provides an “immutable place” to which Russians can return to recover a sense of meaning (Linan, 2012). Next, the war provides a historical example of successful Slavic unity, which serves both to demonstrate the potential for further unification and to Russify the experience of Ukrainians and Belarusians. Pan-Slavist and Soviet historians

consider the Soviet soldier to be a composite of the three Russian “peoples,” (Serbyn, 2003, p. 52). Such conceptions of a composite Soviet defender imply a duty for Ukrainians to defend Slavic lands against a Western invader.

This campaign to restore the war to prominence and broaden its appeal encompasses many arenas within Russian culture. For example, the United Russia Party provided influential filmmakers state funds to flood the market with no less than 16 full feature-length (Great Patriotic) war movies between 2002-2006 (Norris, 2007). The stream of films, including the cult-status film *Zvezda* (Star), was a direct reaction by the Russian government to a perceived lack of patriotism representing a threat to national security (Norris, 2007). The films and related discourse treat war as a struggle between German fascists / collaborators and the Russian people. Such narratives exclude allied efforts in other theaters, pre-1941 Russo-German alliances such as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and the two years of conflict prior to the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. Within this context, German fascists and Western opportunistic allies are complicit in forcing Russians to bear the brunt of the war. According to David Marples (2012), this “Cold War scenario of quasi-treacherous Western Allied Forces, which delayed the formation of a Second Front... has once again come to the fore” (p. 288). This theme and other devices portray Western interest as synonymous with German fascism— a theme that might resonate with the historical Russian fear of Euro-German expansion known as “*Drang Nach Osten*” (Voice of Russia, 2014). The relationship between the Russian “Great Patriotic War” and its use as a frame amplification strategy by Novorossiia will be discussed as part of RQ3.

The last thematic concept in Russian cultural discourse, pan-Slavism, is the belief that all east Slavic people represent a single nationality. This logic usually insinuates that Ukrainians and Belarusians are either (a) actually Russian, or (b) ethnic brethren who are (should be) junior

partners within the Russian world. This worldview is clearly in play with the Russian political elite, notably Vladimir Putin. At a 2008 NATO meeting in Bucharest, Putin described Ukraine to George W. Bush as follows: “You don’t understand, George, that Ukraine is not even a state. What is Ukraine? Part of its territories is Eastern Europe, but the greater part is a gift from us” (Marson, 2009). A year later, Putin recommended Russian journalists read the autobiography of Anton Denikin, a commander in the White Army, which fought the Bolsheviks after the revolution in 1917. Putin noted, “He has a discussion there about Big Russia and Little Russia — Ukraine... He says that no one should be allowed to interfere in relations between us; they have always been the business of Russia itself” (Marson, 2009). Putin is hardly the first or only politician to employ this logic when dealing with Ukraine. One of the most influential thinkers in modern Russian history (and ardent Soviet critic) Alexander Solzhenitsyn advocated a federation with Ukraine and Belarus that would ensure the “ethnic purity” of a Russia based on Slavic origin (Cicik, 2012, p. 14). As noted in the history section, dominant interpretations of historical events, such as the Treaty of Pereyslav and legacy of the Kievan Rus, contribute to similar beliefs by many Russians, Belarusians and Ukrainians.

Thematic Concepts of (Pro-European) Ukrainian Cultural Discourse (RQ2)

The Pro-European Ukrainian cultural discourse is one of frustrated nationalism. Throughout the discourse, authors and politicians discuss the concept of the “Ukrainian Idea” (or the national idea). The Ukrainian Idea is a formal political concept that seems deeply rooted in the socialization of many Western Ukrainians. Shulman (1999) defines the idea as “a state devoted to representing, preserving, and promoting ethnic Ukrainian culture and language” (p. 1016). However, pro-European discussion of Ukrainian often reflects much more emotion than Shulman’s pragmatic definition indicates. Discourse surrounding the Ukrainian idea is filled with

yearning for the past, internal and external frustration, fear of destruction, anger, wary cautiousness, and a deep connection with history. The concept of the Ukrainian Idea is so prevalent in cultural discourse that I began to consider it as synonymous with the pro-European Ukrainian cultural frame.

Within the cultural discourse, the Ukrainian Idea encompasses six thematic concepts that function diagnostically and prognostically. *The diagnostic concepts include (a) the failed realization of the Ukrainian idea and (b) the existential threat to Ukrainian culture. Prognostic concepts include (a) realization of the Ukrainian idea and (b) Europeanization.* These thematic concepts will be described in a slightly different way than the Russian discourse. Because thematic concepts were often presented as part of explicitly nationalist appeals, it made sense here to present such themes in terms of their function (diagnostic and prognostic). This is a departure from the Russian discourse, there thematic concepts were apparent but their function was less explicit.

Diagnostic framing

The Ukrainian Idea Identifies problems and assigns blame by way of three overlapping concepts. First, “*The Unrealized Ukrainian Idea*” manifests in discussions of (a) frustration and lamentation regarding the failure to achieve a prosperous ethno-linguistic Ukrainian state, and (b) attempts to rationalize or understand the cultural divide that exists within Ukraine. Second, the “*Existential Threat to the Ukrainian Idea*” assigns blame historical and contemporary adversaries such as Poles, Russians, Soviets, or other Ukrainians. Contemporary discourse reserves primary blame for Russians and corrupt Ukrainian political officials. A thematic concept’s assignment to the diagnostic framing function reflects my understanding of how they were most frequently and explicitly used in the cultural discourse.

The problem: failure to realize the “Ukrainian Idea.”

Discussions surrounding the Ukrainian Idea provide overwhelming evidence of the frustration Western Ukrainians feel at not having achieved it. Suffice to say that the ephemeral hope surrounding Ukrainian independence in 1991 and the Orange Revolution in 2004 only aggravated this frustration. This thematic concept of failure never appeared as the dominant message in an artifact of discourse. However, after reading a 2011 piece by Ukrainian historian Taras Kuzio, I took note of its presence. “Frustration” seems like the most appropriate term to capture the emotion underpinning the concept of failed nationhood. However, lament, reservation, and sadness might also be accurate. The emotion may vary as discussions focus on lost opportunity, internal criticism, or external blame. Nonetheless, they spark the idea that the past and present situation in Ukraine needs adjustment.

Quite a bit of frustration is directed inward in the form of negative self-evaluation. More specifically, speakers focus on how past corruption and inept institutions resulted in an inability to consolidate the Ukrainian people at critical junctures. Some (Kuzio 2011; Morgan, 2008) blame the legacy of Soviet-style governmental practices and the inability of current leaders to adjust to new environments. Former Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk offered his disgust that “although the authorities change, the methods and paths to resolve political and socio-economic problems remain unchanged” (Kuzio, 2011, p. 89). Kuzio further discusses a lack of political will, little institutional ability to fight corruption, and weak pan-national agreement as reasons for such failure.

Others (Hyrtzak, 1998; Schkandrij, 2012) cite Ukrainians who blame the nature of their fellow countrymen for “allowing” the Ukrainian Idea to fail. In a historical example, the editor of *Dilo*, wrote “the main reason is that we live among undemocratic states and slogans... . [W]illy-

nilly we submit to overly strong foreign influences” (Schkandrij, 2012, p. 432). Hyrtsak (1998) quotes a typical woman in L’viv as saying, “Ukrainians expect too much from other countries. Nobody can help us; we will [need to] rely on ourselves” (p. 274). In describing the impact of the failed realization, he cites another woman who longingly yearns “...to produce our own metals, to teach our own children, to have our own professors. All this has to be restored. If we don’t restore it, it means we are worth nothing” (p. 274).

Some of the lament and frustration is turned toward history. This outward focus manifests in (a) recounting past failures at statehood and (b) describing how historical injustice resulted in an inability to create a sufficiently successful Ukrainian State. Historical accounts include the invocation of the Kievan Rus, proto-Ukrainian Cossack state, 20th Century (notably 1918 and 1941) attempts at independence, and the 2004 Orange Revolution. Injustices seem to center on the effects of Polonization, Russification, the 1932-33 famine, Soviet Rule, and World War II. One can recognize when historical tragedies serve the frame by identifying a problem (rather than assigning blame) because focus is placed on the result, rather than the cause. For example, Morgan’s (2008) study on Ukrainian perceptions of the famine showed that many believed the process of nationhood became stunted because the core of the Ukrainian intelligentsia had been destroyed. His study cited a historical (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) OUN grievance regarding the “Polonization” of the L’viv intelligentsia.

Much discourse laments the current state of affairs after 23 years of independence. Skandrij (2012) and Katchanovski (2010) describe how the discourse of politicians reflects the frustration that Ukrainian language continues to be marginalized in professional settings, integration into the European Union has stagnated, the 2004 Revolution failed to overcome

corruption, and Russian dominance remains an existential threat. However, the most blatant indicator of the failed Ukrainian Idea is the continued existence of a regional cultural divide.

Grappling with the regional cultural divide.

The topic of the East / West cultural divide is so prominent in Ukrainian cultural discourse that the frame seems to treat it as an independent problem. Although considering the divide a manifestation of the larger problem (failed Ukrainian idea), it serves as a major roadblock to national realization. Thus, much scholarly and political discourse attempts to understand, describe, and rationalize its impact. A full discussion of the multifaceted divide between Eastern and Western Ukrainians is beyond the space available here. However, scholars (Kulyk, 2011; Himka, 2002; Katchanovski, 2010; Hyrtsak, 1998; Korostelina, 2012) and politicians (Yushchenko, 2004, Yatsenyuk, 2013; Turchynov, 2013, Poroshenko, 2014) continually address the implications of the regional differences in political outlook, ethnic self-identification, language affiliation, historical perspective, and outlook for the future of Ukraine. Western Ukrainian cultural discourse problematizes “Russified” Eastern Ukrainian belief systems and perceives that individual issues, like language, are linked with others (like politics and ethnic self-identity.) Kulyk’s (2011) empirical study, for example, demonstrated that “Ukrainian speakers in the west are more supportive of Bandera and cautious of Russian reunification... . [L]anguage identity also influences people’s views of other culturally sensitive issues, including (but arguable not limited to) those of foreign policy and historical memory” (p. 642). Kulyk’s study can easily be supplemented with Katchanovski’s (2010) citation of 2004 Razumkov data showing regional differences of opinion regarding the characterization of the 1932-33 famine as “genocide” and the role of the OUN in the Jewish Holocaust. Hyrtsak (1998) describes how even after independence, Ukrainian Parliamentary and Presidential election data

showed that “language differences were highly correlated with political and regional differences between nationalist-minded Western Ukraine and pro-communist [Russian] Eastern Ukraine” (p. 263). The important point here is that such differences matter, are consistently discussed, and are problematic for cultural proponents of the Ukrainian Idea.

Thus, using the idea of a “failed” Ukrainian idea and existing divides among perceived members of the Ukrainian nation, participants have laid a foundation of problematic conditions. As described above, these problems exist within Ukrainian culture, institutions, attitudes and historical experience. The next section focuses on the aspect of Western Ukrainian discourse that seeks to blame other groups for such problems.

Existential threat to the Ukrainian idea.

An element of the Ukrainian discourse seeks to deflect responsibility (sometimes justifiably) for the above problems by placing blame on other groups. Further, this element portrays historical “others,” particularly Russians, as a continual threat to Ukrainian sovereignty and identity. This discourse can be used to solidify a distinct identity, justify mistakes, and vilify the “other” such that the “other’s” identity is undesirable. Stewart et al. (2012) describe how “to unite with one group, cause, or movement is to separate from some other group... creating clear distinctions between the evil other and the virtuous self, a we-they dichotomy” (p. 149). As such, the blame game requires a “flag issue.” In this case, the chief historical “flag issue” is the 1932-33 famine, while the contemporary flag issue seems to be cultural marginalization through language repression.

As noted previously, the famine is known in Western Ukraine as the Holodomor. This loaded term implies the genocidal understanding (Himka, 2013). As Yushchenko himself stated

in a 2007 speech, the famine was “a crime of unimaginable horror. Usually referred to in the West as the Great Famine or Terror Famine, it is known to Ukrainians as the Holodomor.” He further characterizes it as “a state-organized program of mass starvation that in 1932-33 killed 7-10 million Ukrainians, including up to a third of the nation’s children.” The key here is that Yushchenko characterized the famine as “state-organized.” Thus, he implies genocidal intent to the Soviet collectivization of Ukrainian farm lands. Even more specifically, he characterizes the famine as Russo-Soviet act intended to punish the Ukrainian people and prevent nationhood.

Although some older discourse blames Poles (Schkandrij, 2012) and Jews (Himka, 2011; Korostelina, 2012), most contemporary accounts of repression attribute threat to the Soviets and (later) Russians. Yavorska (2010) and Himka (2002) detail oppression of the “Little Russian” language beginning in the 1870s through the “Great Terror” of the 1930s. Yushchenko (2007) chronicles how language and cultural repression continued throughout the Soviet period, while literature on the cultural divide (described above) normally attributes language differences to “Russification” and cultural repression.

A final component of “othering” includes keeping the threat relevant. Korostelina’s (2012) compilation of Western Ukrainian narratives demonstrated a widely held belief that “opposition between West and East of Ukraine is induced and financed by Russia and its imperial ambitions” (p. 305). Gvodsev (2014) describes how the idea has spread to the East, where even among the Russian population, most believe that unification with Russia is “a Russian idea brought from the outside, one that Russia is using to fuel internal Ukrainian conflicts for its own benefit” (p. 23). As certain literature (Kulyk, 2011; Hyrtsak, 1998) describing the political implications of the East / West Ukrainian cultural divide implies,

Western Ukrainians remain wary of the potential for Russian exploitation of political corruption and party allegiance (particularly the Russian Language Party of Regions.)

Prognostic framing.

The Ukrainian Idea frame has an unsurprising suggested solution to the problems described above – *reinvigoration of the Ukrainian Idea*. More specifically, this frame seeks to bridge the East / West cultural divide by (a) *solidifying a common Ukrainian self-concept around which all Ukrainians can rally*, and (b) *highlighting past affiliations with Europe as an example of the potential for integration and a direction for institutional resolution of societal / governmental shortfalls*. Each of these will be discussed below.

Closing the divide with a common Ukrainian self-concept.

Western Ukrainian identity discourse is both descriptive and normative. In fact, it might best be understood as a story that shapes perceptions of identity to support the agenda of Europeanization and nation building. Descriptive discourse, such as discussions of voting and language patterns is frequently based on survey data (Hyrtzak, 2011; Kulyk, 2011), empirical studies (Shulman, 1999), and focus groups (Korostelina, 2012). However, such studies are often used to set up normative discussions of Ukrainian identity. In other words (in the spirit of framing), certain aspects have been made more salient than others. In keeping with the larger concept of the “Ukrainian Idea,” normative characteristics of Ukrainians should be those that are (a) inclusive of all Ukrainians, (b) aligned with European norms, and (c) distinct from Russian identity. Each of these will be briefly discussed below.

A juxtaposition of the strict definition of the Ukrainian Idea (a state devoted to representing, preserving, and promoting ethnic Ukrainian culture and language), with the

language and ethnic identity constructs used by Eastern Ukrainians, shows that the two are not entirely consistent. Thus, to implement the Ukrainian Idea in a way that does not alienate large segments of the Eastern and Southern Ukrainian population, national discourse has turned to qualities that are more inclusive and universal. More specifically, the discourse highlights common historical roots and “Ukrainian” national characteristics that are not ethno-linguistic (e.g. tolerance). Here, Shulman’s (1999) study is particularly informative. He begins by analyzing the literature of influential Ukrainian writers, poets, thinkers, and politicians over the last 100 years and thematically categorizes five recurrent traits of Ukrainian culture that are distinct from Russian. He follows with a large scale quantitative analysis of public opinion in two cities that represent the geographic and political poles of Ukraine: L’viv and Donetsk. Among the traits he lists from elite discourse are individualism, love of freedom, connection with the land, emotionalism / romanticism, and tolerance.

Within the context of this work, a comparison of Shulman’s “Ukrainian” characteristics with Russian identity discourse, like Surkov’s (2008) description of “essential” Russian traits, provides some validation to both identities. Surkov is frequently cited as an ideological influence on Putin thought to be an architect of a plan to annex of Eastern Ukraine (Nemtsova, 2014, Weiss, 2014, Euromaidan Press, 2014). Thus, Surkov’s vision of the “Russian Idea” might be viewed as the ideological competition for the “Ukrainian Idea” among Eastern Ukrainians.

Generally speaking, Surkov and Shulman’s categorical traits paint a picture of Ukrainian and Russian interpersonal similarity and political difference. For example, Shulman describes the predilection of Ukrainians for “feelings over reason, for spirituality over materialism... a philosophy of the heart” (p. 1019). Surkov (2008) characterizes Russian intellectual and cultural practice in a strikingly similar manner. He writes that Russians prefer “synthesis over analysis,

idealism over pragmatism, imagery over logic, intuition over rationality” (p. 83). Surkov and Shulman’s characterizations emphasize the centrality of spirituality and holistic worldview of both groups. On issues of politics and government, however, Ukrainians and Russians are portrayed in stark contrast. Shulman highlights the individuality and love for democracy that are allegedly inherent in Ukrainians. He cites nationalist writers as emphasizing “a deep respect for individual dignity and rights... a penchant for self-governance” (p. 1017) with a tradition dating back to the law codes of the Kievan Rus. Surkov (2008), however, highlights the practice of “pulling Russian lands toward the center and welding the state into a single whole” and “a striving toward political wholeness through the centralization of power functions” (p.83)

On inclusiveness, Shulman (2008) cites Kostomarov’s 1903 description of Ukrainians as composed of “foreigners of different beliefs and tribes, gathered for centuries, yielding a spirit of tolerance [and] lack of national arrogance” (p. 1019). Surkov, on the other hand, describes that for Russians “... culture is fate. God commanded us to be ethnic Russians [*russkie*] as well of citizens of Russia [*rossiane*]. Such we shall remain” (p. 89).

The three points of difference (individuality, democracy / decentralization, and tolerance) most heavily weigh in the discourse analyzed for this work. For example, Korestelina’s (2012) study of the cultural divide in Ukraine found commonality in “a unique identity rooted in high standards for people’s rights and freedoms and Ukrainian values of democracy” (p. 305). Kohut (1986) focused on the legacy of Cossack autonomy within the Russian Empire and exposure to European governmental institutions to explain the roots of individualism and traditions of decentralized government among both East and Western Ukrainians. Other work has tried to portray the “Ukrainian Idea” as open to all citizens and ethnicities. Viktor Yushchenko, in his 2004 inaugural address, emphasized that “we will not be separated by the languages we speak,

the religions we practice, or the political views we support. We are proud of being Ukrainians” (Yushchenko, 2005).

Europeanization.

Europeanization is entirely central to the normative discourse of the “Ukrainian Idea.” If the identity discourse discussed previously describes what Ukrainian culture is (individual, democratic, tolerant, tied to the land) and what is not – Russian (Svyetlov, 2007) – then Europeanization represents what Ukraine and Ukrainians should be. However, not much seems to be specific about what “Europeanization” entails. In many cases, it seems to be synonymous with “not Russian,” “successful,” or “organized.” However, it seems most accurate to treat “European” as (a) a characterization of successful of neighboring states who prosper outside the Russian sphere, (b) a prescriptive model for governance that addresses corruption, (c) the realization of Ukrainian character through governance, and (d) Ukraine’s arrival among the successful nations of the world.

Several years ago, Roman Szporluk, chair of the Harvard Ukrainian Studies Department, wrote that “the European theme became dominant in Ukrainian discourses on the nature of Ukrainian distinctiveness from Russia. The thesis [of Ukrainian historical ties to Europe] became an article of faith in Ukrainian national ideology” (Onyshkevych, 2006, p. 411). This article of faith has been discussed as the normative direction for Ukrainian development by both celebrities and politicians. Poet and popular Ukrainian writer Yuriy Andrukovych summed up the Western Ukrainian view on Europeanization in a 2005 speech before the State Council for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine, by saying, “The European choice for Ukraine is more than just a geographic term. In the first place, we have chosen the civilized European model of development, which allows achieving progress in all spheres of social and

public life” (Onyshkevych, 2006, p. 413). Western Ukrainians seem to look with particular favor on Poland, a former adversary that embodies the ability to break with Soviet influence and forge an economically successful and ethno-linguistically distinct nation-state. Here, the theme of Europeanization seems closely related to the previously mentioned concepts of the Russian threat (blame), lamentation, and divide. Hyrtsak (1998) notes that residents in L’viv “blame the communist regime for suppressing the psychology of private ownership, particularly in central and eastern Ukraine. They view Poland, where this psychology was retained, as an example of what might have been possible in Ukraine” (p. 274). Thus, since independence, nationalist discourse progressed through anti-communist, anti-imperial, and anti-Russian phases, to the “logical shift” of a “Return to Europe” (Svyetlov, 2007, p. 529; Korostelina, 2012).

Europeanization is not only ideological. For some Ukrainians, membership in the European Union (EU) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) represent practical solutions to the existential threat against their nationhood, economic decline, and corruption. So powerful is the pull of EU membership that Nationalist history and discourse adjusts to perceived European norms. For example, pro-European historians and politicians are significantly more forgetful (perhaps forgiving) of Nazi atrocities in Ukraine and the forced Polonization of Galicia than they are of the Soviet famine. Himka (2011) describes how “Orange politicians might have believed that these countries [Germany and Poland] would block Ukraine’s membership of NATO and the European Union” (p. 223).

Thus, the “return to Europe” seems to imply an almost desperate desire to mend an unnatural cultural and institutional separation. “Europeanization” represents a remedy for the deepest cultural insecurities (e.g. threat to existence / denial of distinctiveness) and practical problems (economy, security, and corruption). The tone of “Europeanization” seems closely

entwined with the feelings of lament and frustration that surround the discourse of failed attempts at statehood and victimization. These feelings might be considered paramount in context of Yanukovych's 2013 reversal of an EU association agreement in favor of membership in the Russian-led Eurasian Customs Union.

Urgency.

The last thematic device appearing throughout the Western Ukrainian discourse is the concept of urgency. This concept closely ties with undertones of frustration, the "need" for Europeanization, the threat of Russification, and the desire to manifest a distinct identity. In short, speakers and writers place listeners / readers in the "critical moment" where the importance of all the above concepts are in play. This position implies that a willingness to "act now" will mean the difference between final realization of the Ukrainian Idea and past failure. Important to creating a sense of urgency is the efficacy created by casting Ukrainians as historical fighters capable of perseverance in the face of great odds. Marples (2009) encapsulates thematic examples of the latter, where Ukrainian resistance to the Soviets is placed in stark contrast to the submissive nature of their neighbors. He writes, "Whether or not Stalin feared the Poles more, within the USSR he was most worried about the Ukrainians... . [D]iscussions are replete with references to the distinct nature of Ukrainian villages as compared to other regions of the Soviet Union, and the difficulties the communists had in obtaining a secure foothold there" (p. 510). Yushchenko, the ideological lynchpin of the Orange revolution links a legacy of resistance with the contemporary sense of urgency. In his 2005 post-Orange inauguration, he notes, "We removed the chains of the past... . [N]o one will dare tell us how to live! On this Maidan Ukrainians presented themselves to the world as a modern Ukrainian

nation... [W]e will destroy corruption in our country and bring our economy out of the shadow!” (Yushchenko, 2005).

Research Question 3

RQ3 asked how the discourse of each ideological movement (Novorossiia and Maidan) used framing devices to align a specific cultural frame with a target audience. Novorossiia appears to use the “*Great Patriotic War*” and “*pan-Slavism*” as bridging devices (Snow et al., 1986). These devices provide Eastern Ukrainians an easy characterization of their supposed enemy while making Russian identity salient. The Maidan movement *amplifies Ukrainian identity by creating normative choices*. Thus, norm-laden “Ukrainian” values like sovereignty, freedom, and the value of national struggle are juxtaposed with negative “Russian” references like corruption and oppression.

Novorossiia: bridging the “Russian Idea” for Ukrainians.

Novorossiia began as a separatist organization known as the “Donetsk Peoples Republic.” As the name suggests, this self-styled republic was centered in the city of Donetsk. Donetsk and surrounding areas form the Donbass (short for Don River basin) region of Eastern Ukraine. Donbass, as noted by Shulman (1999), is predominantly industrial, composed of ethnic Russians and Russian-speaking Ukrainians. The Donbass region is along the Russian border and has the longest history of ties with Russian rule and culture. If Russian expansionists were interested in acquiring the industrial capability of Eastern Ukraine, the people of Donbass might be the most likely to understand and sympathize with pro-Russian arguments. However, this understanding necessitates that pro-Russian separatists shape the discourse in a way that triggers Russian (rather than Ukrainian) identity and invokes the network of Russian values and beliefs to dictate

the proper interpretation of events. Thus, when separatists argue that Donbass Ukrainians should not support the government in Kiev, they rely upon the influence of audience's post-Soviet angst, loss of status, traditionalism, anti-Westernism, Orthodox affiliation, exposure to Russian patriotism, belief in a historic role for the Russian people, and uniqueness of their culture. This web of values and beliefs (the Russian cultural frame) is triggered by "reminding" residents of Donbass that they are Russian by the use of bridging and amplification devices. The "Great Patriotic War" and Pan-Slavism frames function this way. The "Great Patriotic War" assumes the Soviet / Russian interpretation of a Western / fascist invasion or a cultural assault. Thus, the frame achieves solidarity between Russians and Ukrainians by binding the efforts of their "grandfathers" and invoking the mythology of a Slavic defender of Russian lands. Further, the "Great Patriotic War" provides a pre-packaged identity for supposed enemies. Labels such as Nazi, fascist, SS, and characterizations of Ukrainian military action as "Drang Nach Osten" link the Ukrainian state (and Western allies) with the atrocities of the Nazis. Further, the invoked history of Nazi invasion implies that Ukrainian military action in the East is intended to create living space for ethno-linguistically homogenous Ukrainians. The implication is that Ukrainians are enacting the Nazi concept of living space known as "lebensraum."

Entire belief systems are being brought to bear through the use of framing devices. At first glance, the labels and claims used by Novorossiia seem outrageous. However, in context, they provide potentially effective links to a complex Russian identity. It is probably a stretch to assume Eastern Ukrainians believe their countrymen are actually Nazis or intend to take over their land. However, the repetitive use of such devices might prove strong enough to cause many to view Kiev's pro-European vector from a Russian perspective. Figure 3 shows how communication flows through the cultural and ideological discourse to create a fixed frame for

the potential separatist. In the example below, “Our Russian Brothers” is a framing device that used the “Great Patriotic War” and Pan-Slavism as bridging devices to highlight a favorable perception of incoming Russian troops.



Figure 3: Illustration of Novorossiia framing process

Amplifying the “Ukrainian Idea” for all Ukrainians

The relationship between the ideological discourse of Maidan and the “Ukrainian Idea” appears to be more straightforward than its pro-Russian counterpart. The reason for this dynamic is that the “Ukrainian Idea” is likely the native cultural frame of Maidan’s target audience. Thus, the Maidan discourse does not engage in extensive frame bridging (as was necessary for the Novorossiia discourse to make Russian cultural identity salient). Instead, the relationship in pro-European discourse is one of frame amplification. Snow et al. (1986) refer to amplification as “the clarification and invigoration of an interpretive frame that bears on a particular issue,

problem, or set of events” (p. 469). Thus, the task of Maidan discourse is to make the powerful undercurrents of the “Ukrainian Idea” clearly relevant to issues of government corruption, rejection of the EU Association agreement, and suppression dissent. The discourse achieves this relevance within each of its three conflict frames by way of belief and value amplification. Norm-laden values like sovereignty, freedom and the value of national struggle are juxtaposed with negative references like corruption and oppression. Beliefs are implicated in the sense that the Ukrainian Idea dictates how the audience should feel about each. Therefore, the value-belief relationship between “Europeanization vs. Government Corruption,” “National Struggle vs. Russian Oppression,” or “Tolerance vs. Propaganda” could be expanded to clarify the relationship. For example, if “tolerance is good” and “propaganda is bad / evil,” then invocation of the “Ukrainian idea” through the use of conflict frames tells the audience that the Maidan struggle is one of good vs. evil.

Discussion

The Explanatory Power of Cultural Frames

This work began with Van Gorp's (2007) idea that the cultural frame exists largely external to the individual and that specific words serve as framing devices can invoke its meaning within a text. Using a two-sided (Ukraine vs. Russia) multi-level (cultural vs. ideological movement) discourse analysis, this work demonstrated the presence of the cultural frame and refined its conceptualization. The cultural frame should be conceptualized as an aggregate of cultural beliefs and attitudes, which manifests through the use of definable thematic concepts within the discourse of cultural elites. These definable thematic concepts represent the boundaries within which an audience is expected interpret a given issue. Frame devices, as used by ideological movement actors, are indicated by the presence of culturally charged language that makes certain thematic concepts salient. Because cultural themes are communicatively linked together, the frame device can impose an audience's entire aggregate of beliefs on a given issue.

Within this conceptualization, frames are not persuasive. Rather, they solidify the definition of an issue in terms the audience already accepts. In order to understand the interpretation a frame forces upon an audience, one needs to examine the content of thematic concepts communicated in cultural discourse. An examination of this type demonstrates that the frame is a systematic worldview. A framing device moves an issue into the boundaries of this worldview. The framing device, however, does nothing to shape the worldview itself. Through this work, I sought to understand how language functioned to characterize the 2013-2014 conflict for Ukrainians. Thus, this work is about framing more so than Ukraine. However, Ukraine

provides an excellent two-sided example of how cultural frames can be exacerbated to polarize a population and cause violence.

Examining the Ukrainian ideological discourse for framing devices suggested that certain cultural thematic concepts were being invoked. For example, the “Nazi” label suggests that the Novorossiia leadership wanted to vilify nationalists by equating them with historic devil figures. However, conceptualizing the frame as an aggregate of labeling devices did not sufficiently explain how the frame functioned. For example, the Novorossiia discourse did not explain who might be labeled a “Nazi” or why an Eastern Ukrainian would entertain the possibility that his / her countryman might be one. To better explain how the Novorossiia frame that employs the “Nazi” device functions, the analysis should conceptualize the frame as an aggregate of Russian beliefs that manifest as thematic concepts in elite cultural discourse. Within the Russian discourse, the concepts of post-Soviet angst, Western conspiracy, “Great Patriotic War,” pan-Slavism, Russian character, the messianic role of Russians, and Eurasianism served traditional framing functions of defining problems, suggesting solutions, motivating adherents to action. These thematic concepts tell a story in which Western Ukrainian nationalists pose a threat to Russia’s rightful role as a benevolent ruling force. Within this story, Ukrainian nationalists historically collaborate with Russian enemies, such as the Nazis. Thus, the Ukrainian nationalist can appropriate be viewed as a Nazi. However, to label Putin as “Hitler” would not fit the story because Nazis are by definition “not Russian.” The “Nazi” as a framing device within the ideological discourse has little to do with any similarity in beliefs between Ukrainians and historical German Nazis. That Stephan Bandera and the UPA persecuted Jews is a convenient coincidence that backs up the label. More important is that Bandera and the UPA collaborated against Russia.

The “Russian Idea” as a cultural frame solidifies the Russian identity and prescribes an aggressive but traditional worldview. Adherents of this worldview see Ukrainian nationalists as a persistent threat. Adherents to the “Russian idea” view Eastern Ukrainians as part of their interpretive community. Thus, the “Nazi” label is intended to invoke historic unity to pinpoint a historic enemy. “Ukrainians as Nazis” is not a frame. The “*Russian idea*” is the frame; the “Great Patriotic War” is a supporting thematic concept, and “Nazi” is a framing device (aka part of a frame package) used to characterize an issue in terms of the “Russian idea.”

Similarly, the use of “European” in the Maidan discourse does not necessarily allude to a particular set of secular values or form of government. As part of the “Ukrainian idea,” “European” characterizes the historical struggle to create a nation-state that is “not Russian.” Thus, to suggest that Ukrainians could implement European forms of government within a larger Russian economic partnership violates a core belief of the “Ukrainian idea.”

Implications

The conceptualization of cultural framing, as described throughout this work, has implications for understanding discourse both within and outside Ukraine. The framing process can impose a one-sided view on a complex situation. One can often see evidence of the framing process when discourse has become particularly hostile and divisive. Such divisive discourse is just as evident in the U.S. as it is in Ukraine.

For example, consider recent discourse surrounding the killing of an unarmed minority teen by a white police officer. This event might be characterized by a minority community as an issue of “racist policing.” However, the white community might characterize the same issue in terms of “public safety.” Note that “public safety” and “culturally sensitive policing” are not opposite

characterizations (they are not even mutually exclusive). However, when cultural thematic concepts are invoked, each side's field of view narrows such that the event can be interpreted only in terms of the native cultural frame. Thus, a differing point of view is interpreted as "the opposite." Within this example, one can hear evidence of polarization when advocates of additional police training are accused of "succumbing to mob mentality" (implication is that advocates of revised policing are trying to undermine public safety or the "rule of law"). Conversely, one also hears those who express a desire for increased police presence as "racist" or "not true to their community."

Cultural and political leaders often pose a solution in the form of a "conversation" about **x** or **y**. In these "conversations" (let **x** = race within this example), only one cultural frame is acknowledged. Thus, attempting to recover from a divisive event (like the shooting of a minority teen by a white police officer) a "conversation about race" assumes the vantage point of only one group's cultural frame. Within the field of view this frame provides, any evidence contrary to the frame indicates "racism." Thus, a "conversation about race" serves as a framing device to imply that one cultural frame is correct. Rarely do such conversations result in the one group (e.g. the "public safety" folks) acquiescing to the other.

In the context of Ukraine, one can see evidence of polarization based upon assumptions that another group's frame is necessarily the opposite of one's own. Closer examination of cultural thematic concepts, however, shows the frames are different – not opposite. One might hastily speculate that because Eastern Ukrainians feel a greater cultural affinity with Russians than with their Western countrymen, they support separation from a Western-oriented government. However, this dynamic does not seem to be the case. Eastern Ukrainians appear to

be in a precarious position between Ukrainian Nationalism (The Ukrainian Idea) and Russian Nationalism (The Russian Idea).

Both forms of nationalism are deeply rooted in history and fueled by feelings of injustice. Russian nationalists feel that Russia has been looked down upon and viewed as backward throughout modern history. Further, they feel the West slighted them after the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union. Their discourse reflects the sentiment that “the time has come” for the *Ruskii* nation to reassert its rightful position as a central and important player on the world stage. Russian nationalists conceptualize their “nation” to include Russian-speaking people of Slavic origin who adhere to the Orthodox Faith. Conversely, Ukrainian nationalists accuse Russians of horrific atrocities and seem to attribute Ukraine’s failure to successfully nationalize to the destruction of the country’s intelligentsia, language, and culture. A sense of frustration regarding past failures and mourning for an ephemeral “European” Ukraine seem to augment the urgency of recent calls to unite all ethnic Ukrainians. In the Ukrainian nationalist view, the Russian- and Ukrainian-speaking ethnic Ukrainians in the East are a vital part of their vision for an industrially and agriculturally successful European nation. Thus, the “Russian Idea” and the “Ukrainian Idea” both consider Eastern Ukraine (and Ukrainians) to be an essential part of the vision. Unfortunately, in this case, the competing cultural frames are too similar (not opposite). Russian and Ukrainian nationalist views do seem incompatible. Thus, a battle (physical and rhetorical) has begun for Eastern Ukrainian population.

This work originally set out to better understand how the ideological framing devices of Novorossiia and Maidan might better be understood by analyzing the culture of Eastern and Western Ukrainians. However, research quickly showed that the Eastern Ukrainian cultural frame is contested territory. A September 2014 survey of Eastern Ukrainians published by the

United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and conducted by a partnership between the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the Kiev International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) indicated that a large majority of Eastern Ukrainians do not believe that separatists represent their views. Further, most would prefer to have their oblasts remain in Ukraine, rather than Russia. However, 52% of Eastern Ukrainians view Russian Culture as something to be emulated (contrast with 12% of Western Ukrainians.) Further, only 16% of Easterners believe that Russia forces cultural values upon other countries for its own economic benefit, whereas 68% of Western Ukrainians believe this idea. Thus, Eastern Ukrainians, particularly in Donetsk and Luhansk, seem to agree with the Ukrainian Nationalist conception that they belong to the Ukrainian (rather than Russian) nation. However, they are sympathetic to the Russian nationalist conception that Ukrainians and Russians are part of one cultural fraternity (one that is not European).

Thus, with Eastern Ukrainians serving as the centerpiece of competing cultural and nationalist visions, the movements representing each camp actively sought to make its ideological view more salient. In this sense, Novorossiia seems to have more aggressively pushed the Russian Idea upon Eastern Ukrainians. Bridging strategies like the “Great Patriotic War” and “Slavism” seem to play right into the cultural affinity between the two nations as well as provide a historically understandable context for demonizing Ukrainian nationalists. Maidan, on the other hand, was initially concerned with mobilizing Western Ukrainians in reaction to Yanukovich’s reversal of the E.U. Association Agreement. Thus its strategy of highlighting the Ukrainian identity for Easterners seemed to be primarily defensive. However, its emphasis on inclusiveness and highlighting of Russian propaganda might have some effect in amplifying the Ukrainian identity already held in Eastern Ukraine.

Unfortunately, the incompatibility of the Russian and Ukrainian Ideas, combined with the mixed sympathies of Eastern Ukrainians seems to indicate that any outcome will not be happy. Either the Russian or Ukrainian Idea might have to re-conceptualize its vision, while Eastern Ukrainians might be forced to embrace either a culture or identity that is not entirely their own.

Limitations

This study had several limitations. The first limitation was the language barrier and its potential for biasing the cultural material. I do not speak Ukrainian or Russian. Thus, research into the cultural frame depended on discourse that had been translated into English. Ultimately language did not prove to be a problem for locating sources – as Ukrainian and Russian leaders / scholars hotly debate cultural and identity issue in academic journals. Such journals have a heavy following in the diaspora populations of North America (particularly Canada) and Australia. However, on more than one occasion I realized that the particularly biting racial and ethnic discussions that could surround nationalist discourse were not present here. This absence, however, does not mean that such topics are not being discussed. Political and academic elites on both sides may maintain a gentele dialogue for the sake of English language readers. Thus, deep animosities, powerful ethnic characterizations, and radical solutions may be present but are not considered in this work.

I used Microsoft translation software to translate the Russian-language Novorossiia discourse. The software does not take context into account. Therefore, subtle characterizations and arguments in pro-Russian ideological discourse may have been lost. It is worth noting, though, that ideological documents on the Novorossiia website translated into nearly perfect English, where press releases and daily updates (which were not analyzed in this work) lost much meaning in the translation process. This difference indicated that they were written for

easy translation. Thus, if Novorossiia wanted to spread its ideology, it would likely ensure those particular documents translate meaning easily.

With respect to the Maidan documents, all were translated by volunteers working on the collaborative “Maidan Translations” project. This project was commissioned by the Maidan leadership itself, with the intent of spreading Maidan’s message to primarily English-, German-, Polish-, and Spanish-speaking audiences. The potential for elimination of negative sounding material, as with the cultural discourse, exists here as well.

The frames described in this work are based on my interpretation of the cultural and ideological discourse. Thus, others might read and interpret the same documents differently. In this case, having a Ukrainian and Russian speaker evaluate the discourse and frames of each respective side might be beneficial.

Conclusion

This paper argued that frames in Ukraine should be conceptualized as the aggregate of Ukrainian or Russian cultural beliefs. Such beliefs manifest as thematic concepts in elite cultural discourse. Further, thematic concepts comprising the “Russian idea” and “Ukrainian idea” serve as framing functions that identify problems, assign blame, suggest solutions, and motivate action. Framing devices employed by Maidan and Novorossiia link conflicting visions of Ukraine’s future with deeply held Russian and Ukrainian logics.

The complexity of the Ukrainian situation indicates the development of effective counter-propaganda and de-escalation strategies require the development of messages that go beyond simply countering those of ideological actors like the Novorossiia separatists. For example, if NATO forces or NGOs were employed to provide stability in the region, leaders would need to understand that it *is* rational for an Eastern Ukrainian or Russian to believe that demonstrators in Kiev are “Nazis.” On the whole, most do not seem to believe this characterization, but such beliefs are not out of the question. Further, attempts to label Putin or Yanukovich as “Hitler,” (as many U.S. and European politicians have done) would not resonate. In fact, such a label might be viewed as ridiculous in localities where conflict is actually taking place. Conversely, suggested solutions of Ukraine and Russia reinstating historical affinity might anger partners in Kiev.

In this sense, the Ukrainian conflict is not unique among ethnic conflicts. Many situations are multifaceted and render simplistic appeals or characterizations ineffective. An interconnected assortment of concepts underpins an individual’s understanding of “The Ukrainian Idea” or “Russian Idea” (or both for Eastern Ukrainians). Any well-intentioned outsider must try to understand how the two sets of ideas interact. An outright vilification of Russia would probably

not resonate with Eastern Ukrainians because of their cultural and ethnic affinity. Further, an un-contextualized characterization of Western Ukrainian nationalists might not work either because of the Eastern identity as Ukrainian. Thus, the analysis of local strategies seems best. One can assume that Novorossiia understands the Russian Idea and has connections among the Eastern Ukrainian population. Maidan, on the other hand, certainly has a nuanced understanding of the Ukrainian Idea and some affiliation with its Eastern audience. Thus, Maidan's bridging and amplification strategies might show what type of messaging works. For example, in order for Novorossiia to vilify the Maidan government, Novorossiia must do it in a context that breaks Eastern and Western identity apart while reinforcing Russian cultural affinity. As such, the Great Patriotic War references perceptions that Western Ukrainians collaborated with the Germans while Easterners fought with their Russian brethren to prevent destruction of their mutual homeland. Thus, Westerners can be called Nazis, fascists, junta, and SS without necessarily insulting the target audience.

The Maidan movement itself might be well served to follow the Novorossiia example of using historical injustice to redraw identity lines. For example, Maidan might vilify Russian aggression and highlight Ukrainian unity by pre-empting "Great Patriotic War" characterizations with others related to 1932-33 famine. However, one might note that Eastern Ukrainians tend not to attribute genocidal intent to the famine as frequently as Western Ukrainians. A last implication is to examine that messages effectively motivate action. In some cases, neither Maidan nor Novorossiia has been very influential. For example, miners and metal workers in Donetsk seem to follow the lead of Rinat Akhmetov (the Ukrainian oligarch described earlier) rather than ideological appeals from either movement. For one wishing to create effective de-escalation messages, this response might indicate that the economy, or perhaps organized crime, holds more

sway than the “Russian idea” or “Ukrainian idea.” Thus, one might analyze Akhmetov’s messaging or encourage partnership between pragmatists on both sides of the conflict (e.g. a rumored agreement between Akhmetov and Surkov to stabilize Donetsk) to broker a deal between Russian and Ukrainian ideologues.

Suggestions for Further Research

The conception of a cultural frame (an aggregate of cultural beliefs / attitudes manifest as thematic concepts in cultural discourse) described throughout this work provides the opportunity to examine exciting new areas of the framing paradigm and to use new approaches to examine interesting questions. For example, can we quantify cultural frames in a way that allows graphic depiction of the frame for easy conceptualization or measuring a message’s potential for effectiveness (frame resonance)? Future studies might partner communication scholars with social psychologists to examine correlations between a target audience’s perception of a cultural thematic concept (e.g. Pan-Slavism) and a more objective cultural measure (e.g. Hofstede’s six cultural dimensions). Examination of Hofstede’s data shows that Russian culture (as a whole) exhibits a high degree of (a) uncertainty avoidance and (b) acceptance of power distance. Thus, if Russian perceptions of cultural thematic concepts correlate with both uncertainty avoidance and power distance, these concept could be plotted on a multi-dimensional axis (e.g. x= uncertainty avoidance, y= power distance). Just as the cultural frame is composed of thematic concepts, the graphically depicted frame might be the aggregate of plotted thematic concepts. See figures 4 and 5) Thus, one might examine whether a message falling within the parameters of the “plotted” frame is more effective than one that falls outside of it. Cultural dimensions like power distance and uncertainty dimension might be considered the quantifiable psychological

substance that holds the frame together, while cultural thematic concepts found in the discourse might show evidence of the language developed to communicate that substance.

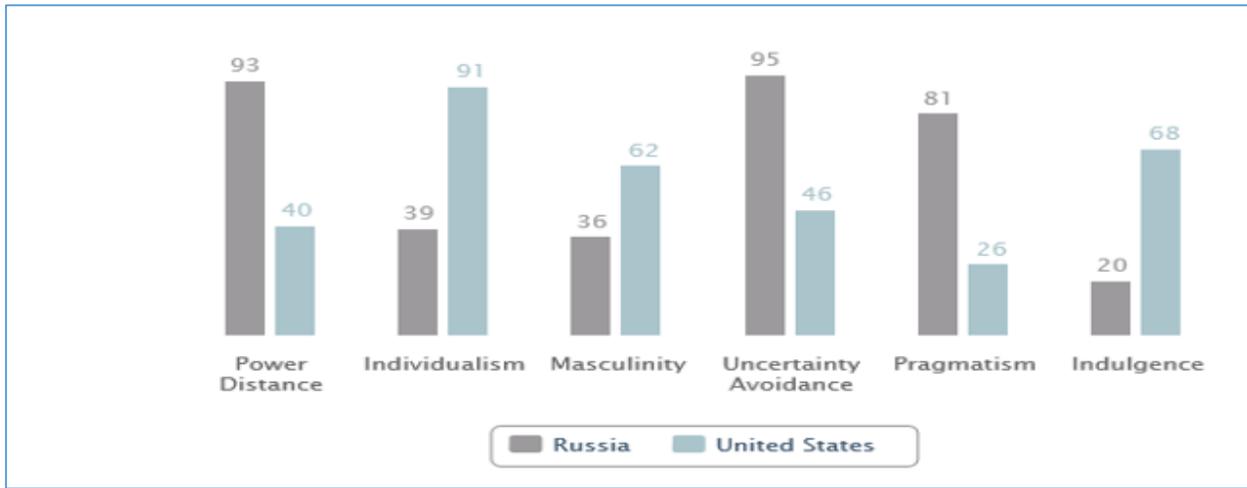


Figure 4: Russia and U.S. Scores along Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions

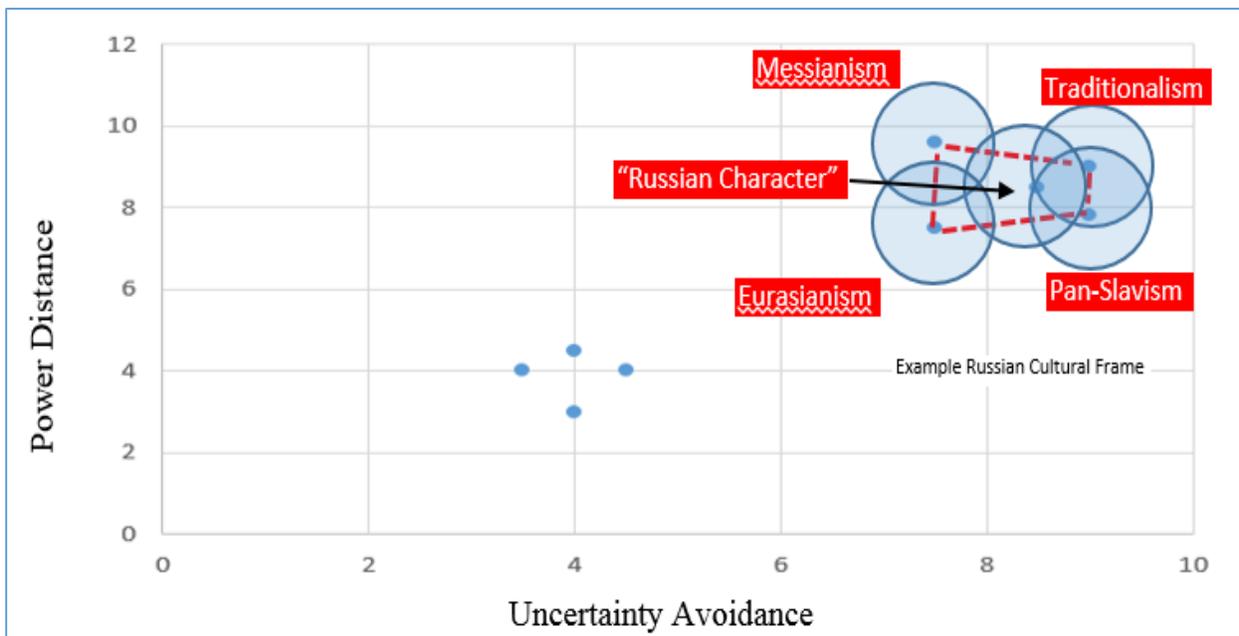


Figure 5: Example of Russian cultural frame. (as plotted against two salient cultural dimensions - power distance and uncertainty avoidance). Rings represent one standard deviation from the mean scores of Russian perceptions toward each thematic concept.

The conceptualization of the cultural frame presented throughout this work implies that frames are relatively fixed for a given population. The framing device serves as a linguistic mechanism that imposes a specific interpretation upon a situation or issue. Thus, an ideological

actor might expect his or her target audience to interpret an issue in terms of other issues – issues that members of the target audience have already expended cognitive effort to resolve. If the conceptualization of framing presented here is accurate, than hostile discourse resulting from the invocation of a cultural frame might not be diffused without (a) forcing a target audience to cognitively (re)elaborate on the issue at hand (perhaps through the introduction of irrefutable evidence that contradicts one or more thematic cultural concepts) or (b) exposing the target audience to thematic concepts of the opposing side’s cultural frame such that the “other” groups objectives are understood as different, rather than perceived as opposite. Researchers might examine each technique to better understand how and where discourse can best disrupt the rigid views of a cultural frame.

Entman (1993) proposed the frame could exist in the communicator, receiver, text, and culture. Framing allows one to examine some of the most interesting communication-related questions. One can investigate (a) how communicators leverage existing belief and attitude systems to “tip the scales” while seemingly remaining neutral, (b) what elements of the message are intended to invoke situationally external beliefs, (c) how culture is communicated, and (d) how the success or failure of a frame might serve as a measure of effectiveness for cultural arguments. The frame locations and possible fields of inquiry are conducive to mutually supporting qualitative and quantitative studies. The communication field provides examples of how different frame locations have been examined in the past and suggests the opportunity for a cooperative and comprehensive issue-specific framing study in the future. For example, certain perspectives (Iyengar, 1990, 1993; Scheufele, 1999) regard framing as a sort of heuristic device that can influence the recipient’s valence of a message. Such perspectives can be tested by measuring a recipient’s response following exposure to a message. Other perspectives (Entman,

1991, 1993, 2003; Lechler & de Vreese, 2012; Scheufele 1999, 2006; Tankard, 2001; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) measure and analyze frames (and devices) within the news media. In such cases, a content analysis can help determine the presence of a frame, define or confirm frame types, and suggest a frame's purpose. Others (Dardis, 2007; Entman 1993) examine how communicators construct a frame to resonate with an audience. Lastly, scholars like Van Gorp (2007) highlight the centrality of cultures that underpin the message, its construction, and range of interpretation by potential audiences. This thesis took the approach of the latter group of scholars in that it sought to understand how ideological discourse functions by examining its relation to thematically related cultural discourse. As such, this analysis touched upon certain aspects of the communicator, text, receiver, and culture. Although some sections began with assumptions and intuition, they ultimately relied on the content of Ukrainian and Russian discourse to shape interpretations. Thus, an inductive study of cultural frames can provide a solid qualitative background for quantitative communication researchers as they examine the framing paradigm. More specifically, communication scholars focused on framing might partner with others who hold a slightly different orientation to cover an area in depth. For example, a media-focused framing content analysis (e.g. of the leading periodicals in Donetsk and L'viv) might add external validity to the present study. Further, if a media content analysis confirmed the presence of the suggested frames, other researchers might empirically test the relationship between framing devices and larger cultural constructs (e.g. word association, open-ended explanations etc.). The framing paradigm provides the framework for a truly well rounded examination of an issue-specific discourse that takes Entman's four locations into account through the use of qualitative and quantitative techniques.

A comprehensive study of framing, as just described, can contribute to other disciplines by increasing knowledge of how people seek to influence one another by intentionally invoking systems and beliefs to contextualize (or prescribe how others should perceive) a particular issue. A conceptual shift toward a social science focus on the communicator (rather than the message content) highlights the interaction between cultural discourse and movement discourse. This interaction, where one level of knowledge provides the basis for quickly understanding the other, seems to bear resemblance to certain dual-process models, such as the Elaboration Likelihood Model of persuasion (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984). For example, framing devices such as “Nazi” and “fascist” might be studied as heuristic devices that use peripheral cognitive processing to relate current issues to latent belief systems like the “Ukrainian Idea” or “Russian Idea.” Thus, we might predict who, among a specific audience of Eastern Ukrainians, might be persuaded by devices like “The Great Patriotic War” frame. Might Ukrainians with the cognitive ability and motivation to examine the issues at hand reject such labels in favor of investigation? Cognitive ability and motivation of Eastern Ukrainians might be independent variables in a study that measures the effectiveness of centrally processed knowledge-based arguments against the (likely) peripherally processed labels of ideological framing devices.

Further study might examine whether centrally processed knowledge-based arguments should address the discourse of ideological movements or the beliefs that reside at the cultural level. Often, it seems, persistent conflicts arise where differences between deeply seated cultural beliefs of groups become salient (e.g. sectarian violence in Syria and Iraq or ethnic animosity in the Balkans). Partnership between communication framing scholars and social psychologists might be able to answer such questions in the interest of preventing escalation of such conflicts.

Final Thoughts

This work provides an immediate and practical contribution to the body of knowledge for military and NGO communication professionals. The development of nuanced and effective messages in conflict zones requires that communication planners employ methods that enhance knowledge. Their message development needs to move beyond countering ideological framing devices. Although such framing devices (e.g. Novorossiia's use of "Nazi") may seem simplistic, they are often deeply rooted in cultural belief systems and play a functional role in how people understand conflict. Messages intended to counter such devices (e.g. "Putin is Hitler"), however, need to be strategic, not simplistic, or they may fail to resonate with intended audiences. The framing paradigm lays the groundwork for understanding how a group's understanding of an issue can be shaped through intentions of a speaker, content of a message, the mindset of an audience, and the context of culture. A multifaceted approach toward the study of ideological framing devices, which considers the interplay between (a) frames composed of thematic cultural concepts and (b) the discourse of actors in the conflict, might provide the knowledge required to employ nimble strategies that make sense for targeted audiences and present counter messages more effectively.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Initial Search Words for Ideological Discourses

Western Ukrainian / Maidan		Pro-Russia / NovoRossiya	
Key Word / Phrase	Assumed Usage	Key Word / Phrase	Assumed Usage
Corruption	Characterize Russian aligned politicians	Great Patriotic War	Accusation / characterization of Kiev government
Holodomor	Reference to starvation – accusation of genocide against Soviet Union (Russia)	St. George	Symbol of Russian militarism (as an award) and of Russian Imperial heritage (not Soviet)
European	Characterization of Ukrainian ethnicity or desired form of government	5 th / 6 th Column	Idea that Russia does not fully support separatists because some in the Russian government are not “fully loyal” to Putin
Oligarch	Highlights greed and “Russian-ness”	Nazi	Link Ukrainian nationalists to historical enemy – highlight their western-ness
Kievan Rus	Historical reference for Ukrainian European-ness and distinction from Russia	Fascist	See above
Ukrainian Language	structure for asserting nationalism	Racist	See above. Also highlight Russian multi-ethnicities.
Bandera	Nationalist hero reference (antagonistic to Russians)	Junta	Negative characterization of Kiev government as thuggish and illegitimate.
Shukevych	See above	S.S.	Characterize Ukrainian military- as arm of a fascist government
Character	Distinctiveness of Ukrainian ethnicity	Conspiracy	Belief that Yanukovich ouster was a result of conspiracy between nationalists and U.S. / West.
Self-determination	Assertion of Independence from Russia	Oppression	Accusation against Kiev government toward Jews and Russian speakers.
Putin	Devil figure – conspiratorial	Little Russia	Term used to degrade Ukrainian sovereignty – “Ukraine is little Russia” – part of Slavism
Conspiracy	Characterization of separatist movements – implying Russian involvement	Russian Language	Reaction toward Western Ukrainian language policies
Oppression	Historical reference – against	Patriotism	Linking an action with restoration of

	Russia / Soviet Union		Russian pride / pride in Russian-ness.
Independence	Reference to struggle (1918, 1941, 1991, 2004, 2013)	Duty	Historical reference or call to action
Slavism	Reference to belief that Ukrainians are Russian	Bandera	“Proof” that Ukrainian nationalists are Nazi’s – Bandera and followers are considered Nazi collaborators by Russians.
Zionist	Jewish Conspiracy – reference to Russian Government partnership with oligarchy	Independence	Using the language of Ukrainian Nationalism against itself – to assert independence of Donbas and Crimea
Terrorist	Characterization of separatists	Corruption	See above
Of the land	Characterization of Ukrainian ethnicity – distinguishes from Russian urbanism	Traditional	Anti-Western. Logic for asserting positive / distinctive characteristics of Russian identity.
Tolerance	Self-conception of Ukrainian ethnicity	Orthodoxy	See above.
Puppet	Accusation against former regime – puppet of Russia / Putin	Greatness	Belief that Russia (Russians) are destined to rule an empire / coalition.
Hitler	Devil accusation – Yanukovych or Putin	Puppet	Characterization of Kiev government – as in puppet of the West / U.S.
Soviet	Reference to past oppression or Russian ambition	Dugin	Influential in academic / political circles. Proponent of Eurasianism and traditionalism,
Resistance	Historical reference to partisans who fought Nazi and Soviet armies. Used to diffuse Nazi accusation and assert distinctiveness.	Victory Day	Celebration used to mark victory over Nazi’s. Symbolic importance.

Appendix B

Novorossiya Ideological Discourse

Date	Document	Frame Devices (Key: Pan Slavism, Great Patriotic War, Western Conspiracy.)
April 2014	<i>The Act on Proclamation of State Independence of Ukrainian People's Republic of Donetsk</i>	"centuries old fraternal relations with Slavic Peoples", Brotherly Russian People, Nationalist dictatorship (Kiev), Cooperation with Customs Union, Appeal to Putin, Anti-West, NATO,
April 2014	<i>Letter to Vladimir Putin</i>	Appeal to Putin, Kiev Junta, Repression of Russian language, ethnic repression, Kiev Junta, Appeal to Putin, Kiev Junta, Junta, Neo-Nazi policies
April 2014	<i>Donetsk Declaration of Sovereignty</i>	Self-determination, history, human values, human rights (x2), independence, unity
April 2014	<i>Address to the Officers and Soldiers of Berkut.</i>	Nazism terrorism junta
April 2014	<i>Address to the Miners and Metallurgists of Donbass</i>	Nazism history of Nazism WW2 mining strikes
16 April 2014	<i>Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs - DNI</i>	international aggression (Kiev), Donbass civilians threatened, act of aggression (Kiev), aggression against DNI (Kiev), criminal orders (Kiev), illegal armed groups (Kiev), criminal regime in Kiev, war crimes (Kiev), bandit formations, criminal plans, tainted with blood (Kievan leaders), criminals (Kiev) Armed coup in Kiev, aggressors (Kiev) responsibility of Geneva participants for results, aggression
17 April 2014	<i>An official Statement by the Ministry on the Establishment of a "Southeastern Resistance"</i>	state sovereignty of DNI illegal authorities in Kiev Ukrainians as foreigners access to Russian media / TV Neo-Nazi parties self defense
17 April 2014	<i>An official Statement by the Ministry about the position of the EU Foreign Affairs Council</i>	EU barrier to sovereignty puschists (Kiev) EU out of touch EU / NATO threat to Novorossiya Kiev Junta and European owners EU short sighted EU one sided

18 April 2014	<i>An official Statement by the Ministry of DNI on the outcome of negotiations in Geneva</i>	support for Kiev armed nationalist gangs (Kiev), junta, Western conspiracy, junta junta
25 April 2014	<i>Treatment of Foreign DNA to the Governments and peoples of the world</i>	criminal orders of the junta, Kiev illegitimacy, destruction of post (WW2) peace, western hypocrisy, OSCE illegitimacy, US (Biden) influence on Kiev, US / EU / NATO hidden agenda, Kiev as a western proxy, Blame: Obama, Biden, Kerry / Brennan, Blame: Turchynov, Avakov, Yarosh, Kolomoisky
May 2014	<i>Great Patriotic war Appeal</i>	Great Patriotic War, Nazi occupiers, Ukrainian fascism, fascist gangs, Nazi SS heirs, Drang nach Osten, Nazi invasion, Western support of Fascist gangs, crimes of SS units, junta, Nuremberg trials, burn alive in furnaces, fascist offensive, May 9 victory ancestral victory, great victory over Nazi occupiers
9 May 2014	<i>An official statement by the DND concerning the authorities of Kiev Chemical weapons</i>	chemical weapons deployed in Mariupol, respiratory damage to civilians, violation of 1925 protocols illegality, war crimes of Kiev, historical reference to "German Fascist occupiers" "similar to SS killing units" Kiev will destroy evidence "world fascist practices of the 40's"
13 May 2014	<i>Union of Donetsk and Luhansk</i>	Donetsk has always been part of the Russian world, historic Byelorussian, Russian and Ukrainian unity undermined by junta Nazi fascist ideology, U.S. and EU refusal to recognize referendum coup in Kiev, validates referendum in Donetsk, bilateral relations with Russia, join union with Moscow and Minsk, call on Russia to intervene
22 May 2014	<i>An open letter to Rinat Akhmetov</i>	popular referendum junta walk in support of the fascist junta genocide of the people, junta of banderites terrorists, drive the Nazi's from our sacred land, kick the fascists out of our land, as did our grandfathers, Customs Union, "zombie Nazis" Kiev Junta US energy conspiracy

25 May 2014	<i>Official statement on the military conflict between Novorossiya and Kiev</i>	Sovereignty of new Russia, distinction between government and Ukrainians, foreign mercenaries (Kiev), Kolomoisky (vilified), hired troops and gangs, mercenary troops from third countries, sending of armed mercenaries, conspiracy: Kiev, NATO, EU, OSCE, responsibility for "war crimes", Tymoshenko: vilified for "WMD" Poroshenko (vilified), Appeal to Russian politicians to repeal support of Ukrainian elections Nazi's in Kiev, legitimate election of a new fuhrer, lists of victims and war crimes will be replenished, guilt: blood on the conscience of those who support the elections
26 May 2014	<i>Program: Sociopolitical Movement "Party of New Russia"</i>	withdrawal of all RUSSIAN southeastern lands of Ukraine, liberation from the yoke of the fascist Junta, historical identity: black sea coast Novorossiya, dominant Russian culture, communication language: Russian, expression of Russian self-identity, part of a "Greater Russia", solidarity of Russian peoples over the centuries, state language must be Russian, cultural and civilizational unity with the Russian world, belonging to the Russian orthodox world, economics: focus on Eurasian vector development, strategic relations with the east - primarily Eurasian supranational structures.
31 May 2014	<i>DNI address to Vladimir Putin</i>	request for Russian troops, request for acceptance into Russian Federation, war crimes and innocent civilian deaths humanitarian catastrophe, request peacekeeping contingent of Russian Troops, Brotherly Russia
6 June 2014	<i>Alexander Boroday: We can build the economy</i>	I believe that Donbass, and much of what we call Ukraine are parts of the Russian world, "100% - Think Russian". A common tax base would facilitate the acceleration of cooperation with Russian companies.
8 June 2014	<i>Mariupol Kiev Junta</i>	Nazi Ukraine, Akhmetov (demonization), Income inequality: CEO salary 150-200 times higher than steal-worker Nazi's, Akhmetov (demonized), Kolomoisky (demonized), Lyashko (deaminized), Nazi's, Hetman Mazepa (historical reference), Hetman Mazepa (historical reference)

<p>9 June 2014</p>	<p><i>Shooters appeal</i></p>	<p>Slavic militia, plea for assistance from Russia, die on the ruins of the Slav remember that they are Russians in the first place, and only then "citizens of Russia"</p>
<p>10 June 2014</p>	<p><i>Gubarev: wanting to get into a militia more than weapons</i></p>	<p>agreement with fascists is not possible, banderites (historical), right sector (political demonization), Nazi guard, West fought against the Russian world, fascist junta, junta, fight against fascism, My enemies are Liberals-Westerners</p>
<p>16 June 2014</p>	<p><i>Alexander Dugin: Someone obviously tried to impersonate Boroday</i></p>	<p>Eurasian Movement in support of the new Russia and it's people, 6th column in the Kremlin, "Zavtra" (right wing newspaper), 6th column,(Atlanticists) acting to drain the patriotic movement - Geopolitical reference to those not fully backing Putin neo-Nazi Philosopher - Serhiy Datsyuk, Eurasian Movement, The Russians are now together, answer the historic call</p>
<p>16 June 2014</p>	<p><i>Igor Strelkov calls on Russia to help</i></p>	<p>Genocide and ethnic cleansing in its purist form, request urgent provision of large scale military aid, eminent defeat of DNI and LNR, DND military defeat and LNR is inevitable, the next war... will be in Russia, after Moscow Square (fear tactic for Russians)</p>
<p>21 Jun 2014</p>	<p><i>DND leaders asked Putin to send peacekeeping troops</i></p>	<p>Brothers and sisters (Russians), genocide - the extermination of people based on ethnicity, destruction of the Russian people for what they want to be Russian, junta, banderites, banderites seek to revive fascism in Europe, Nazi's (Kiev) promised to erase us from the face of the earth, destruction of a whole people, send a Russian Peacekeeping contingent., Save your countrymen!, the Russian world, common motherland – Russia, systematic genocide, illegal armed groups of Nazi's, Russian world and Russian civilization, new Russia is an integral part of the Russian world, Ukrainian Nazi's, humanitarian disaster right sector (political demonization) "camps for "inferior races "Peacekeeping forces of the Eurasian Union Slavic, Russian, Ukrainian population, humanitarian disaster around the corner annihilate the population of Donbass</p>

26 June 2014	<i>Shooters: Hold on!</i>	6th column in Moscow, Cost to Putin to voice Eurasian and patriotic programs, rescue the Russian world, schism between elites and people, 6th column, support to the Russian World, 6th column, resistance to 6th column, resistance to 6th column
3 July 2014	<i>St. Georges Cross</i>	revived the tradition of St. Georges cross, not a Soviet award, continuity of the glorious traditions of the Russian army, heroic defenders of our beloved homeland, defense against German imperialism (1914-1917), grandfathers managed to keep the iron storm of Nazi armored vehicles, "Banderite" scum, "for our people, for orthodoxy faith" right to live, work, and raise a family in Russian lands
7 July 2014	<i>Shooters: Defeat the militia in Donbass</i>	facing death squads, facing humanitarian catastrophe, humanitarian disaster, defend the homeland, "defeat of the militia will be the defeat of the Russian people"
7 July 2014	<i>Why did Kurginyan criticize Strelkova?</i>	Kurginyan (idealized but questioned), fascist, Soviet Troops in WW2, fascists, Peter the Great and the Russian army surrounded by the ottomans, U.S. Defense industry, Nazi's, junta, Leningrad 1941, Hitler, fascists, Bandera
7 July 2014	<i>Gubarav: We need to help each resident of Donetsk</i>	equal the example of our fathers and grandfathers, battle of Moscow, defend our families and homeland against the Nazi Government, Ukrainian Nazi's, Great Patriotic War - Fathers and Grandfathers, beat the Nazi's, resistance of the Russian spirit
9 July 2014	<i>DND has requested Transnistria and Abkhazia recognition</i>	coup orchestrated by the Americans, junta, fascist ideology, destruction of the Russian Speaking population, ethnic genocide, fascist elements, genocide
13 July 2014	<i>Kurginyan, Liberals and academy against Strelkova and Putin</i>	Kurginyan (demonized), Kurginyan representative power block in the ruling elite, he discredits Putin

13 July 2014	<i>The man who first came up with the Donetsk Republic</i>	<p>great patriotic war, guerillas were out of town and Germans in the city, Kolomoisky (demonized) "Jew renegade contacted by the Nazi's", genocide of Russians, Holocaust, Jews are trying to distance themselves from him, ethnocide, ethnocide (x2), Ukrainian (not) different from Russian, From our Russian made Ukrainian, consumerism (blaming western values for young people not fighting in Donetsk), My 92 year old grandfather in 1941 went to the front right from red square, Soviet people could not understand why to fight in 1941 - until they see the atrocities of the aggressor</p>
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Appendix C

Russian Cultural Discourse Sorted by Theme

Date	Author	Speaker	Frames or individuals Described	Evidence (in order of Key) Key: Great Patriotic War, Western Conspiracy Russian Role (Messianism), Pan-Slavism, Post-Soviet Angst, Russian Character, Eurasianism, Putin-Patriotism	Page
2012	Marples	Marples	Great Patriotic War	Upcoming Victory Day celebrations	286
2012	Marples	Marples	Great Patriotic War	Marshal Zhukov statues	286
2012	Marples	Marples	Great Patriotic War	Hero cities under Stalin - Revived under Putin	286
2012	Marples	Marples	Great Patriotic War	provided much needed legitimacy in crisis	287
2012	Marples	Marples	Great Patriotic War	bitterly divided country was portrayed as a unified front	287
2012	Marples	Marples	Great Patriotic War	united war against the invader	287
2012	Marples	Marples	GPW - Putin	***Revived under Vladimir Putin - "hero cities", Victory day", "Stalin"	288
2012	Marples	Marples	GPW - Putin	April 2006 - hero cities	288
2012	Marples	Marples	GPW - Putin	ForModern Russia GPW stands out because world resisted FSCISM under Russian leadership	288
2012	Marples	Marples	GPW - with Western Conspiracy	scenario of quasi-treacherous Western allied forces - which delayed the formation of a 2nd Front	288
2012	Marples	Marples	GPW - with Pan-Slavism	war was also an agent of national unity, and especially of the East Slavic Peoples	288

2003	Serbyn	Serbyn	Great Patriotic War	The concept of the Great Patriotic War consists of three basic tenets... a. patriotic passion to defend the fatherland against the German attack, b. the liberation of territory and its peoples from a foreign occupier, c. great victory of the SOVIET PEOPLES over foreigners.	53
2003	Serbyn	Serbyn	Great Patriotic War	... the notion of the "Great Patriotic War", its evolution from a war slogan to a myth of political consolidation	52
2003	Serbyn	Serbyn	Great Patriotic War / Pan-Slavism	the soldier in question - "our soldier" - could have been a Russian, a Belarussian, or a Ukrainian. He was a composite of the three and his Motherland was common to all, as was the trampled dignity...	63
2003	Serbyn	Serbyn	Great Patriotic War / Victory day inst.	Victory day reminded the people that, at the end of the war, almost the whole population of the Soviet Union found itself on the same side in the struggle against the Third Reich.	54
2007	Norris	Shaknazarov	Great Patriotic War / Western Conspiracy	...I know that in Europe people believe from an early age that Americans won the war. But the most amazing thing is that even our young people, deluged by American film productions, which Americans do very well, seem to get the notion that the victory was not at all our achievement.	163
2007	Norris	Norris	Great Patriotic War, Putin Patriotism	an explosion of cinematic narratives about world war 2... sixteen feature films have appeared between 2002 and 2006.	164

2007	Norris	Norris	Great Patriotic War, Putin Patriotism	Shaknazarov's eager use of state funds to make his product, his unabashed attempt to shape the remembrance of the Great Patriotic War, and Vladimir Putin's concurrent uses of the war to build patriotism.	164
2007	Norris	Norris	Great Patriotic War, Putin Patriotism	Vladimir Putin, acutely aware of the need to build unity, decided to build a revived sense of nationhood around the one achievement Russians could still remember with pride – the victory over Nazi Germany.	165
2007	Norris	Norris	Great Patriotic War, Putin Patriotism	Part of Putin's plan for utilizing memories of the war included his support for the August 2000 plan for "the Culture of Russia, 2001-2005", proposed by Mikhail Shvydkoi, then minister of culture. Putin agreed to pay 20 billion rubles for cultural products that would help to revive Russian patriotism.	165
2007	Norris	Norris	Great Patriotic War, Putin Patriotism	... this perceived lack of patriotism represents a threat to Russia's national security... led to a state-led programme of instilling patriotism in the country's youth, in part by using the revived interest in the war... 'Putin patriotism' is launching the Ministry of Defense's own television channel, called 'Zvezda' (star)...	183
2010	Laruelle	Laruelle	Great Patriotic War / Putin patriotism	Russian nationalism largely developed around the myth of a people victorious against "fascism" and of the price paid by Russians during World War 2.	21

2010	Brandenberger	Brandenberger	Great Patriotic War	Everyday heroes could be used to popularize the nascent patriotic line "by example." (as opposed to ideology)	726
2010	Brandenberger	Brandenberger	Great Patriotic War	This prewar shift towards the prerevolutionary Russian "usable past" was intensified further during the opening weeks of the German Soviet war in 1941 as Soviet ideologists struggled to mobilize their society for war by any means possible.	727
2010	Brandenberger	Brandenberger	Great Patriotic War / Russian character	... the party's attempt to reinforce popular loyalty to the soviet regime through the selective co-option of Russian myths, legends and iconography resulted in something Stalin never anticipated: the formation of a sense of Russian national consciousness quite independent of Soviet socialist trappings.	730
2012	Linan	Linan	Great Patriotic War	the Great Patriotic War. Which is ritualized in the celebrations of Victory Day and represents the immutable, a "place" to which one can always return to recover a sense of meaning.	18
2012	Linan	Linan	Great Patriotic War	... the victory myth is useful and positive, in the sense that it intends to show what the Russian people, once united, are capable of.	22
2012	Linan	Linan	Great Patriotic War	The victory is presented as the product of the effort of a nation, or common people, and this idea is reinforced in the various publications and projects keyed to disseminating memory of those who experienced the conflict.	22

2012	Linan	Linan	Great Patriotic War	The GPW becomes a foundational myth of the new Russia... helps confront changes with the energy and vigor shown by today's war veterans.	23
2008	Umland	Zhirinovskiy	Western Conspiracy	Zhirinovskiy's saber rattling was confined to loud reactions to such developments as the eastward expansion of NATO, Western intervention in the Balkans, and European criticism of Kremlin policy on Chechnya...	33
2007	Putin	Putin	Western Conspiracy	"outside forces with an interest in weakening Russia and perhaps bringing about its collapse were openly inciting the separatists"	NA
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Western Conspiracy	West was morally corrupt	
2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	anti-western	Russia... questions the authority of the OSCE.	261
2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	Russian role / anti-western	The National Security Strategy, Moscow intends to develop a new image of the army and build up its military capabilities, opposing the strengthening of NATO	264
2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	anti-western	The authors of the security strategy believe that one of the threats for Russia is the policy pursued by "a number of leading foreign states, aimed at attaining dominant superiority in the military sphere." From this phrase, we can assume that the main rival for Moscow is still the United States. NATO is also viewed as an alliance potentially hostile towards Russia.	265

2011	Igumnova	former MOD Sergei Ivanov	anti-western	"if NATO remains a military alliance with an offensive military doctrine, Russia will have to adequately revise its military planning and principles..."	265
2011	Igumnova	former MOD Sergei Ivanov	anti-western	"Interference in Russia's internal affairs by foreign states or organizations supported by them..."	265
2010	Laruelle	Laruelle	anti-western	In the 1990's, many studies emphasized anti-Westernism as a common ideological theme, and this approach continues to influence the global vision of Russian radical nationalism	19
2008	Surkov	Surkov	anti-western	"Some say that in the 1990's... the West encouraged the weakness and muddle-headedness that we showed at the time."	90
2008	Surkov	Surkov	anti-western	the foreign public does not know Russia	90
2008	Surkov	Surkov	anti-western	The motive and goal behind international pressure on Russia: "to wrest control over Russia's natural resources by weakening its state institutions, defense capability, and independence.	90
2014	Laqueur	Laqueur	anti-Westernism	Anti-Westernism provides some continuity in Russian ideology, old and new.	74
2014	Laqueur	Laqueur	anti-Westernism	It was only after World War 2 that the accursed West came to mean primarily the United States.	74
2014	Laqueur	Laqueur	anti-Westernism	For the Russian leadership and large sections of the political class, America and only to a slightly lesser extent Europe are Russia's enemies, eager to hurt the motherland in every possible way.	76

1992	Laqueur	Laqueur	Russian Role	... successive generations were educated in the belief of their invincibility, military and otherwise.	109
1992	Laqueur	Laqueur	Russian Role	Orthodox church: national liberals are willing to give it a central role in the political life of the country.	110
2008	Umland	Zhirinovsky	Russian Role	... his foreign policy doctrine... shifted from revolutionary expansionism to restorationist expansionism.	33
2008	Umland	Zhirinovsky	Russian Role	Russia shall conquer what he calls the "South"	35
2008	Umland	Zhirinovsky	Russian Role	4 points: strengthen borders, pacify bellicose nations, obtain access to warm seas, and restore Russia's status as a great power.	35
2008	Umland	Zhirinovsky	Russian Role	revival of the Russian armed forces	36
2008	Umland	Zhirinovsky	Russian Role	imperial expansion as a means of solving domestic problems	36
2008	Umland	Zhirinovsky	Russian Role	"most hardened nation"	37
2008	Umland	Zhirinovsky	Russian Role	"Only the Russians, not the Germans, can accomplish the last national revolution.	38
2007	Putin	Putin	Russian role	Russia has returned to the world stage as a strong state, a country that others heed and that can stand up for itself.	NA
2008	Bykova	Bykova	Russian Role	uniqueness of the Russian legacy and it's messianic future	5
2008	Bykova	Bykova	Russian Role	religious messianism (as part of pan-Slavism)	6
2008	Bykova	Bykova	Russian Role	Russia as a bridge between east and west"	6
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Russian Role	messianic visions of Russia's destiny to save the fallen West	5
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Russian Role	Russian soul - Christian mission to save the world	5

1999	Clover	Clover	Russian Role / Eurasianism	Many Russian intellectuals, who once thought their homelands victory over the world would be the inevitable result of history, now pin their hope for Russia's return to greatness	9
2008	Gryzlov	Gryzlov	Russian role	Russia is compelled to restore strategic equilibrium practically on it's own. We have to look for asymmetric responses.	90
2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	Russian Greatness / Role	Putin: reestablish the idea of Russian greatness.	257
2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	Russian Role	"protecting the lives and dignity of Russian citizens... wherever they may be" - This point can be interpreted as Russia's readiness to intervene if it is not satisfied with the policy of its neighbors.	265
2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	Russian Greatness / Role	Russia views itself as 1. a great power in the global war on terror, 2. global energy supplier, 3. great nuclear power, 4. indispensable factor in the policy of non-proliferation and 5. leading power in the post-soviet space, and driving force of integration in the region.	257
2011	Igumnova	Putin - 2020 strategy	Russian Greatness / Role	Russian Federation is "one of the leading states in the world... exerts a substantial influence upon the development of a new architecture of international relations... its greater responsibility for global developments and related possibilities to participate in the implementation of the international agenda, as well as in its development.	257

2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	Russian Greatness / Role	It is difficult for Moscow to accept the sovereignty of the former soviet republics. They are a zone of Russia's vital interest, where Moscow wants to be a leader.	258
2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	Russian Role	Russia aims to keep its military presence and military infrastructure in the CIS countries, to expand energy and industrial sectors in the region, and to initiate and develop economic and military integration there.	258-259
2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	Russian Role / Greatness	Russia considers itself exceptional or as a superpower, and above international norms and law.	261
2008	Surkov	Nikolai Berdyaev	Russian Role, Russian Character	It is the mission of the Russians to give... a philosophy of the whole spirit... If a great and original culture is possible in Russia, than it can only be a religious synthetic and not an analytic-differentiated culture.	82
2008	Surkov	Surkov	Russian Role / Russian characteristics	Intrinsic to idealism is the desire to turn to one's faith, messianism. The Third Rome and the Third International were all messianic conceptions... the mission of the Russian nation needs clarification.	85
2008	Umland	Zhirinovsky	ethnic nationalism	In his opinion, the backwardness, barbarism, and instability of the "South" demand a hegemonic power. Russia must annex not only the territories of the former Soviet Union, but also Afghanistan, Iran, and Turkey.	35
2008	Umland	Zhirinovsky	ethnic nationalism	stop subversive activity by "southerners"	36

2008	Umland	Zhirinovsky	ethnic nationalism	salvation of Russia and the whole world from the subversive activity of "Southerners"	37
2012	Cicik	Cicik	ethnic nationalism	"Russia for Russians"	2
2012	Cicik	Cicik	pan-Slavism / ethnic nationalism	Parties with strong nationalistic platforms based on racial or cultural views of Slavic superiority strengthened their position in the Duma.	3
2012	Cicik	Cicik	pan-Slavism / ethnic nationalism	creation of a Slavic federation in which Russia would be a member	7
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Pan-Slavic, / Russian character	Nikolai Yakovlevich Danilevsky: Slavs had to potential to produce a great civilization similar to the Western... under the direction of Russia, Slavs must build an unperishable empire... Slavs had to liberate themselves.	9
2012	Cicik	Solzhenitsyn	pan-Slavism / ethnic nationalism	Solzhenitsyn: recommended the creation of a federation of three Slavic nations mainly, Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus.	12
2012	Cicik	Cicik	ethnic nationalism	"ethnic purity" of Russia based on Slavic origin	14
2012	Cicik	Cicik	pan-Slavism / ethnic nationalism	attempts to avert the departure of the two Slavic countries, namely the Ukraine and Belarus, from the orbit of Moscow can be interpreted as factors reflecting the neo-Slavophile character of Putin's state nationalism.	14
2012	Cicik	Cicik	nationalism characteristics / Russian character	overall character: 4 main groups of nationalism: neo-Slavophiles, Eurasianists, national-communists, and ethnic nationalists	12

2010	Laruelle	Laruelle	nationalism characteristics / Russian character	... nationalist currents rely on a list of common precepts such as (1) asserting that the Russian nation is threatened by a national conspiracy, (2) denouncing the collusion between internal enemies, (3) external enemies, and (3) asking for the dominance of ethnic Russians.	20
2010	Laruelle	Laruelle	pan-Slavism / Russian characteristics	Slavophile discourse emphasizing the concepts of conciliation (sobornost), the democratic nature of the Russian people, a political regime based on the historical tradition of autocracy, insistent on solidarity with the Orthodox Slavic peoples... restoration of Russian military traditions...	21
2011	Yakovlev-Golani	Putin	Pan-Slavism / Soviet nostalgia	"... One morning people woke up and discovered that from now on they did not live in a common nation, but outside the borders of the Russian federation, although they always identified themselves as part of the Russian people. And there are not five, ten, or even a thousand of these people, and not just a million. There are 25 million of them... This is the obvious tragedy."	396
2007	Putin	Putin	soviet angst	a large part of the economy was in the hands of the oligarchs or openly criminal organizations	NA
2007	Putin	Putin	soviet angst	finances were exhausted and almost completely dependent on foreign borrowing	NA
2007	Putin	Putin	soviet angst	Inflation ate away at people's already low incomes - real incomes were only 40 percent of what they were in 1991	NA
2007	Putin	Putin	soviet angst	Social ills, corruption and crime	NA

2007	Putin	Putin	soviet angst	Wealthy Russia had become a land of impoverished people.	NA
2007	Putin	Putin	soviet angst	difficult situation 8 years ago... savings devalued, Terrorists unleashed, civil war (Dagestan)	NA
2008	Primakov	Primakov	soviet angst	We have already experienced the belittling and even denial of universal human values when we looked at everything through the "class prism". Are we now supposed to replace it with a "national prism?"	99
2008	Primakov	Primakov	soviet angst	The time is long past with Russia's far east, for instance, was able to conduct foreign trade, including trans border trade, and attract foreign investment only via Moscow.	101
2012	Cicik	Cicik	soviet angst	leading to nationalism: Chechnya, US-led NATO military alliance, American military bases in central Asia, orange revolutions, liberating ex-soviet countries from Moscow's orbit, terrorist attacks, war in Georgia, loss of prestige, power, plummeting standard of living	3-Feb
2012	Cicik	Cicik	post-soviet angst	The most important factor which fueled nationalism in Russia was the anti-Russian nationalism which appeared in ex-soviet republics like Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Georgia, and in some newly emerged independent states in central Asia.	11
2012	Cicik	Zyuganov	post-soviet angst	focus on the decline in living standards since the end of the Soviet Union, commitment to oligarchy, crime is a consequence of disappearing socialism	13
2008	Gryzlov	Gryzlov	post-soviet angst	mass media became a plaything of the oligarchs	87

2008	Gryzlov	Gryzlov	post-soviet angst	In our ideology, there is no place for class struggle	87
2008	Gryzlov	Gryzlov	soviet angst	... we face a special situation, shaped by the economic influence of globalization, by the consequences of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and by a terrorist threat of unprecedented magnitude.	88
2008	Gryzlov	Gryzlov	soviet angst	Just a few years ago, Russia faced the possibility of loss of sovereignty and of disintegration.	91
2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	soviet angst	Vladimir Putin had to recognize all of Russia's troubles: weak state structures, economic and demographic decline, decline of armed forces, growth of organized crime, corruption, and division of Russian society.	257
2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	soviet angst	Revolutions in Ukraine and Georgia became indicators of Russia's decline in near abroad"	266
2007	Putin	Putin	Russian character	Russia's destiny is the decisive force	NA
2008	Surkov	Surkov	Russian character	Culture and civilization, however, extend far beyond museum halls... systems of coercion, apparatuses of manipulation, wars, chronic social pathologies, prejudices, idiotic theories, ruinous adventures - these, alas, are also part of the package.	86
2007	Putin	Putin	Russian character	The Government should be the center for coming up with the ideology and the strategic plans... but it should not get involved in the particularities...	NA
2008	Bykova	Bykova	Russian character	Russia's search for its own model of democracy	4

2008	Bykova	Bykova	Russian character	triad: Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationality	4
2008	Bykova	Bykova	Russian character	Pride in the country and empire patriotism	4
2008	Bykova	Bykova	Russian character	awareness of the disparity between Russia's political power and it's social backwardness	5
2008	Bykova	Bykova	Russian Character	"Russian spirit" - Russian spirituality in the purity of its origin, as the unique Russian identity and means of escaping Western decline.	5
2008	Bykova	Bykova	Russian Character	Sobornost: means "togetherness or the spiritual communality". It accounts for the spiritual experience of faith in its purist form, namely Russian Orthodoxy.	5
2008	Primakov	Primakov	Russian Characteristics	totalitarianism, autocracy, and other authoritarian forms of government also have their roots in special national characteristics	98
2008	Primakov	Primakov	Russian characteristics	"culture consists of two parts - intellectual and material"	98
2008	Primakov	Primakov	Russian characteristics	we must improve the features of the political culture of ethnic Russians"	99
2008	Primakov	Primakov	Russian Character	the independent character of our democracy the impossibility of imposing on us other democratic models or rules	99
2008	Primakov	Primakov	Russian character	Let us take such an element of Russia's specific foundations... the "power hierarchy." ...became necessary as the result of a trend toward separatism and despotism among certain regional leaders.	100

2012	Cicik	Cicik	Orthodoxy / Russian Role	Increasing involvement of the Russian Orthodox church into politics has also played an important role in the rise of nationalism... has always been the defining factor as to what is "Russian" and what is not.	3
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Russian Character / Orthodoxy	There is an enormous resurgence within the Russian Orthodox church in which to be a member of the church is synonymous with national identity.	3
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Russian character	Today, Russian nationalism is focused on a patriotic rhetoric and strengthening opposition against the moral and spiritual decay of Russian values.	4
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Russian character	Throughout its history, Russia has been estranged from European dynamics. Its nationalism and national ideology are Marked by a double game of attraction and revulsion toward Europe in particular and the West in general.	4
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Russian character	European people had a different way of thinking than Russians - Russians struggled to define their "Europeanness"	5
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Russian character / Putin	The distant past of Russia became a valuable source, where the answers to the questions about the country's nature and destiny were concerned.	6
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Official nationalism	Official Nationalism: Orthodoxy, autocracy, nationality (1832) count Sergei Uvarov during the reign of Nicholas I.	6
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Russian character	Russia's exclusion from the Roman Empire was the essential feature distinguishing her from Europe.	7

2012	Cicik	Cicik	Russian character	Dostoevsky: set the ideal of the authentic fraternal community preserved in Orthodoxy and Russian folk traditions	9
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Russian Character / Orthodoxy	Protection and development of the national character of the Russian orthodox church	14
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Russian character / Russian role	Russia has a unique identity and therefore should embark on a development course apart from the West.	9
2008	Gryzlov	Gryzlov	Russian character / national idea	Only a strong state is capable of protecting its citizens. A weak state will have to conduct domestic and foreign policy that serves the interest of other countries	84
2008	Gryzlov	Gryzlov	Russian character / national idea	"Strong Russia is a United Russia"	84
2008	Gryzlov	Gryzlov	Russian character / national idea	we want Russia to maintain itself in a global world, to preserve its own traditions and culture... only a strong state can do it	84
2008	Gryzlov	Gryzlov	Russian character / national idea	United Russia has been a party of unification based on shared values.	87
2008	Gryzlov	Gryzlov	Russia character / national idea	In the global economy, it is necessary to rely on one's own state, and not on the invisible hand of the market or on other countries. That is the chief lesson for our society.	89-90
2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	Russian character	Russia is arriving at its own set of values that are different from those of Europe.	254
2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	Russian character	Discussions about national sovereignty in Russia are usually accompanied by references to the thousand-year history of Russian statehood and to the idea of Russian greatness.	256

2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	Russian Character	Most people in Russia can easily accept authoritarian rule and refuse to enjoy their rights and freedoms for the sake of the global imperial role of their country in world politics.	258
2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	Russian character / anti-Western / orthodoxy	Orthodox values oppose those Western liberal values. Western standards are considered unacceptable for Russia.	268
2011	Igumnova	Kirill	Russian character / anti-Western / orthodoxy	Entering Europe "for the sake of our stomach and our pockets" and at the same time losing "spiritual primacy, renouncing our tragic, but unique, incomparable experiences", is strongly condemned by Kirill.	269
2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	Russian character / role	The Russian logic of the "besieged fortress", together with anti-western ideas, has been cultivated during the last several years and served as justification for Russians reverting to the approach based on military strength.	264
2010	Laruelle	Laruelle	Russian character / greatness	Russian exceptionalism	
2012	Dianina	Dianina	Russian character / history	Russia was not a national state of Russians: politically, it had been and remained a multi-national dynastic empire... the building of an empire impeded the formation of a nation.	226
2012	Dianina	Dianina	Russian character / history	To affirm its own uniqueness, Russian culture defined (and defended) itself explicitly against other traditions. <i>Samobytnyi</i> (original, native) became an attribute of the utmost distinction at the same time as a culture once oriented toward Western modernity turned towards a revival of native antiquity	229

2012	Dianina	Orlando Figes	Russian character	Russia is too complex, too socially divided, too politically diverse, too ill-defined geographically, and perhaps too big for a single culture to be passed off as the national heritage.	230
2012	Dianina	Orlando Figes	Russian character	Russian temperament, a set of native customs and beliefs, something visceral, emotional, instinctive, passed on down the generations, which has helped to shape the personality and bind together the community>	230
2008	Surkov	Surkov	Russian character	Russian culture is a contemplation of the whole	82
2008	Surkov	Trubetskoi	Russian character	More characteristic of the Russians is knowledge of the world through religious intuition as an organic whole, in contrast to the west...	82
2008	Surkov	Surkov	Russian characteristics	So we see that Russian cultural consciousness is portrayed as clearly holistic and intuitive and is contrasted with mechanistic, reductionist consciousness (as a western mode of thought).	82
2008	Surkov	Surkov	Russian characteristics	We have a striving for political wholeness through a centralization of power functions... an idealization of the goals of political struggle... we have a personification of political institutions	83
2008	Surkov	Surkov	Russian character	In our day and age, the shift of power to the center has stabilized society	83
2008	Surkov	Surkov	Russian character	In practice, the concept of a center of authority, methods of centralization, and means for preserving wholeness all change over time.	84
2008	Surkov	Surkov	Putin patriotism / Russian character	Certain parties cannot be imagined without their leader. (The then cites Ziuganov -	84

				CPRF, Zhirinovskiy - LDPR)	
2008	Surkov	Surkov	Russian characteristics	So the higher and more remote the authority, the more it is trusted.	85
2008	Surkov	Surkov	Russian characteristics	... we recognize centralization, personification, and idealization as three special characteristics of our political culture	86
2012	Cicik	Cicik	orthodoxy / Russian character / Russian role	Orthodoxy as a religious ideology that would serve as a guiding influence for the world.	9
2014	Laqueur	Laqueur	Russian Character / nationalism	Russia's official ideology prior to 1917 was "Pravoslavie, Samoderzhavie, Narodnost", which has been translated as Orthodoxy, Autocracy, Nationality.	71
2008	Bykova	Bykova	Eurasianism	(Eurasianism) is a specific response to the quest of what is grandly called the "Russian Idea", which has been at the center of Russian intellectual debates for centuries.	4
2008	Bykova	Bykova	Eurasianism / Western Conspiracy.	Eurasianists also promulgate anti-American and anti-Asian attitudes. They seek to differentiate Russian interests... pushing the idea of the "third way" as the only acceptable vision for Russia and the country's future."	6
2008	Primakov	Primakov	Eurasianist / Soviet Angst	But the transfer of extensive economic rights must not be allowed to weaken the center of the federation.	101
2008	Primakov	Primakov	Eurasianist / Soviet Angst	Without a power hierarchy, it is inevitable that centrifugal forces will grow in the Russian stare	101

2012	Cicik	Cicik	Eurasianism	Eurasianists opposed the Russian withdrawal from Eastern European, Ukrainian, Baltic, and Central-Asian glacias of this "Heartland"	10
2012	Cicik	Dugin	Eurasianism / Russian role	Dugin: restoration of the Russian Empire ... through separation of the former soviet republics with their Russian speaking territories (Crimea and Eastern Ukraine)	12
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Eurasianism / Russian role	The consolidation of Russia's influence in the near abroad through regional organizations such as the CIS, CACO, CSTO, EAEC reflect Eurasianist thinking - although not only.	14
1999	Clover	Clover	Eurasianism / Geopolitics	Zhirinovsky climbed aboard the geopolitical bandwagon	10
1999	Clover	Clover	Eurasianism / Primakov	some commentators find Eurasianist influence in the policies of Yevgeny Primakov	10
1999	Clover	Clover	Eurasianism / national idea	Eurasianism reconciled contradictory elements of communism, religious orthodoxy, and nationalist fundamentalism	10
1999	Clover	Clover	Eurasianism / National idea	Russian "third way"	10
1999	Clover	Clover	Eurasianism / Zavtra	Eurasianism entered the discourse through the pages of "Zavtra" - editor Aleksandr Prokhanov and his former deputy Alexandr Dugin	10
1999	Clover	Clover	Eurasianism	Dugin (then) works as an advisor to the Communist speaker of the Russian Duma Gennadi Seleznev	11
1999	Clover	Clover	Eurasianism / Dugin	On the strategic front, Dugin suggests that an alliance of Russia, Japan, Germany, and Iran	11

1999	Clover	Clover	Eurasianism	The correlation between Dugin's ideas and those of the Russian establishment is too stark to be ignored	11
1999	Clover	Clover	Eurasianism and Communism	Zyuganov used Eurasianism to reinvent the Communist party... combining religious orthodoxy, nationalism and Marxism... win the radical vote on both sides of the political spectrum	12
1999	Clover	Zyuganov	Eurasianism and Communism	Zyuganov has bridged the gap between white and red in Russian society, first by linking Russia's "national idea" to popular traditions and to the orthodox church, and then by folding these back into communism.	12
1999	Clover	Zyuganov	Eurasianism / pan-Slavism	Zyuganov warns, Russia must first consolidate the Orthodox world into a single block	12
1999	Clover	Zyuganov	Eurasianism / traditionalism	Zyuganov: Fundamentalism is understood as a return to the centuries old national spiritual traditions, and can lead to very positive result.	12
2014	Laqueur	Laqueur	Eurasianism / anti-Westernism	Dugin's message can be summarized as follows: "Russia's main enemy is (democratic) liberalism, and its geopolitical and ideological future lies with Asia, not the West.	76
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Putin Patriotism	Kremlins policies to use nationalist ideas as tools to reconfigure general political discourse as being one of the most important factors in nationalism's resurgence in Russia.	1

2012	Cicik	Cicik	Putin - Ethnic nationalism	"During a session of the Russian Council of State on 27 December 2010, PM Vladimir Putin called for tougher regulations on residency registration, and the introduction of criminal liability for failure to register residence	2
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Putin Patriotism	Putin's re-adoption of the Official nationalism	14
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Putin Patriotism	emphasis on national pride and identity	14
2012	Cicik	Cicik	Putin patriotism	Neo-Official nationalism is based on orthodoxy, autocracy and national pride and is strengthened with Eurasianist, and to a certain extent, neo-Slavophile influence. It is dressed with an imperial nostalgia and a strong rhetoric of peaceful coexistence of different nationalities under the flag of one motherland. (this is great by the way)	15
2012	Cicik	Cicik	protectionism	The issue of "protection" of the Russian diaspora is used as a strong policy tool to manipulate the domestic politics as well as foreign relations with those countries who are hosting the ethnic Russians.	15
2008	Gryzlov	Gryzlov	Putin Patriotism	"Putanist majority"... majority views United Russia as its own party, capable of ensuring implementation of the course proposed by the national leader...	88
2008	Gryzlov	Gryzlov	Putin patriotism	Fulfilling the Putin plan - the grantee of Russia's future as a strong state.	91
2011	Igumnova	Igumnova	Putin patriotism / post-soviet	Strengthening state structures was one of the main strategic tasks for President Putin.	256

2008	Surkov	Surkov	Putin patriotism / Russian character	United Russia regards the president as its leader and calls its platform the "Putin plan".	84
2008	Surkov	Surkov		Culture is manifest both in what people say and in what it is not customary to talk about.	86
2008	Surkov	Surkov	Putin patriotism / Russian characteristics	I am sure that the unifying work of President Putin is successfully and widely acclaimed precisely because it is guided by a Russian mind, respect for Russian political culture, and love for Russia.	97
2008	Sakwa	Sakwa	Putin Patriotism via Surkov	there is no real freedom in the world and all democracies are managed democracies	5
2008	Sakwa	Sakwa	Putin Patriotism via Surkov	There is no universal democracy but only specific forms that reflect a countries traditions, political culture, and psychology.	6
2014	Laqueur	Putin	Traditionalism / Russian character	In his first major speech during his second term as president, Vladimir Putin declared that Russia should look to its history and traditional values to determine its post-Soviet development, not imitate Western political models.	73
2014	Laqueur	Laqueur	Orthodoxy, Putin, Traditionalism	One ally for Putin has been the Orthodox Church.	73
2012	Linan	Linan	Putin Patriotism	... "identity chaos" led Vladimir Putin's government to favor a high-powered, hardline, patriotic discourse that gave Russians a renewed pride for their country.	23
2011	Igumnova	former MOD Sergei Ivanov	Putinist Worldview	"instability in neighboring countries caused by the weakness of their governments"	265

2010	Laruelle	Laruelle	melting pot	Russian National Union (RNU) promulgated an ideological combination of populism, racial and ant-Semitic mysticism, orthodoxy, and monarchist or Soviet nostalgia.	20
2012	Dianina	Dianina	discourse history	Mid-19th century: "intensified Polish and Ukrainian national movements... with the defeat of the Crimean campaign in the backgrounds, stimulated public discourse on cultural identity"	226
2012	Dianina	Dianina	discourse history	Russian cultural identity was co-authored by journalists, artists, critics, and the reading public.	227
2012	Dianina	Dianina	discourse history	"Russian culture as we know it today is an invented tradition of the late 19th century.	
2008	Gryzlov	Gryzlov	United Russia Platform	"We maintain an international dialogue with a broad range of parties where that serves the national interest. These include the Chinese Communist Party, the Republican Party in the United States, the Party of Regions in Ukraine, and the Democratic Party of Serbia.	89

Appendix D

Maidan Ideological Discourse

DATE	Ideological Statement / Title	<p style="text-align: center;">Framing Devices</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Key:</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> European Future vs. Government Corruption National Struggle vs. Russian Oppression Ukrainian Tolerance vs. Russian Propaganda </p>
19-Dec-13	<i>Digital Euromaidan Manifesto</i>	<p>the burnout of current government, derogatory treatment of citizens, incompetence, fraud and corruption, brutal physical force, prosecution of those responsible for the brutal crackdown, information attacks by the Ukrainian Presidential Administration and the Kremlin, openness to the world values of Euromaidan, prosecute those guilty of using force, Biased coverage of Euromaidan by some Ukrainian and Russian media outlets, We respect different opinions</p>
31-Dec-13	<i>Maidan Manifesto</i>	<p>Ukraine is a European State, Ukrainians are a European Nation, European Values, human rights, European History, European Values, repression, threats, terror, physical and moral pressure, bloody dispersal of students, Mykola Azarov, Association Agreement with the EU, Constitution of 2004, deep political and economic crisis, broader communication with South / East, Agreement with EU, Comprehensive Free Trade, visa-Free Entrance to the EU, EU, Exclusion from... foreign bartering, prevention of involvement in the Eurasian Customs Union, Failure of European integration, undermined sovereignty of the state, "European Ukraine", accession to the EU, democracy in Ukraine, protection of fundamental human rights, usurpation of power, decentralization of power, limiting the powers of the president, political repression in Ukraine, European standards, human rights, European values and standards, system of government that is thoroughly rotten</p>
1-Jan-14	<i>Maidan Manifesto update</i>	<p>the movement grows, movement beyond failure to sign agreement with the EU, take a long term view, need to view events in perspective, importance of volunteerism, organization rather than patchy work for a sustained future, deep systematic government corruption, failure in representation, Government secrecy, brutal physical repression, Europeanization not possible until internal issues resolved, Euromaidan = Maidan for a new country, Need to push beyond reforms of 2004 Orange revolution, All news needs to be reported and viewed in perspective - in Ukraine and abroad. Ukraine is not a faceless piece of territory situated on the border with Russia.</p>

<p>14-Jan-14</p>	<p><i>Resolution of the First all-Ukrainian Forum of Euromaidans of Ukraine</i></p>	<p>Business-political clans are usurping authority in Ukraine, remove the current usurpers from authority, the resignation of the Government of violence, overstepping authority or abuse of power, horizontal coordination and cooperation, Cooperation for the realization of activities and events create teaching-training centers for civic activists decentralization, transparency, the information war being waged against the Maidan, civic education of participants, disseminate educational and informational activity</p>
<p>17-Jan-14</p>	<p><i>SOS from Ukraine! To all international media</i></p>	<p>new totalitarian regime, disseminate and share the information about what is going on in our country... this needs to be done immediately because doing this tomorrow will be too late! borders should be transparent struggle for high human values!</p>
<p>18-Jan-14</p>	<p><i>Josef Zisel's Speech at Day of Dignity</i></p>	<p>population became the Ukrainian people, and its citizens — the political Ukrainian nation European Ukrainian political nation representative of one of these national minorities, being Jewish, on behalf of millions of national minority representatives, that we are together with you, together with the Ukrainians presidential administration used specialized propaganda techniques to scare many citizens who are not ethnic Ukrainian artificially created imagery of a Bandera-following Ukrainian, of a xenophobic Ukrainian anti-Semitic Ukrainian Ukraine's citizens were put up for international derision as Fascists propaganda is being used against Euromaidan They are trying to sow the seeds of conflict, to pit us one against the other, and to create an artificial standoff — national minorities against Ukrainians on behalf of national minorities, stating our shared goals one language of the state — Ukrainian. I am one of you are we with the people or with the authoritarian regime, with the honest citizens or with thievery and corruption, do we follow instinct or our feelings? Do we want to return to our Eurasian past or move into a European future, into the state which neighboring European countries are currently in? scare us with "nationalists and Fascists," to divide and work us against the Ukrainian people ruses and provocations to force us to remain in our Eurasian past most provocations are suppressed by the Maidan activists themselves. Our imperial, Communist past does not want to release us. Communist ideology and many of its bearers who have brought the peoples of Ukraine and many other peoples violence and blood, Holodomor (forced famine) and repressions, the destruction of national languages and cultures, religions and tradition. The main factors of our imperial Communist past were lies and the absence of a right to the truth, violence and the absence of a right to defense. We left the empire, but over the 22 years of independence there were many lies, though the right to truth had already been present. it reminded us that we are not free people in our own state, for instead of the right</p>

		to defend it gives us violence and the lies covering that violence. Glory to Ukraine!
26-Jan-14	<i>About the slogan "Glory to Ukraine!"</i>	"Glory to Ukraine!" and thousands of voices cry in return "Glory to Heroes!", a battle cry of the warriors. A battle cry of unconquered and concentrated people. There is fierce war. It is a slogan of indignant citizens who fight shoulder to shoulder against the army of brutes. Peasants, farmers, writers, artists, managers, programmers, ultras and doctors fight together. There stand side by side with fully destitute people who have nothing to lose men with three academic degrees who fluently speak five languages, one line with a Russian, a Hebrew, an Armenian, a Tatar and a Byelorussian. This is "Glory to Ukraine!" Not a weak pacifist chant but an aggressive warlike call of people who launch an attack. A dangerous attack, where you may be killed.
27-Jan-14	<i>Open Letter from World Intellectuals</i>	Europeans grow disenchanted with the idea of a common Europe, people in Ukraine are fighting for that idea and for their country's place in Europe. repressive policies and for abandoning the European aspirations of the people, threat to the European Union's integrity. threat not just to the moral integrity of the Union but possibly to its internal institutional integrity as well. authorities, who control most of the mass media, and Russian television channels faithful to President Putin. Ukraine's hopes of becoming a European democracy.
3-Feb-14	<i>Official position of AutoMaidan</i>	What happened is clearly a blend of the Putin-Medvedchuk-Klyuyev script scenario and Yanukovych & Co. desiring to retain power by any means non-party strong initiatives: Automaidan, Hromadskiy Sector (Civil Sector), Praviy Sector (Right Sector), Euromaidan SOS, Samo-oborona (Self-defense), the Afghan Vets, etc. They keep Maidan, rather than the [opposition] parties. key issue for us is the release of our blood brothers. At the moment, we have representatives of different political forces, but everyone is aware that Automaidan is non-partisan. WE APPEAL TO THE DEPUTIES OF THE PARTY OF REGIONS!!!
7-Feb-14	<i>Maidan Self-Defense to create a "Unified Revolutionary Army" across Ukraine</i>	non-party movement, Andriy Parubiy, the Maidan commandant and Batkivshchyna faction MP. We will conduct our informational warfare.
10-Feb-14	<i>Right Sector Leader: Assessment of the Present Situation and Future Perspectives</i>	challenges and dangers that threaten to our not fully independent Ukraine, we appeal to the people of Ukraine along with the opposition, the Maidan security corps, Automaidan, the Afghan War veterans, and other protesters to prepare for a nationwide mobilization, anti-Ukrainian regime prohibition of the Party of Regions and the Communist Party of Ukraine as their activity is explicitly anti-Ukrainian. limit to the influence of oligarchs useless bureaucracy and an excessive centralization of power build our destiny with our own hands. We must

		<p>present the West with some accomplished achievements after which they will decide whom they want to work with bringing to fruition a nationwide mobilization</p>
<p>13-Feb-14</p>	<p>JEWISH UKRAINIAN MAIDAN SELF-DEFENSE LEADER: At the end of the day, living in this country has been worth it – because we’ve lived to see the Maidan.</p>	<p>I have tens of resistance guards – Georgians, Azerbaijani, Armenians, and Russians who do not even attempt to speak Ukrainian – we have never been intolerant to each other They all are quite respectful to my faith – they already know what I can and cannot eat, etc. and this does not cause any hostility. flag and anthem are national, not party symbols, tens of Jews walked alongside Svoboda supporters who shouted slogans I found little pleasure in... There is little doubt that the spirit of freedom and unity is concentrated on Maidan in abundance. civil self-conscience appeared And the trend toward non-factionalism keeps growing since people keep coming because they feel a duty to protest, Right-wing populist slogans have become completely replaced by moderate calls for consolidation and taking responsibility for what happens. People do not want the division of Ukraine. - The government launched the mechanism of intimidation, fear, in the east of Ukraine, and exploited people’s fear of “Banderivshchyna” [followers of a Ukrainian revolutionary and a leader of Ukrainian national movement Stepan Bandera], they played the nationalist, including Jewish, card. the government continues to create a negative image of Maidan, accusing it of fascism and other sins. This is what would help Jews live and work in this country. And it is a significant counterweight to those who shout about it being “a non-Jewish cause”. There are no aspirations toward the vandalism and destruction of shops, it is a sign of a healthy nation... look at Bosnia!</p>
<p>26-Feb-14</p>	<p>An Appeal of the "Right Sector" to the World and European Community</p>	<p>total corruption and repressions of Yanukovych’s regime pushing the country to massive bloodshed and threaten to destabilize not only the former Soviet Union, but also Central and Eastern Europe. Yanukovych and the Party of Regions) which has immersed itself in corruption in all areas of administrative, political and economical life. usurpation of power right to elect and to be elected, freedom of speech and press are profaned in Ukraine political activists and prisoners of conscience remain in jail. dictatorship of a single party that is represented by mafia clans the tyranny of one person – Viktor Yanukovych. brutally suppressed numerous peaceful actions of its own citizens the restoration of the country’s rule of law, fair elections, complete cessation of corruption and poverty, government accountability and the guarantee of their legitimate rights. tyranny and terror against civilians. terror executed by the government to protect the civil liberties of Ukrainians face of the threat of mass terror, kidnapping and torture of innocent people, arbitrary arrests and imprisonments carried out by paid special forces: “Berkut,” “Griffon,”</p>

		<p>Constitution of Ukraine Yanukovych's tyranny the Constitution Fundamental Law of Ukraine “No one shall usurp state power.” Thereby, the actions of the “Right Sector” in January of 2014 were due not only to a vital necessity, a sense of dignity and self-preservation, but a constitutional principle. International and European declarations and charters including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and resolution 217 (A) of the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted on December 10, 1948 decree № 49 of February 27, 1991; genocide in a country, which is located in the heart of Europe! Accusations of the “Right Sector” regarding extremism and provocation are totally unfounded common ground with the United Opposition. world community (UN, EU, OSCE, the governments of European countries, and USA) Yanukovych and the regime he represents.</p>
<p>5-Mar-14</p>	<p><i>An Open Letter to the Jews of Ukraine</i></p>	<p>We are addressing you on behalf of the multi-national people of Ukraine, Ukraine's national minorities, and on behalf of the Jewish community. you must be consciously picking and choosing lies and slander from the entire body of information on Ukraine. The Russian-speaking citizens of Ukraine are not being humiliated or discriminated against, their civil rights have not been infringed upon. “bans on the Russian language” that have been so common in Russian media are on the heads of those who invented them.</p> <p>The Jews of Ukraine, as all ethnic groups, are not absolutely unified in their opinion towards what is happening in the country. But we live in a democratic country. They have tried to scare us “Bandera followers” and “Fascists” attempting to wrest away the helm of Ukrainian society, with imminent Jewish pogroms.</p> <p>even the most marginal do not dare show anti-Semitism or other xenophobic behavior. more than can be said for the Russian neo-Nazis, who are encouraged by your security services. the Minister of Internal Affairs is Armenian, the Vice Prime Minister is a Jew, two ministers are Russian your policy of inciting separatism and crude pressure placed on Ukraine that threatens us</p> <p>But we do not wish to be “defended” by sundering Ukraine and annexing its territory. Stop encouraging pro-Russian separatism. Stop your attempts of delegitimizing the new Ukrainian government.</p>
<p>24-Mar-14</p>	<p><i>The Ideology of the EuroMaidan Revolution</i></p>	<p>The notion that one person, or even a small group, can bring about meaningful change was relegated to the past. People began to appreciate that change starts with them. the Euromaidan saw a broad ideological consensus emerge among a broad range of social groups with different demands, collapse of anti-Ukrainian propaganda based on Soviet myths, Ukrainian students, who, in their teens and twenties, had never known life under Soviet rule and supported European integration, were the most vocal participants. Berkut riot</p>

police brutally beat students – no longer just about European integration. It was against a government that attacked its own citizens, “dictatorial laws” (a package of legislation curbing freedom of speech and curtailing democratic rights) were passed by the pro-presidential majority in parliament.

Opposition leaders Vitali Klitschko, Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Oleh Tiahnybok agreed upon their most important messages prior to joint press conferences.

Batkivshchyna (Homeland) was a left-leaning party, Udar (Punch) more liberal and Svoboda (Freedom) right-wing (these classifications are relative in the realities of post-Soviet politics) found common ground – development of an effective state, civil society and European integration.

the return of the 2004 Constitution, transparent elections and complete reformation of how the state functions

On the Maidan stage, clergy representing different Christians, Muslims and Jews prayed together. Not only political differences but also social and national barriers became secondary

Ethnic Ukrainians waving their flags were joined by Crimean Tatars, Jews, Poles, Belarusians, Georgians, Armenians and others. Not only were Russian-speaking Ukrainians welcome on the Maidan, but so were Russians and Russian flags “open to everyone.” There was no division based on language or ethnicity

Provocations aimed at exploiting LGBT issues failed repeatedly. At the height of the anti-Maidan provocations, there were repeated attempts to exploit the issue of anti-Semitism.

Provocations aside, there was no anti-Semitism on the Maidan because there was no demand for it. The Maidan dissipated the myth of Ukrainians’ xenophobia. The “traditional” animosity of Ukrainians towards Poles was absent – mutual respect between peoples who hoped to be together in a common Europe. The EuroMaidan rejected intolerance. Rich people, the middle class and those living below the poverty line took part. “new civil society is being created” In this way, political, inter-confessional, inter-cultural and inter-ethnic dialogues continue on the Maidan. In general terms, this is the ideology of a new state’s formation.

Information warfare against Ukraine, economic intimidation, the unpunished activities of Russian secret services and their Ukrainian “fifth column” agents directly undermined Ukraine’s independent statehood.

Putin’s system has tried to promote the idea of the Ruskii Mir (Russian World) among Ukrainians

Ukrainian independence didn’t fall from the sky in 1991. It was not the result of evolutionary processes within the USSR, but a result of the bitter struggle of many generations of Ukrainians

The Russian Empire attempted to discredit the names of those leaders who were symbols of our national liberation struggle

Ukrainians were labelled “mazepintsy”, “petlurivtsy” and “banderivtsy” (after the names of historic figures Ivan Mazepa,

		<p>Simon Petlura and Stepan Bandera) in an extremely pejorative and demonizing sense. “Glory to Ukraine! – Glory to Heroes!” It was inherited from the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). It is based on the idea that national and social liberation in Ukraine can only be established by creating “a Ukrainian Independent Unified State.” The struggle for genuine independence resumed on the Euromaidan, and quickly adopted the ideological legacy, organizational and structural forms of 20th century Ukrainian nationalism, which is today performing an integrative function for society as a whole. ... defiant spirit of a struggle against all odds. the people of Kyiv took up the slogan “Glory to Ukraine! – Glory to her heroes!” decades earlier during Gorbachev’s perestroika, The Euromaidan should be treated within the context of the Ukrainian people’s national liberation struggle.</p> <p>The Heroes of the Maidan died for Ukraine. Europeans should remember those Heroes were also defending European values. The fighters of Heaven’s Hundred struggled heroically, as their predecessors did as well.</p>
<p>31-Mar-14</p>	<p><i>Maidan is not Going Away</i></p>	<p>For the liberation of Ukraine from its Soviet legacy and Russian dominance. Because today’s thugs (as you call them) might be tomorrow’s heroes for future generations. We stood on Maidan and crawled under the bullets to dismantle the corrupt system of oligarchic clans. use the opportunity to completely destroy our Revolution under the cover of Russian aggression. We will mobilize, organize and knock out the Muscovites. We have a different Motherland. A different Ukraine.</p>
<p>4-Apr-14</p>	<p><i>Uprising in Ukraine: How it all began</i></p>	<p>Mustafa Nayem- Afghan born Ukrainian journalist who allegedly orchestrated the first Maidan protest on Social Media. It is a true people’s movement, fueled by Ukrainian citizens’ desire for a better government. Many factors contributed to Yanukovich’s downfall: his jailing of political opponents, pressure on independent journalists, and use of brutal force against peaceful protesters refusal to sign the agreement forming an alliance between Ukraine and the European Union. so little faith in their own institutions, in their ability to make their voices heard; many had come to see the EU as their chance to change everything. it wasn’t until 2013 that a group of us left our jobs at companies owned by oligarchs or political partisans and began to create a truly independent media he is trying to convince Russians that evil has overtaken Kyiv. People will not be satisfied with just another new government. They want real change.</p>

Appendix E

Ukrainian Cultural Discourse Sorted by Theme

Date	Author	Speaker	Frames or individuals Described	Evidence (in order of Key) Existential Threat "Ukrainian Idea" Europeanization Failed Realization of "Ukrainian Idea" Historical Urgency	Page
2007	Yushchenko	Yushchenko	Holodomor oppression	a crime of unimaginable horror. Usually referred to in the West as the Great Famine or the Terror Famine, it is known to Ukrainians as the Holodomor.	NA
2007	Yushchenko	Yushchenko	Holodomor / lamentation	It was a state-organized program of mass starvation that in 1932-33 killed 7-10 million Ukrainians, including up to a third of the nation's children.	NA
2007	Yushchenko	Yushchenko	Holodomor / threat	Soviet authorities dismissed this event as a "bad harvest". Their intention was to exonerate themselves of responsibility and suppress knowledge	NA
2007	Yushchenko	Yushchenko	Holodomor / existential threat	it had been inflicted on them deliberately to punish Ukraine and destroy the basis of its nationhood	NA
2007	Yushchenko	Yushchenko	Holodomor	Ukrainian Parliament last year passed a law recognizing the Holodomor as an act of genocide	NA
2007	Yushchenko	Yushchenko	Holodomor	Stalin decided to target the peasantry, representing as it did 80% of the population.	NA
2007	Yushchenko	Yushchenko	Soviet Oppression	the terror campaign that targeted the institutions and individuals that sustained the cultural and public life	NA
2007	Yushchenko	Yushchenko	Holodomor	The Holodomor was an act of genocide designed to suppress the Ukrainian nation.	NA
2010	Yavorska	Yavorska	Language Oppression	unfavorable circumstances under which the Ukrainian language existed in the Russian Empire	165

				(where it was denied recognition and outright banned by the tsarist government, e.g., by the Ems decree of 1876), as well as limitations that were imposed on its usage in Austria–Hungary.	
2010	Yavorska	Yavorska	Language / Soviet oppression	1930s the Great Terror put an end to all discussion, the purists became one of its first victims, and their approach to standardization of Ukrainian was branded hostile and subversive	175
2006	Onyshkevych	Onyshkevych	Cultural oppression	Ukraine’s own qualities were progressively buried or spurned, creating a mass totalitarian culture	411
2002	Himka	Himka	Great / Little Russians	The Ems Ukaz of 1876 (text in Miller, 242–44) placed more serious restrictions on publication in and other public usage of the Little Russian dialect.[1]	326
2002	Himka	Himka	historical oppression	Although this was not a total ban on Ukrainian-language publication, it was severe enough to drive much of Ukrainian publishing activities abroad, mainly to the Habsburg monarchy, where Ukrainians also lived	326
2002	Himka	Himka	historical oppression	“Ems Ukaz” only increased the authority of the Ukrainophiles, who could easily use it to buttress their case that Ukrainian culture was persecuted in Russia: after all, the “Ukaz” even banned theatrical performances and songs in Little Russian.	326
2002	Himka	Himka		In the Ukrainian national narrative, the Valuev circular and Ems Ukaz are presented as the results of an uneven conflict between a Russian government bent on suppressing the Ukrainian language and other manifestations of Ukrainian distinctiveness	327
2005	Yushchenko	Yushchenko	oppression / rural	(describing his father) a teacher from the small village... a prisoner	36

				of Auschwitz, Buchenwald and Dachau	
2010	Katchanovski	Katchanovski	Regional divide	Soviet leadership deliberately organized mass famine in Soviet Ukraine and in the ethnically Ukrainian Kuban region in Russia in order to suppress Ukrainian identity and eliminate a base of Ukrainian nationalism among the peasantry	977
2010	Katchanovski	Katchanovski	Famine under Yushchenko	The official website of the President of Ukraine under Yushchenko listed 13 decrees concerning various aspects of public commemoration of the famine along with other Soviet-era famines and Soviet political repressions in Ukraine	981-982
2014	Gdovsev	Gdovsev	Ukrainian Idea / Russian Threat	Not surprisingly, some Ukrainians see these proposals as a prelude to an outright partition of the country and the absorption of the eastern part directly into the Russian Federation	23
2012	Korostelina	Korostelina	Russian threat	Union with Russia is not a popular idea in Ukraine even among its Russian population; this is a Russian idea brought from outside, one that Russia is using to fuel internal Ukrainian conflicts for its own benefit.	305
2012	Korostelina	Korostelina	Russian threat	Divide subtheme: Opposition between the West and East of Ukraine is induced and financed by Russia and its imperial ambitions.	305
2011	Himka	Yaroslav Stetsko (head of Ukrainian Government in 1941)	anti-Soviet Rage / anti-Semitism	Although I consider Moscow, which in fact held Ukraine in captivity, and not Jewry, to be the main and decisive enemy, I nonetheless fully appreciate the undeniably harmful and hostile role of the Jews, who are helping Moscow to enslave Ukraine. I therefore support the destruction of the Jews and the expedience of bringing German methods of	222

				exterminating Jewry to Ukraine, barring their assimilation and the like.	
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak	attack on National idea	21 In addition to the Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians became the prime targets of the policy of molding a single "Soviet people." The aim of the policy was to obliterate their national distinctions from Russians. ²³	266
2009	Marples	Marples	anti-GPW	served to designate Russia as the perpetrator and essential 'other' not merely in the 1930s but in the wartime years that followed.	506
2010	Yavorska	Szporluk	Origins of National idea	The national identity of modern Ukrainians was formulated by those who, in defining Ukraine, rejected both the Russian identity and the Polish identity" (Szporluk 2000: 362	171
2010	Yavorska	Yavorska	Language and ethnic development	folk vernacular was perceived as "ours," national, and natural, and the bookish language as non-national, artificial, incomprehensible, and finally, Russian. In this way, the normative processes were not only oriented toward peasants' vernacular, but also involved the denial and rejection of bookish elements.	172
2010	Yavorska	Kurylo	Language and ethnic development	. Now the only source of forming Ukrainian intelligentsia is Ukrainian peasantry, and it is only the latter that can give a shape to the Standard Ukrainian language" (Kurylo 1925: 190).	173
2010	Yavorska	Yavorska	Language and nationalism	"Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." The tendency toward "artificial distancing of the Ukrainian language from the Russian," as it then came to be labeled, along with "backwardness,"	175
2006	Onyshkevych	Basiuk	Tolerance	the current Ukrainian Social climate, which reflects a specific attitude or ethos with respect to	409

				many issues, including the acceptance of many ethnic cultures in Ukraine.	
2006	Onyshkevych	Yushchenko	Tolerance	Recent dramatic works depict a mostly relaxed interethnic or intercultural relationship and, most of the time, an unprejudiced treatment of non-Ukrainians	416
2002	Himka	Himka	Differences in Governmental style	The Cossack officers and their churchmen were influenced by Polish and Latin culture and thought politically in terms of the pacta conventa and the republican constitution of the Commonwealth. The Muscovites knew little of the Western learning, and autocracy lay at the base of their political culture.	321
2002	Himka	Himka	roots of western nationalism	Its prohibitions on publication only succeeded in making L'viv, Chernivtsi, and Vienna the centers of Ukrainian publishing, and this not without the support of the Austrian government (210).	326
2002	Himka	Himka	divide in history / roots of western nationalism	There was something different about the way the Galicians understood Ukrainian nationality, as indeed something totally different from, exclusive of, Russian nationality, while Ukrainophilism in Russia was not so radically binary.	329
2005	Yushchenko	Yushchenko	historical achievement / pride	The path to our choice was laid by our historical past... "first in the history of human civilization to be plowed for the growing of grain..." "law codex of Ruska Pravda was developed thousands of years ago..." "tyranny cannot be allowed to reign over the successors of the Cossack republic, which 300 years ago wrote the first constitution in the world..."	37
2005	Yushchenko	Yushchenko	unity	We will not be separated by the languages we speak, the religions we practice, or the political views we support. We are proud of	38

				being Ukrainians.	
2007	Svyetlov	Svyetlov	Ukrainian Idea / Europeanization	The Ukrainian Europeanisation project can also be seen as an attempt to build a national idea, pursued by different political forces. This process has several stages.	529
2007	Svyetlov	Svyetlov	Ukrainian Idea / Europeanization	Thus from 1991 onwards it was 'the creation from the opposite', i.e. anti-communist, anti-imperial and anti-Russian quest with a later logical shift to the modern Ukraine's 'Return to Europe' nationalism of ethnic Ukrainianness.	530
2007	Svyetlov	Svyetlov	Ethnic Nationalism	Nationalism in this context was seen as a right to constitute an independent and autonomous political community based on shared history, language, culture and territory.	530
2014	Gdovsev	Gdovsev	Ukrainian Idea	Ukrainian national project of the last century, which attempted to encourage its western and eastern portions to identify more with each other and less with their former historic overlords of Poland and Russia.	23
1986	Kohut	Kohut	Nationalism	cultures, the leaders of new nations had to base their movements primarily on ethnicity and spoken language. It was their task to devise a unifying script, create a literature, and, at the same time, convince the populace that it belonged to a nation	561
1986	Kohut	Kohut	Cossack Roots - Freedom	any study of modern Ukrainian nation building must consider the role of the eighteenth-century Ukrainian political unit called "Little Russia" by contemporaries, and subsequently labeled the "Hetmanate" by historians.	561
1986	Kohut	Kohut	Cossack Roots - Freedom	During the Hetmanate's long period of autonomy it developed a unique system of government which has close links to the	561

				military organization of the Cossack Host.	
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak	attachment to the land	L'viv and Donetsk have something in common: their attachment to the territorial unity of Ukraine. Only 1 percent in L'viv and 5 percent in Donetsk favored the division of Ukraine into several separate countries	272
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak	national idea	situation. Some theorists suggest that this "catch up" mentality may serve as a breeding ground for national sentiment.	274
2012	Schkandrij	Schkandrij	national idea	Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance (UNDO). This party held over 20 seats in the Sejm after the election of 1928. It supported autonomy for Galicia within Poland, and wished to see Soviet Ukraine become an independent state with a parliamentary democracy and equal rights for all minorities and religious groups.	433
2012	Korostelina	Korostelina	national idea - Ukrainianness	Pride: The source of pride, according to this narrative theme, is Ukraine's original history, culture, language, literature, and democratic traditions.	301
2012	Korostelina	Korostelina	national idea - Ukrainianness	Hard-working, are devoted to their land, and have supported democratic traditions since the Middle Ages.	304
2012	Korostelina	Korostelina	national idea - Ukrainianness	Ukraine is a peaceful, free society not dependent on power, patronage, or totalitarian ideology, all of which highlights the importance of preserving its difference from Russia.	304
2012	Korostelina	Korostelina	national idea - Ukrainianness	Ukraine has avoided civil war and conflicts because of its traditions of tolerance, which serve as a foundation of Ukrainian culture.	301
2012	Korostelina	Korostelina	national idea - Ukrainianness	National idea based on the Ukrainian renaissance and the revival of the Ukrainian language.	302
2012	Korostelina	Korostelina	national idea - Europeanization	The Russian path leads to a totalitarian regime and forced	302

			/ civic	assimilation. Ukrainian nationalism is not ethnically based: it is inclusive and based on the idea of the nation's return to European membership.	
2012	Korostelina	Korostelina	national idea	For Ukrainian-speaking people, this matter is one of the survival of the language. Ukrainian as the sole state language should be enforced, and all citizens should be compelled to learn it.	303
2012	Korostelina	Korostelina	national idea - Ukrainianness	Thus, national identity, according to these respondents, should be based on Ukrainian traditions and the unity of Ukrainian history, language, and culture; it should integrate Russians, Hungarians, and Crimean Tatars into its national identity.	305
2012	Korostelina	Korostelina	national idea - Ukrainianness	Ukraine possesses a unique identity rooted in high standards for people's rights and freedoms and Ukrainian values of democracy.	305
1999	Shulman	Shulman	national idea	answers to which will determine the content of their feelings of solidarity: 'What features do we have in common that unite us?'; 'What features do we have in common that distinguish us from other political communities?'; and 'How do our common traits relate us to other nations?'	1014
1999	Shulman	Shulman	national idea - identity	What matters for the content of national identity are not peoples' 'objective' cultural characteristics, but their subjective perception of these traits and how they compare to the traits of other populations.	1014
1999	Shulman	Shulman	national idea definition	"After 1991, when independence was attained, most nationalists have wanted the Ukrainian state to be based on the so-called 'Ukrainian national idea': a state devoted to representing, preserving and promoting ethnic	1016 - 1017

				Ukrainian	
1999	Shulman	Shulman	national idea - Ukrainianness	Culture and language."	1017
1999	Shulman	Shulman	national idea - Ukrainianness	"Individualism: Probably the characteristic of the Ukrainian mentality that nationalists mention most often is a deep respect for individual	1018
1999	Shulman	Shulman	national idea - Ukrainianness	Dignity and rights."	1018
1999	Shulman	Shulman	national idea - Ukrainianness	Love of freedom and democracy: A closely related trait is the alleged democratic mentality of ethnic Ukrainians – a penchant for self-governance and political equality. As key evidence of the Ukrainian mind-set, nationalists point to the political traditions	1018
1999	Shulman	Shulman	national idea - Ukrainianness	Love of land and popular (folk) culture: Another common self bcharacterization is that of Ukrainians as a peasant people who are close to nature and the abundant, fertile land, chernozem, they inhabit. Nationalists take special pride in the rich Ukrainian folk culture, particularly its songs and dance. The centrality of the peasant culture is due mostly to the Polonization and Russification of Ukrainian élites during the extended period of foreign colonization.	1019
2011	Agustsson	Agustsson	national idea - who belongs	Emotionalism/romanticism: Another commonly cited trait is the ethnic Ukrainian predilection for feelings over reason, for spirituality over materialism.	85
2011	Agustsson	Agustsson	national idea - who belongs	Tolerance: An alleged cultural marker of the ethnic Ukrainian community is respect for others. Kostomarov (1903, pp. 53–54) remarks that in Southern Russia (Ukraine), ‘foreigners of different beliefs and tribes’ gathered for centuries, yielding a ‘spirit of	85

				tolerance, absence of national arrogance'.	
2011	Agustsson	Agustsson	national idea - who belongs	The Ukrainian Constitution, which was adopted only five years after the country gained independence, offers a very inclusive definition of who constitutes the Ukrainian people. It opens the preamble with a statement including all citizens of Ukraine, regardless of nationality.	86
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak	national idea roots	(The constitution) then goes on to refer to the "centuries old history of Ukrainian state-building and the final realization of the right to self-determination of "the Ukrainian nation, all the Ukrainian people."	276
2006	Onyshkevych	Szporluk	European / not Russian	Taras Shevchenko's 1845 emotive call to his countrymen, "the dead, the living, and to those yet unborn to strive for their paradise on earth, an independent Ukraine.	411
2006	Onyshkevych	Onyshkevych	European / not Russian	that L'viv was one of the least Sovietized cities of the Soviet Union, and that most of its population cherished memories of the national struggle and political traditions that derived from the Austrian, Polish, and early Soviet times	412
2006	Onyshkevych	Andrukovych	European / not Russian	Gradually the European theme became dominant in Ukrainian discourses on the nature of Ukrainian distinctiveness from Russia. The Theses that Ukrainians' historical ties to Europe distinguished them from the Russian became an article of faith in Ukrainian national ideology	413
2006	Onyshkevych	Andrukovych	European / not Russian	in the 1930's, another leading Ukrainian writer Mykola Khvylovyi issued a stronger call regarding the cultural direction to be followed "away from Moscow"	413
2006	Onyshkevych	Yushchenko	European / not Russian	the most popular Ukrainian writer	413

			Russian	today, Yuri Andrukhovych, in his very strong identification with Europe, even went so far as to call it his own	
2011	Kulyk	Kulyk	European / not Russian	Russian and German polarities	641
2005	Yushchenko	Yushchenko	modernity and Europeanism	The European choice for Ukraine is more than a geographical term. In the first place, we have chosen the civilized European model of development, which allows achieving progress in all spheres of social and public life. (2005) State council for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine	40
2005	Yushchenko	Yushchenko	Europeanization	whether they believed Ukraine's future lay in a union with Russia and Belarus. This issue remained at the heart of political and social polarization throughout independence	40
2011	Himka	Himka	linking OUN and Europeanization	we will be a modern nation in a global dynamic world, we will become an equal among equals... the best possible education, highly developed science, and the most modern technologies...	222
2011	Himka	Stetsko	AntiSoviet rage / collaboration	Our way to the future is the way of a United Europe. The Ukrainian nation and the nations of Europe belong to the same civilization.	223
2010	Katchanovski	Katchanovski	Western motivations / WW2 still alive	On 2 May 1939 the head of OUN, Andrii Mel'nyk, assured German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop that his organization was "related in world outlook to the same type of movements of Europe, in particular to National Socialism in Germany and fascism in Italy."69 Kost' Pan'kivs'kyi, who himself collaborated with the Germans and took OUN to task for breaking with the Germans later in 1941, identified the members of OUN as "people who for years had had contacts with the	985

				Germans, who were ideologically linked with fascism and Nazism, who in word and in print and in deed had for years been preaching totalitarianism and an orientation on Berlin and Rome."70	
2007	Svyetlov	Svyetlov	Europeanization	The renewed Ukrainian State will collaborate closely with National Socialist Greater Germany, which under the leadership of Adolf Hitler is creating a new order in Europe and the world and is helping the Ukrainian people liberate themselves from Muscovite occupation [...]	538
				Yushchenko and his bloc were unwilling to pursue recognition of the Nazi genocide of Ukrainians because they thought that this would negatively affect Ukraine's relations with Germany and its former wartime allies... In particular, the Orange politicians might have believed that these countries would block Ukraine's prospects for membership of NATO and the European Union	
2011	Kulyk	Kulyk		The EU's power of attraction proved to be one of the most powerful tools of indirect influence on democratization in Ukraine. 'Return to Europe' was among the most influential factors, gradually internalized in Ukraine.	641
2011	Kulyk	Kulyk	Divide - spanning issues		642
2011	Kulyk	Kulyk	Divide - spanning issues	In contemporary Ukraine, such divisive issues include first and foremost foreign policy and historical memory (Arel 1995; Wolczuk 2007)	642
2011	Kulyk	Kulyk	Divide - spanning issues	Accordingly, attempts by local authorities in western Ukraine and (after the Orange Revolution of 2004) by President Viktor	644

				Yushchenko to rehabilitate Bandera and other figures of the World War II nationalist resistance were resolutely opposed by parties primarily representing the eastern and southern constituencies	
2002	Himka	Himka	divide in history	Ukrainian speakers in the west are more supportive of Bandera and cautious of Russian reunification (empirically shown)	328
2002	Himka	Himka	divide in history	Language identity also influences people's views of other culturally sensitive issues, including (but arguably not limited to) those of foreign policy and historical memory.	328
2010	Katchanovski	Katchanovski	Regional divide	that "there was not, is not and cannot be a separate Little Russian language," that "their dialect, used by the common people, is the same Russian language, only corrupted by Poland's influence upon it" (109, 240–41).	974
2010	Katchanovski	Katchanovski	Regional divide	The conflict was not only ideological, but financial: Kyiv could barely support two newspapers (161). Kievlianin attacked the Ukrainophiles intemperately, accusing them of separatist tendencies and hinting that they should be arrested (164–64). The Little Russian Nikolai Rigel'man took the anti-Ukrainophile polemics into the mainstream Russian press in 1875	974
2010	Katchanovski	Katchanovski	Regional divide / Famine	the distinct regional and political cultures of western and eastern Ukraine are the main determinants of the policy positions of political leaders and parties and the attitudes of Ukrainians concerning the two issues (attitudes regarding Soviet and Nazi genocide)	975
2010	Katchanovski	Katchanovski	Regional divide	Different political values emerged	975

			/ Famine	in these regions as a result of distinct historical experiences before World War I and World War II, and it suggested that these values were transferred from one generation to another, and they became a major determinant of electoral behavior and foreign policy attitudes in Ukraine after independence following the collapse of Soviet communism.	
2010	Katchanovski	Katchanovski	Political / regional divide over famine	Nationalist and anti-Russian political values have evolved particularly in the western Ukrainian regions, especially, in Galicia (Katchanovski 2006). These regions only came under Soviet rule as a result of World War II. Galicia, Bukovyna and Carpatho-Ukraine had been ruled by the Austro-Hungarian Empire before World War I, and between World War I and World War II Galicia and Volhynia were parts of Poland	982
2010	Katchanovski	Katchanovski	divide on genocide	Western Ukrainian regions, in which Ukrainians constituted the absolute majority of peasants, did not experience famine in 1932–1933 because they were not under Soviet rule until 1939.	987
2010	Katchanovski	Katchanovski	difference between Bandera and Hitler	The parliamentary faction of the Party of Regions, with the exception of two deputies, and the entire parliamentary faction of the Communist Party did not vote for the 2006 law which declared the famine to be genocide.	988
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak	divide-language	"	263
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak	divide-language	A total of 85% of respondents in western Ukrainian regions, which in this survey also included the Khmelnytsky Region, and 76% in the center, supported recognition of the famine as genocide by the parliament, compared to 55% in the south and 35% in the east."	264
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak	divide culture	The 2004 Razumkov Centre Poll	264

				showed that 91% of Ukrainians expressed a negative attitude towards Adolf Hitler, while 1% expressed a positive attitude. One fifth, 20%, had a positive view and 35% had negative view of Stepan Bandera who, as leader of the OUN was involved in the Nazi genocide of Jews	
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak	divide	Ukrainian parliamentary and presidential elections in 1994 indicated that these language differences were highly correlated with political and regional differences between nationalist-minded western Ukraine and pro-communist eastern Ukraine.	264
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak	identity divide	Comparisons between L'viv and Donetsk are problematic. ¹² Since, as some authors suggest, ¹³ these two cities represent the opposite poles of political mobilization in Ukraine, such comparison necessarily corroborates the thesis of threatening ethnic and regional cleavage	268
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak	divide - national idea	At the root of these differences, some analysts would claim, are ethnic and language cleavages. It is true that L'viv is the most Ukrainian city in the country in terms of both language and urban culture	269
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak	divide - national idea	e. In 1989, Ukrainians made up 79.1 percent of the city's population, and 77.6 percent of the population regarded Ukrainian as their native language. Donetsk, on the other hand, is the urban center of Donbas, the most industrialized and russified region in eastern Ukraine. According to the 1989 census, Russians were in the majority here with 53.5 percent of the population, and Ukrainians, with 39.4 percent, were in the minority. If one adds the language criterion, then the	270

				Russian character of Donetsk becomes even more explicit: the percentage of Russian-speakers in the population as a whole is 80.5 percent. ¹⁶	
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak		Equality of political rights constitutes the core of the Western model, while common language and traditions are at the core of the Eastern model. ²⁹	270
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak	divide - political	"Those who live in Ukraine must learn to speak Ukrainian and use Ukrainian in public." Most of the respondents in L'viv agreed with the statement, but in Donetsk most disagree	272
				The general impression is that in terms of language, the ethnic concept dominates in L'viv, while the civic concept dominates in Donetsk	
2012	Korostelina	Korostelina	western support for national idea	Passive. In post-Soviet Ukraine, the "Soviet" and the "Ukrainian national" versions of the Ukrainian past (simplifying, of necessity, the differences between historiographical schools within each version) are battling for supremacy	301-306
2010	Katchanovski	Katchanovski	western support for national idea	Difference between L'viv and Donetsk is of a political rather than an economic nature. While 74.4 percent of the inhabitants of L'viv evaluate the political changes that have taken place since 1991 positively or very positively, 88.2 percent in Donetsk view these changes as negative or very negative.	13
2011	Kuzio	Kuzio	disappointment / frustration	The Victor Yushchenko era (2005-2010) began with high hopes following the Orange Revolution but ended with great disappointment and disillusionment	88
2011	Kuzio	Kuzio	stagnation	Fight for Ukrainian Identity narrative (23%) Recognition of	89

				Ukrainian Identity Narrative (23%)	
2011	Kuzio	Kravchuk	stagnation	The 2009 Kiev International Institute of Sociology shows a majority of the respondents in Galicia have positive perceptions of the Bandera faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (63% and 60% respectively)	89
2011	Kuzio	Kuzio	regionalism / frustration	The Victor Yushchenko era (2005-2010) began with high hopes following the Orange Revolution but ended with great disappointment and disillusionment	90
2011	Kuzio	Kuzio	stagnation / frustration	Purpose: to identify consistent trends in Ukrainian politics that explain the weakness of the country's constituency for implementing reform or change.	
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak	frustration / lamentation	Former President Kravchuk: "although the authorities change, the methods and paths to resolve political and socio-economic problems remain unchanged."	274
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak	frustration / lamentation	The majority of orange Revolution protestors were from Western-Central Ukraine.... Civil society in Ukraine is heavily regionalized and lacking a pan-national presence.	274
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak	frustration / lamentation	Reasons for stagnation: corruption, stagnation, weak political will and civil society, lack of institutions to combat corruption, legacy of Soviet politics (Razumkov Center for Economic and Political Studies)	274
1998	Hyrtsak	Hyrtsak	national idea / frustration / lamentation	Ukrainians expect too much from other countries and "nobody will help us - we can rely only on ourselves."	274
2009	Marples	Marples	lamentation	The majority in both L'viv and Donetsk evaluated the economic changes that have taken place since Ukraine was declared independent negatively or very	506

				negatively.	
2008	Morgan	Morgan	frustration / lamentation	Respondents in L'viv blame the communist regime for suppressing the psychology of private ownership, particularly in central and eastern Ukraine. They view Poland, where this psychology was retained, as an example of what might have been possible in Ukraine	323
2008	Morgan	Morgan	frustration / lamentation	To return our own specialists, our own engineers, our own teachers - well, to return all those specialists to a toy factory or a textile factory and so on. To produce our own metals, to teach our own children, to have our own professors. All this has to be restored. If we don't restore it, it means we are worth nothing	325
2012	Schkandrij	Schkandrij	frustration / lamentation	Under the leadership of President Viktor Yushchenko, the famine has taken a central place in the construction of a Ukrainian national history, and the president has taken the personal lead in this campaign. ³	432
2012	Schkandrij	Schkandrij	lamentation / frustration	The famine was also used as a political weapon to destroy any notion of Ukrainian independence. There was no "natural catastrophe"	434
2012	Korostelina	Korostelina	lament / frustration	Ivan stated in his interview, that it was his belief that the Soviet regime destroyed a nation. 20	303
2012	Moore	Moore	Victimization	OUN voiced grievances against the Polonization campaign and against the government's refusal to implement the autonomy it had promised in 1919–23 when, under international agreements, it had been allowed to establish an administration in Galicia.	376
2010	Katchanovski	Katchanovski	Victimization	"The main reason is that we live among undemocratic states and slogans. Willy-nilly we submit to overly strong foreign influences,	973

				and become infected with dubious pseudo-democrats, who are especially plentiful among our neighbors.” (Tvorydlo, “Demokratyzm chy avtorytaryzm?” Dilo, 3 Jan. 1933).	
2009	Marples	Marples	motivation national idea	This narrative laments a lost opportunity over the past 20 years for greater development of the Ukrainian language; instead, the dynamic of pushing the Ukrainian language out of the social sphere has continued even after years of independence. The Ukrainian language remains suppressed and faces continued internal and external threat.	510
2009	Marples	Marples	motivational national idea	While the famine has been variously described as “a Holocaust the west forgot”, “the hidden Holocaust”, “Ukraine’s Holocaust”, “the early Holocaust”, and “the holocaust-famine”, ⁵⁷ other writers have specifically emphasized its horribly exceptional character. The Holodomor has been classified as “the greatest genocide of the century” ⁵⁸ and “the most brutal ethnic genocide in history”	513
2009	Marples	Marples	motivational national idea	Yushchenko issued orders to state organizations, including the Security Service of Ukraine (Sluzhba bezpeky Ukrainy, SBU), the Ukrainian mass media, and academic and educational institutions to commemorate ‘the famine–genocide of the Ukrainian people’.	514
2005	Yushchenko	Yushchenko	Oppression and redemption	Whether or not Stalin feared the Poles more, ¹⁰ within the USSR he was most worried about the Ukrainians,	36
2005	Yushchenko	Yushchenko	modernity / European	Discussions are replete with references to the distinct nature of the Ukrainian villages as compared to other regions of the	37

				Soviet Union and the difficulties the communists had in obtaining a secure foothold there	
2005	Yushchenko	Yushchenko	anti-corruption	Ukrainian kulaks' seemed to be offering more resistance to the Soviet authorities than their counterparts elsewhere.	39
2011	Himka	Bandera	"In between" and OUN justification	We removed the chains of the past... no one will dare tell us how to live	224
2011	Himka	Himka	OUN justification	On this Maidan, Ukrainians presented themselves to the world as a modern Ukrainian nation	235