Heavenly Fighters for Ukrainian Civil Society:

The Cultivation of Democratic Culture through the Memorialization of the Revolution of Dignity

by

Emma C. Murray
B.A., University of Victoria, 2018

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of Germanic and Slavic Studies

We acknowledge and respect the Lekwungen peoples on whose traditional territory the university stands and the Songhees, Esquimalt and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

Heavenly Fighters for Ukrainian Civil Society:

The Cultivation of Democratic Culture through the Memorialization of the Revolution of Dignity

by

Emma C. Murray

B.A., University of Victoria, 2018

Supervisory Committee

Dr. Serhy Yekelchyk, Supervisor

Department of Germanic and Slavic Studies

Dr. Megan Swift, Departmental Member

Department of Germanic and Slavic Studies

Abstract

The 2013–2014 Revolution of Dignity in the capital city of Kyiv was an overwhelming popular demonstration of the Ukrainian public's desire for a western-oriented, democratic, and European future for Ukraine and its rejection of the Russian-oriented loyalties that have troubled the country since gaining independence in 1991. The western choice embodied by the revolution—which resulted in violent deaths, countless injuries, and the overthrow of the corrupt presidential regime—lingers in the form of memorials that serve not only as reminders of the violence, but as evidence of the continued affirmation of this choice. I argue that the sociological construction of the revolutionary Heavenly Hundred Heroes and the participatory commemorative practices dedicated to such demonstrate how memorialization can foster the transition away from the corrupt authoritarian past toward a democratic future through the promotion of civic engagement. I employ the perspective of memorialization paired with a post-colonial framework to explain how the revolution is remembered by the Ukrainian public, analyzing the key interactions between civic identity formation, hybridity, memory, sites of conscience, and transitional justice to demonstrate how commemoration strengthens the culture of democracy. The examination of three different types of memorialization—grassroots, official, and the site of conscience—demonstrates the different ways in which memorials serve as sites of discourse and engagement for Ukrainian society. The ongoing attempts at the reforms promoting transitional justice demonstrate that memorialization of the revolution, in strengthening the culture of civic engagement, helps promote democracy. In Ukraine, civic engagement fostered by memorials positions them as crucial components of transitional, post-colonial spaces.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Dedication

To my family and friends across the world for their unwavering support.

To the people of Ukraine that have inspired me since day one.

To MM, who always made the world a better place.

Introduction

Background

Since gaining independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, Ukraine has oscillated along the transitional scale, between authoritarian and democratically inclined regimes. While the authoritarian end of the spectrum has been associated with Russian-oriented loyalties that hearken to the legacy of the defunct Soviet Union, the democratic side sets its sights on a European future, identifying authoritarianism with Russia and democracy with the "West" or the European Union (EU). It is important to note from the start that "Europe" in general and the EU in particular functioned in the Ukrainian context as symbols or metaphors of democracy and prosperity—regardless of what they were really like.

In 2010, the Russian-oriented politician Viktor Yanukovych was elected president after the Ukrainian population grew frustrated with the previous, more pro-western but inefficient government of Viktor Yushchenko. Yanukovych's key promises for his tenure called for improved relations with both the EU and Russia, which included the signing of an Association Agreement with the EU that would provide visa-free travel and better economic relations for a struggling Ukraine.[1] This Association Agreement was scheduled to be signed in the fall of 2013, and represented a brighter, "European" future in the eyes of many Ukrainians. On the eve of the scheduled signing of the agreement, President Yanukovych announced a last-minute abandonment of the deal with the European Union in favor of a similar agreement, now with the Russian-dominated Eurasian Economic Union. This effectively dashed the hopes of Ukrainians for a democratic and more prosperous "European" future. Most Ukrainians were not aware of the details of the Association Agreement. Yet, the very notion of closer relations with Europe evoked Western

[1] David Marples, "Introduction," in *Ukraine's Euromaidan: Analyses of a Civil Revolution*, ed. David Marples and Frederick Mills (Stuttgart: Ibidem Press, 2015), ProQuest Ebook Central, 9.

values such as freedom, democracy, and respect for human rights, all things Ukraine had been struggling with since its independence in 1991.[2] These struggles were also associated with the type of leadership demonstrated by neighboring Russia, a culprit of the lingering Soviet legacy.

The revolution began on the night of 21 November 2013, when a group of students gathered in the central square of the capital city of Kyiv—known as Maidan Nezalezhnosti in Ukrainian or "Independence Square" in English—to protest Yanukovych's sudden turn toward Russia and the abandonment of their European future. Although the students demonstrated peacefully, they were violently dispersed on the night of 30 November by riot police.[3] Helpless students were beaten for exercising their freedom of speech and basic rights in what was supposedly a free and democratic country. Word quickly spread about the student beatings, with the revolution's demonstrations shifting away from protesting the failed signing of the Association Agreement and toward protesting the police violence and violation of political freedoms. In the following days and weeks, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians came to Maidan to protest the president and his regime. Some sources estimate that on a single day in December 2013, potentially one million Ukrainians from all over the country demonstrated in the center of Kyiv, earning the nickname "The March of Millions."[4] These demonstrations would continue for another three months, throughout the dead of Ukrainian winter.

The protest occurring in the city center quickly became a spectacle that garnered international attention coupled with condemnation of the violence utilized by government-controlled forces. The tactics used to disperse the protesters became increasingly violent as police

---

[2] Serhii Plokhy, *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 338.
[3] Svitlana Krasynska and Eric Martin, "The Formality of Informal Civil Society: Ukraine's EuroMaidan," *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 28 (2017): 426.
[4] "Maidan Dictionary," About Maidan, National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/en/node/536.

were equipped with full riot gear to combat the unarmed protesters, including body armor, metal shields and batons, tear gas, water cannons, and rubber bullets.[5] The demonstrations evolved into an ongoing occupation of the square, growing into a fully functioning micro-community entirely supported by volunteers practicing collective leadership, becoming emblematic of the movement and the space itself. The encampment on the square developed fully functioning initiatives including and not limited to a library, a university, soup kitchens, internet connectivity, and legal counsel, all free and accessible to anyone on the square.[6] Self-defense and security units were formed to keep the space guarded from attacks by police and thugs hired by the ruling party to disrupt the protests. Medical support and makeshift hospitals were also created to provide first aid to those who had been wounded in clashes with police, while the Automaidan served the role of transport, mobile defense, and as a physical barrier.[7] Effectively, one could—and would—live on the square for the entire winter. Over the course of its existence, Maidan Nezalezhnosti had been known as a space for political demonstrations and multiple revolutions. Furthermore, the phenomenon which occurred that winter exemplified and redefined its importance as a space of self-sufficiency and the power of self-organization as the civic society came together to guide the future of the country on their own terms. Maidan was more than simply a place to camp out in protest; it became representative of the idea of democracy, cooperation, human rights, and the rejection of the authoritarian past. In essence, the camp at Maidan Nezalezhnosti became a micro-culture of democracy.

---

[5] Christopher J. Miller, "Bloodlust," *Kyiv Post*, 20 February 2016, https://www.kyivpost.com/article/content/ukraine-politics/death-fire-smoke-and-soot-337264.html.
[6] Nadia Diuk, "Ukraine's Self-Organizing Revolution," *World Affairs* 176, no.6 (April 2014): 14.
[7] "Maidan Initiatives," About Maidan, National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/en/node/1096.

Violent clashes between authorities and protesters occurred during attempts by protesters to march to important government buildings such as the Verkhovna Rada (Ukrainian parliament) to demand increased action from the president in reaching a peaceful conclusion to the revolution. These attempts were repeatedly blocked by the riot police refusing protesters passage, culminating in heated clashes that included widespread beatings and the excessive use of force by police, met by paving stones and Molotov cocktails thrown by the protesters in response. These clashes led to the "Dictatorship Laws" of 16 January 2014, a set of laws passed by the parliament that prohibited an absurd range of actions aimed at making acts of protest illegal. These laws included rules such as the prohibition of wearing helmets and face coverings in public and a variety of legislation severely limiting freedom of speech and the right to assemble. These laws had the opposite effect than intended, creating even more support for the revolution against a regime that resorted to the suppression of democratic freedoms and use of draconian methods to deal with opposition.[8]

Actions such as the Dictatorship Laws led to further clashes on Maidan, with mid-to-late February resulting in some of the most violent days of the revolution. Riot-control rubber bullets were switched to live ammunition as police began shooting protesters with the intent to kill. An estimated one hundred protesters and several police officers were killed at Maidan that winter, with the deadliest day being 20 February 2014, claiming approximately 49 lives.[9] The protesters that were killed in the conflict are now known as the Nebesna Sotnia or The Heavenly Hundred.[10] This violent response to the revolution only further worsened relations among the government, the

[8] Serhy Yekelchyk, *The Conflict in Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 108.
[9] Miller, "Bloodlust."
[10] It must be noted that not all victims and members of the Heavenly Hundred were shot, as many activists, protesters, journalists, and other participants were also kidnapped by police and either killed or beaten and left for dead in remote locations. Such was the case of Yury Verbytsky, who was beaten and left for dead on the outskirts of Kyiv in late January 2014. "Thousands Bid Farewell to Yury Verbytsky, Murdered Euromaidan Protester," *Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group*, 25 January 2014, http://khpg.org/en/index.php?id=1390602210.

protesters, and the official political opposition. Attempts at negotiations were rejected following the murder of fellow protesters and the countless injuries sustained, leading protesters to call for the president's immediate resignation with more radical elements calling for an armed offensive against the regime. On 22 February 2014, Viktor Yanukovych covertly fled the country along with a number of his ministers, unconstitutionally and illegally abandoning his position as president of Ukraine, seeking refuge in Russia.[11] Yanukovych is presently wanted for treason and various crimes related to the revolution and subsequent war in the Donbas region. Thus far these charges have had little effect because he is in exile in Russia, where he has protection.[12] With the parliament's removal of Yanukovych as president because of his abandonment of presidential duties, the revolution was considered over. The parliament formed a new government, designated an acting president, and scheduled snap presidential elections. The Association Agreement was eventually signed, yet the victory came at the cost of over 100 lives and the complete exposure of Ukraine's troubling, deeply entrenched system of corruption and the lingering Soviet legacy that brought such a tragedy to the fore. Over five years later, the legacy of the revolution lingers in downtown Kyiv through memorials and tokens of remembrance, having fundamentally changed the physical space, but also the political and social environment of Ukraine itself.

The revolution was a major cultural phenomenon that impacted thousands of Ukrainians and is widely remembered both as a historic turning point and a tragedy. Analysis through the perspective of memorialization demonstrates the way that this event is remembered—either positively or negatively—and how the changes and influences of the revolution continue to affect society. This thesis argues that the Revolution of Dignity continues to have a lasting impact on

[11] Yekelchyk, *Conflict in Ukraine*, 111.

[12] Andrew Roth, "Ukraine's Ex-President Viktor Yanukovych Found Guilty of Treason," *The Guardian*, 25 January 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jan/25/ukraine-ex-president-viktor-yanukovych-found-guilty-of-treason.

Ukraine, which can be observed through the examination of memorialization and commemorations dedicated to the event. This lasting influence serves to strengthen the culture of transition and democracy in a country that has long struggled with the persistent Soviet-style rules of the game that indulged the rampant corruption by the wealthiest elites since the early years of independence.

Literature Review and Methodology

My research for this thesis included an internship at the National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity and observation of memorial sites and practices, as well as a review of theoretical literature and Ukrainian social media. Although significant literature exists on the construction of national memory, the complex hybridity of Ukrainian identities, and the ongoing struggle for political stability in Ukraine, the role of commemorative activities in relation to these processes in the context of Ukraine remains understudied. Key texts serving as the basis for this analysis include Maria Rewakowicz's book *Ukraine's Quest for Identity: Embracing Cultural Hybridity in Literary Imagination, 1991-2011,* a pre-revolutionary analysis of Ukrainian literature, which provides a theoretical model for a post-colonial understanding of national identity and memory formation. Rewakowicz's analysis and post-colonial framework is complemented by important articles such as Barbara Törnquist-Plewa and Yuliya Yurchuk's "Memory Politics in Contemporary Ukraine: Reflections from the Postcolonial Perspective," and Aleksandra Kuczynska-Zonik and Janusz Kowalczyk's "Nation Building in Post-Maidan Ukraine," which establish a contemporary understanding of memory politics and the post-colonial condition that necessitates reconciling the Soviet legacy whilst constructing a hybrid, diverse civic identity. Andriy Liubarets incorporates this changing attitude toward the Soviet legacy in "The Politics of Memory in Ukraine in 2014: Removal of the Soviet Cultural Legacy and Euromaidan Commemorations," an analysis of the spontaneous de-Sovietization that accompanied the revolution and impacted the memoryscape of downtown Kyiv. Liubarets' analysis demonstrates

that the physical destruction of Soviet era monuments was accompanied by a change in memory politics and the physical replacement of such objects with Maidan or Heavenly Hundred-related identity markers. These analyses are supplemented by Igor Lyubashenko's multiple studies of transitional justice in Ukraine since the revolution, notably the book *Transitional Justice in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine: Swimming Upstream* which asserts the importance of the revolution as a rejection of the Soviet legacy and a necessary catalyst for the long-overdue implementation of transitional justice measures to deal with the post-Soviet condition since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. In addition to Lyubashenko's analysis, human rights scholar Ilya Nuzov provides additional analysis regarding the post-revolutionary status of nation building and memory politics in Ukraine in "The Dynamics of Collective Memory in the Ukraine Crisis: A Transitional Justice Perspective," including the problematic nature of some of the transitional justice efforts implemented thus far. Together, this literature provides detailed analysis of the complexities of Ukrainian identity formation and the puzzle of memory politics in a post-colonial, post-Soviet country, including the necessity for transitional justice efforts as Ukraine undergoes a non-linear transition from colonial subject to fully independent nation. Of course, the Ukrainian case differed in many respects from the classic colonial situation of a European metropole and an overseas colony. Race was not a factor, and economic exploitation was sometimes not obvious, but the denial of political sovereignty and encouragement of assimilation into the Russian culture produced the political and cultural hierarchies typical of a colonial relationship. Another peculiarity of the Ukrainian case has been the use of "Europe" as an anti-colonial symbol connoting real sovereignty—a rather unusual strategy from the perspective of global anti-colonialism and post-colonialism. In the drive to distance itself from the Soviet past, represented

in the present by the authoritarian and corrupt Russia, Ukraine embraced "Europe" as an anti-colonial slogan.

Existing literature does not thoroughly incorporate the role of memorials and commemoration projects and their influence on pro-democratic reform, transitional justice, and the culture of democracy in the context of Ukraine and the Revolution of Dignity. This thesis investigates the relationship between memorialization and transitional reform through the analysis of memorials dedicated to the revolution and the symbolism present in such. Elżbieta Olzacka's recent analysis, "The Role of Museums in Creating National Community in Wartime Ukraine" (July 2020) briefly mentions the role of the new museology and the new type of active museums such as the National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, theorizing that such a genre of museum may facilitate affirmation of civic society in Ukraine. However, this text primarily emphasizes the role of museums in shaping national narratives and activating civil society in Ukraine and does not examine other types of commemoration such as grassroots and official memorials or the relationship to transitional justice and the culture of democracy.

This thesis demonstrates how the commemoration of the Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity of 2013–2014 positively affects transitional justice in Ukraine by strengthening the culture of democracy present in the country. The Revolution of Dignity is an example of a micro-culture of democracy that produced new cultural symbols and a democratic mythology of heroes that has become a locus for the encouragement of democratic values. This detailed investigation into the social processes and conditions surrounding the construction of new heroic figures demonstrates how Ukrainians have affirmed the lasting importance of the Revolution of Dignity and its heroes and have dealt with the violent rupture of the national status quo. Grassroots memorials in the capital city of Kyiv exemplify public manifestations of collective memory and subjectivity,

revealing how the public indicates their values and grievances through an essential form of democratic expression, whilst simultaneously honoring their fallen heroes and formulating a unique modern identity. The public utilizes these spaces as forums for continued dialogue and the implementation of revolutionary values through their participation in memory and memory sites. In contrast, we can discern political motives in the official commemorations that are formed through a series of controlled actions and decisions focused on establishing the association of every new government with the revolution's powerful legacy. The National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity manifests the fusion of grassroots and official efforts with its proposed memorial-museum complex, emerging as a site of conscience even in its most primitive form. The museum plays a critical role in transitional efforts and has become a key player in the cultivation of Ukraine's culture of democracy through its ongoing activism, community involvement, and educational programs.

The active and engaged participatory memory promoted by institutions such as the National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity are crucial to transitional countries attempting to manage their difficult pasts whilst continuing to construct a democratic and inclusive future. It can be observed how such institutions foster civic identity formation and democracy in transitional nations through the application of Louis Bickford's "memoryworks" theory to the context of Ukraine and undertaking a detailed examination of the National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity as a case study of a "memory that works."[13] Bickford describes "memoryworks" as memorial projects and spaces that place collective memory in an active, working role to have a lasting effect on society. These sites are thus able to "harness the power of social memory to come

[13] Louis Bickford, "Memoryworks/Memory Works," in *Transitional Justice, Culture, and Society: Beyond Outreach*, ed. Clara Ramirez-Barat (New York: Social Science Research Council, 2014): 496.

to grips with past abuses."[14] The ongoing attempts at the reforms promoting transitional justice demonstrate that memorialization of the revolution, in strengthening the culture of civic engagement, helps promote democracy.

The Postcolonial Condition, Transitional Justice, and the Culture of Democracy

A postcolonial perspective helps us to understand and analyze the changes occurring in Ukraine, making it clear that the country is (and has been) undergoing a transition from a subordinate Soviet republic with an authoritarian governance to a fully independent, free, and democratic nation with an inclusive democratic culture. As is often the case with postcolonial nations, the political and cultural legacy of the Soviet past has continued to hound Ukraine for decades after obtaining independence in 1991. Ukraine has made numerous attempts at making a decisive break with this lengthy period of authoritarian Soviet rule, seen in the pre-independence Revolution on Granite of 1990, the Ukraine Without Kuchma movement of 2000, and the Orange Revolution of 2004–05.[15] However, none of these movements have successfully asserted such an explicit rejection of this past legacy as seen during the Revolution of Dignity in the winter of 2013–14. In tandem with this history of public demonstrations and multiple changes in leadership, Ukraine has experienced pendulum-like swings between Russian and Western political influences. These swings by the various east- and west-oriented Ukrainian governments have resulted in the failure to produce a consistent and cohesive strategy for dealing with the Soviet past that had for so long positioned Ukraine in a diminutive role to that of the Soviet Union and subsequently, neighboring Russia.[16] Until 2014, these policies had ranged from complete cultural and political

[14] Bickford, "Memoryworks," 493.

[15] "About Maidan," National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/en/node/319.

[16] Andriy Liubarets, "The Politics of Memory in Ukraine in 2014: Removal of the Soviet Cultural Legacy and Euromaidan Commemorations," *Kyiv-Mohyla Humanities Journal* 3 (2016): 198; Barbara Törnquist-Plewa and Yuliya Yurchuk, "Memory Politics in Contemporary Ukraine: Reflections from the Postcolonial Perspective," *Memory Studies* (2017): 3.

ambivalence to nationalization and back again, but the Revolution of Dignity and its violent conclusion fundamentally challenged the existing collective memory and changed the political and cultural landscape of Ukraine, prompting a thorough reconsideration of the Soviet legacy that was a root cause of many of Ukraine's ongoing problems.[17]

In recent decades, Ukrainian and Western scholars have increasingly often applied the perspective of post-colonial studies to multiple phenomena of Ukrainian political, social, and cultural life. In order to understand Ukraine as a postcolonial nation, we need to consider the political and cultural regime that the Soviet Union enforced in Ukraine in the same way that we might approach the power relations between modern empires and their overseas colonies. Barbara Törnquist-Plewa and Yulia Yurchuk insist that a fundamental premise of colonization is the attempt to instill upon the colonized territory the notion that the culture, ideology, and/or world view of the imperialist is superior to that of the one being conquered. They assert that the Soviet leadership based in Moscow viewed the Ukrainian culture as peripheral and inferior and favored Russian culture and language, resulting in ideological oppression and national discrimination toward not only Ukrainians, but throughout the entire Soviet empire.[18] Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk explain that between 1991 and 2014, Ukraine had not undertaken radical de-Sovietization or decommunization actions, which from a postcolonial perspective is viewed as the equivalent to decolonization. This failure to decolonize Ukraine permitted the survival of the Soviet status quo with state officials seen as "owners" of the country. This allowed oligarchs to protect their interests and permitted widespread corruption to permeate across the country, reinforcing binary cultural identities: Ukrainophone and Russophone.[19]

[17] Liubarets, "The Politics of Memory," 199.
[18] Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk, "Memory Politics in Contemporary Ukraine," 3.
[19] Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk, "Memory Politics in Contemporary Ukraine," 5.

The Revolution of Dignity was a postcolonial revolution and act of national self-assertion, demonstrating the subjectivity of the Ukrainian people and the importance of democratic principles, European values, self-organization, and new civic or political ways of defining oneself as Ukrainian.[20] This ideological consensus permeated former social divisions such as ethnicity or political affiliation, with the revolution's participants consisting of Ukrainophones, Russophones, and a diversity of minorities uniting around a common goal.[21] The challenge posed to the Soviet status quo by the revolution was a call by Ukrainians for an end to the old legacy and rules—even further solidified by the Soviet-style shooting of over one hundred protesters—and its subsequent victory paved the way for an environment of decommunization to emerge. Thus, decommunization, the post-Soviet realm's equivalent of decolonization, emerged as central to memory politics during and immediately after the revolution.[22] This decisive rejection of the Soviet legacy is forcing a critical reconsideration of this aspect of Ukraine's past that can be observed through commemorations of the Revolution of Dignity at both the grassroots and official levels, and through transitional justice efforts that are being undertaken in the country.

The revolution was a demonstration of subjectivity and the separation of Ukrainian identities from the colonial past and eastern oriented Russian influence. The civic approach encouraged by the revolution allows a multitude of identities that are not bound by binary or singular titles to emerge, thus transcending a national "Ukrainian" identity based on the country and elevating multifaceted and multidimensional identities focused on values and global affiliations (such as "Western" or "European") rather than language or ethnicity. This is a clear break from the binary identities encouraged by colonialism and move toward inclusive identities,

[20] Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk, "Memory Politics in Contemporary Ukraine," 16.
[21] Aleksandra Kuczynska-Zonik and Janusz Kowalczyk, "Nation Building in Post Maidan Ukraine," *The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs* 25, no.3 (2016): 96.
[22] Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk, "Memory Politics in Contemporary Ukraine," 7.

largely the opposite of what is seen in Russia.[23] Rewakowicz's framework of Ukraine as a postcolonial society developing a civic identity is adopted as a theoretical basis for examining revolutionary commemorations. Her pre-revolutionary book asserts that a hybrid identity can act as a subversion to the previous experience of political and cultural domination by a colonial power.[24] This stance is significant in that it predates the overwhelming demonstration of subjectivity seen during the revolution that subverted the domination of neighbouring Russia and shifted the national identity to one centered on values and global identities. Transforming a colonial hybridity into a civic identity can also lead to various configurations and mixtures of cultures, all of which are logical to the nature of globalization.[25] This notion is posited alongside the assertion by Margry and Sanchez-Carretero that the rise in popularity of grassroots memorials is also seemingly linked to the rise of globalization and the distancing of societies from formal politics and administrations. As a form of individualized political participation and social action, they are also disconnected from imagined communities such as traditional classes or ethnic groups.[26] Globalization is therefore blurring the lines of notions of separate cultures and imagined communities, giving rise to civic identities not based in ethnic terms. As Ukraine develops an identity subversive of the Soviet colonial legacy of authoritarianism, ethnic assimilation, and Russian influences, it creates not simply the familiar ethnic culture of resistance, but an inclusive and plural identity of civic commitment that leans toward the West, which was exemplified by the revolution itself and is now continued to be built upon through various forms of commemoration.

[23] Ilya Gerasimov, "Ukraine 2014: The First Postcolonial Revolution. Introduction to the Forum," *Ab Imperio* 3, (2014): 40.
[24] Maria G. Rewakowicz, *Ukraine's Quest for Identity: Embracing Cultural Hybridity in Literary Imagination, 1991-2011* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018), 6.
[25] Rewakowicz, *Ukraine's Quest for Identity,* 7.
[26] Peter Jan Margry and Cristina Sanchez-Carretero, "Rethinking Memorialization: The Concept of Grassroots Memorials," in *Grassroots Memorials: The Politics of Memorializing Traumatic Death,* ed. Peter Jan Margry and Cristina Sanchez-Carretero (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 29.

Although Rewakowicz's book on Ukrainian identity formation predates the Revolution of Dignity, it asserts that Ukraine was already adhering to a civic model of national identity construction, emphasizing free cultural development of all ethnic groups on the territory before the revolution ever took place.[27] While in her book Rewakowicz observes how these self-identification processes are reflected in Ukrainian contemporary literature, the focus of this thesis is on the construction of identity and the culture of democracy in revolutionary memorials through a number of case studies ranging from grassroots to official commemorative actions.

The post-colonial perspective is supported by Ilya Gerasimov's "Ukraine 2014: The First Postcolonial Revolution" which argues the postcolonial perspective is the most suitable for analysis of the main characteristics of the event. Gerasimov argues that the key features of the Revolution of Dignity and all post-colonial revolutions is that "it is all about people acquiring their own voice" and by doing so, performing a "self-assertive act" in which the new Ukrainian nation is formed by a community of self-conscious, subjective individuals in an act of negotiated solidarity.[28] By viewing Ukraine as a postcolonial country and the Revolution of Dignity as a post-colonial revolution that rejected the authoritarian past in favor of a democratic future, the concept of transitional justice can thus be applied to observe how this troublesome past is being dealt with in the present day. Transitional justice is defined by the International Centre for Transitional Justice as an approach to achieving justice in times of transition after conflict and/or state repression, a concept that emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s as a response to the political changes occurring in Latin America, Africa, and Eastern Europe. This concept provides recognition of the rights of victims, promotes civic trust, and strengthens the democratic rule of

[27] The author also acknowledges that the experience of colonialism makes such a process difficult for ethnic Ukrainians given that they have struggled to hold a significant position of privilege in Ukraine throughout history. Rewakowicz, *Ukraine's Quest for Identity,* 10.
[28] Gerasimov, "The First Postcolonial Revolution," 23.

law, with an understanding of "transition" as a regime change on a sliding scale towards democracy and away from an alternative.[29] In his analysis of Ukraine, Lyubashenko posits a unique definition of transitional justice, asserting that it encompasses all types of policies assigned to address injustices associated with large-scale violence in an attempt to prevent the recurrence of violence under the new political order. These policies are aimed at strengthening the political regimes that design them and can influence the political development of a society in periods of extraordinary change.[30]

Despite being some of the main inspirations for the development of the concept of transitional justice policies, most of the former Soviet republics have not implemented transitional justice policies until very recently, with the Soviet legacy constituting a significant burden on post-independence political developments in countries such as Ukraine.[31] The Revolution of Dignity served as a type of stimulus that pushed Ukraine to finally begin implementing transitional justice policies following the forced change of the political regime and the exposure of the legacy of political violence and abuses that required attention and delegitimization whilst also increasing support for the new government.[32] Although transitional justice measures are typically characterized by actions such as vetting and lustration, criminal prosecutions, and reforms, Nuzov argues for memorialization as a "soft measure" of transitional justice—one that provides symbolic repatriation, promotes reconciliation and public trust, and solidifies a commitment to democratic values from which the civic society can in turn lobby for further transitional justice efforts.[33] With

[29] Igor Lyubashenko, *Transitional Justice in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine: Swimming Upstream*, Studies in Political Transition Vol. 7, (Peter Lang: Frankfurt, 2017), 22.
[30] Lyubashenko, *Transitional Justice*, 25.
[31] Lyubashenko, *Transitional Justice*, 33.
[32] Klaus Bachmann and Igor Lyubashenko, "The Puzzle of Transitional Justice in Ukraine," *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 11, (2017): 299.
[33] Ilya Nuzov, "The Dynamics of Collective Memory in the Ukraine Crisis: A Transitional Justice Perspective," *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 11 (2017): 136.

the Revolution of Dignity regarded as a decisive turn toward European values such as the rule of law, democracy, and human dignity, a "civilizational choice" was made to disassociate from the authoritarian Soviet past, later exemplified by the (in part, problematic) de-communization laws of 2015 based on decoupling Ukrainian identity from that of the Soviet Union through condemning "communist crimes," and ensuring democracy and human rights.[34] Thus, memorialization of the revolution, a turning point of Ukraine's post-Soviet national identity formation, serves as an opportunity to foster reconciliation with not only the violent culmination of events that occurred at Maidan, but also the Soviet legacy that has had a significant impact on Ukraine and its development both before and after achieving independence.

Nuzov's concept of memorialization as a "soft measure" of transitional justice is supported by the 2007 report of the first International Conference on the Relationship Between Memorialization and Democracy, hosted by the International Center for Transitional Justice and prepared by Sebastian Brett, Louis Bickford, Liz Ševčenko, and Marcela Rios. The report asserts that memorialization has become a critical element in the struggle for human rights and democracy and therefore transitional justice efforts, as memorials serve as the primary terrain for addressing past injustices through public engagement.[35] Dealing with such injustices or a conflictive past—in this instance the unreconciled Soviet legacy—is essential for moving forward through transition and constructing a dignified national identity.[36] Sites created for lasting engagement with abstract concepts such as freedom and human rights, memorials can (and have been observed to) encourage public participation and engagement, playing a constructive and beneficial role in strengthening

[34] Nuzov, "The Dynamics of Collective Memory," 147-148.
[35] Sebastian Brett et al., "Memorialization and Democracy: State Policy and Civic Action", International Center for Transitional Justice, 1 June 2007, https://www.ictj.org/publication/memorialization-and-democracy-state-policy-and-civic-action, 1.
[36] Brett et al., "Memorialization and Democracy," 2.

the democratic culture in a community.[37] Democratic culture, or a culture of democracy, is defined by the French-based Fund for Democratic Culture as the desire and ability of individuals in a population to actively participate in the government and public affairs that affect them, characterized by active contributions by members of civil society toward the development of the common good and collective decisions.[38] Additionally, the development of the culture of democracy relies on autonomous civic engagement, requires a favourable environment in which to emerge, assumes a rise in competence of society and their access to information, and must be actively supported by both public and private institutions.[39] Legal scholar Jack M. Balkin defines a democratic culture as more than institutions of democracy or the deliberation of public issues, but rather a culture in which individuals have fair opportunities to participate in the forms of meaning-making that constitute them as individuals. Furthermore, democratic culture is about individual liberty, collective self-governance, and the ability for individuals to participate in, produce, and distribute culture.[40] The increased civic engagement fostered by memorialization and its ability to strengthen the culture of democracy in a community positions memory and memorials as crucial components of transitional, post-colonial spaces, serving as a "soft" yet important piece of transitional justice implementation through public trust and engagement. Through the analysis of the construction of new revolutionary heroes and the three different levels of commemoration—grassroots, official, and sites of conscience—this thesis will demonstrate how memorialization of the Revolution of Dignity has cultivated ongoing civic engagement with the legacy of the revolution over a five-year span.

---

[37] Brett et al., "Memorialization and Democracy," 3.

[38] "Democratic Culture," Fund for Democratic Culture, http://fundfordemocraticculture.org/democratic-culture.

[39] "Democratic Culture," Fund for Democratic Culture.

[40] Jack M. Balkin, "Digital Speech and Democratic Culture: A Theory of Freedom of Expression for the Information Society," *New York University Law Review* 79 no.1 (April 2004): 3.

Chapter 1: Theory

Memorialization

Three different levels of memorials and memorialization are considered in this thesis to observe the unique ways in which different levels of society contend with collective memory and the modern way these efforts can be synthesized to create long-lasting and authentic institutions that benefit all levels of the community to become bastions of transitional justice and social activism. Grassroots memorials, or memorials made spontaneously by ordinary individuals, are contrasted with official memorials that are created by state institutions. A third type of commemoration, the "site of conscience" or the space of the "memorywork" is introduced as a fusion of the grassroots and official memorial techniques that result in an active and influential space or organization that harnesses the permanence of the official with the authenticity and participatory nature of the grassroots to serve as a dialogic venue for the culture of democracy to grow.

The participation and expression demonstrated by grassroots memorials is synthesized with Aleida Assmann's theory of active cultural memory, Jan Assmann's concept of ritual and collective remembrance, and the understanding of Ukraine's postcolonial condition to develop the hypothesis of how these types of memorials affect and promote civic national identity formation and the culture of democracy. Aleida Assmann's theory of the four different formats of memory: individual, social, political, and cultural memory is employed, with the notion of "cultural memory" crucial for the purpose of understanding identity formation and its relation to grassroots memorials.[41] Assmann describes cultural memory as cultural caches of information—typically stored in physical ways such as in libraries, museums, and archives—that are not always actively

[41] Aleida Assmann, "Memory, Individual and Collective," in *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis*, eds. Robert E. Goodin and Charles Tilly (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2.

remembered, nor completely forgotten. However, from this depository of cultural memories, an "active memory" can be initiated, which refers to the memory that society consciously selects and maintains as vital for common orientation and shared remembering.[42] Jan Assmann provides a link to commemoration by building upon the notion of the active cultural memory, asserting that rituals, or collective participation in the active cultural memory, are the most important form of collective remembrance.[43] Therefore, the ritual of participating in commemorations and constructing grassroots memorials signals what the current active cultural memory is in a society. Jan Assmann argues that acts of remembrance are a form of active participation, and that societies require these acts of participation, or "rituals," to formulate their self-image in relation to the past.[44] From this, it is discerned that first, active participation in remembrance or rituals indicates a society's currently activated cultural memory, and second, that participation in ritual and remembrance has an effect on society's self-image and identity, which is being constructed around the actively ritualized cultural memory. Sociologist Maurice Halbwachs had expressed similar notions earlier by asserting that memory, what he refers to as "the active past," lies at the centre of cultural identity formation, and that this relevance of the past to the present (illuminated by participation in active memory) is then applicable to nation building and national identity construction.[45] When applied to Ukraine, the presence of grassroots memorials to the revolution and the Heavenly Hundred signal an actively-practiced ritual—the active participation in their memory—and therefore an

[42] Assmann, "Memory, Individual and Collective," 11.

[43] Jan Assmann, "Rituals of Memory," in *Grief and its Transcendence: Memory, Identity, Creativity,* eds. Adele Tutter and Leon Wurmser (New York: Routledge, 2016), 17.

[44] Assmann, "Rituals of Memory," 17.

[45] Rewakowicz, *Ukraine's Quest for Identity,* 9; Despite being one of the first modern theorists of collective memory, contemporary theorists no longer subscribe to the notion that collective memories can evolve according to their own set of laws as originally described by Halbwachs. Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* trans. F.I. and V.Y. Ditter, (New York: Harper and Row, 1980). See Julie Buckler and Emily D. Johnson, "Introduction," in Julie A. Buckler and Emily D. Johnson. *Rites of place: public commemoration in Russia and Eastern Europe* (Evanston, Ill., 2013), 9.

active cultural memory of the revolution and its heroes. During the presidency of Petro Poroshenko (2014–2019), this spontaneous grassroots ritual enjoyed state sponsorship, making the memory and ritual truly national in the form of public commemorations on the anniversaries of the revolution's main events. The founding of the National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity was also an important step taken by the Poroshenko administration, even if the museum has been operating from temporary locations and seeing itself as the representative of the revolutionaries rather than the state. In fact, the museum had developed during the revolution as a volunteer project before the state granted it the status of a national institution funded from the state budget. Under Poroshenko, the revolution's memory, as the socially selected active memory, has become the nucleus for the formation of a democratic and inclusive national identity.

To understand and analyze official or state-constructed commemorations, it is worth revisiting Aleida Assmann's four formats of memory, this time focusing on the concept of "political memory." Assmann describes political memory as an identity carefully constructed by large institutions such as nations and states using memorial signs such as symbols, texts, rites, ceremonies, places, and monuments. Through a careful and neatly controlled process of selection and exclusion, this mediated memory formation is highly selective in what it deems relevant in order to create an ideal national image.[46] Given its seemingly artificial nature of construction, the political memory must then be transplanted onto the public, from the top to the bottom, the success of which is based on both political pedagogy and the level of patriotic or ethnic fervor, seeing a higher success rate in ethnically homogeneous groups and nations.[47] Therefore, official memorials and memorialization practices, in contrast to grassroots ones, are commemorations created and

[46] Assmann, "Memory, Individual and Collective," 6.
[47] Assmann, "Memory, Individual and Collective," 7.

funded by government initiatives. Often more grandiose, stylized, and permanent in nature than grassroots memorials, official memorials, and state sanctioned commemorations emerge as memorial dates or holidays, monuments, structures, place names, and awards. This type of commemoration is representative of a top-down, prescribed, and controlled narrative of memory that contrasts the environment of authentic and expressive grassroots commemorations emerging from the bottom up. Analysis of this category of commemorative efforts demonstrates the degree of political engagement with the memory, the way officials engage with (accept or reject) such heritage, and how the memory may be manipulated from the top down to suit particular political interests.

This definition of political memory does not fit the Ukrainian case well. The Poroshenko administration never had the means to enforce a "national" vision of the revolution, and from the very beginning the museum positioned itself as a guardian of the revolution's legacy, which was understood as continued active civic engagement. It sided with activists who, in the name of the fallen heroes, wanted to keep the government accountable. This allowed the museum and associated sites of memory to preserve their social relevance even when Poroshenko's popularity declined. Ironically, the lack of its own building helped the museum to work with the public, because its employees engaged with the public at the memorial sites.

Museums, memorials, and transitional justice have an intertwined relationship with one another, as when combined, they can create productive societal environments conducive to fostering the values of human rights and democracy. Together these three factors solidify the culture of democracy, incorporate the active cultural memory demonstrated by the people, and propel the nation along its transitional path toward a fair, free, and democratic country, away from the authoritative past. Modern trends in museum studies and memorialization activities intertwined

with concepts of transitional justice show how this type of commemoration positively impacts pro-democratic reform in post-colonial states. Museums are being reimagined not just as collections of objects, but as forums for discussion, centers of social activism, and as community members in and of themselves. Memorials are also increasingly being created as active spaces for education and conversation that engage visitors in a space rather than simply marking locations of importance. As museums and memorials undergo their own democratic transitions, they become epicenters for cultures of democracy to flourish by promoting and advocating for discussions of the past, allowing for a multitude of viewpoints, opinions, and stories to emerge. These active spaces, often referred to as "sites of conscience" or alternatively "memoryworks" align with the goals of transitional justice, promoting dialogue and opening avenues for dealing with and remembering the (usually traumatic) past whilst continuing to move forward toward a more democratic future.

The new museology and the ecomuseum are leading theories in the field of museum studies that herald the opening of the museum and increasing the importance of multifaceted education, cooperation, and community input, whilst acknowledging the decline of the traditionally authoritative museum voice. Museum expert Stephen Weil describes the New Museology and ecomuseum movement as characterized by an emphasis on the empowerment of visitors, equipping them with the tools and opportunities to explore topics and come to well-informed judgements and conclusions about the information they are presented with, along with insights about their own lives, experiences, and heritage.[48] These "new" characteristics contrast with the often flat or face-value information provided by standard authoritative museums. Kiersten F. Latham and John E. Simmons describe the ecomuseum movement as involving the outside

[48] Stephen E. Weil, "The Proper Business of the Museum: Ideas or Things?" *MUSE* (Spring 1989): 32.

environment as part of the museum, "preserving heritage in situ as a cultural landscape, so that the museum exists in a continuous process of evolution."[49] Meanwhile, Adam Gopnik describes what he calls "the mindful museum," an institution that practices self-awareness, is conscious of its function, and encourages dialogue and conversation.[50] This movement demonstrates a clear break with museum practice throughout history and advocates for a critical re-examination of the role museums play in today's society and community. Additionally, anthropologist Christina Kreps explains that as the understanding of human relationships with objects is further developed and explored, it becomes clear that these relationships with objects are inherently social, thus in turn making the role of the curator and the museum—the caretakers and interpreters of objects—one of social practice.[51] With the role of objects declining in favor of the role of the visitor, museums and curators are experiencing the new trend of social orientation and service in opposition to the antiquated, collection-focused approach that based its *raison d'etre* on objects rather than individuals.[52] With this shift, the "new" museum has become the ideal venue for sites of conscience, bridging the gap between political and cultural memories and becoming a community member in and of itself, as a social entity and force of transitional change.

The role of memorials has undergone a similar transition to that of "new" museums shifting their focus toward the value of visitor experiences, creating lasting impacts, and playing ongoing leadership roles in their communities. This more dynamic genre of public memorial, known as a "site of conscience" is based around similar concepts to that of the New Museology and ecomuseum movement, emerging along the lines of community engagement, evocation of critical

[49] Kiersten F. Latham and John E. Simmons, "Contemporary Museums Around the World" in *Foundations of Museum Studies: Evolving Systems of Knowledge* (Santa Barbara: Libraries Unlimited, 2014), 136.
[50] Adam Gopnik, "The Mindful Museum," *The Walrus*, June 12, 2007, https://thewalrus.ca/the-mindful-museum/.
[51] Christina Kreps, "Curatorship as Social Practice," *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 46, no.3 (January 2010): 312.
[52] Weil, "The Proper Business of the Museum," 32.

thinking, and encouragement of the democratic forms of public participation seen in organic, grassroots memorials in a more stable format. Sebastian Brett et al. describe sites of conscience as "public memorials that make a commitment to democratic engagement through programs that stimulate dialogue and provide opportunities for public involvement."[53] Bickford adds his theory of "memoryworks" as a break from the "anachronistic" representations of the past seen in heroic equestrian statues and somber World War I tombs, with memorials undergoing a paradigm shift that instead look inward at national histories, interrogating what may often be a shameful or difficult past or experience.[54] Many of these new types of memorials across the world have arisen during moments of political transition, thus framing the past in a self-critical way and linking commemoration to the prevention of whichever problematic past is being rejected in said transition.[55] The International Coalition of Sites of Conscience further connects memorials to transitional justice processes by emphasizing the vital role of memorialization in the healing from trauma and atrocity, the establishment of truth, symbolic reparations for victims, and the creation of a safe outlet for individuals to make connections with issues through a variety of experiences and perspectives that shape and sustain democracy.[56] By combining the value of democratic popular engagement with the necessity of long-term, durable memorial spaces, the site of conscience as a form of memorialization synthesizes grassroots and official commemoration to become a positive force for democratization and transitional justice efforts. The National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity has emerged as the frontrunner of revolutionary memory in Ukraine,

[53] Brett et al., "Memorialization and Democracy," 1.
[54] Bickford, "Memoryworks," 499.
[55] Bickford, "Memoryworks," 500.
[56] "FAQs," Who We Are, International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, https://www.sitesofconscience.org/en/who-we-are/faqs.

demonstrating its commitment to the role of a site of conscience and its dedication to championing the revolution's democratic values and defending the sacrifices of their "heavenly" heroes.

Heroes, Martyrs, Mythologies

To better understand what is being commemorated by these memorials, the transformation of seemingly ordinary individuals into heroic mythological figures, and their sudden salience with the civic society, the terms "hero," "martyr," and "myth" require analysis from a sociological standpoint. These terms relate to the creation of a rift in social conditions and an upset of the status quo, creating the need to fulfill this uncertainty with meaning and direction. As social phenomena, heroes, martyrs, and myths all arise from a flux in social conditions and power structures that temporarily allow for the challenging of a reigning authority, implying the existence of an achievable, otherworldly, and higher good. In the quest for this higher good these heroes enter a new pantheon that reinforces the change in political values and goals. In this instance, such a flux in power is embodied by the violent revolution and the rejection of the colonial past, with the hero, martyr, and myth phenomena manifesting as the Heavenly Hundred—the 107 protestors killed during the revolution that went on to become, arguably, the most important symbols related to the revolution.

Sociologist Charles Cooley describes the phenomena of heroes and hero worship as the symbols and expressions of the social conditions they arise from; the products of constructive imagination that are able to produce senses of comradeship and solidarity.[57] In the case of the Revolution of Dignity, the Heavenly Hundred Heroes were born from a violent and tragic struggle for democracy and human rights in the face of the lingering Soviet legacy, going on to become major symbols that embodied the civic values and democratic culture that they had fought for.

[57] Kristian Frisk, "What Makes a Hero? Theorising the Social Structuring of Heroism," *Sociology* 53, no.1 (2018): 91.

Cooley argues that people are generally interested in heroes due to the way a hero makes them feel, serving as a point of bonding and commonality for social groups.[58] Heroes generally symbolize the overcoming of unfavorable odds, victory, justice, and the defeat of evil. Fictitious superheroes, war heroes, and sports champions are various types of heroes that demonstrate the value of overcoming challenges, inspiring hope and courage and garnering admiration for their strength, whether physical or psychological. Application of this notion to the Heavenly Hundred implies their relationship to the collective memory of Ukrainian society, as individuals rally around memorials to bond through these heroes as iconic symbols of the revolution, in turn constructing the identity of the community as based on the revolution's perceived values. The multi-ethnic Heavenly Hundred heroes serve as inclusive civic figures that employ familiar Ukrainian tropes and elements to become salient national figures primed to enter the pantheon of heroes and challenge existing figures and narratives.

Martyrs, much like heroes, are also dependent on social conditions and constructions. Sociologist Clayton Fordahl describes the structure of the modern martyr (as opposed to the traditional, religious, self-immolating martyr), as reliant on the myth of sacrifice versus desecration to impose meaning onto death and challenge the power of the sovereign authority.[59] When desecrated, the physical body of the individual is subject to violence and violation by the sovereign authority over a conflict of meanings, culminating in the death of the body and the transformation of the individual into a martyr, with the martyr's sacrificial meanings and ideas emerging with a

[58] Frisk, "What Makes a Hero?" 91.

[59] In the context of Fordahl's piece, "sovereignty" refers not to a king, queen, or ruler, but to Agamben's theory of biopolitical aspirations and the creation of the boundaries of the state of exception. Agamben's definition of "sovereign" in this instance is the foundational power defined by biopolitical aspirations and the state of exception – the ability to manage boundaries over life and death – entrapping individuals in a system of exception and law. Clayton Fordahl, "Sovereignty and Martyrdom: A Sociological Sketch," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 31 (2018): 301.

charisma that lives on without them.[60] A death in such a manner allows for the critique of the authoritarian power that contributed to such an outcome, in this case the lingering Soviet legacy and the pro-Putin regime of President Viktor Yanukovych. Martyrs, like heroes, require a community surrounding them to generate meaning from their deaths as they leave behind combustive and sensitive memories rooted in violence and bodily harm.[61] The Heavenly Hundred Heroes were "desecrated" by police in an instance of conflict between society and the authority of the Yanukovych government in an attempt to challenge its excessive use of power and Soviet-style retaliations. In death they left behind their quest for democracy and freedom whilst exposing the blatant disregard of the government towards the voices of the Ukrainian people and their human rights. The utilization of these sensitive memories to memorialize the sacrificial deaths of the Heavenly Hundred allows the ideas left behind by the martyrs to live on and their notions of civic identity and democratic culture to continue to reign.

Myths, like heroes and martyrs, are also generated from an upset of social conditions. Historian and anthropologist Bruce Lincoln describes myths as modes of descriptive symbolic discourse that serve as reflections of political and social relations.[62] They recount formative moments of a group's past, typically those in which tensions between rival groups become apparent, gaining the power to not only divide groups, but also mobilize affinities, referred to as "social instrumentality."[63] The killing and martyrdom of the Heavenly Hundred heroes served as a formative moment in the history of the revolution and of Ukraine, in which tensions between the protesters and the opposing government culminated in a violent response: the rejection of

[60] Fordahl, "Sovereignty and Martyrdom," 300.
[61] Fordahl, "Sovereignty and Martyrdom," 311.
[62] Bruce Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 21.
[63] Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society*, 22.

capitulation to the old system and subsequent deaths on both sides. Arising as heroes and martyrs, they obtain this mythological social instrumentality in death, with their memory and legacy of sacrifice and status as martyrs serving as social tools to promote their goals of human rights, democracy, and freedom in the face of the defeated Soviet legacy. Igor Baklanov continues this theme of the role of tensions by asserting that the higher the level of social uncertainty, the higher the need for myths to act and serve as guidelines for reconstruction of world views.[64] In the instance of the Revolution of Dignity, this social uncertainty stemmed from the transition toward democracy that the event was initiating. Katherine Verdery describes the notion of world views or "worlds of meaning" as "people's understanding of the reality in which they live," which, in the post-socialist sphere, have undergone or are currently undergoing drastic reconfigurations.[65] Verdery notes that corpses are powerful symbols of the transformation of a political order, both sacralised through religious practices and funerary rites, that in turn sacralise the new political order through death. In this way, both the heroes and the democratically inclined transition become sacralised. This sacralization of the new world is further reinforced by the reference to these new heroes as "heavenly," which utilizes a religious semantic frame that is distant from the atheist Soviet imagery of the old world but significant to the largely Orthodox Christian population of Ukraine. As the political order is transformed, especially in the example of the Revolution of Dignity, previously entrenched worlds of meaning or "cosmic orders" reminiscent of the Soviet period and years since independence in 1991 are reordered and reorganized, redefining people's value systems such as their view on social relations, political behaviors, and interactions with

[64] Igor S. Baklanov et al., "Myth as a Means of Ordering and Organizing Social Reality," *Journal of History Culture and Art Research* 7, no. 2 (June 2018): 45.
[65] Lina Klymenko, "Choosing Mazepa Over Lenin: The Transformation of Monuments and Political Order in Post-Maidan Ukraine," *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 5 (2020): 817.

economic structures.[66] This reorganization of values, exemplified by the micro-culture of democracy that manifested as the revolution, has survived and continued beyond the revolution into an ongoing culture of democracy that is developing in tandem with transitional justice measures.

The Revolution of Dignity and the death of the Heavenly Hundred heroes created a rift and forced a transition of the political order in Ukraine, creating a space for such a reconfiguration and mythology to develop, denoting that the authoritarian regime and legacy of the Soviet system had been cancelled and a civic and democratic Ukraine was the way of the future. As a watershed moment for the Ukrainian reassessment of national identity, the revolution exemplified a clear break with the Soviet past and the need to construct new myths to fill these gaps where the old world had once been.[67] Thus, the Heavenly Hundred mythology, one of civic nationalism and democracy, a rejection of exclusive ethnic nationalism and Soviet-style authoritarianism, emerged and took hold as the salient new myth of heroes and martyrs that embodied sacrifice for the nation, sacrifice underlining the right to political protest, human rights, and democracy. This mythology and identity construction is observed in the examination of symbols and motifs utilized in portrayals and representations of the Heavenly Hundred as they enter the canon of Ukrainian national heroes. This detailed study of the mythology of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes as key revolutionary figures, the cultural expressions of grassroots and official forms of memorialization, and the ongoing development of a long term site of conscience dedicated to this memory, demonstrates the strengthening of the culture of democracy in Ukraine along dignified,

[66] Klymenko, "Choosing Mazepa," 818.
[67] Klymenko, "Choosing Mazepa," 821–22.

revolutionary lines, with transitional justice efforts and legitimate democratic accomplishments serving as indications of progress along the transitional scale.

Decommunization

The Leninfall phenomenon that originated during the revolution is an explicit example of the rejection of old representations of the past both aesthetically and ideologically. A distinct symbol of the Soviet legacy and essential element of post-Soviet spaces, statues of Vladimir Lenin, the father of the Soviet Union, dotted the Ukrainian memorial landscape up until the Leninfall movement. The first of the Lenins to fall was in Kyiv toward the end of the revolution in February 2014 after some of the most brutal days of fighting, with the phenomenon spreading across Ukraine as a sign of the pro-European protestor's solidarity in the battle against the pro-Russian Yanukovych, whose corrupt ways were seen as representing the Soviet past.[68] This downfall of the Lenins coincided with the downfall of Yanukovych himself, serving as "the manifestation of spontaneous anticolonial mass protest."[69] The Leninfall event of 2014 served to reject the old ways of representing the past, aesthetically through the denial of the mighty bronze statues, physically through their destruction and desecration, and through the outright dismissal of the Soviet legacy and ideology that has been haunting Ukraine since its independence. Additionally, this removal of a key element of the Soviet cultural legacy is associated with the reduction of Ukraine's cultural dependence not only on the Soviet Union, but on neighbouring Russia as its successor.[70] With Russia continuing to exert its influence over Ukraine into the modern day, political, economic, and cultural emancipation are of equal importance in the move away from the colonizer toward democracy, and in formulating a unique modern Ukrainian identity.[71] The phenomenon initiated

[68] Liubarets, "The Politics of Memory," 200.
[69] Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk, "Memory Politics in Contemporary Ukraine," 7.
[70] Liubarets, "The Politics of Memory," 205.
[71] Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk, "Memory Politics in Contemporary Ukraine," 4.

the coming push for de-Sovietization and decommunization in Ukrainian politics, whilst also leaving physical voids that would become home to grassroots memorials dedicated to the revolution.[72] The occupation of these spaces by revolutionary memorials demonstrates the way in which everyday Ukrainians interact with and reject Soviet memory, requisitioning these sites both physically and ideologically in favor of democratic participation. This call to deal with the communist-colonial past, combined with the tragic and painful deaths at Maidan produces a model environment for soft transitional justice and sites of conscience to emerge as spaces that educate about the past, interrogate what went wrong, and advocate for a preventative future in which Soviet-style methods and rules of the game are no longer deemed acceptable. The removal of the Lenins and the downfall of the old system initiated a rethinking of the Soviet legacy and the introduction of transitional justice-oriented legislation designed to combat the ongoing corruption and injustice that had persisted since 1991. The removal of this old world necessitated the construction of a new world of meaning on which to base the future trajectory of the new Ukraine, but also practical legislation and lawmaking to combat corruption from within the system.

Transitional justice reforms are undertaken by those in positions of power at the governmental and legal levels to prevent future abuses of power from repeating themselves and in the case of Ukraine, to continue to combat the problematic Soviet legacy of corruption following its rejection via the Leninfall event. Ukraine has seen attempts to deal with its Soviet heritage in the 2015 series of decommunization laws—a set of laws aimed at outlawing certain facets of Soviet symbolism and heritage. These laws demonstrated an attempt to differentiate Ukrainian identity from that of the Soviet colonial identity, driving the neo-Soviet narrative out of the collective and

[72] Liubarets, "The Politics of Memory," 206.

active memory.[73] Laws passed by this legislation included: the Law on the Commemoration of the Victory Over Nazism in the Second World War (1939-45), Law on the Condemnation of the Communist and National Socialist (Nazi) Totalitarian Regimes in Ukraine and a Ban on the Propaganda of Their Symbols, Law on the Status and Commemoration of the Fighters for the Independence of Ukraine in the Twentieth Century, and the Law on Granting Access to the Archives of the Repressive Institutions of the Communist Totalitarian Regime (1918-1991).[74]

These laws were heavily criticized, with Nuzov describing the legislation as vague, giving too much power to the authorities, and worsening east-west dichotomies within Ukraine, but also between Ukraine and neighbouring Russia. Although Nuzov acknowledges the drive to decommunize (and decolonize) as legitimate and necessary, this particular attempt has been deemed divisive, in violation of freedom of speech, and accused of prohibiting discussions allowing diverse viewpoints, which are vital elements of democratic cultures.[75] Törnquist and Yurchuk acknowledge this process as an anticolonial measure but warn that a full rejection of the imperial culture can result in a resurgence of binary oppositions and identities that are antithetical to the emerging civic Ukrainian identity.[76] This rejection can however lead to expressions of "anticolonial nationalism," a heightened level of national self-expression that seeks to subvert and challenge the ruling ideology, as well as repossess identity in the face of the imposing culture. By partially rejecting the colonial culture, a search for new national heroes is initiated to replace old figures that supported the previous world of meaning and construct a new sense of identity, a process Ukraine has been grappling with since independence. Although this anticolonial

[73] Nuzov, "The Dynamics of Collective Memory," 148.
[74] Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk, "Memory Politics in Contemporary Ukraine," 9.
[75] Nuzov, "The Dynamics of Collective Memory," 150.
[76] Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk, "Memory Politics in Contemporary Ukraine," 4.

environment can be conducive to historical revisionism and distortions of the past in an attempt to self-invent history, this transitory stage is a critical step of the decolonizing process.[77] Ideally, the stage of anticolonial nationalism proceeds to develop into a new social consciousness and third space in which old and new symbols can be combined and reconciled to encourage the rejection of binaries and foster the inclusive identity of civic nationalism and loyalty to the state, which has already been seen in the recent creative reimagining of Soviet-based holidays and symbols.[78] Alternatively, Lyubashenko interprets the banning of the Communist Party of Ukraine as more of a symbolic measure, but given that Ukraine lacks effective mechanisms of cleansing its politics, due to a lack of experience—and previously a lack of public pressure—other suitable policies had not emerged.[79] Transitional justice measures that have been implemented have been primarily targeted at the period following the fall of communism to address past abuses, delegitimize Yanukovych, punish key supports of the *ancien régime*, and bolster support for the new government.[80] These results are opposite to the values of the revolution and the culture of democracy that has manifested since 2014, as Lyubashenko argues that the design of reforms such as decommunization indicates an attempt at remedying unpunished past crimes rather than enhancing transition in the present day.[81]

Beyond the decommunization laws, there have been other transitional acts, such as criminal sanctions against the Yanukovych regime, an attempted purge of the Constitutional Court, and vetting and lustration of the courts and government. These efforts have been criticized by human rights organizations and the International Commission of Jurists for being unspecified, arbitrary,

[77] Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk, "Memory Politics in Contemporary Ukraine," 4.
[78] Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk, "Memory Politics in Contemporary Ukraine,"13–15.
[79] Lyubashenko, *Transitional Justice*, 34.
[80] Lyubashenko, *Transitional Justice*, 34.
[81] Bachmann and Lyubashenko, "The Puzzle of Transitional Justice," 314.

and/or biased.[82] As of 2017, these efforts have been deemed as yielding meager results, with only a small amount of lustration actually taking place.[83] The post-Maidan government under the then President Petro Poroshenko introduced legislative reform primarily in the areas of law enforcement and the judiciary system, and initiated attempts to decentralize governmental power. Regarding law enforcement, legislative changes focused on the limitation of rights of the public prosecution. These changes included elimination of the right to conduct "general supervision" and prejudicial investigations (the former having been a common avenue for repressive actions), the disbandment of public prosecutor's offices, and the establishment of a system of self-governance authorities over public prosecutors, ultimately resulting in the de facto screening of all prosecutors at the lowest level in an effort to combat corruption.[84] The Ukrainian police force itself experienced an overhaul following their public disgrace during the revolution. On 2 July 2015, the Verkhovna Rada adopted the law for the gradual replacement of the old police force, including changing the title of the force from "militia" to "police" and subjecting members who wished to continue their service to an open competition for employment.[85] In October 2014 the National Anti-Corruption Agency (NACA) and the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU) were established to prevent corruption among public servants and higher officials, respectively.[86] The judiciary system experienced its own overhaul, with President Poroshenko establishing the Judiciary Reform Council in October 2014, which in June 2016 went on to create a clear system of qualification and competency assessments for judges of the re-established Supreme Court.[87] June

[82] Bachmann and Lyubashenko, "The Puzzle of Transitional Justice," 303-305.
[83] Bachmann and Lyubashenko, "The Puzzle of Transitional Justice," 307.
[84] Lyubashenko, *Transitional Justice*, 128.
[85] Despite the introduction of the open competition for employment, a high number of officers circumvented this requirement and were reappointed in order to avoid a gap of governance in the police force. Lyubashenko *Transitional Justice*, 128.
[86] Lyubashenko, *Transitional Justice*, 129.
[87] Lyubashenko, *Transitional Justice*, 133.

2016 also saw fundamental constitutional reform of the judiciary system, including new stipulations for the grounds of judge termination, such as the inability to prove the legality of property and the refusal to be assigned to another court.[88] Poroshenko submitted proposed constitutional amendments for the decentralization of power and the strengthening of local governments. Unfortunately, the disputed status of the regions of Ukraine currently at war—Donetsk and Luhansk, which have both attempted to assert themselves as self-proclaimed "people's republics" supported by Russia—has complicated the seemingly beneficial notion of providing local governments with an increased level of authority.[89]

Although the reforms and legislation introduced by President Poroshenko appear conducive to combatting corruption, they are not necessarily beneficial to transitional justice implementation. Lyubashenko asserts that the significance of these policies to the greater battle of transitional justice is dependent on how these newly established anti-corruption institutions, such as NACA and NABU, actually function.[90] Furthermore, Lyubashenko asserts that from a transitional justice standpoint, reforms that seek to reinforce democracy are essentially nonsensical if public trust in the affected institutions is not already present and/or strengthened.[91] Nuzov recommends more productive measures such as truth commissions. However, these projects should not be initiated during the ongoing armed conflict, which makes reconciliation of differing views and worlds of meaning borderline impossible.[92] The ongoing conflict with Russia and pro-Russian separatists on the eastern Ukrainian border complicates transitional justice further as the violence exacerbates and polarizes societal and identity divides. The existential threat and cultural

[88] Lyubashenko, *Transitional Justice,* 132.
[89] Lyubashenko, *Transitional Justice,* 136.
[90] Lyubashenko, *Transitional Justice,* 130
[91] Lyubashenko, *Transitional Justice,* 142.
[92] Nuzov, "The Dynamics of Collective Memory," 152.

insecurity posed by the war and Russian aggression jeopardizes identity construction and signals that the post-Soviet separation has not yet ended from the side of the hegemon as Russia has inherited and practices the colonizing attitudes of its predecessor.[93] Furthermore, Liubarets contends that the pro-Russian "separatists" actively rely on the Soviet cultural legacy and identity divides to legitimize their actions.[94] At the time of writing, the war in eastern Ukraine is still ongoing, creating a challenging environment for the implementation of transitional justice policies and threatening governmental budget applications toward the cultural realm.

These attempts at hard transitional justice reform indicate that the importance of dealing with this traumatic past has been recognized, despite the efforts being deemed controversial and problematic. Yet democratic transition reaches beyond legislation and lawmaking, with "soft" measures such as culture and memorialization being recognized as key components of a successful transition. Present-day transitional efforts, such as the work of the National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, are crucial activities that require attention and support as they encourage democratic and cultural engagement oriented toward the future, rather than retroactive retaliations. Softer measures being undertaken in the cultural realm can be encouraged, nurturing the active cultural memory of community, activism, and heroism seen in the grassroots memorials, and growing them into a flourishing hub for the culture of democracy in the centre of Kyiv that promotes multifaceted dialogue. With memory emerging as a critical aspect of the softer side of transitional justice, the memorialization of the new heroes and their mythology becomes crucial for moving forward and constructing an accountable government, society, and national identity.

[93] Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk, "Memory Politics in Contemporary Ukraine," 16.
[94] Liubarets, "The Politics of Memory," 202.

Chapter 2: The Heavenly Hundred Heroes

The Search for New Heroes

The fall of the Soviet Union and the contestation of old worlds of meaning that accompanied such a dramatic shift resulted in the need for the (re-)construction of an independent identity, free from the defunct Soviet cultural legacy that had thoroughly failed, but also from the exclusive ethnonationalism of historical radical nationalists and other ethnic-based heroes from Ukraine's existing pantheon of heroes. The existing pantheon that Ukrainians can draw from is small and contains several controversial figures, with these figures and the mythologies surrounding them often deriving from stories and histories that do not support an inclusive, civic version of Ukraine, but rather narrate a tale of ethnic identity and ethnic nationalism. In the Ukrainian context, ethnic identity can be described as one that focuses on and prioritizes ethnic origins and language in the construction of identity.[95] An exclusive focus on such identity can easily lead to the alienation of minorities—notably Russians and Russian speakers—and the emergence of deep binaries. These figures also derive from periods of contested histories and interpretations that are not universally accepted across all of Ukraine. However, certain aspects of these mythologies have been adopted and appropriated to form a modern Ukrainian identity and have played a formative role in the construction of the mythology of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes. Interrogation of these existing heroes and their inability to emerge as ideal heroic figures provides insight into why the Heavenly Hundred have become such meaningful national heroes since the revolution.

Two of the most notable and controversial historical entities are that of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and its affiliate, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) from the

[95] In other countries religion can also be an important component. Volodymyr Kulyk, "Language and Identity in Ukraine after Euromaidan," *Thesis Eleven* 136, no. 1 (2016): 93.

Second World War era. Despite the symbolism of these organizations and their fighters to the western regions of Ukraine as largely heroes of resistance against the Soviets and other enemies of Ukraine, they remain deeply divisive and subject to debate in the eastern and central regions of Ukraine as part of a clash of interpretations regarding the history of the Second World War. Due to their focus on ethnic Ukrainians and radical Ukrainian nationalism in their mission and purpose, these revolutionary fighters are not suited for the creation of civic identity in modern Ukraine, as their rhetoric and subsequent memory is inherently ethnically based, along with their history of violence.[96] The Ukrainian Cossacks, long part of the modern Ukrainian national identity, also emerge as problematic heroes from the existing pantheon that are unable to fulfill the role of an inclusive civic hero. Although glorified for differing motives during both Soviet and modern times–either for their role in "reunifying" Ukraine with Russia or asserting independence from the latter—their role in the instigation of anti-Jewish violence during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries tarnishes their ability to emerge as inclusive heroes for a modern and diverse Ukraine.[97] Individual Cossack figures such as Hetman Ivan Mazepa also struggle to take the place of an all-Ukrainian hero due to his resistance to Russian rule and the long history of his denigration in the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union—viewed positively in the west, yet met with a critical eye in the centre and east.[98] Given this notable split between Ukraine and Russia in Mazepa's actions, his memory, and in the memory of his associated Cossacks, Mazepa remains a figure conducive to ethnic identity formation that is exclusive and controversial toward Russians and Ukrainians of Russian culture. The Cossacks are even more problematic for Ukraine's Jewish population due to

[96] Serhy Yekelchyk, "The Heavenly Hundred: Fallen Heroes of the Euromaidan in Post-Revolutionary Ukraine," Paper presented at the international conference on "The Political Cult of the Dead in Ukraine: Traditions and Dimensions from Soviet Times to Today," Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (Munich, 2015).
[97] Serhy Yekelchyk, "National Heroes for a New Ukraine: Merging the Vocabularies of the Diaspora, Revolution, and Mass Culture," *Ab Imperio* 3 (2015): 99.
[98] Yekelchyk, "National Heroes," 101.

their history of attacks against Jewish communities, therefore disqualifying the Cossacks as thoroughly effective modern and inclusive Ukrainian heroes suitable for inclusive identities.

Taras Shevchenko, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, and Stepan Bandera serve as other individual heroes for Ukrainian national identities. However, because of their focus on Ukraine, Ukrainians, and the Ukrainian language, they also serve as symbols of an ethnic Ukrainian identity that leaves little room for the formation of a civic and inclusive identity. Taras Shevchenko, a peasant born poet and artist, is renowned for his use of the Ukrainian language in his work, and works promote an inherently language-based ethnic identity. Professor Mykhailo Hrushevsky, known for his establishment of Ukrainian history as distinct and separate from that of Russian history, continues to function in the east as a symbol of an ethnic-based type of identity exclusive of Russians.[99] As a statesman during the 1917 Russian Revolution, he insisted on granting full cultural rights to Ukraine's minorities, but this point is rarely emphasized.[100] Stepan Bandera is a contentious figure whose likeness was frequently seen during Maidan, including a large black and red banner featuring the face of Bandera himself amongst other OUN and UPA symbols and flags. The presence of such symbolism, however, does not necessarily indicate an overwhelmingly radically nationalist Ukrainian population but, rather, the utilization of Ukraine's most obvious symbols of the struggle for independence in the face of hegemony and the former colonizer.[101] Despite the prominence of such symbols seen during the revolution, Bandera remains a highly contested figure, welcomed by some and scorned by others. In the search for national heroes, Bandera does not represent an ideal civic hero given his leadership of the radically nationalist OUN and his present-day nationalist supporters that utilize this legacy to herald calls for ethnic nationalism and

[99] Yekelchyk, "National Heroes," 103.
[100] Plokhy, *The Gates of Europe*, 206.
[101] Volodymyr Kulyk, "Ukrainian Nationalism Since the Outbreak of Euromaidan," *Ab Imperio* 3 (2014): 100.

Ukrainian radicalization.[102] Although he is, as Kulyk argues, one of the most obvious symbols of the fight for Ukrainian independence, Bandera fails to fulfil the role of a civic hero that serves the future of Ukrainian society and the diverse culture of democracy that was represented by the revolution itself.

Although Ukraine has struggled to find an appropriate figure to raise as an all-encompassing civic hero, elements from these different heroes have been adopted and incorporated into the modern Ukrainian mythology and the legacy of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes. Rather than the outright rejection of problematic figures, Bandera and Cossack imagery and terminology were present during the revolution and in representations of the Heavenly Hundred, with their calls for a free Ukraine incorporated into the fight for independence. Russian media and online "trolls" have attempted to link these figures and their symbols to the presence of modern day fascism and Ukrainian ultranationalism. These attempts have been effectively countered by Ukrainians who go on to absorb insults—such as "Banderites," "Yid-Banderites," or "Ukrops" (translated as "dills")—into humorous and ironic facets of their hybrid social identities.[103] These types of slurs are accommodated by Ukrainians through the selective reinterpretation of these figures on their own terms (rather than allowing them to be weaponized by trolls or other adversaries,) which is permitted by the flexible nature of post-colonial identities that allow for renegotiation.[104] With the creative use of hybridity and the loss of a static or fixed ethnic identity, attempts at derogatory name calling and insults are thus rendered largely ineffective. Less controversial figures such as Shevchenko and Hrushevsky also had their images featured at Maidan in a similar assertion of a unique Ukrainian identity. By appropriating select aspects of these figures for a modern cause and

[102] Kulyk, "Ukrainian Nationalism," 100.
[103] Gerasimov, "The First Postcolonial Revolution," 30.
[104] Gerasimov, "The First Postcolonial Revolution," 30.

re-examining their historic symbols and figures of their own accord, Ukrainians at Maidan constructed a new mythology that went on to be imprinted onto their new, ideal civic heroes.

The Myth of the Heavenly Hundred

With existing historical figures unable to fulfill the heroic narrative that Ukraine needed for the construction of an independent identity, the Heavenly Hundred Heroes have emerged as a fusion of the past and present, incorporating symbolism and imagery from Ukrainian history and traditional culture to emerge as new symbols that carry the revolutionary legacy in the creation of a modern world of meaning. With the emergence of the inclusive cultural space, the Heavenly Hundred legacy fosters civic identity formation, thus revitalizing national pride and the sense of heritage through their embrace by a multiethnic society. By the very nature of the circumstances of their deaths—in direct conflict with the state and fighting on behalf of the popular revolution's beliefs and goals, rather than on behalf of a particular ethnic identity, region, or language, the Heavenly Hundred acquire a mythology and memory based in the civic realm. This civic identity, in contrast to an ethnic identity, is based in loyalty and service to a country, rather than to an ethnic-based nation.[105] In Ukraine, civic identity has taken the form of increased self-identification as "Ukrainian" (regardless of one's preferred language), greater pride in being a citizen of Ukraine, readiness to work and fight for Ukraine, and confidence in changing the country for the better.[106] The focus on the state and civil society permits the inclusion of those who may not identify as an ethnic Ukrainian, but still value the country in which they live and are willing to serve it, in turn supporting the culture of democracy in Ukraine and the development of inclusive or political identities that reconcile previously incompatible labels into a new political identity for a

[105] Yekelchyk, "National Heroes," 121.
[106] Kulyk, "Language and Identity," 93.

democratic Ukraine. An inclusive civic identity permits a more open discussion of what it means to be Ukrainian and allows for a variety of viewpoints and perspectives to emerge regarding identity in this transitional and postcolonial nation.

The Heavenly Hundred derive their function as civic heroes from their diversity as a group and the universality of the cause for which they were fighting. It may be reasoned that the Heavenly Hundred represent a symbolic microcosm of the culture of democracy that existed on Maidan during the 2013-14 revolution—young and old, men and women, individuals of various professions, backgrounds, and faiths, and a functioning self-organized community. One may further suggest that they represent a snapshot of Ukrainian society and what it is capable of. The revolution's participants consisted of both Ukrainophone and Russophone Ukrainians alongside minorities such as Russians, Crimean Tatars, Muslims, Jews, and Poles, coming together for a European future for Ukraine in which political, ethnic, and social divisions were secondary, demonstrating an ideological consensus among them.[107] This diversity is reflected among the members of the Heavenly Hundred as well, which includes Georgians, an Armenian, a Belarusian, Jews, and possibly Poles in its members.[108] As individuals came together in this "act of national self-assertion," they demonstrated and died for democracy, European values, and a new way of being Ukrainian, exemplifying inclusive, civic-based nationalism.[109] The deaths of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes in service of these values thus intertwines them as civic nationalist figures in a

[107] Kuczynska-Zonik and Kowalczyk, "Nation Building," 96.

[108] Neither this source (nor its citation) clearly defines the reference to "Poles" as either Polish nationals or Ukrainian citizens of Polish descent. Biographical sources of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes do not explicitly indicate evidence of any members originating from Poland. A significant number of members did originate from western Ukraine, which borders Poland, and may be of Polish heritage. Kuczynska-Zonik and Kowalczyk, "Nation Building," 97.

[109] Törnquist-Plewa and Yurchuk, "Memory Politics in Contemporary Ukraine," 16.

complex act of martyrdom and heroism, constituting a new, ready-made pantheon of heroes as a group of individuals rather than a single hero.

In addition to their attractiveness as civic heroes that are pertinent to a wide section of Ukrainian society, the mythology of the Heavenly Hundred incorporates elements of traditional Ukrainian culture and identity and borrows from the existing pantheon of heroes to emerge with a civic purpose that holds a certain Ukrainian flair and familiarity. The Ukrainian term for the Heavenly Hundred, the "Nebesna Sotnia," holds a convenient double meaning, with "sotnia" acknowledging the legacy of Cossack military companies during the early Modern period, while also simply translating as "hundred."[110] Defence units that protected Maidan during the revolution were also referred to as "sotnia" by their members, with the Nebesna Sotnia serving as the symbolic last company of Maidan defenders. Reference to the heroes as "nebesna" or "heavenly" is an overtly religious term, and continues the theme of the revival and embrace of religious symbolism as an important motif of Orthodox Christianity, still a familiar and meaningful component of Ukrainian identity despite, and perhaps even as a reaction to, decades of Soviet repression of religion.[111] The resurgence of the nationalist greeting "Glory to Ukraine!" and the response "Glory to Heroes!" during and since the revolution has indicated an adoption of a new connotation which references the Heavenly Hundred heroes rather than the Ukrainian nationalist insurgents from the period of World War II.[112] This re-coding of the slogan distinguishes the new Ukrainian identity from that of the World War II era nationalists that coined the saying, but also from the Russian interpretation of the war—which is viewed as the most sacred and heroic episode

[110] Catherine Wanner, "Commemoration and the New Frontiers of War in Ukraine," *Slavic Review* 78, no. 2 (2019): 332.
[111] Klymenko, "Choosing Mazepa," 824.
[112] Nataliya Bezborodova, "Nebesna Sotnia: Formation of a New Narrative from Protest Lore to Institutionalized Commemorative Practice," *Ethnologies* 40, no. 1 (2018): 131.

of their history—by reorienting the historic slogan and using it in the present day. The Heavenly Hundred mythology selectively borrows aspects from the existing pantheon of heroes to establish old symbols as refreshed yet familiar elements, reimagining and reclaiming their meaning from the original contexts. These existing histories and symbols are effectively utilized to form new narratives for the new heroes and a new identity.[113] Revitalizing these motifs and borrowing from different periods of Ukrainian history and aspects of Ukrainian culture makes these heroes effective as both civic and familiar mythological figures. Those who were killed during the Revolution of Dignity thus enter the Ukrainian pantheon of heroes as a unique new memory object.

Representations of the Heavenly Hundred

Artistic depictions of the Heavenly Hundred break from the Soviet past and legacy of state-based authoritarian aesthetics in their employment of religious and folk-based motifs and symbols by artists and creators, demonstrating a critical national revival and pride in the utilization of traditional Ukrainian symbols. This echoes the construction of the Heavenly Hundred mythology that adopts pieces from the Ukrainian pantheon of heroes in its makeup, with artwork, poetry, and songs serving as manifestations of the public embrace of this mythology. They also demonstrate that such motifs and beliefs have survived until the modern day despite decades of Soviet repression.[114] The use of folk symbols in depicting and commemorating the Heavenly Hundred is one of two critical elements of Heavenly Hundred representation, the other being religion and religious symbols. The prevalence of these two themes is central in fostering the Heavenly Hundred civic mythology and demonstrates the rejection of Soviet aesthetics and legacies. Art developed around these heroic figures reveals how civic society views their heroes and how the

[113] Bezborodova, "Nebesna Sotnia," 131.
[114] Klymenko, "Choosing Mazepa," 824.

heroes manifest in collective memory. Folk manifestations include (and are not limited to) the impulse to mark locations of violent deaths, the use of symbols such as flowers and landscape scenes, and the transformation of the song "Plyve Kacha po Tysyni" (A Duck Swims on the Tysyna [River]). In the stream of religious-based representations, the concepts of saints, heaven, angels, and divine protection are employed.

The marking and subsequent sacralization of locations in which many of the Heavenly Hundred were killed is central to their memorialization and representation. The practice of marking such grim locations is described by Svitlana Kukharenko as stemming from material culture and folk beliefs surrounding sites of violent or premature death and the need to mark them, a centuries-long tradition of commemoration.[115] Given that these heroes were killed in a violent conflict with the authorities, an impulse arises to mark such spaces, resulting in a significant impact on the transformation of central Kyiv and the space of Maidan itself. It is this location in which the memorials, objects, markers, and symbols arise, notably along lower Instytutska Street that borders Maidan. The atmosphere of downtown Kyiv itself is reconfigured by the centrality of this site of violence and commemoration that takes place there, transforming it into a site of remembrance and pilgrimage.[116] In its transformation, Maidan Nezalezhnosti as the main square also undergoes a shift from a space once emblematic of Soviet cities and architecture to a bastion of western values and post-Soviet memory. Memorials appeared along Instytutska Street as early as the first days after the deaths of the protesters, immediately transforming it into a central memorial space, hosting flowers, candles, and portraits of the dead and missing.[117] Emerging as a self guided memorial route, this site of the mass shootings and intense violence was soon decorated with

[115] Bezborodova, "Nebesna Sotnia," 124.
[116] Wanner, "Commemoration and the New Frontiers," 330.
[117] Liubarets, "The Politics of Memory," 206.

photographs of victims framed by bricks, ribbons attached to trees, candles, flowers, and other items related to the revolution such as helmets and sticks, marking the locations of the deaths.[118] Instytutska became a symbol and representation of the Heavenly Hundred through its employment of folk-based interpretation as a site of their violent deaths, but also served as a home for the display of other symbols and representations. The lower section of Instytutska Street has such a strong relationship with the Heavenly Hundred that it went on to be renamed "Alley of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes" in November of 2014.[119] Instytutska, the memory projects based around the street, and other sites of memory dedicated to the Heavenly Hundred will be further discussed in Chapter 3. Its transformation from a space of mourning into a proactive site of conscience is then explored in Chapter 4.

Much of the art surrounding the revolution features nature and landscapes, relating not only to folklore but also themes of rebirth, purity, and continued life. Nature and religious imagery together link the natural landscape and motherland to the heavens, divinity, and the sacrifice of dying for one's own country to be reborn as heavenly protectors or guardians of the sacred land. Representations of the Heavenly Hundred demonstrate this connection and the affinity for these traditional pieces and motifs, as well as their continued survival in both folk and popular culture. Symbols such as the Ukrainian flag (and often accompanying trident as a common emblem of independent Ukraine) reference not only national pride, but also nature, with the blue half of the flag representing the sky and the yellow representing the fields of wheat and widespread steppe of the Ukrainian territory. Flowers, landscape scenes, and the blue-and-yellow Ukrainian flag can

[118] Nazar Kozak, "Art Embedded into Protest: Staging the Ukrainian Maidan," *Art Journal* 76, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 27.
[119] "Part of Instytutska Street is now Alley of Heaven's Hundred Heroes," *Mirror Weekly,* 20 November 2014, http://mw.ua/UKRAINE/part-of-instytutska-street-is-now-alley-of-heaven-s-hundred-heroes-494_.html

commonly be seen decorating protesters' shields, helmets, and armor, along with their feature in stand-alone paintings and other visual arts.

By decorating these objects, folk elements and symbols transform everyday objects and practical equipment into pieces of artistic expression.[120] The Heavenly Hundred are also often portrayed wearing traditional Ukrainian embroidered shirts, or *vyshyvanka,* both in artistic depictions and in the selection of portraits that are primarily chosen to be displayed in their memory. With the deaths of the Heavenly Hundred, the meaning of these pieces changes again, into symbols and objects of revolutionary memory and independence.[121] The popular use of folk motifs indicates an identification with this heritage and a revival occurring surrounding these styles.[122] These uniquely Ukrainian symbols derived from folk culture proceed to enter the world of high culture as they become popularized through their widespread use during and after the revolution.[123] This cultural revival of folk aesthetics permeates beyond the spontaneous and public realm to become widely known and accepted elements of the Heavenly Hundred and revolutionary representation, reorienting Ukrainian high culture toward the roots of folk and civic tradition and expression. These familiar folk images and their adoption during and after the revolution, intertwined with imagery of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes, supplement their depiction as common, everyday individuals transformed into revolutionary martyrs that belong to and are embraced by the public.

The story of the song most closely associated with the memory of the Heavenly Hundred illustrates a similar cultural transformation. “Plyve Kacha po Tysyni,” translated as “A Duck

[120] Kozak, “Art Embedded into Protest,” 22.
[121] Kozak, “Art Embedded into Protest,” 26.
[122] Klymenko, “Choosing Mazepa,” 822.
[123] Bezborodova, “Nebesna Sotnia,” 132.

Swims on the Tysyna (River)" underwent a dramatic reconfiguration of meaning, as this folk piece was transformed into one of the most iconic symbols of those killed during the revolution. Originating from the Trans-Carpathian region of western Ukraine where part of the river is located, this song emerged as a spontaneous requiem that became reconfigured as a lament to the Heavenly Hundred.[124] The lyrics of the song narrate a conversation between a mother and her son that is preparing to leave for war. The son expresses fears of dying in a foreign land and questions who will be the one to prepare a grave for his body if he dies away from home, with the mother answering that the grave will be prepared by strangers and expressing sorrow for her beloved son. The imagery of the river and the duck floating away symbolize feelings of being swept away and the uncertainty of traveling away from home, lamenting the young men who are sent to war. In the context of the revolution, the themes of a foreign land may also relate to the citizens' alienation from Ukraine due to the rampant corruption permeating the country by the parasitic host of elite politicians. The song was initially related to the revolution after the death of one of the first members of the Heavenly Hundred, Mykhail Zhyznevsky, when his friends requested that it be performed during his public funeral on Maidan, knowing he was fond of the song.[125] The song resonates deeply with the life and death of Zhyznevsky, having left his family behind in his native Belarus to move to Ukraine at the age of seventeen.[126] Zhyznevsky's public funeral procession became the model for those killed during the revolution in the violent month that was to follow and emerged as a new tradition in Heavenly Hundred memorialization, with "Plyve Kacha po

[124] "Tysyna" is a regional Ukrainian diminutive name for the Tisza River that flows through multiple countries in Europe, including part of western Ukraine.
[125] Bezborodova, "Nebesna Sotnia," 123.
[126] Svitlana Korzhenko, "Nina Zhyzneuska remembers her son Mikhail and his death on the Maidan," trans. Christine Chraibi, *Euromaidan Press*, October 24, 2015, http://euromaidanpress.com/2015/10/24/nina-zhyzneuska-remembers-her-son-mikhail-and-his-death-on-the-maidan.

Tysyni" becoming a key part of these public processions.[127] Garnering a strong connection with the ritual of the public funerals, the song was transformed from a common folk piece into the requiem of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes and a song of national importance.[128] Since the end of the revolution and the emergence of Ukraine's conflict in the east with Russia, the song continues to be played at Maidan as a dedication to new national heroes: the Ukrainian soldiers killed in the war.[129] Solemn in both its lyrical content and melody, the haunting and emotional song embodies the sacrifice of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes and the soldiers in the Donbas and has become representative of the ongoing struggle for freedom.

The prevalence of "Plyve Kacha po Tysyni," imagery such as nature and landscapes, and the practice of marking locations of violent deaths demonstrate the resurgence in popularity of folk motifs and their use in representing the Heavenly Hundred, identity construction, and the fight for a civic and independent Ukraine based around the ordinary citizens. The revival of these symbols demonstrates how Ukrainian national consolidation and transition is embodied in the reclamation of these traditional elements in an act that fights back against the authoritarian regime and colonial Soviet cultural past that was embodied by the Yanukovych government.[130] Catherine Wanner characterizes these ordinary and folk depictions of the heroes as a "David-and-Goliath" type struggle as the ordinary and familiar individuals that constitute the Heavenly Hundred were able to take down the tyrannical Yanukovych state.[131] The reference to David and Goliath lends well to the discussion of religious imagery and motifs used in the depictions of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes, with the name "Heavenly Hundred" or "Nebesna Sotnia" itself denoting a connection with

[127] Yekelchyk, "The Heavenly Hundred," 14.
[128] Bezborodova, "Nebesna Sotnia," 123.
[129] Wanner, "Commemoration and the New Frontiers of War," 332.
[130] Klymenko, "Choosing Mazepa," 822.
[131] Wanner, "Commemoration and the New Frontiers of War," 332.

Christianity and the concept of heaven. In artistic depictions and representations of the heroes, religious themes establish them as heavenly fighters empowered by symbols of Christianity in the fight for a new Ukraine. Like the reclamation and utilization of folklore, the revival and prevalence of religious themes when depicting these heroes demonstrates an artistic and ideological rejection of the Soviet past and a retaining of the religious component of Ukrainian heritage and identity.

Religious imagery of the Heavenly Hundred commonly features depictions of angels and wings, the use of light and candles, crucifixes, icons, and prayer beads. These prominent religious motifs and symbols used to depict the heroes evoke a veneration and homage to that of saints.[132] Such a tribute elevates these heroes to a sacred level, echoing their status as modern martyrs. The depiction of the Heavenly Hundred on the medal dedicated to them, aptly named the "Hero of the Heavenly Hundred medal," features white figures with angel wings and homemade sticks, stylized as angels' swords and shields, portraying them as saintly protectors of Ukraine.[133] This notion of protection by these heroic and heavenly fighters is notably exemplified in a new tradition for those involved in the war in eastern Ukraine. It has become a tradition for soldiers headed to the front to light a candle near the Heavenly Hundred portraits before leaving, seeking a type of protective blessing from these saintly heroes before heading to war.[134] The ethnic Armenian Serhii Nihoyan, among one of the first heroes killed during the revolution, has emerged as an independent figure that has inherited his own religious connotations. Serhy Yekelchyk explains that the powerful public image of Nihoyan stems from its visual similarity to the traditional portrayal of Jesus Christ,

[132] Wanner, "Commemoration and the New Frontiers of War," 334.
[133] Yekelchyk, "The Heavenly Hundred," 12.
[134] Wanner, "Commemoration and the New Frontiers of War," 334.

as the soft-spoken Nihoyan was a hero known for being kind and quiet during his time on the square, as well as for his Christ-like beard and appearance.[135]

Depictions of the Heavenly Hundred as saintly protectors are supplemented by other heavenly and religious imagery, such as angels, clouds, the use of light, and the presence of candles, icons, and prayer beads found at their shrines. Angels and clouds serve as evident references to the idealization of heaven, while the use of candles has long held deep religious connotations in Ukrainian culture. Candles are also emblematic of Holodomor commemorations that memorialize the man-made famine that occurred in Ukraine during the Stalin era.[136] Small candles are a frequent and popular sight spotted at many Heavenly Hundred memorials. In Christianity, candles are known for symbolizing individual lives, a guiding light in the dark times of life, a sign of the next world after death, and Christ himself.[137] The concept of light derived from the symbolism of candles representing life and hope has been utilized in the famous "Rays of Dignity" installation in downtown Kyiv. First installed on 20 February 2015—now Day of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes—this series of bright lights projected into the night sky from Instytutska Street symbolizes the souls of the Heavenly Hundred. The lights are located at the approximate sites of the deaths along the now iconic street.[138] These rays may also be interpreted as symbolizing the path taken by the Heavenly Hundred toward heaven.[139] Continuing on as a tradition to remember these heroes, the "Rays of Dignity" are projected every year on the Day of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes. The Rays of Dignity display expands memorialization into a three-

[135] Yekelchyk, "The Heavenly Hundred," 13.
[136] Yekelchyk, "The Heavenly Hundred," 6.
[137] Allison Protas, "Candle," *Dictionary of Symbolism*, University of Michigan, http://umich.edu/~umfandsf/symbolismproject/symbolism.html/C/candle.html#:~:text=Candle,represent%20Christ%20as%20the%20light.
[138] Not all members of the Heavenly Hundred were killed along Instytutska Street. Nevertheless, each hero still has a light dedicated to their memory in the "Rays of Dignity" display. Liubarets, "The Politics of Memory," 208.
[139] Yekelchyk, "The Heavenly Hundred," 22.

dimensional space, extending from the earth to the sky, or even into the heavens for some, transforming the surrounding environment of Instytutska Street and Maidan into its own memorial. Three-dimensional memorial projects such as the Rays of Dignity in Kyiv or the Stolpersteine projects ("stumbling stones" that mark the last known addresses of Jewish victims of the Holocaust in various European countries) map these memory locations onto cities and create an interactive commemorative experience that transforms landscapes and gives visitors a spatial memorial experience.

The Heavenly Hundred adopt a powerful religious symbolism as saints and heavenly figures that demonstrates a shift in national identity. The use of these Christian symbols in Heavenly Hundred commemoration and representation and the engagement in religious practices such as praying at memorial sites demonstrate a degree of national consolidation and transition—similar to the revival of folklore—in turn negating and rejecting communist ideologies that prohibited such practices.[140] However, these religious symbols coexist with the civic, democratic, and inclusive character of the revolution, as shrines and depictions of the Heavenly Hundred still primarily focus on the social and national unity of the group, while religious symbols serve a more aesthetic purpose.[141] Critical to note, however, is the role that gender has played in Heavenly Hundred commemoration and representation, which has been overwhelmingly unequal and patriarchal. Lina Klymenko identifies a traditional dichotomy emerging when analyzing gender roles present at Maidan and in its subsequent memory and narrative. Klymenko indicates that although some women challenged the patriarchal order by being active in protests, post-Maidan memorialization paints men in the traditional role as fighters, warriors, and defenders. These

[140] Klymenko, "Choosing Mazepa," 832.
[141] Yekelchyk, "The Heavenly Hundred," 19.

depictions typically resemble figures such as Cossacks and UPA fighters from the Ukrainian pantheon of heroes, whilst women are typically depicted in supportive roles for men. This dichotomy leaves little space for women in the heroic Heavenly Hundred narrative, despite women being among those who were killed.[142] Despite the construction of an inclusive civic identity, this male-centered narrative reflects the existence of traditional gender relations and the marginalized status of women in Ukraine.[143]

The Heavenly Hundred Heroes were transformed into mythological heroes and martyrs through the rift in social conditions that exemplified the revolution, representing the violent struggle for democracy and emerging as a direct critique of the old regime. During the uncertain period of the revolution that initiated the pro-democratic transition, the deaths of the Heavenly Hundred were sacralised through the process of martyrdom, in turn sacralising the new order and values that the revolution embodied—a culture of democracy that fuels the need for transitional justice measures. The use of uniquely Ukrainian symbols in memorials and artistic depictions of these mythologized heroes demonstrates a cultural revival entwined with the struggle for democracy and distancing from the Soviet past both ideologically and aesthetically, utilizing folk traditions and imagery combined with religious symbolism and motifs. The Heavenly Hundred have entered the cultural memory bank and pantheon of heroes as civic and inclusive symbols representing the idea of a free and democratic Ukraine and civic Ukrainian identity. Whereas other figures from history have struggled to emerge as a strong proponent of civic and democratic nation building, the Heavenly Hundred fulfill and are actively accepted into this role, serving as a key component of revolutionary memory and post-revolution identity formation. This can be witnessed

[142] Klymenko, "Choosing Mazepa," 833.
[143] Klymenko, "Choosing Mazepa," 833.

in the variety of commemorative practices dedicated to these heroes and the revolution at both the grassroots and official levels, demonstrating their adoption and embrace as the active cultural memory by society and the role of their memory in fostering the transition toward democracy. The Heavenly Hundred Heroes do not transcend Ukraine's heritage or their fellow national heroes to emerge as unique figures, but rather find themselves inseparable from Ukrainian tradition as evidenced by the incorporation of folk and religious elements in their representations and their utilization of historic symbols to herald calls for independence. The inclusive identity posited by Rewakowicz manifests itself in the diverse yet united Heavenly Hundred heroes, emerging as a civic and post-colonial memory in a dialogic third space that serves as the basis for Ukrainian national identity formation and support for a culture of democracy along these principles.

Chapter 3: Memorials and Commemoration

The culture of democracy in Ukraine is crucial for ongoing pro-democratic reform and the continued implementation of transitional justice policies. These direct examples of popular democratic action and subjective expression serve as forums for continued discourse surrounding the revolution and its legacy, representative elements of democratic culture. While grassroots memorials provide direct insight into public values and interpretations of the active cultural memory of the revolution, official commemorative practices indicate how governments seek to accept and incorporate the memory of the revolution in a selective and controlled manner to construct a self-serving narrative. The limited number of official revolution commemoration practices, in contrast with the high level of popular activity and participation in the form of grassroots memorials, indicates that civic society has assumed the leading role in commemorating their heroes and have pushed the authorities to integrate these new heroes. Civic society has instrumentalized the memory of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes and the revolution to serve as a representation of society's perspective and the willingness to participate in pro-democratic actions, rejecting the authoritative Soviet legacy and encouraging the transition toward democracy from the bottom up. The ongoing development of the Maidan Museum indicates the emergence of a government-funded "site of conscience" that will serve the community through a commitment to the democratic values that characterized the revolution itself, creating a permanent environment for the micro-culture of democracy that was born from the revolution to continue to grow and thrive.

Grassroots and Public Memorials

Grassroots memorials created by the public are more than collections of objects in a particular place of memory. Although often small and makeshift in nature, as opposed to grandiose

official monuments, grassroots memorials are significant manifestations of the active cultural memory, civic participation, and identity formation in action, illustrative of the culture of democracy. Margry and Sanchez-Carretero define the grassroots memorial as "practically instrumentalized ritualized expression, an emotional and political instrument that is articulated from the grassroots in everyday life."[144] Essentially, grassroots memorials originate from the public as expressions of feelings about a particular memory and can be utilized in political and emotional ways. Margry and Sanchez-Carretero also emphasize the performative nature of both grassroots memorials and the social practices associated with them. They assert that performativity is an inherent constituent of the strong communicative power of grassroots memorials, due to the agency of both memorial objects and individuals. The participation of civilians in the form of placing objects at these memorial sites is not done only in memory of the deceased but implies a message that seeks an action or response, whether it be someone taking responsibility for the event being remembered, a change, or the pursuit of justice. They exist not only as commemoration, but as an entity that seeks answers and demands change.[145] The agency and subjectivity of both individuals and the memorial site transforms grassroots memorials into interactive locations rather than loci for passive viewing. Calls for action narrated by the memorial site serve to initiate conversation and critical thinking regarding a particular topic. In the instance of grassroots memorials to the Revolution of Dignity and the Heavenly Hundred Heroes, they represent both the commemoration of the dead, but also a demand for action in the form of bringing their killers to justice and the continuation of the transitional democratic reform that aligns with the revolution's values and legacy. Grassroots memorials themselves can be seen as the ultimate

[144] Margry and Sanchez-Carretero, "Rethinking Memorialization," 1.
[145] Margry and Sanchez-Carretero, "Rethinking Memorialization," 3.

expression of the democratic process, as they originate from the lowest level of organization, individual participation, and are aimed at influencing social and political developments, much like the revolution itself.[146] The informal nature of these memorials provides them with an emotional and authentic atmosphere given that they are informal and unregulated, allowing individuals to participate in very personal ways and however they deem appropriate.[147] This allows the public to contribute in ways that are meaningful to them, explicitly indicating the importance of the site and in turn, the memory that the site holds. For example, by creating, contributing to, and maintaining grassroots memorials to the revolution, Ukrainians imprint their emotions onto these spaces and contribute to the site's personal and public authenticity. These grassroots memorials create a palimpsest of memory that accrues and deepens layer by layer, revealing deep insights into what a community holds as salient and important, whilst also indicating the presence of democratic participation and culture in a society.

In some instances, grassroots memorials are also referred to as "shrines." The notion of shrines comes from their resemblance to altars, the presence of religious and spiritual objects and texts, and the act of praying at these sites, all of which reaffirm the importance of these sites as links to the deceased for the living.[148] This notion of the grassroots memorial as a shrine is particularly appropriate when observing memorial sites to the revolution such as Instytutska Street. The use of shrines suggests the religious concept of the pilgrimage route, in other words a physical journey from space to space that has its counterpart in a deepening journey of wisdom and understanding of spirituality or political reality. Margry and Sanchez-Carretero assert that the makeshift and improvised quality of such sites, including the nature of the objects left at them, is

[146] Margry and Sanchez-Carretero, "Rethinking Memorialization," 4.
[147] Margry and Sanchez-Carretero, "Rethinking Memorialization," 12.
[148] Margry and Sanchez-Carretero, "Rethinking Memorialization," 23.

their foremost quality, as this nature expresses the provenance of their creation and the presence of individual human emotions and actions. They are explicit indexes to the dissatisfactions, values, and ideological opinions of groups and societies.[149] These grassroots sites are distinctively democratic, as they are physical manifestations of society's opinions regarding the revolution and indicate the presence of a conversation surrounding the revolution and its legacy, signalling that it is important and worth remembering. They also represent popular participation in said conversations through participation in the act of ritual and commemoration. In the case of the revolution, the message is of the value of democracy and human rights, the sacrifice given for such, and a rejection of the authoritative colonial Soviet legacy. These grassroots memorials are much more than just assemblages of random items created by the public; they are direct expressions of public participation in a memory, a place for commemoration and connection with the dead, and a way for the public to express their opinions and exercise their agency on a particular matter in a democratic way.

Figure 1: Portraits along the Alley of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes. Kyiv, Ukraine. July 2019. Photo by author.

[149] Margry and Sanchez-Carretero, "Rethinking Memorialization," 36.

Instytutska Street

Lower Instytutska Street bordering the edge of Maidan Nezalezhnosti in downtown Kyiv, as the site of some of the most iconic and violent moments of the Revolution of Dignity, became an instant site of memory that was quickly overwhelmed with spontaneous shrines and grassroots memorials at the end of the revolution. Over five years later, lower Instytutska Street, now officially renamed as the Alley of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes, is still marked by grassroots memorials, which are created, maintained, decorated, and therefore "owned" by everyday Ukrainians. Two NGOs representing the families of the Heavenly Hundred and veterans of the revolution, in collaboration with Maidan Museum, coordinate the maintenance of the site.

As mentioned previously, the tradition of marking places of untimely deaths stems from folk sentiments. Given that Instytutska Street was the site of many of the protesters' deaths, it developed a sacred atmosphere through traumatic loss that is further emphasized by the presence of grassroots memorials and shrines.

Figure 2: Memorial Slabs at the Alley of Heavenly Hundred Heroes. Kyiv, Ukraine. July 2019. Photo by author.

The grassroots memorial located along the Alley of the Heavenly Hundred consists of portraits of each of the members of the Heavenly Hundred displayed on black and white signs, as can be seen in Figure 1. These portraits display the hero's name, occupation, hometown, birthdate,

date they were killed, and their age. Each portrait is surrounded by a semi-circle of paving stones that are individually decorated with collections of flowers, blue and yellow ribbons (the colors of the Ukrainian flag, or in some cases, the colors of the flag of the hero's country of birth), candles, and other small items. Interrupting the row of portraits is a small set of steps. Originally a platform for the viewing of the flower clock that decorates the embankment running along Instytutska Street, these steps now host three granite signs, a large wooden cross, and a continuation of tokens left at the site, including flowers, prayer beads, helmets, candles, paving stones, and flags. The row of Heavenly Hundred portraits continues up the street from the other side of these steps. The three granite slabs resting here each host different inscriptions dedicated to the revolution and the memory of the Heavenly Hundred. The first provides a brief description of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes and displays the text of the poem "Mamo, ne plach, ia povernus′ vesnoiu" or "Mother, Don't Cry, I'll Return in the Spring," a story of an individual visiting their mother after death in the form of a bird or as the rain—both images with a recognizable religious pedigree. This poem was written by poet Oksana Maksymyshyn-Korabel during the winter of 2014, which she dedicated to the mothers of those killed on Maidan, and was later performed as a song by Tiana Roz.[150] The second slab is etched with the Ukrainian trident, a scene of protesters on a smoky barricade hoisting a Ukrainian flag, and an inscription that reads in Ukrainian "Eternal memory for the heroes of the Heavenly Hundred" and "We will lay down our soul and body for our freedom," the latter a line from the national anthem. The third and final slab displays two more texts, the first lamenting the deaths of the Heavenly Hundred and introducing their requiem. The

[150] Oksana Kovalenko, "The author of the poem-song 'Mom, don't cry, I'll be back in the spring ...' is waiting for a kidney transplant in Portugal, but from there she continues to fight for Ukraine," *Volyn*, February 20, 2020, https://www.volyn.com.ua/news/146591-avtorka-virsha-pisni-mamo-ne-plach-ia-povernus-vesnoiu-chekaie-v-portuhalii-na-peresadku-nyrky-ale-i-zvidty-prodovzhuie-voiuvaty-za-ukrainu.

following text is the lyrics to said requiem, the folk song “Plyve kacha po Tysyni” or “A Duck Swims on the Tysyna [River].” Figure 2 also shows a box soliciting donations for wounded soldiers from the war.

Figure 3: Continuation of portraits along the Alley of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes. Kyiv, Ukraine. July 2019. Photo by author.

Despite the relatively young age of this memorial, the continued maintenance and act of leaving tokens such as candles, ribbons, and flowers demonstrates that the memory of the Heavenly Hundred is still actively participated in, is culturally significant as the active memory, and exists as a nucleus for identity formation. This participation in the active memory, demonstrated by the mere existence of this grassroots site, indicates one of the ultimate acts of democratic expression—one removed from the boundaries of imagined communities that allows individuals to express themselves in a way that seeks change. Through the exhibition of these portraits, Ukrainian society demonstrates that these heroes are valuable to them, not only honoring and commemorating their sacrifice, but also mobilizing their memory as a demand for action and reform that adheres to the values that these heroes died for. The instrumentalization of this memory initiates a public conversation regarding these democratic principles and serves as a site of discourse. The presence of Ukrainian flags, colors, and the national symbol of the trident indicate an identification with the Ukrainian nation, and the text presented on the three granite slabs indicate dedication to Ukraine as a land and nation rather than “Ukrainians” or any specific ethnic identity.

The absence of ethnicity on the portraits contributes to the notion that the Heavenly Hundred not be divided along ethnic lines—they are all heroes of a united, inclusive, and civic Ukraine.[151] Additionally, the absence of any official monument at this site and the dominance of the grassroots memory demonstrates an independence from formal politics and administrative processes, as previously argued by Margry and Sanchez-Carretero, with the public taking commemoration into their own hands. Such a break from the administration is subversive to the colonial legacy of state-mandated grandiose statues from the Soviet period, even further exemplified by the Leninfall phenomena as an explicit rejection of this legacy.[152] Therefore, this memorial demonstrates and reflects that the active cultural memory of the revolution and the Heavenly Hundred serve as the basis for civic and postcolonial national identity construction.

The Square of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes

The Square of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes near Saint Michael's Monastery has emerged as a direct result of civic action and activism that had its beginnings during the protests. A grassroots memorial in a more structured format, this square demonstrates a unique take on the concept of active participation in ritual and memory, whilst also emerging as a versatile and practical space for the public, functioning as both a grassroots memorial, a venue for events, and an example of the productive value civic activism and the culture of democracy can have in a society. This space, as a direct product of civic engagement and activism, was born from the micro-culture of democracy of the revolution as an initiative of public conversation and cooperation regarding the space and has been maintained and further developed to sustain its involvement in supporting the continued culture of democracy in Ukraine.

[151] Yekelchyk, "The Heavenly Hundred," 19.
[152] Liubarets, "The Politics of Memory," 200.

The origins of the Square of the Heavenly Hundred lie during the revolution itself, like the role of Instytutska Street, but in a more indirect manner. The space was uncovered during the protests when self-defence forces dismantled the fence surrounding an empty lot near the square, with the intent to use the fencing as a fortification for the barricade that protected the protesters camped out at Maidan. This empty plot of land, abandoned and serving as an unofficial urban trash dump, was illegally sold by the Kyiv City Administration in 2007 to developers supposedly intent on building a hotel and office complex, despite the land falling within the protected UNESCO-designated cultural heritage zone of St. Sophia's Cathedral and its monastery grounds. Despite the puzzle of ownership, activists and volunteers took it upon themselves to clear the land after the revolution, transforming it into an open green space for public use in March 2014.[153] Public greenspaces such as the Square of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes have been popularized as gardens of memory across Europe and in Russia, with the *sad pamiati* or "garden of memory" at Butovo dedicated to victims of the Stalinist purges serving as an example of a site dedicated to reconciliation and memory.[154]

Activists fundraised and commissioned a mural of Serhyii Nihoyan—one of the first of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes and Christ-like figure—to adorn the wall of the building that borders the space. The co-founder of the square has compared the art piece, made from the carving and destruction of a layer of concrete deposited onto the side of the building, to "the rebirth of

[153] Isobel Koshiw, "Kyiv city residents fight to protect Heavenly Hundred Square," *Kyiv Post,* November 30, 2015, https://www.kyivpost.com/article/content/ukraine-politics/kyiv-city-residents-fight-to-protect-heavenly-hundred-square-403184.html.

[154] The Butovo mass grave is located on the outskirts of Moscow, Russia. Harrison King, "Remembering Soviet Repression in Moscow," *The Moscow Times,* October 28, 2016, https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2016/10/28/remembering-soviet-repression-in-moscow-a55932.

Ukrainian society" with its creation through destruction.[155] The large image of Nihoyan watches calmly yet protectively across the space. Through continued volunteer work and public participation, the square also became a publicly shared home to a small orchard of fruit trees, gardens, a lawn, flowerbeds, walkways, and a playground.[156] The site is also used to host free lectures, films, and family events during the summer.[157] In 2016, the economic court of Kyiv rectified the puzzle of the ownership of the square by officially returning it to municipal ownership to protect the efforts of the community-built project. Despite repeated attempts by developers to repeal this ruling in 2017 and 2018, the decision to revoke ownership from the developers has been deemed final.[158]

The active participation in the cultivation of this space, first through its establishment, and now by tending to the green space and its utilization as a venue for public events, demonstrates a unique participation in memory, ritual and remembrance that challenges the format seen at Instytutska Street. The public care and upkeep of a memorial space such as a public garden demonstrates a new format of memorial maintenance that is still civic, individual, democratic, and expressive of the values seen at Instytutska Street, all as a side effect of participation in the cultivation of a garden and green space. Almost entirely removed from the constraints of a more traditional grassroots memorial, such as a collection of tokens and objects or as a site of death, the community-constructed Square of the Heavenly Hundred demonstrates active, civic participation

---

[155] Yuliana Romanyshyn, "Heavenly Hundred public garden exhibits mural by Portuguese artist Vhils," *Kyiv Post*, July 16, 2015, https://www.kyivpost.com/article/guide/about-kyiv/heavenly-hundred-public-garden-exhibits-mural-by-portuguese-artist-vhils-393603.html.

[156] Romanyshyn, "Public garden."

[157] Koshiw, "Kyiv city residents."

[158] "Kyiv's Heavenly Hundred Heroes square returned to local community," *UNIAN*, August 3, 2017, https://www.unian.info/kyiv/2063276-kyivs-heavenly-hundred-heroes-square-returned-to-local-community.html; Interfax-Ukraine, "Supreme Court refuses to review court decisions on Heavenly Hundred Square in Kyiv," *Kyiv Post*, May 16, 2018, https://www.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/supreme-court-refuses-review-court-decisions-heavenly-hundred-square-kyiv.html.

in the culturally active memoryscape and a break from the typical format of grassroots memorials, existing as a venue for and expression of democratic culture. The creation of this practical civic space demonstrates a different version of the grassroots break from official memorials; it is an explicit example of both the agency of individuals and an expression of their civic values. The success of the community and activists in reclaiming the space from the developers who illegally acquired it demonstrates the effectiveness of civic activism and the ability of everyday Ukrainian volunteers to make a change in the face of corruption and injustice. This culture of activism and the achievements made through the communal development of the Square of the Heavenly Hundred indicates that commemoration and memorials have an impact on encouraging the democratic transition, upholding revolutionary values, and fortifying the culture of democracy. The reclamation of the space was a success in challenging the old rules of the game that previously allowed for such corrupt acquisitions to take place, showing that the community itself plays an important role in undertaking positive, transition-oriented changes of their own accord.

Grassroots memorials are not without their challenges. Due to their improvised nature, they are relatively fragile, contingent, and often unsuitable for ongoing exposure to the environment of the city streets, subject to wear and tear from both human and natural intervention. After only a year of existence along the Alley of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes, the purpose of the portraits and their accompanying tokens were called into question. In a news article from April 2015 regarding the future of these sites, the cherished community tributes are described as "crude and cemetery-like," in need of order and guidance.[159] Vladislava Osmak, a university lecturer and team member for the development of the memorial project, commented on the possibilities of a future

[159] Claire Rosemberg and Olga Shylenko, "Museum or memory lane? Kiev mulls memorial to Maidan victims," *Yahoo! News*, 17 April 2015, https://news.yahoo.com/museum-memory-lane-kiev-mulls-memorial-maidan-victims-191145241.html.

memorial, stating in the article that the Heavenly Hundred Heroes did not sacrifice their lives for the construction of a memorial, rather they died in the hope of creating a better life for others. Osmak describes the atmosphere of the revolution as the feeling of the people having "a huge common brain, a fantastic space filled with energy," with the square requiring a transformation into a public space for future generations, one that is less traumatic, to allow people and the community to heal. This call for a more active space demonstrates the need for a more permanent environment that serves the community into the future, much like the Square of the Heavenly Hundred. Although the grassroots memorials are still maintained into the present day, the need for a more durable replacement to the wilting flowers and weathered tokens along the Alley of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes is not overlooked.

Grassroots memorials also mark sacred spaces—the sites of violent deaths—with the tokens left at the sites becoming sacred in and of themselves. In both a religious and non-religious sense, these sites and memorial creations become untouchable and emotionally loaded sites that also create a link between the mourning and the deceased.[160] The sacrality of these spaces creates a common understanding that they ought to be protected and can reaffirm the sense of community surrounding the memory of the space. For example, when the memorial slabs at the Alley of Heavenly Hundred Heroes on lower Instytutska Street were intentionally destroyed in October 2017 by an individual claiming to be upset with the war in the Donbas and the occupation of Crimea, passers-by detained the individual and the memorial was later restored.[161] In a similar incident the previous year, a memorial dedicated to Mikhail Zhyznevsky on Hrushevsky Street was destroyed in a car accident. This monument, too, was quickly restored instead of being

[160] Margry and Sanchez-Carretero, "Rethinking Memorialization," 21.
[161] "The suspect says he smashed the Heavenly Hundred monument on purpose," *BBC Ukraine,* October 5, 2017, https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/news-41509966.

permanently removed.[162] The destruction and restoration of these memorials, notably in the former instance, demonstrates that these sites are emotional and meaningful, evoking strong responses when viewed, harmed, or destroyed, implying that when the physical structure is compromised, so too is the highly respected memory that it represents. The repair of such structures indicates that despite the makeshift nature of these sites, they are valuable and deemed important to maintain and protect from harm.

The full replacement of these grassroots memorials presents a certain ethical dilemma surrounding recontextualization of memory. Although grassroots memorials can be transformed into and/or replaced by permanent memorials oriented toward future audiences, they typically lack any personal elements and emotional resonance that are characteristic of grassroots memorials.[163] Meanwhile, the preservation of the original structures and memorials has the side effect of altering the contexts and meanings of such objects by removing them from their original environments. Aleida Assmann criticizes the storage of such objects by asserting that once stored, they lose their practical function as sites of participatory cultural memory.[164] This change in context, from street memorial and site of popular participation into institutionalized object thus alienates the memorial from its origins (the public) and original purpose of public participation.[165] This creates challenges in the evolution from the grassroots memorial space of Instytutska Street to the official museum-memorial complex that calls for a complete overhaul of the street and surrounding areas. The preservation of the original monuments by the museum organization will result in their inevitable recontextualization. It is hoped that the human and community-centered approach that the new

[162] "Mercedes crashes into monument to Heavenly Hundred hero downtown Kyiv," *UNIAN*, October 10, 2016, https://www.unian.info/kyiv/1563556-mercedes-crashes-into-monument-to-heavenly-hundred-hero-downtown-kyiv-photo.html.
[163] Margry and Sanchez-Carretero, "Rethinking Memorialization," 15.
[164] Margry and Sanchez-Carretero, "Rethinking Memorialization," 17.
[165] Margry and Sanchez-Carretero, "Rethinking Memorialization," 17.

museum strives for will ideally result in new curatorial and exhibition methods that alleviate some of the loss of function and "authenticity" that these objects experience through museumification. This people-based, civic approach heralded by the ecomuseum and site of conscience movement provides the potential for a community-based authentic memory that is inherently "Maidan" in the spirit of Osmak's metaphor of the revolution as a space of energy and a common brain. The community's involvement in the continued development of the museum and memorial space is further discussed in Chapter 4. As individuals continue their participation in the grassroots memorials, some residents of Kyiv express the desire to move forward from the grassroots stage and into an overdue refreshment of the space into a more permanent format, whilst others lament the loss of authenticity that will accompany a renovation of this sacred space. The question of what is to be done with these original grassroots memorials when it comes time to replace them with a longer lasting, transition-oriented element becomes a challenge in the preservation of this active cultural memory. However, the changing role of museums serves to revolutionize the ways in which large-scale commemoration projects are implemented.

Figure 4: Street sign marking the Alley of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes. Kyiv, Ukraine. July 2019. Photo by author.

Official Commemoration

In contrast to the organically produced cultural memory that is expressed by the grassroots memory projects, official memorialization is crafted and calculated. This notion of the crafted political memory relates to Laurajane Smith's theory of "authorized heritage discourse," with "heritage" referring to the (highly criticized) tendency of professionals and those in positions of authority to select and conserve what they deem as "special" for a nation.[166] In turn, Smith describes authorized heritage discourse as a set of practices that regulate professional heritage and its selection, establishing the guidelines for what is and is not considered relevant, in turn protecting the "true" narrative of heritage and memory constructed by the professionals and the state.[167] Tim Benton and Penelope Curtis also define the authorized heritage discourse as "a calculated way to promote consensus around a particular set of patriotic values and reinforce a sense of shared identity." The authorized heritage discourse thus frames the way in which memorialization is conducted by larger institutions, and is also a key element when critically examining official memorials.[168] As an element of the controlled structure of political memory construction, deciphering the authorized heritage discourse can reveal the political memory that is being built and the image the institution, in this case the Ukrainian government, especially under President Poroshenko (2014–19), had been attempting to project with their creations.

In the context of the Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity, three state acts of memorialization are examined: The Order of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes, the Day of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes, and the Alley of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes. At the time of writing, the officially-

---

[166] Tim Benton and Clementine Cecil, "Heritage and Public Memory," in *Understanding Heritage and Memory,* ed. Tim Benton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 9.
[167] Rodney Harrison, "Multicultural and Minority Heritage," in *Understanding Heritage and Memory,* ed. Tim Benton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 170.
[168] Tim Benton and Penelope Curtis, "The Heritage of Public Commemoration," in *Understanding Heritage and Memory,* ed. Tim Benton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 44.

sanctioned and planned museum-memorial development slated for Instytutska Street has not yet broken ground, resulting in the lack of a prominent state-sanctioned memorial or monument to the revolution and the Heavenly Hundred in the capital city of Kyiv where the very event occurred, with only the grassroots memorials and provisional Maidan Museum organization serving as interim placeholders over a lengthy period. Between the Kyiv municipality and the national government, these three initiatives have served as some of the only manifestations of memory to the revolution at the official level. July 1, 2014 saw the establishment of The Order of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes, proposed by the then president Petro Poroshenko and passed by the Verkhovna Rada. This medal was awarded posthumously to each of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes, who demonstrated selfless service to the Ukrainian people during the revolution; its decorative design was chosen through a national competition and features an angelic depiction of the heroes.[169] Later in 2014, on 20 November, the lower section of Instytutska Street was officially renamed as "The Alley of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes" by the Kyiv City Administration, with the section of the road permanently closed to vehicle traffic and transforming into a pedestrian walkway. This initiative was supported by a majority of city council members and 61% of Kyiv residents in a poll of 2,600 individuals that was hosted on the city council's website.[170] Finally, a presidential decree on 11 February 2015, almost one year after some of the most violent days of the revolution, established 20 February as the annual Day of the Heavenly Hundred, serving as a day of tribute and commemoration of the revolution and the Heavenly Hundred Heroes ever since.[171] Since the

[169] "Rada created the Order of the Heroes of the Heavenly Hundred," *Ukrainian Pravda,* July 1, 2014, https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2014/07/1/7030598/.
[170] *Mirror Weekly* "Part of Instytutska Street."
[171] "February 20 to be commemorated as Heavenly Hundred Heroes Day–decree," *Interfax-Ukraine,* February 12, 2015, https://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/250245.html; " Ukraine marks Day of Heroes of Heavenly Hundred," *Ukrinform,* February 20, 2019, https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-society/2644192-ukraine-marks-day-of-heroes-of-heavenly-hundred.html.

official establishment of this anniversary, Ukrainians have gathered each year in a participatory ritual to pay tribute along the Alley of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes and at Maidan, contributing their tokens to the existing grassroots memorials and observing the "Rays of Dignity" display at night.[172] These three initiatives demonstrate a level of community participation in (and acceptance of) the commemoration initiatives stemming from the official level. However, the continued absence of a full-fledged, state sponsored memorial initiative and the repeated financial delays inhibiting developments indicates that the construction of such is not a high priority for Ukrainian officials. There have been repeated delays of development due to criminal investigations taking place along Instytutska into the murders of the Heavenly Hundred, as the renovation of the space into the proposed memorial lane and museum complex would alter the original landscape, complicating the investigation of the shootings.[173] These continued delays may potentially be attributed to the revolution's legacy as a people's cause opposite to that of government authority, making it a difficult memory to be manipulated by the state, which may be further explained by referring back to the notion of political memory and its selective construction. Assmann states that when it comes to the memory of perpetrators in history, in this case, the state against the civic society, it is "difficult to remember one's own guilt."[174] Despite the revolution occurring under a previous administration and president, it was generally understood as a clash between the government and the people. Official political opposition parties at the time of the revolution attempted to involve themselves in leading Maidan but failed to establish a foothold among the people who were disinterested in party politics—they were fighting against the authoritarianism,

[172] Volodymyr Petrov, "Ukrainians commemorate 6th anniversary of EuroMaidan murders," *Kyiv Post,* February 21, 2020, https://www.kyivpost.com/multimedia/photo/ukrainians-commemorate-6th-anniversary-of-euromaidan-murders-photos.
[173] "A monument to the Heroes of the Heavenly Hundred is being dismantled in Kyiv," *BBC Ukraine,* November 7, 2018, https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/features-46125888?ocid=socialflow_facebook.
[174] Assmann, "Memory, Individual and Collective," 9.

corruption, and complacency that had been demonstrated by politicians on all sides. Although the opposition parties attempted to situate themselves on the right side of history, the spirit of the revolution objectively undermined any state authority, placing them and their apparatus in the position of perpetrator despite attempts at distancing themselves from the Yanukovych regime.

These case studies provide direct examples of both grassroots and official commemoration of the revolution and the Heavenly Hundred Heroes, demonstrating the presence of an active cultural memory for national identity formation along civic and democratic lines. These grassroots memorials narrate public opinion as sites of discourse regarding the revolution and emit a symbolic call for continued pro-democratic reform along with serving as practical sites for mourning and active participation in memory, thus enriching the culture of democracy. In the case of the Square of the Heavenly Hundred, the development of the grassroots memorial served as a victory against corruption itself. Official and state-funded commemorative acts indicate attempts at accepting and incorporating this memory into the public and political sphere, elevating this memory to a truly national level. At the time of writing, however, downtown Kyiv lacks an obvious, long-lasting memorial space dedicated to the revolution. The ongoing development of the state sponsored national museum and memorial complex dedicated to the revolution, created through a partnership between the Maidan Museum initiative and the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory indicates a willingness for cooperation in the establishment of a more permanent memorial space for the capital city and downtown core of Kyiv. With a more civic and humanistic-based approach to commemoration, the employment of a revolutionary new type of museum based in the theories of the ecomuseum, the new museology, and adhering to the concepts of the site of conscience and memorywork fundamentally transforms the manner in which grassroots and official memorialization may complement rather than compete with one another in the quest to

commemorate the revolution in a dignified and civic manner, creating an active space for democratic culture to flourish.

Chapter 4: The Maidan Museum

Memorials, museums, and transitional justice have a triadic relationship in which national identities and collective memories are harnessed for progressive democratic reform and the enrichment of the culture of democracy. Innovative modes of memorialization can be utilized to reconcile difficult histories and reigning worlds of meaning, forging a path forward from the authoritarian past and toward a free and democratic future. Since the end of the Revolution of Dignity, efforts have been undertaken through the partnership between activists turned museum workers and the Ukrainian government to establish a memorial-museum complex dedicated to the revolution. Despite lacking a finalized home, the National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity has emerged as a new breed of museum based in the new museology, known as an "ecomuseum," in a break from the traditional, collection-devoted institutions. Combined with its role as a memorial space, it has demonstrated commitment to the role of a site of conscience, therefore positioning itself as a key player in fostering the cultural realm of transitional evolution. The proposed museum and memorial space serve as a forum and center for continued learning, activism, education, remembrance, and reform, becoming a dynamic hub for the cultivation of Ukraine's culture of democracy.

The Maidan Museum as a Site of Conscience

The role of the site of conscience as a new genre of memorialization has become a key cultural component of transitional justice efforts to propel nations like Ukraine further toward a democratic future. Sites of conscience have become central to transitional efforts, including the quest for justice, reconciliation, truth telling, and victim repatriation, as they serve as a primary terrain for addressing the complexities of a traumatic experience.[175] Sebastian Brett et al. argue

[175] Brett et al., "Memorialization and Democracy," 1.

that it is this interaction with conflictive pasts that plays an essential role in the construction of a national identity based on human rights and dignity. The Revolution of Dignity, when viewed as an ideological rejection of the Soviet colonial legacy, was based upon the desire of Ukrainians to follow these ideals of human rights and dignity in the face of continued corruption and authoritarianism. The cultural construction of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes along with society's continued participation in the active cultural memory and culture of democracy represented by grassroots memorialization indicates that Ukrainian society is adhering to the model of cultural transition following a traumatic past or event. Addressing the problematic nature of the Soviet legacy as manifested by the revolution, combined with the culture of democracy present in grassroots memorialization, has served to encourage the construction of this new, democratically inclined inclusive national identity and culture. This has in turn created an environment in which the Ukrainian government can undertake transitional justice efforts on a higher level than civic activists are able to achieve, facilitating a cleanse of both the governmental apparatus and cultural landscape of Soviet remnants, sometimes to a problematic degree.

Dedication to promoting engagement with a site and making meaningful visitor connections—that go beyond just the viewing or construction of a memorial—is the key component of the new era of memorialization. This new era is heavily influenced by Bickford's concept of memoryworks and the sites of conscience movement, with the new generation of memorials "working" to actively engage their communities and serve as a force for reform. Through this engagement, civic participation and critical thinking are encouraged, pushing the audience to consider not only the topic being remembered, but also their potential personal connections with such to form deeper connections to the event and the world around them. The National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, and its extension, the National Memorial to the

Heavenly Hundred Heroes, have positioned themselves at the forefront of institutionalized Maidan memory, with a mission set on cooperating with the public to establish a site of conscience and memorywork.

The concept for the Maidan Museum was created during the revolution, with a group of activists calling for preservation of testimonies and artifacts related to the event in January 2014. These individuals included the current director Ihor Poshyvailo—formerly the director of the Ivan Honchar Art Museum in Kyiv, director of the Tustan Historic-Cultural Preserve Vasyl Rozhko, education specialist Mykola Skyba, archaeologist Timur Bobrovsky, and the director of the National Museum of the Arts Kateryna Chueva. The creation of the "Maidan Museum" or "Freedom Museum" initiative was further supported by the Maidan Self Defense Units and later the Ukrainian National Committee of the International Council of Museums. The initial concept evolved through a series of cooperative partnerships until the community museum officially partnered with the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory in 2017 to develop the concept of a joint museum and memorial complex.[176] Entrusted with the development of this complex, the National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity—simply referred to as the Maidan Museum—is now a state-sponsored organization that holds an authoritative position regarding the development of more than just the physical museum, but also the institutionalized revolutionary memory. As of 2021 the Maidan Museum organization continues to await the construction of the proposed museum-memorial complex, currently operating out of temporary spaces across Kyiv including offices, pop-up exhibitions, and a small information and presentation center—which doubles as a makeshift museum—in the Trades Union Building on Maidan. The planned construction of this new memoryscape that will transform this area of downtown Kyiv will utilize the modern vision

[176] "Beginnings," National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, http://maidanmuseum.org/uk/storinka/vytoky.

of museums and the parameters of a site of conscience to develop a site in the civic spirit of the revolution. The mission statement of the museum organization indicates an ideological alignment with the theories of the new museology, the ecomuseum movement, and sites of conscience, stating:

> The mission [...] is to preserve, present and spread, in Ukraine and abroad, the history of Ukraine's struggle for national and personal freedom, dignity, human and civil rights, as well as revitalization of the public initiatives for establishing democratic society in Ukraine. It is a modern place of a new type, a place of live stories and true testimonies, a repository of collective memory and a laboratory of its reinterpretation.
>
> Strategic assets of the newly created memorial and museum complex [will be] focused on the interests and values of the citizens, since it is all about the memory that [the] museum is trying to preserve, the people who are honored there, the collections, the ideas that are being generated, and the reputation that is being protected.[177]

This mission statement demonstrates a clear commitment to public initiatives and involvement, with a focus on providing a space for citizens and civic development rather than existing as a space for the storage of items and collections or as a voice of an authoritative memory. At an ideological level, the museum demonstrates its function as a social institution that is oriented toward its community, focusing on the treatment of its visitors as partners in collective memory and interpreters of the revolution, as well as working together with them in reforming Ukrainian society.

In this break away from the traditional model of museums toward the model of a site of conscience, the Maidan Museum also makes its own break from the Soviet legacy. In an interview with Radio Svoboda regarding the future complex, Maidan Museum director Ihor Poshyvailo explains, "most Soviet museums were created to preserve certain cultural and historical values, but their main function was to serve a certain ideology. Our newest memorial complex is not designed to serve a certain ideology. Its task is to capture realities and events as objectively as

[177] "Mission," National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, http://maidanmuseum.org/en/node/352.

possible, from different points of view."[178] Poshyvailo emphasizes that the future memorial complex will be "fundamentally different from Soviet museums," demonstrating how the organization continues the rejection of the old memoryscape that had manifested during the Leninfall event. By refusing to prescribe a top-down, authoritative, ideologically based narrative and committing to the employment of a wide range of subjective interpretations and perspectives, the museum promotes open dialogue and discussion, avoiding the assumption of sole guardianship of the memory of the revolution. This objective upholds the communal origins of the revolution itself, evoking the cooperation and micro-culture of democracy that made the revolution a success of civic self-organization in the absence of a clear leader. Establishment of a fundamental truth and democratically constructed history that holds minimal ideological bias and emerges from diverse community voices creates a solidified point from which reconciliation and justice efforts can be grown, creating both a site of conscience and a site of public trust.

Museums are inherently bound by the concept of public trust, a designation that must be earned and actively maintained through the prevention of conflicts of interest and corruption to ensure continued support.[179] Truth and public trust are critical to the advancement of transitional efforts and the culture of democracy, as more individuals are likely to participate in a system that is deemed trustworthy and valid. Following periods of injustice and mass violence, civil society typically demonstrates skepticism and distrust of government motives and initiatives, which may be suspected of presenting artificial progress in the form of rushed initiatives, thus elevating the importance of leadership stemming from civic society.[180] Such skepticism can be seen in the contestation of the post-revolution decommunization and attempts at legislative transitional justice

[178] Georgy Shabayev, "Who will build the Heavenly Hundred Memorial?" *Radio Svoboda*, 21 February 2019, https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/schemes/29782522.html.
[179] Latham and Simmons, *Foundations of Museum Studies,* 11.
[180] Brett, et al., "Memorialization and Democracy," 28.

reforms that must demonstrate their effectiveness in order to gain public trust. The Maidan Museum, as an organization that originated from the community and the revolution, encourages a multitude of voices in both its programming and development, distancing itself from the official side of commemoration to gain trust as a civic and popular based institution.

The Interim Maidan Museum Experience

The unique nature of the Maidan Museum and its operations stems from its ability to act as a site of conscience without the proposed museum-memorial complex having ever initiated construction. As of 2021, the museum organization continues to operate out of number of temporary spaces across Kyiv. Without the confines of a building the museum has experienced the ability to be flexible and adaptive, unconstrained by its collections and able to evolve according to the feedback of the community. It is flexible in both physical and theoretical formats, existing beyond the typical category of "museum" and serving as an active site of conscience and social advocate that actively responds to its surroundings. In this way, the Maidan Museum has demonstrated that sites of conscience can exist and thrive without the necessity of world-class architectural projects or expensive facilities.

The museum conducts a range of activities, utilizing its physical venues such as a multifunctional cube structure and information centre whilst also making its programming accessible online through its social media and digital presence. Located at 2 Maidan Nezalezhnosti in the renovated Trade Unions building—badly damaged by fire during the revolution for serving as the headquarters of the civilian protest—is the Information Centre of the Maidan Museum, a small but multifunctional space for exhibitions, guided excursions of the square, information about the organization itself, and public educational events such as lectures and meetings. The Information Centre is intended to remain at its home in the Trade Unions building following the

construction of the museum-memorial complex.[181] By remaining in this space, the Maidan Museum integrates itself into the environment of the square and reclaims the revolutionary headquarters that the police had destroyed in an attempt to crush the revolution. The Alley of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes is situated across the street from the Information Centre and is slated for development into a memorial walkway that will lead up the sloped Instytutska Street and transition into the proposed museum complex space, tracing a path along the outer perimeter of Maidan Nezalezhnosti and following the last route many of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes took on some of the most deadly days of the revolution.[182] The design for the memorial component of the complex was chosen through an architectural competition in February 2018, with the award for the best Heavenly Hundred memorial project awarded to a Dutch-Ukrainian architectural firm.[183] In describing the vision for the project, co-author Iryna Volynets explains "the main function of memorialization is to honor the memory [of the revolution,] but there is also a recreational [function,] it is the creation of a park alley in the centre of Kyiv."[184] The walkway will replace the existing grassroots memorials of portraits and tokens, integrating both architecture and nature to create a more durable memorial element that is integrated into the city centre.

The Information Centre of the Maidan Museum in the now renovated Trade Unions building offers guests a compelling level of interactivity in its display of exhibitions and in its utilization of a limited but unique physical space as a temporary exhibition in lieu of the completed museum-memorial complex. As the former headquarters of Maidan activists, the space itself creates an authentic educational experience by situating the guest in a historically significant

[181] "Information and Exhibition Centre of the Maidan Museum," Locations, National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/622.
[182] Shabayev, "Heavenly Hundred Memorial."
[183] Shabayev, "Heavenly Hundred Memorial."
[184] Shabayev, "Heavenly Hundred Memorial."

building, providing a deeper level of connection between the guest and the subject matter. The two-storey space hosts a more traditional exhibition format on its first floor, contrasted by the interactive space of the second floor. The traditional style of exhibit on the first floor consists of information signs lining the walls of the room that depict the history of events in chronological order, including precursors that led to the revolution, critical moments and key factors of the revolution, and the conclusion of the event. The exhibit features a select number of relevant artifacts in vitrines along with video screens that display video clips from the event and a slideshow of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes. Headsets attached to these screens allow visitors to listen to oral testimonies from participants of the revolution in Ukrainian. The wall opposite to the exhibitions features a large window that allows guests to look out over Maidan. In contrast to more immersive types of programming and presentation formats, these types of exhibits tend to have a lower level of interactivity and are more akin to the common object-oriented museums throughout history, as they provide a generous amount of information typically via text that requires visitors to stand and read for lengthy periods of time.

Figure 5: The first floor of the Information Centre. July 2019. Photo by author.

Innovative museums aligning with the ecomuseum and new museology theories challenge these face-value presentations by situating visitors in three-dimensional spaces that often

encourage interactive movement and creative thinking. Immersive exhibitions attempt to integrate visitors into the subject matter, creating engaging and memorable experiences that visitors are more likely to retain. The traditional setup of the first floor is contrasted by the second floor of the Information Centre, which hosts a large multipurpose room. Half of this exhibit space is home to a large floor map of downtown Kyiv that marks important locations pertaining to the revolution and indicates police- and protester-held territories, providing visitors with an interactive space that they can walk around on. Suspended above these highlighted locations on the map are descriptive signs explaining the significance of such sites, such as the Independence Monument, the Trade Unions Building, Hotel Ukraina, Hrushevsky Street, Bankova Street, and the Yolka (the unfinished large artificial Christmas tree decorated with posters). A large wall lining this map features a large mural of a revolutionary barricade, reminiscent of scenes from the French Revolution and other historic social movements. This space also hosts an interactive touchscreen display, allowing guests to read more information about various revolutionary initiatives, such as the Automaidan, Maidan Library, the Free University of Maidan, and more.

Figure 6: The second floor of the Information Centre featuring suspended signage and a mural of the revolutionary barricades. July 2019. Photo by author.

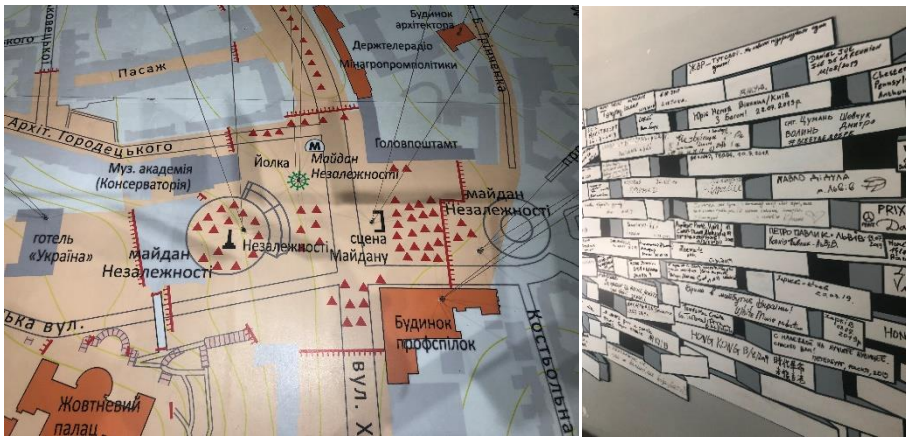

Figure 7: Close up image of the floor map on the second floor of the Information Centre displaying key locations of downtown Kyiv, including the Trades Union Building itself. July 2019. Photo by author.

Figure 8: Mural of wooden "blocks" with the names and hometowns written by museum guests. July 2019. Photo by author.

The latter half of the room features a large projection screen with bench seating, allowing visitors to view a short video of clips from the revolution. This space also serves as a venue for some of the museum's public events such as lectures and panel discussions. To the left of the projection screen is a wall decorated with a mural of blank rectangular blocks. Guests are invited to write their names and hometowns on these "blocks" as an interactive, visitor created display, mimicking the walls of wooden blocks and bricks that were constructed during the revolution. These blocks were marked with names and hometowns of volunteers during the event to symbolize the unity and diversity of the participants that came from all over Ukraine and beyond, while the "blocks" on the museum wall demonstrate the diversity of museum visitors who have come to learn about the revolution, creating a sense of an international community. The large windows that oppose this wall look out over Maidan Nezalezhnosti itself, situating guests in the very space they seek to learn about and incorporating the museum and the visitor experience into the physical memorial landscape. The Maidan Museum's Information Centre offers an experience that connects visitors to the event beyond education by hosting guests at ground zero of the revolution and

operating out of the former revolutionary headquarters, thoroughly incorporating the authentic landscape in which the event took place.

Figure 9: Museum visitors and an excursion guide viewing a short film on the projection screen on the second floor. August 2019. Photo by author.

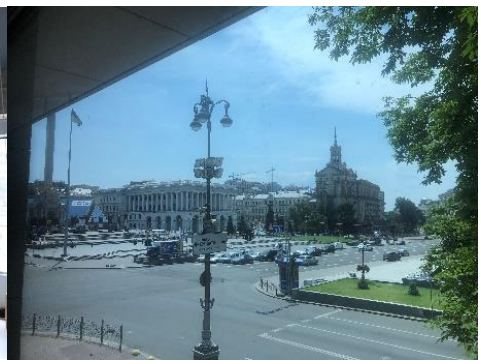

Figure 10: The view over Maidan Nezalezhnosti and Khreshchatyk Street from the second-floor window of the Information Centre. August 2019. Photo by author.

Upon exiting the Information Centre guests are presented with further information regarding the revolution at the outdoor exhibition that surrounds the Independence Column on Maidan Nezalezhnosti. The exhibition on the square itself is also hosted by the Maidan Museum and is comprised of several large metal signs displaying photographs and information regarding the revolution. The signage posted around the monument is displayed in both Ukrainian and English for both passers-by and museum visitors. The exhibition provides information regarding the social media aspect of the revolution, dubbed "The Facebook Revolution," descriptions of different aspects of the event such as civic initiatives, art, and key turning points of the event. Several signs also display information regarding the Maidan Museum itself, including its origins, collections, current projects, developments, the architectural design competition, and future aspirations, providing a degree of transparency to their operations as a civic organization. Similarly, smaller information signs can be found across the city at other significant revolutionary locations, such as along the Alley of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes or outside Saint Michael's Monastery, describing the role that these important locations played during the revolution. The

exhibition of these signs at significant locations across the city links the memorial landscape to the educational and memorialization goals of the Maidan Museum organization, continuing to create a three-dimensional and authentic experience for visitors not only to the museum, but to the city of Kyiv.

From November 2019 to April 2021 the M³ "cube" occupied the plot of land atop the Alley of Heavenly Hundred Heroes that has been slated for development into the permanent museum. Representing "Maidan, Memorial, and Museum," the cubical structure built from scaffolding was described by the museum organization as "the ultimate box" and a space that is "best suited for simply anything."[185] Since it was erected at the site in November 2019, it served as a dynamic venue for the museum's activities in lieu of its finalized home, playing host to public events such as lectures and panel discussions along with serving the role of a multidimensional memorial experience that was deeply connected to the memoryscape at ground zero of the revolutionary experience. The M³ cube was a major development in the Maidan Museum's commitment to responsible, modern commemoration as it emerged as a memorywork and site of conscience in both its concept and physical design, utilizing memorialization as an opportunity for education, public input, and social development. The very name of this structure, the "M³: Maidan, Memorial, Museum" revealed how this project worked to create a multidimensional environment beyond a traditional museum or memorial, even with limited resources. The cube analogy both in name and physical format lend to the dynamic nature of the revolution, creating a new physical and theoretical space in which commemoration and museology successfully combined to create a site of conscience used for conversation and education. The openness of the structure itself, with its skeletal frame, translucent walls, and the public accessibility of the space contrast with the closed-

[185] "M³: Maidan. Memorial. Museum," Locations, National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/1106.

off exclusivity of office buildings, museums, or other traditional closed-door institutions. The openness to public access demonstrates the reduction of barriers between the Maidan Museum organization and the public. The museum acknowledges the importance of public access to the museum grounds even without the permanent structure in place, emphasizing that the personal experiences and connections that take place at this site now will go on to shape perceptions and ideas regarding the future museum and its mission.[186] In early 2021, the M³ Cube was nominated by a committee of experts for the EU Mies van der Rohe Prize for Contemporary Architecture, a celebration of excellence in architecture and the development of new concepts and technologies. The team behind the cube's design has acknowledged this nomination as a sign of the importance of engineering temporary solutions in traditional architectural practices and the value of Ukrainian works in the professional European architectural community.[187] On 21 April 2021 the Maidan Museum announced the dismantling of the M³ Cube, acknowledging the success of the project.[188] With the decision and ability to occupy these spaces of significance, such as the Trades Union building, the Alley of Heavenly Hundred Heroes, the future site of the museum complex, and the square itself, the Maidan Museum organization incorporates its presence into the physical environment of the revolution, integrating Maidan Nezalezhnosti and the emotions, memories, and history it contains into an active site of conscience that continues and encourages dialogue and community involvement. The Maidan Museum has utilized the sites of conscience and ecomuseum parameters to integrate itself into a space that civic society has indicated as culturally important,

[186] National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, "M³: Maidan. Memorial. Museum."
[187] "The exhibition pavilion of the Maidan Museum has been nominated for the European Architectural Prize," News, National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, http://maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/1333.
[188] "M3: Maidan. Memorial. Museum. Project Results," News, National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, April 21, 2021, http://maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/1507.

demonstrating its adherence to the role of a responsible custodian of revolutionary memory on behalf of the people.

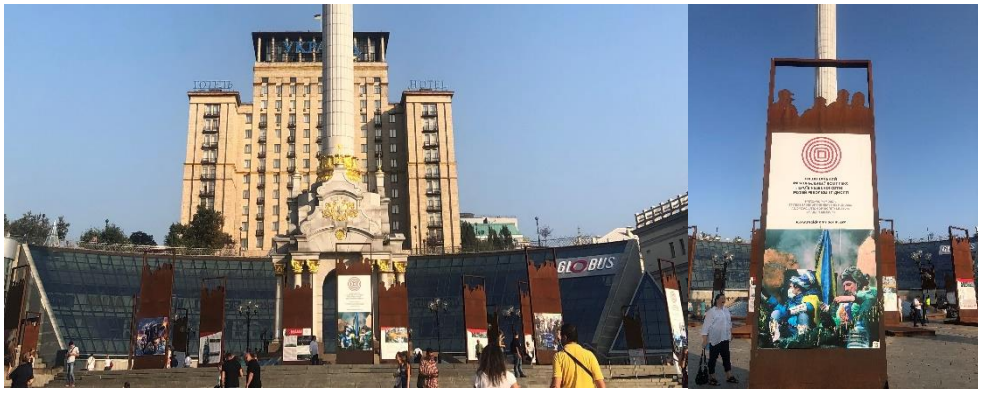

Figure 11: Information signs surrounding the Independence Column at Maidan Nezalezhnosti. August 2019. Photo by author.

Figure 12: Information signs surrounding the Independence Column at Maidan Nezalezhnosti. August 2019. Photo by author.

Initiatives of the Maidan Museum

The National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity has practically demonstrated its commitment to serving as site of conscience and active memorywork through its ongoing initiatives that have been developed in the spirit of the revolution itself, aimed at propelling Ukraine along the path toward democracy, freedom, and transitional justice. At the time of writing, the Maidan Museum lacks a cohesive home, still awaiting construction of the proposed museum-memorial complex that will find its home at the top of the Alley of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes. This multi-year delay has been the result of numerous financial setbacks, including budget cuts by the government that have inhibited not only the Maidan Museum, but numerous other cultural projects across Ukraine.[189] A legal deadlock over any new construction in the Alley has also hindered developments, as the space was long considered a crime scene relevant to the cases relating to the shooting of protesters. On 20 February 2021, the 7th anniversary of the revolution

[189] Roman Tymotsko, "Thousands of Ukrainians gather online to protest against cuts to culture budget," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, 3 April 2020, http://www.ukrweekly.com/uwwp/thousands-of-ukrainians-gather-online-to-protest-against-cuts-to-culture-budget/.

and Day of the Heavenly Hundred, President Volodymyr Zelensky announced that the construction of the museum would begin later in 2021, with Minister of Culture Oleksandr Tkachenko acknowledging the work the Maidan Museum organization has done to honor the revolution even without the museum-memorial complex thus far.[190] Following the dismantling of the M³ Cube in April 2021, the rights to the architectural plans for the museum segment of the complex were transferred to the Maidan Museum organization from the architectural firm Kleihues + Kleihues on 17 May, 2021. Although director Ihor Poshyvailo expects the development to take approximately 5 more years, the transfer of the rights is considered a significant step in initiating construction.[191]

With the multifunctional spaces the organization has established in lieu of the completed museum-memorial complex, the Maidan Museum organization has been able to host events and educational programming for the public, serving as a site of conscience even with limited resources. 2017 saw the first of approximately fifty different cultural and educational events hosted by the Maidan Museum with the number of events more than doubling in subsequent years.[192] The first half of 2020 alone saw events such as poetry readings, legal discussions, "evenings of memories," and panel discussions on topics such as heroization, the role of women, hybrid memory, and even the role of sports in Ukraine's struggle for freedom. The list of events also includes book talks, film screenings, rotating exhibitions, and memorial events, many of which are focused around the 20 February anniversary of the revolution, the Day of the Heavenly Hundred

[190] Interfax Ukraine, "Zelensky: Work on Museum of EuroMaidan Revolution to begin this year," *Kyiv Post,* 20 February, 2021, https://www.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/zelensky-work-on-museum-of-euromaidan-revolution-to-begin-this-year.html.
[191] "The most interesting direct speech: How they signed the transfer of rights of the project to the Maidan Museum," News, National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, May 18, 2021, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/1530.
[192] "Activity," National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/storinka/proekty.

Heroes.[193] 2019 saw the museum's inauguration of their first annual academic conference dedicated to the revolution, hosted from 12–13 December in Kyiv, featuring researchers from a variety of countries in a discussion regarding the modern history of Ukraine, national memory, and the ongoing formation of civil society.[194] In January 2021 the museum initiated a new ritual of honoring the birthdates of each of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes by installing the "Bell of Dignity" atop the Alley of Heavenly Hundred Heroes. On the birthday of a hero their portrait and a white flower are placed in front of the bell by museum staff members, with family, friends and the public invited to participate. This ritual was introduced by the Maidan Museum to continue to honor the Heavenly Hundred and to draw more visitors to the space year-round.[195] Through these initiatives the Maidan Museum demonstrates its role as an active educator and catalyst for discussion, prompting public involvement and open dialogue of the post-Maidan world and the path forward for not only the museum itself, but of Ukraine overall.

The museum also demonstrates its commitment to education and accessible memory through its publishing house, which has thus far published a collection of oral histories, the first volume of Heavenly Hundred biographies, a comic book, and exhibition guides. Many of these items are available to view for free through the museum's website and are also distributed free of charge to educational institutions.[196] The Maidan Museum also utilizes its social media outlets such as Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram to connect with the public, including live streaming

[193] "Activity of 2020," Activity, National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/1042.
[194] "Activity of 2019," Activity, National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/1017.
[195] "In January, the Maidan Museum will launch another practice honoring the Heavenly Hundred," News, National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, December 31, 2020, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/1316.
[196] "Maidan Museum Publishing House," Activity, National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/publications.

their events and the subsequent upload of the recorded lectures. The online availability of Maidan-related information, including the free distribution of their books, provides a high level of public accessibility to information and opportunities for education regarding the revolution and democracy in Ukraine in the absence of the museum-memorial space. The increased public access to information is a key facet in the development of democratic cultures.

The National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity has formed partnerships with numerous organizations both locally and abroad, including relationships with local museums, NGOs, universities, and international foundations such as the International Council of Museums (ICOM), the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, and the Smithsonian Institute.[197] The Ukraine-based Family of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes group is one of these partnerships, an organization founded by 54 family members of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes to share information about the heroes, protect the values of the revolution, and safeguard the interests of the victims' families.[198] The Maidan Museum has collaborated with this organization to launch the Heroes' Award Project initiative, which aims to support Ukrainian youth in areas of study and activism that members of the Heavenly Hundred had been passionate about.[199] As a non-governmental, non-profit initiative, the project emphasizes the importance of honoring the memory of the heroes beyond monuments and memorials, creating avenues for meaningful, long-lasting engagements in the service of their memory.[200] Awards have been introduced in the name of several members of the Heavenly Hundred, supporting a range of subjects in sciences, the arts, sports, and politics. Fundraising

[197] "Partners," About Us, National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/storinka/partnery.
[198] "History of Creation," Family of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes NGO, http://heavenly-hundred.org.ua/istoriia-stvorennia.
[199] "History," Honors of the Heroes of the Heavenly Hundred, Bigggg Idea, https://biggggidea.com/project/vidznaki-imeni-gerov-nebesno-sotni.
[200] "Honors of Heroes Project," Projects, Family of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes NGO, http://heavenly-hundred.org.ua/projects/vidznaky-heroiv.

efforts saw the creation of six new awards in 2018, including the Yuri Verbytsky award for students specializing in earth sciences, the Serhiy Kemsky award for support of young philosophers and political scientists studying the realm of social transformation, Maidan values, and the systematic fight against corruption, along with the Serhiy Nihoyan award for the creation of student theatre, film productions, and works dedicated to the struggle for freedom.[201] Among others, these Heroes' Award Project distinctions vary in scope, subject matter, and qualification criteria. This initiative is distinctly targeted at benefiting Ukrainian youth and society by fostering professional development and education, therefore enriching the civic society in a diversity of fields in the name of the revolution and its heroes. The Family of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes organization asserts that these awards are designed to evoke in the participants of the competition a desire to create and change not only themselves, but also Ukraine as a whole.[202] This social instrumentality of the Heavenly Hundred is mobilized by the Family of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes group and the Maidan Museum to encourage democratic culture through education and philanthropy, going beyond the scope of the traditional memorial-museum and emerging as a site of conscience to promote engagement with revolutionary values, human rights, and democracy.

Regarding its accumulation of collections, the Maidan Museum maintains an ethical, community-based approach to acquiring important revolutionary objects and information, including oral testimonies and artifacts. The museum collects its objects through donations, volunteers, and the consolidation of thematically appropriate exhibitions in collaboration with other museums and activists, such as the National Centre of Folk Culture (also commonly known as the Ivan Honchar Museum,) the National Museum of the History of Ukraine, and other popular

[201] "Honors of Heroes," Memorial, National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/381.
[202] National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, "Honors of Heroes."

museums across Kyiv.[203] The primary source of object collections is listed on the museum's website as donations from families of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes and Maidan participants. Donations are solicited by the museum via their website and social media platforms, encouraging those with historically significant items, along with "tangible and intangible" evidence, to donate to the museum to further the museum's mission of education regarding the revolution, past revolutions, the struggle for human rights, and the story of Ukrainian independence. Through adhering to a donation-based approach to collections acquisition the Maidan Museum involves the public in the growth of the museum and encourages community input in the development of the new educational centre and site of conscious. The absence of reimbursement for objects, information, and testimonies and maintaining a community-based approach diminishes the potential for unethical collecting and the misuse of museum funds, solidifies public trust and cooperation surrounding the museum's practices, and serves to be more financially feasible in the long term.

The Maidan Museum has thoroughly established itself as a site of conscience, even in the absence of its finalized home. The commitment to education demonstrated by their foundational mission and abundance of initiatives promotes civic engagement and democratic culture, a critical component of transitional justice. Sites such as the memorial-museum complex promote dialogue that catalyzes, strengthens, and supports better public policy, enhances vigilance toward human rights abuses, and establishes cultural norms that reject state violence.[204] Transitional justice and sites of conscience thus find themselves intertwined in that both are focused on preventing future atrocities by contending with past abuses.[205] Furthermore, active memorialization integrates with

[203] "Museum Collection," Maidan Museum, National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, http://maidanmuseum.org/uk/storinka/muzeyne-zibrannya.
[204] Bickford, "Memoryworks," 498.
[205] Bickford, "Memoryworks," 517.

transitional justice through a site's role in gathering evidence, building public support for reform and prosecutions, creating spaces for democratic engagement, and fostering the commitment to human rights. The ongoing activism and work conducted by the Maidan Museum serves not only as continued democratic progress, but also as a sustained rejection of the Soviet past and legacy. Sites of conscience have thus become central institutions of thriving and stable democratic societies, making the role of the National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity vital to Ukraine's path forward.[206] The programs that the museum has developed, such as their educational initiatives, public discussions, and the awards program are all critical for the construction of cultures of democracy and human rights. Brett et al. emphasize the importance of training future generations through partnerships with schools and through open, non-hierarchical discussions that encourage critical thinking about the past and future to foster civic participation.[207] They also assert that democratic (re-)construction creates these spaces for discussion, develops symbols that support democratic values—such as the Heavenly Hundred Heroes—foster national self-respect, and teach democratic citizenship, all areas in which the museum has been participating.[208] The Maidan Museum has done its part in fostering the cultural aspect of transitional justice, with their role continuing to grow in the future with continued support, reform, and the construction of a world class site of conscience and memorywork in the form of the completed museum-memorial complex. Memorialization has been playing a leading role in upholding the revolution's legacy and democratic goals, indicating that this memory and the new national heroes are here to stay, keeping a watchful eye over the city square that played host to their efforts to redirect the future trajectory of the country.

[206] Brett et al., "Memorialization and Democracy," 29.
[207] Brett et al., "Memorialization and Democracy," 15.
[208] Brett et al., "Memorialization and Democracy," 28.

Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated how memorialization of the Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity, through the construction of a new heroic mythology and inclusive identity, democratic expression through grassroots memorialization, and the creation of an active site of conscience, has contributed to the strengthening of democratic culture and encouraged ongoing transitional justice reform, utilizing memory to continue the mission of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes and to fulfil the legacy of the revolution. The micro-culture of democracy that flourished through public initiative to make the revolution a success has lived on beyond the event to become a constructive force for building Ukraine's democratic future as it contends with the post-colonial authoritarian legacy that has caused numerous challenges of corruption and political violence since independence in 1991.

The Heavenly Hundred Heroes have emerged as new, inclusive symbols that have become a locus for civic identity formation, with Ukraine's modern identity construction following the parameters of civic nationalism loyal to the state rather than language or ethnicity. This democratic identity and mythology generated by this diverse new group, accompanied by the reclamation of traditional Ukrainian symbolism has made these heroes refreshing yet familiar figures in Ukraine's pantheon of heroes in their rejection of old binaries and Soviet aesthetics. As key features of almost all revolutionary commemorations, the memory of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes and their mythology plays a vital role in the formation of the democratic culture inspired by their fight and legacy.

The memorials dedicated to the revolution and the Heavenly Hundred serve as evidence of democratic culture and civic, inclusive identities in Ukraine. These sites of discourse and expression serve as indexes of popular opinions and grievances, indicating the active cultural memory and ritual—what a society upholds as special and important to them in a basic act of

democratic expression. Grassroots initiatives demonstrate civil society's ongoing upkeep of revolutionary memory and values through projects such as the Square of the Heavenly Hundred and the portrait display at the Alley of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes. The adoption of the permanent museum-memorial complex will confirm and cement these memorialization ideals of the revolution.

Sites of conscience such as the National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity can be found throughout the world, with hundreds of organizations registered with the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, an organization dedicated to supporting these institutions through grants, networking, training, transitional justice mechanisms, and advocacy.[209] The Maidan Museum is one of only two sites in Ukraine registered with the coalition, the other being the Centre for Cultural Management in Lviv.[210] Other memorial sites and museums in Ukraine, such as the Battle for Kyiv 1943 National Museum-Preserve on the outskirts of Kyiv, maintain a standard approach to museology as institutions focused on history and education. This standard style of museum, consisting of large rooms filled with artifacts behind glass and explanatory signs has dedicated itself to Ukrainian military history, including an exhibition regarding the ongoing war in the east, honoring soldiers and war heroes, providing support for veterans and their families, donating to charities, and hosting memorial events dedicated to various battles and holidays.[211] The National Museum of the History of Ukraine in central Kyiv hosts similarly standard exhibitions, narrating a linear tale of the history of the present day Ukrainian territories since the Scythian times and

[209] "About Us," Who We Are, International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, https://www.sitesofconscience.org/en/who-we-are/about-us/.
[210] "Member List," Members, International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, https://www.sitesofconscience.org/en/members/members-list/.
[211] Ivan Vikovan, "Introductory Words," Battle for Kyiv 1943 National Museum-Preserve, http://battle-kyiv.org.ua/en/vstupne-slovo/.

placing emphasis on its vast collection of artifacts and precious materials.[212] The future-oriented humanitarian goals, multifaceted visitor experiences, integration into the memorial landscape, and clear missions dedicated to ongoing social activism are what separate the modern ecomuseum and sites of conscience movement apart from authoritative museums and memorials.

Similarities can be drawn between the National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity in Kyiv and other sites of conscience, such as the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre in Sault Ste. Marie, Canada, to demonstrate the innovative nature of these sites and the impacts they have on their respective countries. As one of only five organizations in Canada registered with the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (in comparison to the neighbouring United States' 145 partnered organizations or museums,) the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre is a museum-memorial complex dedicated to telling the history of the residential school system in Canada—a system of forced education targeted at the assimilation of Indigenous peoples widely known for its prevalence of abuse and racism—and the stories of its survivors. The Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall project is the first major and permanent exhibit in Canada to be developed primarily by residential school survivors and hosted in a former residential school building, hosting visitors in an authentic space similar to the current (and future) Maidan Museum facilities.[213] The mission of the exhibition is to tell the history of the Shingwauk School and all residential schools within the context of colonialism, truth telling, and reconciliation in Canada while serving as an example of the quest for the future of Indigenous driven decolonized history that embraces community input and authority.[214] The existing gallery is an artifact-oriented storytelling space that narrates the

[212] "History of the Museum," National Museum of the History of Ukraine, https://nmiu.org/pro-muzei/istoriia-muzeiu.
[213] "Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall," Home Page, Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, http://reclaimingshingwaukhall.ca/.
[214] Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, "Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall."

experiences of survivors through objects, materiality, and the physical environment of the school to create an interactive experience.[215] The expansion of the site, slated to open in 2021, will allow the museum to utilize non-linear narratives to "examine stories at crossroads and points of convergence through layer-making and juxtaposition" and will include a new memorial based on Indigenous traditions and history. [216] The museum builds upon its current mission by exploring the intersection of the arts in healing, and expects to include participatory workshops that will generate visitor-created artwork to be included in exhibitions, allowing patrons to contribute directly to the museum experience. The creation of artwork by visitors mirrors the "block" display of the Information Centre of the Maidan Museum, allowing visitors to literally leave their mark on the sites they visit (in a non-destructive way) and forging deeper personal experiences. This mission also explores themes of imperialism, social and political upheaval, cultural revitalization, the importance of identity, and investigates ongoing barriers to further education and progress.[217] The International Coalition of Sites of Conscience describes the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre as a "grassroots community heritage organization dedicated to making the stories of residential schools and survivors more broad and accessible" with its outreach programming a "direct manifestation of the desire to share residential school history from the survivor's perspective in an effort to create opportunities for all visitors to engage in healing."[218]

The Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre is a clear example of a museum having an explicit social mission oriented toward the future but also engaging in memorialization, truth

[215] "Current Galleries," Projects, Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, http://reclaimingshingwaukhall.ca/project/current-gallery/.
[216] "Healing and Reconciliation Through Education," Future Galleries, Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, http://reclaimingshingwaukhall.ca/project/design-plan/.
[217] Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, "Healing and Reconciliation."
[218] "Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre," Membership, International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, https://www.sitesofconscience.org/en/membership/shingwauk-residential-schools/.

telling, and community healing. Like the National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, it has created a participatory experience at the ground zero of a historic and tragic location that involves the visitor and encourages critical engagement with the subject of the residential school system in Canada, which continues to deeply affect Indigenous communities across the country. The Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre is committed to improving education, working with residential school survivors, raising the voices of those affected, and creating opportunities for healing and ongoing dialogue about the ongoing impact of residential schools on individuals, communities, and Canadian society. Like the National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, the Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre has evolved from a grassroots desire for memory and education into a permanent site of multidimensional education that serves its community, facilitates social change, and serves as a place of memory and healing. As countries such as Canada and Ukraine begin to reckon with their experiences of colonialism in different ways, sites of conscience that permit open dialogue, multifaceted learning, and critical engagement regarding contentious histories and social issues will only further grow in importance.

References

Assmann, Aleida. “Memory, Individual and Collective,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis,* eds. Robert E. Goodin and Charles Tilly (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1-15.

Assmann, Jan. “Rituals of Memory,” in *Grief and its Transcendence: Memory, Identity, Creativity,* eds. Adele Tutter and Leon Wurmser (New York: Routledge, 2016), 15-29.

Bachmann, Klaus, and Igor Lyubashenko. “The Puzzle of Transitional Justice in Ukraine,” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 11, (2017): 297-314.

Baklanov, Igor S., Olga A. Baklanova, Alexey M. Erokhin, Natalia N. Ponarina, Goarik A. Akopyan. “Myth as a Means of Ordering and Organizing Social Reality,” *Journal of History Culture and Art Research* 7, no. 2 (June 2018): 41-47.

Balkin, Jack M. “Digital Speech and Democratic Culture: A Theory of Freedom of Expression for the Information Society,” *New York University Law Review* 79 no.1 (April 2004): 1-55.

BBC Ukraine. “A monument to the Heroes of the Heavenly Hundred is being dismantled in Kyiv,” November 7, 2018, https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/features-46125888?ocid=socialflow_facebook.

BBC Ukraine. “The suspect says he smashed the Heavenly Hundred monument on purpose,” October 5, 2017, https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/news-41509966.

Benton, Tim, and Clementine Cecil, “Heritage and Public Memory,” in *Understanding Heritage and Memory,* ed. Tim Benton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 7-43.

Benton, Tim, and Penelope Curtis, “The Heritage of Public Commemoration,” in *Understanding Heritage and Memory,* ed. Tim Benton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 44-87.

Bezborodova, Nataliya. “Nebesna Sotnia, Formation of a New Narrative from Protest Lore to Institutionalized Commemorative Practice,” *Ethnologies* 40, no. 1 (2018): 101-138.

Bickford, Louis. “Memoryworks/Memory Works,” in *Transitional Justice, Culture, and Society: Beyond Outreach,* ed. Clara Ramirez-Barat (New York: Social Science Research Council, 2014), 491-527.

Brett, Sebastian, Louis Bickford, Liz Ševčenko, and Marcela Rios. “Memorialization and Democracy: State Policy and Civic Action”, International Center for Transitional Justice, 1 June 2007, https://www.ictj.org/publication/memorialization-and-democracy-state-policy-and-civic-action, 1-36.

Diuk, Nadia. “Ukraine’s Self Organizing Revolution,” *World Affairs* 176, no.6 (April 2014): 9-16.

Family of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes NGO. “History of Creation,” http://heavenly-hundred.org.ua/istoriia-stvorennia.

Family of the Heavenly Hundred Heroes NGO. “Honors of Heroes Project,” Projects, http://heavenly-hundred.org.ua/projects/vidznaky-heroiv.

Fordahl, Clayton. “Sovereignty and Martyrdom: A Sociological Sketch,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 31 (2018): 297-313.

Frisk, Kristian. “What Makes a Hero? Theorising the Social Structuring of Heroism,” *Sociology* 53, no.1 (2018): 87-103.

Fund for Democratic Culture. “Democratic Culture,” http://fundfordemocraticculture.org/democratic-culture.

Gerasimov, Ilya. “Ukraine 2014: The First Postcolonial Revolution. Introduction to the Forum,” *Ab Imperio* 3, (2014): 22-44.

Gopnik, Adam. “The Mindful Museum,” *The Walrus,* June 12, 2007, https://thewalrus.ca/the-mindful-museum/.

Halbwachs, Maurice. *The Collective Memory* trans. F.I. and V.Y. Ditter, (New York: Harper and Row, 1980). See Julie Buckler and Emily D. Johnson, “Introduction,” in Julie A. Buckler and Emily D. Johnson. *Rites of place: public commemoration in Russia and Eastern Europe* (Evanston, Ill., 2013), 3-12.

Harrison, Rodney. “Multicultural and Minority Heritage,” in *Understanding Heritage and Memory*, ed. Tim Benton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 164-201.

Honors of the Heroes of the Heavenly Hundred. “History,” Bigggg Idea, https://biggggidea.com/project/vidznaki-imeni-gerov-nebesno-sotni.

Interfax-Ukraine. “February 20 to be commemorated as Heavenly Hundred Heroes Day–decree,” February 12, 2015, https://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/250245.html.

Interfax Ukraine. “Zelensky: Work on Museum of EuroMaidan Revolution to begin this year,” *Kyiv Post,* 20 February, 2021, https://www.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/zelensky-work-on-museum-of-euromaidan-revolution-to-begin-this-year.html.

International Coalition of Sites of Conscience. “About Us,” Who We Are, https://www.sitesofconscience.org/en/who-we-are/about-us/.

International Coalition of Sites of Conscience. “FAQs,” Who We Are, https://www.sitesofconscience.org/en/who-we-are/faqs.

International Coalition of Sites of Conscience. “Member List,” Members, https://www.sitesofconscience.org/en/members/members-list/.

International Coalition of Sites of Conscience. “Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre,” Membership, https://www.sitesofconscience.org/en/membership/shingwauk-residential-schools/.

Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group. “Thousands Bid Farewell to Yury Verbytsky, Murdered Euromaidan Protester,” 25 January 2014, http://khpg.org/en/index.php?id=1390602210.

King, Harrison. “Remembering Soviet Repression in Moscow,” *The Moscow Times,* October 28, 2016, https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2016/10/28/remembering-soviet-repression-in-moscow-a55932.

Klymenko, Lina. “Choosing Mazepa Over Lenin: The Transformation of Monuments and Political Order in Post-Maidan Ukraine,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 5 (2020): 815-836.

Korzhenko, Svitlana. “Nina Zhyzneuska remembers her son Mikhail and his death on the Maidan,” trans. Christine Chraibi, *Euromaidan Press,* October 24, 2015, http://euromaidanpress.com/2015/10/24/nina-zhyzneuska-remembers-her-son-mikhail-and-his-death-on-the-maidan.

Koshiw, Isobel. “Kyiv city residents fight to protect Heavenly Hundred Square,” *Kyiv Post,* November 30, 2015, https://www.kyivpost.com/article/content/ukraine-politics/kyiv-city-residents-fight-to-protect-heavenly-hundred-square-403184.html.

Kovalenko, Oksana. “The author of the poem-song "Mom, don't cry, I'll be back in the spring ..." is waiting for a kidney transplant in Portugal, but from there she continues to fight for Ukraine,” *Volyn*, February 20, 2020, https://www.volyn.com.ua/news/146591-avtorka-virsha-pisni-mamo-ne-plach-ia-povernus-vesnoiu-chekaie-v-portuhalii-na-peresadku-nyrky-ale-i-zvidty-prodovzhuie-voiuvaty-za-ukrainu

Kozak, Nazar. “Art Embedded into Protest: Staging the Ukrainian Maidan,” *Art Journal* 76, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 8-27.

Krasynska, Svitlana, and Eric Martin. “The Formality of Informal Civil Society: Ukraine’s EuroMaidan,” *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 28 (2017): 420-449.

Kreps, Christina. “Curatorship as Social Practice.” *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 46, no.3 (January 2010): 311-323.

Kuczynska-Zonik, Aleksandra, and Janusz Kowalczyk. “Nation Building in Post Maidan Ukraine,” *The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs* 25, no.3 (2016): 91-105.

Kulyk, Volodymyr. “Language and Identity in Ukraine after Euromaidan,” *Thesis Eleven* 136, no.1 (2016): 90-106.

Kulyk, Volodymyr. “Ukrainian Nationalism Since the Outbreak of Euromaidan,” *Ab Imperio* 3 (2014): 94-122.

Kyiv Post and Interfax-Ukraine. “Supreme Court refuses to review court decisions on Heavenly Hundred Square in Kyiv,” May 16, 2018, https://www.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/supreme-court-refuses-review-court-decisions-heavenly-hundred-square-kyiv.html.

Latham, Kiersten F., and John E. Simmons. “Contemporary Museums Around the World” in *Foundations of Museum Studies: Evolving Systems of Knowledge* (Santa Barbara: Libraries Unlimited, 2014), 131-139.

Lincoln, Bruce. *Discourse and the Construction of Society,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 1-304.

Liubarets, Andriy. “The Politics of Memory in Ukraine in 2014: Removal of the Soviet Cultural Legacy and Euromaidan Commemorations,” *Kyiv-Mohyla Humanities Journal* 3 (2016): 197-214.

Lyubashenko, Igor. *Transitional Justice in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine: Swimming Upstream*, Studies in Political Transition Vol. 7, (Peter Lang: Frankfurt, 2017), 7-170.

Margry, Peter Jan, and Cristina Sanchez-Carretero. “Rethinking Memorialization: The Concept of Grassroots Memorials,” in *Grassroots Memorials: The Politics of Memorializing Traumatic Death*, ed. Peter Jan Margry and Cristina Sanchez-Carretero (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 1-48.

Marples, David. “Introduction,” in *Ukraine’s Euromaidan: Analyses of a Civil Revolution*, ed. David Marples and Frederick Mills (Stuttgart: Ibidem Press, 2015), ProQuest Ebook Central, 9-26.

Miller, Christopher J. “Bloodlust,” *Kyiv Post*, 20 February 2016, https://www.kyivpost.com/article/content/ukraine-politics/death-fire-smoke-and-soot-337264.html.

Mirror Weekly. “Part of Instytutska Street is now Alley of Heaven’s Hundred Heroes,” November 20, 2014, http://mw.ua/UKRAINE/part-of-instytutska-street-is-now-alley-of-heaven-s-hundred-heroes-494_.html.

National Museum of the History of Ukraine. “History of the Museum,” https://nmiu.org/pro-muzei/istoriia-muzeiu.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “About Maidan,” http://www.maidanmuseum.org/en/node/319.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “Activity,” http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/storinka/proekty.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “Activities of 2019,” Activity, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/1017.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “Activities of 2020,” Events, http://maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/1042.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “Beginnings,” http://maidanmuseum.org/uk/storinka/vytoky.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “The exhibition pavilion of the Maidan Museum has been nominated for the European Architectural Prize,” News, http://maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/1333.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “Honors of Heroes,” Memorial, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/381.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “Information and Exhibition Centre of the Maidan Museum,” Locations, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/622.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “In January, the Maidan Museum will launch another practice honoring the Heavenly Hundred,” News, December 31, 2020, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/1316.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “M³: Maidan. Memorial. Museum,” Locations, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/1106.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “M3: Maidan. Memorial. Museum. Project Results,” News, April 21, 2021, http://maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/1507.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “Maidan Dictionary,” About Maidan, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/en/node/536.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “Maidan Initiatives,” About Maidan, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/en/node/1096.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “Maidan Museum Publishing House,” Activity, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/publications.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “Mission,” http://maidanmuseum.org/en/node/352.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “The most interesting direct speech: How they signed the transfer of rights of the project to the Maidan Museum,” News, May 18, 2021, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/node/1530.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity, “Museum Collection,” Maidan Museum, http://maidanmuseum.org/uk/storinka/muzeyne-zibrannya.

National Museum of the Revolution of Dignity. “Partners,” About Us, http://www.maidanmuseum.org/uk/storinka/partnery.

Nuzov, Ilya. “The Dynamics of Collective Memory in the Ukraine Crisis: A Transitional Justice Perspective,” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 11 (2017): 132-153.

Petrov, Volodymyr. “Ukrainians commemorate 6th anniversary of EuroMaidan murders,” *Kyiv Post*, February 21, 2020, https://www.kyivpost.com/multimedia/photo/ukrainians-commemorate-6th-anniversary-of-euromaidan-murders-photos.

Plokhy, Serhii. *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 3-395.

Protas, Allison. “Candle,” *Dictionary of Symbolism*, University of Michigan, http://umich.edu/~umfandsf/symbolismproject/symbolism.html/C/candle.html#:~:text=Candle,represent%20Christ%20as%20the%20light.

Rewakowicz, Maria G. *Ukraine’s Quest for Identity: Embracing Cultural Hybridity in Literary Imagination, 1991-2011* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018), 1-274.

Romanyshyn, Yuliana. ”Heavenly Hundred public garden exhibits mural by Portuguese artist Vhils,” *Kyiv Post*, July 16, 2015, https://www.kyivpost.com/article/guide/about-kyiv/heavenly-hundred-public-garden-exhibits-mural-by-portuguese-artist-vhils-393603.html.

Rosemberg, Claire, and Olga Shylenko, “Museum or memory lane? Kiev mulls memorial to Maidan victims,” Yahoo! News, 17 April 2015, https://news.yahoo.com/museum-memory-lane-kiev-mulls-memorial-maidan-victims-191145241.html.

Roth, Andrew. “Ukraine's Ex-President Viktor Yanukovych Found Guilty of Treason,“ *The Guardian*, 25 January 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jan/25/ukraine-ex-president-viktor-yanukovych-found-guilty-of-treason.

Shabayev, Georgy. “Who will build the Heavenly Hundred Memorial?” *Radio Svoboda*, 21 February 2019, https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/schemes/29782522.html.

Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre. “Current Galleries,” Projects, http://reclaimingshingwaukhall.ca/project/current-gallery/.

Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre. “Healing and Reconciliation Through Education,” Future Galleries, http://reclaimingshingwaukhall.ca/project/design-plan/.

Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre. “Reclaiming Shingwauk Hall,” Home Page, http://reclaimingshingwaukhall.ca/.

Törnquist-Plewa, Barbara, and Yuliya Yurchuk, “Memory Politics in Contemporary Ukraine: Reflections from the Postcolonial Perspective,” *Memory Studies* (2017): 1-22.

Tymotsko, Roman. “Thousands of Ukrainians gather online to protest against cuts to culture budget,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, 3 April 2020, http://www.ukrweekly.com/uwwp/thousands-of-ukrainians-gather-online-to-protest-against-cuts-to-culture-budget/.

Ukrainian Pravda. “Rada created the Order of the Heroes of the Heavenly Hundred,” July 1, 2014, https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2014/07/1/7030598/.

Ukrinform. “Ukraine marks Day of Heroes of Heavenly Hundred,” February 20, 2019, https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-society/2644192-ukraine-marks-day-of-heroes-of-heavenly-hundred.html.

UNIAN. “Kyiv's Heavenly Hundred Heroes square returned to local community,” August 3, 2017, https://www.unian.info/kyiv/2063276-kyivs-heavenly-hundred-heroes-square-returned-to-local-community.html.

UNIAN. “Mercedes crashes into monument to Heavenly Hundred hero downtown Kyiv,” October 10, 2016, https://www.unian.info/kyiv/1563556-mercedes-crashes-into-monument-to-heavenly-hundred-hero-downtown-kyiv-photo.html.

Vikovan, Ivan. “Introductory Words,” Battle for Kyiv 1943 National Museum-Preserve, http://battle-kyiv.org.ua/en/vstupne-slovo/.

Wanner, Catherine. “Commemoration and the New Frontiers of War in Ukraine,” *Slavic Review* 78, no. 2(2019): 328-335.

Weil, Stephen E. “The Proper Business of the Museum: Ideas or Things?” *MUSE* (Spring 1989): 28-38.

Yekelchyk, Serhy. *The Conflict in Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 1-186.

Yekelchyk, Serhy. “The Heavenly Hundred: Fallen Heroes of the Euromaidan in Post-Revolutionary Ukraine,” Paper presented at the international conference on “The Political Cult of the Dead in Ukraine: Traditions and Dimensions from Soviet Times to Today,” Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (Munich, 2015).

Yekelchyk, Serhy. “National Heroes for a New Ukraine: Merging the Vocabularies of the Diaspora, Revolution, and Mass Culture,” *Ab Imperio* 3 (2015): 97-123.