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DOCTORAL THESIS

**SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATIONS OF PROTEST LIFE-WORLD IN MEDIA:  
COMPARATIVE CROSS-NATIONAL ANALYSIS OF EUROMAIDAN CASE**

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## ABSTRACT

The present work presents the model of symbol analysis in media texts. The critical case of the Ukrainian protest movement Euromaidan is used to build up such a model and to link it with the phenomenological meanings. It relies on empirical data from the coverage by the tabloid and quality media of three countries: Ukraine, the country where the protest took place; Poland, its neighboring, geographically, culturally close country; and Germany, more geographically and historically distant country from Ukraine. Three different national perspectives are compared. The proposed model of analysis of every particular symbol includes the following stages: the identification of objects, signifier, subject, conception, concept in a symbol; interpretation of its denotation, connotation, and signification; identification of protest life-world structures in symbol's meanings; analysis of spatiality, temporality, numerality, and power relations in some symbols that display such qualities, and interpretations of dominant complex symbolic representations on the basis of the coded symbols. The combination of symbol theory, post-structuralism, and phenomenology lays the theoretical foundation for the analysis of symbolic meanings across cultures. The focus is shifted from the coverage of events towards the coverage of experience of events. The latter is structured and described in terms of the life-world theory by Alfred Schutz. The research relies on the broad understanding of symbols proposed by the German philosopher Ernst Cassirer and developed by his followers, interpreters and authors of post-structural and phenomenological symbol theories (Langer, 1954; Goodman, 1988; Bourdieu, 1991; Janz, 2001; Dreher, 2003). This dissertation also sets the task of comparing symbols between tabloid and quality press to test whether there are any visible differences between them in terms of symbol selection and in terms of their qualities and relations. One of the findings of this research is the cross-national symbol that unites all three countries. This is the symbol-concept "barricade". It is the most visible symbol in the Polish and German media coverage of the Euromaidan life-world and the third most visible symbol in the Ukrainian media. The biggest number of symbols in all three countries under study is grouped around the symbolic representation "struggle against dictatorship".

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## **PREFACE**

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Mass Communications at the National University of "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy". The research described herein was conducted under the supervision of Dr. Dariya Orlova at the Mohyla School of Journalism, between September 2011 and September 2016.

This work is to the best of knowledge original, except acknowledgements and references are made to the previous works. Neither this, nor other similar dissertation has been or is being submitted for any other degree, diploma or other qualification at any university.

## **Chapter I**

### **Introduction**

#### **Relevance of the Proposed Topic**

The given media study presents an attempt to work out the operationable model of symbol analysis in media texts. It is a study of Maidan symbolic representations and a newly developed framework for the study of symbols in media that relies on the reconsidered and modernized version of philosophy of symbolic forms (Cassirer, 1923; 1925; 1929), on post-structuralism (Bourdieu, 1991), and phenomenology (Schutz & Luckmann, 1973). In order to avoid methodological eclecticism I try to create the original model of analysis that takes into account the critique of the Cassirer's approach.

Maidan is considered to be a critical case, worthy of analysis, because these three-month protests of 2013-2014 at the central square of Ukraine displayed characteristics that are the most attractive for media in such events and processes: violence, deviance, drama, and spectacle (DeLuca & Peeples, 2002, p. 860). Maidan, or, as it was defined initially Euromaidan, is a grassroots pro-European movement that rose up in protest against the Ukrainian ex-president Viktor Yanukovych's attempt to revoke the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU in November 2013. In fact, Maidan has accumulated a multitude of civil initiatives, campaigns, protest actions, national gatherings, political opposition's activities, dramaturgical events, and violent clashes. It had gone through a number of different stages of development from the few thousand peaceful student protest to the violent and radical struggle with riot police that culminated in the mass killings of protestors in clashes and by police snipers. The mass killings took place in Mariynsky Park, in the streets surrounding it, and at Maidan on February 18-20, 2014. Maidan became the social space of contestation and power delegitimation by protesters. It is the case when power structures are challenged by alternative social forces in terms of the theory of the post-structuralism (Bourdieu, 1991). They were

challenged both physically and symbolically. In other words, power challengers tried to deprive power of its symbolic capital and monopoly of symbolic violence, namely, to deprive it of its authority to create and disseminate symbols as meanings that explain the world to people.

The major research question which is supposed to be answered within the above-mentioned theoretical framework is formulated as follows: what symbolic representations of the protest life-world could be found in the tabloid and quality press coverage of Maidan in the period between November, 21, 2013 and February, 27, 2014 across the Ukrainian, Polish, and German media?

Symbols are chosen as the interpretative devices for the meanings which media identified and conveyed in their coverage of Maidan. This is one of the most long-standing concepts in the history of cultural studies that is traditionally used in order to investigate how people cognize the world and assign meanings to its objects and their own memories, feelings, notions. By studying symbols in media I attempt to delve into the meanings that media convey in their portrayals of events and processes which have the characteristics of violence, drama, deviance. These events, presumably, contain a lot of symbols. Their participants try to attract attention to their aims and motives, they try to legitimize themselves and delegitimize power, they use material items that underline their vulnerability and their decency in contrast to rotten and corrupt power. This creates the unique "universe of symbols". There is the special density of symbols in such events as Maidan. This is one of the primary reasons why I study exactly this case.

This study relies on the broad understanding of symbols. This helps to uncover the symbolic meanings of many situations and processes described by journalists. The road concept of symbol diverges from its hermeneutical concept. The fundamental difference between Ricoeur's hermeneutical understanding of symbol and its understanding by the authors like Susanne Langer (1954) who continued the traditions of philosophy of symbolic forms is the scope of the symbol's



concept. While for Ricoeur (1995) a symbol is a meaning that could be a symbol of other meaning, for Langer (1954), Bourdieu (1991) a symbol is a carrier of relations that is evolving and changing in time and space. It is a much broader and more inclusive concept of symbol. Symbol becomes here a process rather than some fixed and stable meaning. As a result, on the basis of this broader concept it is possible to develop the expanded typology of symbols that breaks the common sense definition of symbol as a tangible element in the external world. Certain situations, processes, concepts become symbols either if they bear three types of meanings: denotation, connotation, and signification. I try to exemplify and explain this within the context of Maidan.

### **Problem and Main Tasks of the Research**

The epistemological and methodological problem of this research is how to use interpretative method for symbol analysis meeting the criteria of scientific relevance, validity, and inter-subjective verifiability. The overall task of the given research is to demonstrate how it is possible to study symbols in media texts in relation to their broad understanding. For this purpose the precise model of analysis is required that could help to investigate, step by step, how symbol is identified in media, how it is typified, interpreted, measured with the means of quantitative analysis, namely, content analysis. This model has to combine qualitative and quantitative methods.

The other task of this dissertation is an attempt to explore whether symbols could bridge objects, contexts, events, persons of the external world with the phenomena of consciousness. In other words, this study aims to investigate whether I could conceptualize symbols in media as meanings that mirror the content of the human consciousness rather than the things of external world. Symbol as such is less interesting than symbols as a mirror of the internal life of consciousness. With regard to this, the research is focused on symbolic representations of the life-world rather than the symbolic representation of events. The concept of life-world was introduced by Husserl (2011) and developed by Schutz (1973). This is the lived experience of a person, his

subjective experience with own structures and meanings. I study the symbols of Maidan in their relation to the lived experiences of people and society. The meanings of these experiences are defined in symbols.

One more task of this dissertation is to study how big sets of symbols are combined into complex symbolic representations. The method of interpretation is supplemented with the method of data mining which helps to identify the general trends in the overall amount of the coded and interpreted symbols. Symbolic representations in this research are defined as equivalents of narratives of major themes in descriptions of participants' experience in the phenomenological analysis.

Therefore, the critical case of Maidan is chosen in order to gather empirical data which could allow to practically show where and how symbols emerge and function in contemporary media texts. For this purpose online editions of print media of three countries - Ukraine, Poland, and Germany - are selected. For each country under study the leading tabloid and the leading quality weekly are included in media sample. Altogether, the media sample comprises six media outlets from three countries. The choice of countries is predetermined by two major reasons. Firstly, the idea of this dissertation is to compare symbols in culture, namely, in media across different national contexts. This helps to investigate what universalities and idealities are spread across different cultural contexts, if there are any of them. By universalities the universal laws of being and cognition are meant. Idealities are defined as pure ideas and concepts on which meanings of symbols are based. The very idea of symbol is its reference to universal laws and to ideal concepts. Secondly, it is epistemologically interesting to look at the media coverage of the same protest in the country where it takes place, in the neighboring country to those where events unfolded (Poland), and in the country that is more distant and less historically interlinked with the country where the events took place (Germany).

The symbolism of grassroots movements, long-standing protests which orchestrate symbolic actions to attract attention of media is the other big topic. The theories of social performance and symbolic action are included in the theoretical overview of this dissertation. The expanded typology of symbols used in this research includes symbolic action as a separate type of symbols in media.

The important task of this dissertation is also to approach the question whether media could be conceptualized as a full-fledged symbolic form along with myth, religion, language, science, law, history, and art, or it is rather a mixture of features of other symbolic forms, mostly myth, language, and science. This is based on the theoretical framework of the Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms (1923; 1925; 1929). This author distinguishes the above-mentioned full-fledged symbolic forms. Each of them has its own unique understanding and symbolic representations of space, time, numbering, causality. To answer the question whether media constitute own symbolic form, the qualities of spatiality, temporality, numerality, and power relations of the coded symbols are analyzed. The power relations is added as the fourth symbolic quality to space, time, numbering, as they are defined by Ernst Cassirer. It is based on the post-structural analysis of symbolic representations that reveals the importance of power along with space, time, numbers for the understanding of any meanings in culture (Bourdieu, 1991). Therefore, it is studied how media represented the space, time, numbering, and power structures of Maidan.

This dissertation also sets the task of comparing symbols between tabloid and quality press to test whether there are any visible differences in terms of symbol selection and in terms of their qualities and relations.

## **Contents of the Research**

The dissertation has a following structure. The Chapter II presents the theoretical framework for this media research. It proposes the review of the previous research in this realm; the review of

the Ernst Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms with the detailed descriptions of myth, language, science as full-fledged symbolic forms based on special spatiality, temporality, numberality, and power relations. The Chapter II also contains a section on the reconsiderations of the Cassirer's theory, the definitions of representations in phenomenology and post-structuralism, the review of other theories of symbols, major categories of media representations, and basic reflections on the significance of symbolization and symbols in the phenomenological theory of life-worlds.

The Chapter III is dedicated to methods and research design. Research questions are articulated in this Chapter. It also provides the rationale for the choice of the case study of Maidan, media sample, period of study, categorization of the protest life-world, classification of symbols, and explains coding procedure and measure of content analysis. The criteria for the qualitative analysis of symbolic relations, for the comparison of data across media of three countries and between tabloid and quality press are also set in the Chapter III.

The Chapters IV, V, VI provide the quantitative and qualitative analysis of data received for three countries under study: Ukraine, Poland, Germany. This data analysis comprises coding of symbols, their typifying, measuring their visibility, interpretation of their meanings (denotation, connotation, signification), generating clouds of their concepts, their interpretation in terms of structures of subjective experience, namely, life-world.

The Chapter VII is dedicated to the comparison of symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world across media of Ukraine, Poland, and Germany, as well as between tabloids and quality weeklies. Ten most visible symbols in the media of three countries are compared, as well as the cloud of their common concepts is generated. The dominant symbolic representations are identified, data mining and statistics for them is generated by means of the software RapidMiner. The most visible symbols and the shares of different symbol types are also compared between tabloids and weeklies. The qualities of spatiality, temporality, numberality, and power relations in their symbols are compared to test whether there are some salient trends which could allow to speak about media

as a symbolic form and to speak about differences in symbolism of tabloid and quality media outlets.

This dissertation attempts to work out and to test the operationable model for the research of meanings of media. It resorts to one of the most long-standing, tradition-oriented interpretative devices whose multiple meanings remain to be a mystery of understanding of the world by a human being. Along with the research of media structures, systems, content, effects, technologies, production, the research of meanings is required in order to understand what exactly is the final result of all media activities - what meanings media create, distribute, share, and promote. The case of Maidan fits these task by providing rich empirical data.

## **Chapter II**

### **Symbolic Representations in Media: Core Theories and Concepts**

The theoretical framework of this study is based on symbol theory and phenomenological sociology. The proposed symbol theory traces back to the philosophy of symbolic forms by Ernst Cassirer (1923; 1925; 1929). It was developed and significantly re-worked by Susanne Langer (1954) and substantially reconsidered by post-structuralists (Bourdieu, 1991). The phenomenological sociology develops the concept of life-world, that is defined as subjective experience of life (Schutz & Luckmann, 1973). This dissertation attempts to shift the focus of media studies from the coverage of issues towards the coverage of lived experience of these issues, namely, the coverage of life-world. Thus, this study explores symbols in the media coverage of protest life-world. Symbols are seen as elements of inter-related, structured and organized complexes of meanings, namely symbolic representations.

This Chapter provides an overview of the historical roots, basic concepts, and contemporary interpretations of the symbol theory. The special attention is paid to the definition of symbol and its qualities, as they are defined in philosophy: space, time, numbers, power structures (Cassirer, 1923; 1925; 1929; Bourdieu, 1991). The key concepts that are used in this research are the following: symbol, symbolic representation, meaning, power, and life-world. They are defined and explained in detail in the next sections of the chapter.

#### **Ernst Cassirer's Philosophy of Symbolic Forms**

The German philosopher Ernst Cassirer implemented an ambitious and far-reaching philosophical project of transforming the Kantian critique of reason into the critique of culture. Symbol turned to be the pivotal concept for this epistemological undertaking. The cognition of culture in all its forms is equated with the cognition of the formation of symbols. Within the framework of the cultural studies, media are regarded as a constitutive part of the cultural human

world just as art, science or language (Carey, 2009). Therefore, it is possible to consider and analyze them within the discussion of symbolic representations.

In the history of the Western philosophy Cassirer is often positioned alongside Emmanuel Kant and Neo-Kantians, namely, his teacher Hermann Cohen. In the Cassirer's *philosophy* symbolic forms are taken as "progressive manifestations of an underlying symbolic capacity, stages in continuous narrative" that are necessary to be contemplated in all its multiplicity and diversity; otherwise, there is always a danger of "narrowing of reason" in science, politics, technology that could trigger the de-rationalization process in ethics, politics, science, law, etc. (Skidelsky, 2011, pp. 124-125). Cassirer was an eyewitness of the rise of nazism in Germany in the 1930s. Finally, he was forced, as a German of the Jewish origin, to flee the country in 1933 and move to Sweden, later on - to the US.

In terms of philosophical fundamentals, Ernst Cassirer principally and substantially diverges from Emmanuel Kant. He undertakes *historicization* of Kant's transcendental subject (Skidelsky, 2011, p. 125). This means that while Kant focuses on the fundamentals of human consciousness, Cassirer diverts its attention to the historical forms of consciousness, namely, symbolic forms of myth, religion, language, science, art, history, etc.

The second point of divergence between Cassirer and Kant is the choice of "basic instrument of objectification". Kant's *category* is replaced by Cassirer with a *symbol* (Skidelsky, 2011, p. 66).

Svasian (2010) identifies three key points of Cassirer's divergence from Kant: he accepts that science is not a single vehicle of reality's cognition; he develops the concept of organic forms, and he contemplates the possibility of mental conception (pp. 20-21).

Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms provokes an ongoing discussion of its applicability and adequacy for the contemporary analysis of cultural meanings through vehicles of symbols as

they are understood in phenomenology, in general, and in the critique of culture, in particular. Some authors argue that Cassirer's philosophical project is depleted and, in fact, deadlocked (Svasian, 2010; Minakov, 2007). Svasian (2007) sees the philosophy of symbolic forms as one of the very last meaningful evidence of philosophical tradition of the West before its decline. Minakov (2007) argues that the Neo-Kantian philosophical project found its completion and finalization in the philosophy of symbolic form. Ricoeur (1965) criticizes Cassirer for providing too broad definition of symbolic and symbol that comprises, in fact, all forms of synthesis of expressive and intuitive sense-data.

Recki (2004) tries to reinvigorate Cassirer's philosophy by conceiving it as the critique of culture as praxis. This author pays a lot of attention to the (re)-discovery of the ethical and moral foundations in Cassirer's approach to symbolic forms. She focuses on Cassirer's study (1939) of the Swedish philosopher Axel Hägerström. Recki concludes that Cassirer asserts the possibility of objectivity of moral judgments; the criterion for the objectivity in praxis is, according to Cassirer, "unity and universality" ("Einheit und Universalität") (Recki, 2004, pp. 156-157). Moreover, "the symbol itself has a liberating (...), ethical power" (Skidelsky, 2011, p. 126).

Skidelsky (2011) optimistically argues that "recent years have seen a long-overdue recognition of Cassirer's originality; it is no longer possible to dismiss him as a "mere" neo-Kantian" (p. 48). Skidelsky (2011) assumes that for Cassirer it was a question of principle to preserve a link with the philosophical and cultural traditions in the broadest sense:

Radicalism - as the career of Heidegger amply illustrates - is an ambiguous virtue. Revolutions in thought have an unhappy tendency to be realized in action. Cassirer's refusal, as he put it, to hurl his ideas into empty space, his effort to relate them to those of his Kantian precursors, was fundamentally an attempt to preserve a link with the civilization that his more original contemporaries were busily dismantling. (p. 49)

This approach of Ernst Cassirer brought him a name of "the last philosopher of culture". He represents the humanistic philosophical tradition that is centered around belief in the liberating



power of culture and around the notion of succession and tradition. The history of the 20th century, really, provided a lot of theories that reflected on devastating empirical data (two World Wars, Holocaust, Holodomor, etc.). Contemporary post-structuralism revealed power relations that saturate any symbolic representations. The latter could lead to the symbolic domination and violence rather than freedom and objectification of any human cognition.

In contrast to Cassirer's foundational acceptance of tradition, succession, the whole<sup>1</sup>, cultural entities, symbolic formation, discursive analyses, like those by Michel Foucault (2012), promoted disruption of tradition, dissemination, discursive fragmentation, cultural disparities, disintegrated elements, symbolic deformation, etc. Against the backdrop of these trends and innovative intellectual spirit the Cassirer's critique of culture could be seen as old-fashioned Neo-Kantian theory, although, at the same time, after a certain historical circle it looks more like an alternative, especially in its reconsidered, modernized versions that could combine post-structural interpretative devices with modern symbol theories (Goodman, 1988). The latter draw on Cassirer's understanding of plurality of meanings with regard to different systems of description and symbolization. If the study of meanings, inter alia meanings in media texts and visuals, are restricted to the deconstruction of power relations with their arbitrariness of any foundations and to the analysis of discursive disruptions, the humanistic tradition gets totally lost and devalued that would deprive it of the plurality of views and balance. Hence, this study is an attempt to reinvigorate the cultural humanistic tradition in the realm of media research.

The other authors find the epistemological potential for the operationalization of the Cassirer's symbol theory (Langer 1954; Hamburg, 1956; Feron, 1997; Janz, 2001). Their findings are discussed below in detail, since they are used to develop the research design of this dissertation.

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<sup>1</sup>The Cassirer's Whole (das Ganz) should not be understood as "the substance of the cosmos. By the Whole he often means der Geist as "the immanent principle of human culture" (Skidalsky, 2011, p. 105).

In general, the authors that still see the potential for the revival of the Cassirer's philosophical project put an emphasis on its notions of objectivity and self-liberation of a person's spirit *through* the culture and *in* the culture (Recki, 2004; Skidelsky, 2011).

Any clear and rigorous thinking, in terms of Cassirer's theory, could find its foundation only in symbolism and semiotics; any law could be appropriated by a mind only through the general "formula" that appears as a relation of general and particular signs (Svasian, 2010, p. 74).

Birgit Recki defines his method as 'intuitively arranged semi-empirical' mentioning that he himself spoke of it as transcendental philosophy (2004, p. 45). Svasian (2010) emphasizes that the essential feature of the Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms is the intrinsic historical background for any theoretical analysis (p. 52). His structural analysis is closely intertwined with his genetic method, and the history of scientific problems is based on the coherent analysis of their consequential development rather than contingent analogies (Svasian, 2010, p. 52). Moreover, Cassirer's analysis of symbolic forms combines Hegel's dynamism in contemplation of changes and Husserl's structural-stabilizing approach to the exploration of representations, signs, and meanings (Svasian, 2010, p. 26).

### **Definition of symbol and its qualities: space, time, number**

At this stage of the research it is necessary to outline the Cassirer's authentic understanding of a symbol. For Cassirer, to understand any modern symbol is to trace its historical premodern roots (Skidelsky, 2011, p. 122). I assume that this pertains to modern art and science as well as to media.

To explain why it is necessary and important to study symbols in culture, *inter alia* in media, I can refer to Ferretti's and Pierce's explanation: "The symbol makes that world manifest in the light of unity and relation" (1989, p. 123). The dictionary's definition of symbol says that it is

either an equivalent of a sign or a concept that means the ability of material things, events, and sensuous images (visual and audible) to convey some special ideal sense - meaning that differs from their perceptible being (Symbol, 2005, p. 180).

A term "symbol" has multiple semantic meanings in the Cassirer's writings. Before to delve into all constitutive elements of this semantic variations and conceptualizations, we can offer a few definitions of Cassirer's "symbolic" and "symbol" of the other authors.

Ferretti and Pierce (1989) point out that "the entire world of the mind is defined and revealed, represented and made unitary, in the concrete tangible symbol" (p. 116).

Konrad Marc-Wogau (1936) defines "symbolic" in the Cassirer's philosophy as "immanence and transcendence in unity: in it perceptible content gets its expression in an intuitive form" (as cited in Janz, 2001, p. 153).

Carl Hamburg (1956) argues that "symbols are not to be taken as "mere figures which refer to some given reality by means of suggestion or allegorical renderings, but in the sense of forces, each of which produces and posits a world of its own" (p. 40).

Svasian (2010) claims that the Cassirer's symbol could be defined as a "sensuous embodiment of the ideal" (p. 32) that is simultaneously subjective as a model of reality and objective as a sense-endowment (p. 16). Any symbol in cultural studies should be seen rather as an action than as an end-product. This is an important argument when it comes to the operationalization of the Cassirer's theory of symbolic forms into symbol-processes, symbol-situations, symbol-concepts, life-symbols (Langer, 1954; Hamburg, 1956).

Verley (2013) concludes that by symbols Cassirer means sensible signs and images that substitute presented data and constitute a representation which is preceded by a synthesis when an appearance becomes a phenomenon and an object becomes represented due to an immediate activity of a mind subsuming particular under universal (p. 12).

Ferretti and Pierce (1989) argue that it is better to discriminate two types of Cassirer's theory: first, "there is the symbol as a spontaneous manifestation of the relationship between consciousness and the world"; second, "there is a conception, an idea, of the symbol which is a recovery of every type and modality of symbolic imagination from the standpoint of all the intellectual implications related to expression" (p. 110). Ferretti and Pierce (1989) emphasize that Cassirer's concept of symbol is useful for the contemporary analysis of symbolic representations because it allows to embrace all totality of symbols ranging from cultural products, like religious symbols or flags, to mathematical formulas and situations of violence committed by riot police against peaceful protestors.

The key concept for the understanding of the Cassirer's symbol as certain relations between time, space, number, causality is a *function*. The philosopher states that the logical nature of the concept of a function finds its clear expression and the most complete exemplification in mathematics (Cassirer, 1910, p. 148). In its evolutionary development the logic strives to overcome the effects of reality; however, the latter used "to haunt" it and to affect it (Svasian, 2010, p. 54).

Feron (1997) sums up the definitional characteristics of the Cassirer's symbol as "the general consciousness of the individual sensible reality articulated in a system of autonomous and complete ideal signs that play the role of representatives of the perceptible order, but their nature is of pure signification, they are not attached to any sensible element or any representative because their mission is to support the conceptual relations established by pure reason between material objects" (p. 23). In continuation to this explanation, it is necessary to clarify the principal distinctions between a conceptual symbol and intuitive reality: a sign does not treat a thing as such, but it plays the role of its representation being its substitute and a mask behind which the objective reality and the mark of distance from it are hidden (Feron, 1997, pp. 159-160). However, according to the other interpretation of the Cassirer's symbolism a mask is an objective reality; and an

objective reality is a mask (Skidelsky, 2011). This means that "the objective reality" as content of a thought appears with the symbols and disappears with them.

An appearance, existence and distribution of any symbol has to be justified by a meaning that it conveys. This is its primary and core designation. Feron (1997) claims that readability of a meaning constitutes the fundamental character of any symbolic expressivity (p. 175). This meaning, normally, has a regular character. The symbolization is a process of transition from contingencies to regularities (Feron, 1997, pp. 188-189). The role of symbol in this process is to assure the mediation of the sense of regularities.

An individual symbol bears a reference to "a more universal complex, or a law of the whole", as Skidelsky (2011) asserts:

The immanence of the general in the particular, previously considered a special attribute of scientific theory, is now viewed as a defining mark of all spiritual creation. The truly creative mind, whether scientific or artistic, sees the individual not as an isolated, self-contained substance but as the *symbol* of a more universal complex. It discerns in every instance the law of the whole. (p. 77)

This reference to a law makes Ernst Cassirer's mythical, religious, artistic, and scientific symbols comparable with the Charles Pierce's *pragmatic* symbols. Janz (2001) also draws parallels between Cassirer's "expressive mode" and Pierce's "firstness" as simple sensation and primary view of the world (p. 215). Timeless laws is a core concept required for the understanding of human experience, as John Dewey (1929) points out. According to him, "Their ultimate implication is application; they are methods, when applied as methods they regulate the precarious flow of unique situations" (p. 148). Therefore, speaking about symbolic representations of experience, namely life-worlds, we try to decipher in symbols a reference to a universal law and its application in the unique historical situation.

Janz (2001) proposes to clearly differentiate two types of signs in Cassirer's theory<sup>2</sup>: *signs of things* (signes de choses) and *signs of order* (signes d'ordre) (p. 237). Emmanuel Kant calls signs of order "symbol". He makes a distinction between symbol and an intellectual concept; the latter could not be regarded as symbol from his point of view (Kant, 1999, para. 38). Kant defines symbols as images of things (Anschauung), as their visions (Kant, 1999, para. 38). He writes of a process of signification as an ability to inter-connect the expectation of future with the past (Kant, 1999, para. 38). Signs are not symbols yet because they have no self-sufficient meanings. In the discourse a sign is a guardian of a meaning rather than its bearer or vehicle. A symbol for him is an indirect vehicle of mind being constructed by means of analogy. Those who use a lot of symbols in their speech have lack of concepts in their mind, according to Kant. The progress in reasoning irreversibly leads to an increase in the use of concepts (Kant, 1999, para. 38). Thus, Cassirer diverges from this Kantian approach to symbolization. While symbols are a stage on a way to the conceptualization of reality for Kant, they are themselves conceptualization of reality for Cassirer and his followers. Kant exemplifies his distinction by differentiating a divine service (symbols) and a religion (intellectual concepts). For Cassirer religion, just as a science, history and law, relies on symbol-concepts in which signification leads to "a complex of universal". To sum up, Kant and Cassirer have divergent understandings of symbol as such. Kant sees in it an analogy of a mind. Cassirer believes it to be more than analogy - "a sign of order and universality".

Apart from the distinction between signs of things and signs of order Ernst Cassirer (1923) distinguishes between "natural" (die künstliche Symbolik) and "artificial" symbolic (die willkürlichen Zeichen) that is close to the Kant's (1999) classification of all signs into natural,

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<sup>2</sup>Many authors, including Ernst Cassirer himself, use terms "signs" and "symbols" interchangeably or prefer a term "sign" to a term "symbol" as more general (Janz, 2001; Saussure, 1967). There are authors that rigorously discriminate between a sign and a symbol (Kant, 1999; Peirce, 1868).

artificial and prodigious. Natural signs designate things and processes directly; artificial signs do the same indirectly.

In order to draw a clear-cut border between a sign and a symbol in the Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms we can define the former as a sensible instrument of mind and the latter as a spiritual instrument of cognition. While symbol renders possible a signification, a sign assures its material fixation and substitution of an absent object (Janz, 2001, pp. 166-167).

In addition, it is noteworthy that Cassirer finds the first example and model of the pure symbolic relations in a link between a human body and a human soul (Feron, 1997, p. 180).

The authors that study Cassirer's symbolism point out with some differences in formulations and definitions the existence and significance of some "center of stability" in his conceptualization of symbolic representations (Hamburg, 1956; Feron, 1997).

The character of objectivity can be attributed to the whole range of phenomena that are distributed around certain center of stability (Feron, 1997, p. 166). This "center" sets up the pivot that surpasses "vicissitudes of ephemeral appearances now and here" (Feron, 1997, p. 166). Hamburg (1956) formulates this as a distinction between "constant" and "fleeting" sense-data: "Perceptual data are divided into relatively constant and relatively fleeting ones, with the latter representing the more constant ones to which they "adhere" as to their centers, as "properties" adhering to (or representing) "things" (p. 65).

Any symbol represents a variety of sense-data out of which some become constant data whose sense is being entailed by a form.

A definite "ideal distance" is required to allow a theory to approach reality. According to Cassirer, this "distance" could be kept due to the concept of function. He contrasts the concept of function with the concept of *substance* (Cassirer, 1910). His "critique of cognition" is, at least partly, a history of the struggle between these two concepts. A substance is the core concept of

metaphysics. Cassirer looked for a foundational concept that would enable to focus on immanent sense rather than transcendental being. He found a concept of function as a solution by pointing out the significance of *relation* as such (Cassirer, 1910). Svasian concludes that Cassirer resolves the everlasting philosophical dichotomy between a subject and an object and vice versa by focusing on a relation (function) between them rather than on these two terms (Svasian, 2010, p. 57). This is the point of departure for the understanding of the Cassirer's symbol. We can summarize that this is a functional, by no means ontological, symbol.

A function, according to Cassirer, is not just a connection between two and more terms, but it is a bearer of an autonomous spiritual energy<sup>3</sup> due to which perceptibly given data gain their meaning (Svasian, 2010, p. 69). This is valid with regard to science as well as to art, myth, religion. A symbol is born out of a functional relation between terms. For Cassirer a thought has no unconditional content; it appears only together with a symbolic form being created by a sign (Svasian, 2010, p. 73).

Such functional understanding of symbols is comparable with Saussure's relational conception of meaning. From the point of view of this Swiss semiotician, signs have no intrinsic, self-sufficient meaning. However, he argues that intralinguistic relations between signs are much more important for their signifying characteristics than their relations with pre-existing ideas or objects. (Holdcroft, 1991, p. 40). This idea singles out Saussure's approach. Cassirer (1923; 1925; 1929), Langer (1954), Peirce (2006) still prioritize the relations between signifiers (sign-vehicles) and referents (objects).

To sum up, a symbol, presumably, any symbol within or outside the philosophy's of symbolic forms framework is characterized with dematerialization, universality, regularity,

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<sup>3</sup>Ernst Cassirer uses exactly the term "energy" in his works on the philosophy of symbolic forms.



centrality, inter-subjective readability, mobility, and spirituality. Moreover, Ferretti and Pierce (1989) take stock that symbols are "always partly sensible and partly intellectual" originating from sensual data they convey ideal meaning that leads to the contradiction between their ideality and their origin (pp. 128-129). Langer considers this contradiction in the different light, "Process of symbolization obscures the origin of our ideas, but it enhances their conceptual form" (1954, p. 146).

As Skidelsky (2011) emphasizes, "Symbolism is not a dark glass separating us from reality as it is 'in itself'; it is the medium within which any possible reality appears (...). Culture is not a garment thrown over the bareness of nature; it is our nature. The mask is the face, the face is the mask" (pp. 162-163). A person in this symbolic world is "a symbolic animal", *animal symbolicum*. Skidelsky argues that the recognition of symbolic relation as foundational for the whole architecture of the human culture allows to do justice to it, bypassing the limits and determinism of scientisme (2011, p. 148). Cassirer rises up against the mathematical dogmatism of the Marburg school from which he came out.

The fullest range of symbolic forms studied by Ernst Cassirer comprises language, myth, religion, science, arts, history, technology, and, additionally, morality and law (Recki, 2004: Paetzold, 1995; Coscun, 2009). Birgit Recki asks the legitimate question how Cassirer reached this systematization and if this is a full and complete list of symbolic forms (2004, p. 43)? She accepts that this is one of the most serious gaps or at least uncertainties left behind by Cassirer in his philosophical project. This is still unclear what makes a particular cultural phenomenon a symbolic form? Recki points out that something perceived has to be realized as significant and meaningful (*bedeutsam*). This is the constitutive principle of any symbolic form, although there is no clarification how a symbolic form emerges (Recki, 2004, p. 44). Conceivably, any misinterpretation of symbolic forms may lead to proclaiming symbolic forms that are not, by no means, symbolic. Recki (2004) mentions that this ambiguity in the Cassirer's theory pays the way for concerns

whether, for instance, terrorism could be conceived as a symbolic form (p. 44)? In media studies it is important to find an answer to the question whether we can try to conceptualize media as a symbolic form? Cassirer himself did not include media in the list of symbolic forms. Although it is necessary to take note of his continuous reconsidering of the symbolic forms' range. In the 1920s he started from conceptualizing a myth as foundational and language as elementary symbolic forms in the first and second volumes of the *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*. Then he added science as a form of pure conceptualization of meanings (Bedeutung) to them that made up the third volume of this far-reaching philosophical project. In 1930 Ernst Cassirer published *Form und Technik*. In his last works that were written after his emigration to the USA - *An Essay on Man* (1944) and *The Myth of the State* (1946) - he broadened the scope of his contemplation up to arts, history, and law as well as morality.

In his days media have already become a powerful social institution or social actor whatever terminology could be applied to designate their autonomy and social impact. We can only assume that either Cassirer did not perceive media as a symbolic form or he simply did not have enough life time to pay tribute to this relatively new symbolic form whose autonomy could evoke legitimate concerns. Apparently, media could replicate the symbols created by other symbolic forms. However, it is still an open-ended question to what extent they are able to generate their own symbols? This is one of the questions that are intended to be answered in this dissertation.

Reconsidering media as a symbolic form is equivalent to accepting that they have unique symbolic qualities or, more precisely, the unique combinations and correlations of such qualities, and unique functional relations between these combinations. By the symbolic qualities Cassirer means, basically, time, space, and number. In the other authors' interpretations of his works we find also the reference to causality as one of the foundational symbolic qualities (Hamburg, 1956; Bourdieu, 1991). In addition, semantic and syntactical coordination of various perceptions is one of the key elements of any symbolic formation.

It is noteworthy that from the Cassirer's point of view our whole world is mediated. Our relationship to reality is conceived in terms of knowledge, experience (life-world), meanings, and power relations. Cassirer focuses on *experience* as a more encompassing concept than *knowledge*. Structuralists and, especially, post-structuralists added *power* and *power relations* to this complex of basic concepts. In the proposed research I rely on the concept of a *life-world* as a sociological reconsideration of a concept of an experience by Alfred Schutz (1973).

To answer the question whether media could be conceptualized and studied as a symbolic form is to fulfill a number of epistemological tasks and to place media within the framework of certain analytical classification. Bourdieu (1991) underlines that Cassirer "used the concept of a symbolic form as an equivalent of a form of classification" (p. 164).

This research draws on a set of empirical data that are required to make any substantiated claims on the symbolic nature of formation of human experience *in* media and *through* media.

Carl Hamburg (1956) contends that a term "symbolic form" is applied by Ernst Cassirer in three relatively independent meanings (p. 58):

1. A symbolic form is an equivalent of a "symbolic concept", a "symbolic function" and "symbolic" as such;
2. A symbolic form denotes a variety of all existing cultural forms, namely, myth, religion, language, arts, science. At this point of the Cassirer's theory we can state that the list of symbolic forms proposed by him could not be exhaustive as long as human culture has more forms of its expression, intuitive perception, and conceptualization: media, music, law - just to mention a few more. For example, music was conceptualized as a non-discursive symbolic form by Susanne Langer (1954, pp. 165-198).

3. A symbolic form is an exemplification of the symbolic relations of space, time, number, and cause which constitute "the domain of objectivity". Ferretti and Pierce (1989) propose to use derivative characteristics for the analysis of symbolic forms: spatiality, temporality, and numerability.

For the purposes of the proposed research it is necessary to briefly describe symbolic relations of time, space, and number (cause is incorporated in the analysis of three other symbolic qualities) that are indicative of every single symbolic form. These various symbolic qualities and relations are used as classificatory categories of qualitative analysis that help to ascertain the elements of different symbolic forms appropriated by media in their symbolic representations of reality. To put it very technically, symbols are things, processes and concepts while space, time, number, causality are their qualities. In the given dissertation we investigate what symbolic things, processes, and concepts could be identified in media texts on life-worlds of extraordinary and routine reality, which of them are dominant, and what qualities they possess in terms of space, time, number, causality.

In the Cassirer's theoretical cognition space, time, and number become universal forms of order (universelle Ordnungsformen) rather than concrete contents of mind. In this matter he refers to Gottfried Leibniz for whom space is the ideal condition of "order of by side" (Ordnung im Beisammen); time is the ideal condition of "order of one after another" (Ordnung im Nacheinander) (Cassirer, 1923; 1925; 1929).

The Cassirer's (1923) underlines that space, time, and number stand as mental mediums that enable to transform a blank aggregate of perceptions into the system of experience. The notion of "Ordnung im Beisammen", of "Ordnung im Nacheinander", and the firm numerical order of measures and scales of all possible empirical contents make possible that all these sense-data, all these mental perceptions are concatenated in a system of laws and causal world order (Cassirer,

1925, p. 103). To put it concisely, any formation of experience is possible only through a *medium* (Svasian, 2010, p. 72).

The philosopher argues that space as a cognitive form is saturated with symbolic elements and filled with them. What we call space is not just a subject that is indirectly displayed for us and cognized through some signs; it is specific schemata (Schematismus) in which reason gains its possibility of the new orientation: specific direction of spiritual views (der geistige Blick) through which all shapes of "objective", of "objectified reality" are transformed (Cassirer, 1925, p. 174). As one of the contemporary theoreticians of symbols in culture and social world Nelson Goodman formulates, "The spatial relationships between the earth and the sun vary with time according to formula" (1988, p. 113).

Starting point for time as a concept in the philosophy of symbolic forms is the recognition of now and not-now moments. "Here" and "now" of the present time of events are needed in order to repeatedly identify "not-here" and "not-now" (Cassirer, 1925, p. 133). According to Cassirer, everything that we define as "identity" of concepts and significations and as "constancy" of things and qualities is rooted in this recognition of "now" and "not-now", "here" and "not-here" (p. 133). This distinction we use in the categorization of temporal layers as an element of symbolic representations in the Chapter III. We can identify "the representation of time by biases of space and representation of time as a functional tridimensional unity" (Janz, 2001, p. 205).

Ferretti and Pierce conclude that Cassirer's symbol as well as any other symbol possesses a reference to the past and expectation of the future that is its primary vitality (1989, p. 134).

For Ernst Cassirer all symbolic forms are equal and have evenly distributed objectifying capacity. Moreover, the thinker never assumes that each next symbolic form exhausts the meanings of its predecessor (Skidelsky, 2011, p. 107). Symbolic forms are autonomous, but they mirror each other (Svasian, 2010, pp. 23-24). They are "different "grammars" that give order and structure to the process of ordering the reality" (Feron, 1997, p. 202). These are the foundational points of all his

philosophical build-up. They differ in their modalities of "spiritual perceptions" and "spiritual formations" (Cassirer, 1922, p. 4). This distinguishes the author of symbolic forms from representatives of the Marburg school of Neo-Kantianism, such as Hermann Cohen and Rudolf Carnap with their strong emphasis on the primacy of science as a form of objectification of reality and as a focal and final point of human intellectual progress. Cassirer's epistemology establishes the plurality of objectivities rather than conventional cultural relativism. This humanistic view of objectivity as a concept and objectification as a process lays down the foundation for optimism in assessments of media's potential to live up to the ideals of substantial objectivity beyond the boundaries of objectivity as a "strategic ritual" or as a set of technics (Tuchman, 1972). To objectify nature and social world is at the same time to neutralize their frightening power (Skidelsky, 2011, p. 105).

Furthermore, while in the history of culture we observe the passage from one symbolic form to the other, a symbol itself, according to Ferretti and Pierce (1989), remains in its conformity with a distance from sense-data (p. 127). In other words, the repertoire of various modes of distancing from natural and social reality that symbols imply is more or less fixed in human culture. The variations come with the choice of these modes that could be regarded as a symbolic action itself.

**Myth: space, time, number.** The foundational feature of myth that distinguishes it from other symbolic forms is the division of the human life-world into profane and sacred, into the world of man and gods as embodiment of goodness and demons as embodiment of evil (Cassirer, 1922; Cassirer, 1925). Moreover, myth does not know a classification on the basis of dichotomy (Janz, 2001, p. 219); the one which is picked up by all subsequent symbolic forms. In addition, the mediation that myth carries out between the subject and the object is "imaginative, and not yet intellectual (Ferretti & Pierce, 1989, p. 118); and mythical representations are "totality of the real" (p. 119). All symbolic forms that succeed myth demarcate symbolic representations, on the one hand, and the reality, on the other.

Cassirer (1922) asserts that mythic mind accepts the primacy of space over time compared to science where there is, normally, quite the opposite scale of primacy.

The mythical space occupies a middle ground between space of sensual perceptions and space of pure cognition, namely, a space of geometrical intuitive and conceptual cognition (Cassirer, 1925, p. 106).

In myth what a thing is itself, and its place are never in an "external" and accidental relation between themselves; to the contrary, a place is a part of a being of a thing through which a thing assumes definite internal connections (Cassirer, 1925, p. 118). Furthermore, a mythical thinking embraces a distinct, concrete spatial structure in order to follow it in grasping the whole of "orientation" in the world.

In mythical space every place and every direction have their own nature and their own value. In other words, in contrast to the homogeneous space of science, space of myth is rather heterogeneous (Cassirer, 1925, p. 108). Every place in myth has its unique identity. The mediation of space leads to the spiritual mediation between different species and beings up to the inclusion of all differentiations within the single large Whole in the mythical "Grandplan" of the world (Cassirer, 1925, p. 112).

Cassirer contends that for myth there is no time as such, no duration, no regular repetition or succession. Instead of all this, myth lives in time of rhythmic Being, of circles of in-coming and out-coming, of inwardness and outwardness (Cassirer, 1925, p. 137).

A mythical number is neither a functional number of order nor a relation of a placement inside an embracing unified system (das umfassende Gesamtsystem); every mythical number has its own being, its own nature and power (Cassirer, 1925, p. 177). In myth not only a number as a whole, but every particular number has its unique magic power (the holy number Seven as an

example) (Cassirer, 1925, p. 178). A mythical number is a sign of things while a scientific number is a sign of operations (Feron, 1997, p. 26).

The foundational feature of any myth as a symbolic form is its unity of view of anything in the world. Everything is with everything interlinked with the help of invisible threads (Cassirer, 1929, p. 84). This unity reaches its highest point in the totemic kinship when a totem (an animal or plant) and a tribe, any group of people, that worship this totem are perceived as one and the same body and spirit (Cassirer, 1922, p. 19). Literally, a person is a totem, a tribe is a totem and vice-versa.

In the mythical worldview the unity of things is aligned with the unity of forms. Every particular being is covered with a mask behind which an identical form of everything is hidden that is in Small, as well as in Big, in Nearby, as well as in Distant disclosed (Cassirer, 1922, p. 34). This is the basic predisposition taken as a foundation for the astrological worldview that is still intertwined with myth: astrology claims the unity of the Mikrokosmos and the Makrokosmos (Cassirer, 1922, p. 35). Cassirer points out that the whole astrological system rests on a condition that all physical events in the world are interrelated with each other through invisible transitions, and that any action taken on a particular spot is directed towards infiniteness. The latter allows to integrate all parts of the universe into the Whole (Das Ganze) (Cassirer, 1922, p. 29).

The mythical way of thinking presupposes that any semblance of things and their properties is an essential evidence that they all have something in common, being the parts of the same Whole (Cassirer, 1922, p. 45). This stands in a sharp contrast to science with its contemplative and reflexive vision of semblance that is the mind's achievement for the sake of comparison rather than an expression of reality.

The mythical-magic worldview sees any part of the whole as a whole itself rather than a representative of this whole (Cassirer, 1922, p. 42). In other words, to symbolically represent a part in a myth is an equivalent to symbolically represent the whole.



One of the key findings of the Cassirer's semi-empirical analysis, according to Skidelsky (2011), is "nostalgia for the mythical past" that can be found in many, if not all, symbols (p. 109).

**Language: space, time, number.** From the Cassirer's point of view language is an elementary symbolic form that is affected by myth, at least at its initial stage of history. Nowadays languages of ethnic groups in Africa, South and Southeast Asia pass through this initial stage.

In his first volume of *Philosophie der Symbolischen Formen* (1923) the thinker asserts the foundational principles of his understanding of language as well as any other symbolic form: the meaning of every form could not be found in the original of its expression; it is found rather in its modus and in internal laws of its expression; the latter includes setting-up of a form not in the closeness to the sense-data but in the ongoing distancing from them (Cassirer, 1923, p. 134). This distancing from sense-data gives value to the formation of language as a symbolic form. Moreover, the development of language converts an imitation into symbolic expression by constituting signification as an independent process with regard to perception (Verley, 2013, p. 18).

Space of a language is situated between space of myth with its immediacy and space of science with its theoretical distancing (Janz, 2001, p. 202).

According to Cassirer, "absolute" system of coordination for any intuition of motion in language is given in a place of a speaker and in a place of a receiver of a message (Cassirer, 1925, p. 161). Language introduces a distinction between "here" and "there", on the one hand, and "earlier" and "later", on the other. Language also introduces the spatial qualitative gradation between "high" and "low", "on the top" and "at the bottom". Relying on spatial differentiation of objects, language comes to the expression of aggregative plurality; relying on the differentiation of temporal acts, language comes to its isolation and division into concrete entities (Cassirer, 1923, p. 195-196). These two processes are intertwined with the cognition of number in language.

Any singular spatial element could not be contemplated without the contemplation of space as the whole in which it is placed: the individualization of structure is possible only as a limitation of an all-penetrating "single" space (Cassirer, 1923, p. 195). A moment of time has the opposite nature: it is what it is also due to its involvement as an element in a particular sequence; however, this sequence could constitute itself only because every single moment of time excludes everything else setting up a *simple undivided now*, pure moment of present time excluding everything that was before and everything that comes next (Cassirer, 1923, p. 195).

Cassirer draws attention to the verbs as linguistic elements in which there is the symbolism of space appropriation and space overcoming: the verbs - to surpass, to exceed, to overcome, to bypass - good examples (Cassirer, 1923, p. 207). This is one of concrete instruments for analysis of symbolic representations that is used in the given research.

The other example of specification of languages' spatial analysis is history of articles in different languages. Cassirer (1923) argues that, primarily, articles were used to point at unique spatial relations, every time different. At the later stage of development articles go through the division into "category of pure substance" and particular forms of spatial intuition (p. 155).

The clear-cut distinction between *spatial positions* and *spatial distances* set up a starting point for language from which it launches the construction of objective reality and definition of perceptible things (Cassirer, 1923, p. 151). The spatial differentiation is the pivot for a substantial differentiation: constituting of "I", "you", and "he", on the one hand, and physical things, on the other (p. 151).

As a symbolic form language tends to replace spatial positions and directions with names of human body's parts as well as other *spatial nouns*: "behind us" could be denoted as "back", "under" - as "foot" or as "ground", "over", "above" - as "air" (Cassirer, 1923, p. 156).

Entities which are cognized in the intuition and lead to the setting-up of the whole are determined through language as follows: the being of one temporal and spatial disposition means not-being of the other and vice-verse (das Sein der einen Bestimmung bedeutet das Nicht-Sein der anderen und vice versa) (Cassirer, 1923, p. 166). According to Cassirer (1923), the content of time notions is never implicated in the direct intuition; in language the notion of time comes with the simultaneous development of analytical and syntactical thinking. The linguistic elements of time emerge when mind traverses through them and in this passage it starts distinguishing them verbally. This is the being of one after another (Sein des Nacheinanders), or being of time. Language differs from the other symbolic forms by its ability and propensity to use definite given materials (sense-data) without their substantial change for other tasks than those they had to serve originally (Cassirer, 1923, p. 166).

"Now" as a psychic now rather than a mathematical abstraction embraces the totality of meaningful moments that are considered to be elements of temporal unit and could be squeezed to the entirety of a moment as an elementary unit of life perception; this "now" is not just a mental border between past and future, it has its own internal duration predetermined by ability of immediate remembering and concrete memory (Cassirer, 1923, p. 168).

Number in language springs from the moment in which "two" emerges: this is how the distinction between "I" and "You", "You" and "He" is grounded (Cassirer). Initially, there is no necessity to move beyond this triad towards conceptualization of plurality (Cassirer, 1923, p. 200). In this matter, primarily, number is not an intellectual principle or a method that has no limitations in its application. However, evolutionarily, language moves towards verbalization of plurality and multiplicity that becomes a constitutive element of language's symbolism. Cassirer (1923) defines this evolution as a move from trial to inclusive Plural ("we") and exclusive Plural ("they" and "you") (pp. 204-205).

**Pure cognition and science: space, time, number.** Ferretti and Piece (1989) claim that Cassirer conceives the development of mind as "aiming at the predominance of the logical over the sensory, because the latter is entirely and ideally determined in the former" (p 124-125). The triumph of science comes with the appearance and clear determination of concepts. Science specifically provides us with such type of symbols enabling the transition from intuition (die Darstellung) to signification (die Bedeutung).

Cassirer (1944) emphasizes that the core goal of science as well as pure cognition (die reine Erkenntnis) in its broadest meaning is finding universal laws of order rather than similarities at which languages aims (p. 209).

The relations between the spatial whole and spatial parts in the pure cognition are in its foundation essentially functional (Cassirer, 1925, p. 113). In order to illustrate the specificity of space in science Cassirer underpins the example of the geometry. He poses the question what the difference between its space and perceptible space (Wahrnehmungsraum) is (1929, p. 183). Absolute continuity, homogeneity, infinitude are basic characteristics of geometrical space where dispositions and directions remain unchanged. Space that we sense and experience, perceive and represent could not bear none of these features, especially in their absolute manifestation.

As for time in science, Cassirer writes that the fundamental question of a temporal beginning of all life and times in myth is transformed in the question of principles in science (1944, p. 191).

Cassirer (1929) separately contemplates memories from the point of view of pure cognition. He argues that the function of memories is by no means relegated to the simple reproduction of past impressions - memories constitute new phenomena and new data themselves (pp. 206-207). This is more relevant for observational methods in science when an entire picture of reality is built up out of memories of observations.

Overall, Cassirer does not dedicate to time in science a lot of space in his writings. He distinguishes between absolute and historical time accepting the existence of consciousness of time (das Zeitbewußtsein) along with consciousness of space (das Raumbewußtsein). For the historical consciousness the past and the future are not elements in real opposition to each other, but they are moments of ideal correlations (Cassirer, 1929, p. 219).

Exploring the quality of number in science Cassirer invokes the example of physics that "in all its single branches tended (...) to bring the whole world of natural phenomena under the control of number" (1944, p. 214). Scientific (physical, mathematical, sociological, etc.) number, according to the philosopher, is a necessary, highly significant leap in the history of objectification (p. 211). Scientific number systemizes the sense-data and coordinates relations between different elements as a function. Numbers in language have some classificatory and coordinating role trying to ground, for example, inclusive and exclusive plurality. However, it is yet embryonic kind of systematization. The true and full-fledged one appears only in sciences.

It is worth noting how Cassirer defines the symbolic quality of number in science, especially if we take note of journalistic standards that require from reporters and analysts to be as precise with any number as scientists although the former rarely have any tools to come up with own quantitative systematization of reality. Normally, they just replicate or generalize what is provided by science by simplifying functional and argumentative relations between numbers:

We cannot speak of single or isolated numbers. The essence of number is always relative, not absolute. A single number is only a single place in a general systematic order. It has no being of its own, no self-contained reality. Its meaning is defined by the position it occupies in the whole numerical system. (Cassirer, 1944, pp. 212)

The Cassirer's concept of objectivity in culture in general and in any particular symbolic form totally diverges from the conventional operational understanding of objectivity in media. Gaye Tuchman (1972) proposes the operational definition of media objectivity reached due to the

technical routinization. There is more or less codified list of operations and procedures required for the objectification of media reporting: presentation of conflicting views, "presentation of supporting evidence", "judicious use of quotation marks", "presenting "the most material fact" first", "carefully separating news from opinions" (p. 667). This operationalization and routinization should help to assure the "intentness on objects external to the mind," and "objective" as "belonging to the object of thought rather than the thinking subject" (p. 667). The latter are classical dictionary definitions of media objectivity. Inscribing media research into the theoretical framework of symbolic forms as they are conceptualized by Cassirer and developed and reconsidered by his followers (Langer, 1954) and by post-structuralists and authors of more contemporary symbol theories we could come to the substantially, functionally and methodologically different concepts and understandings of media objectivity that, actually, is a timely move for the reinvigoration of social trust into the institution of media and their ability to avoid manipulations and speculations in an information society. The latter is highly-condensed with multiple incessant streams of information within which it becomes more and more difficult to keep up the legitimacy, authenticity, and truthfulness of a fact as an event and as a core of truth.

As long as Cassirer did not include media as a symbolic form in his semi-empirical analysis, we could not find in his writings any reflections on a fact *in* and *for* media. However, his concept, definition and theorization of a historical fact could have a cognitive validity and relevance for analysis of media facts either, especially if we rely on Scannell's (1996) idea of media's function of implicating its audiences and readerships into the longer historical process by reporting different public interest stories day from day, month from month, year from year.

In the history the interpretation of symbols precedes the collection of facts (Cassirer, 1944, p. 196). "Historical facts do not belong to the same type as physical facts" because they are deciphered from documents and monuments that have to be read as symbols", says Cassirer (1944, p. 202). Finally, the author concludes that the ultimate goal of any historical research is the

knowledge of ourselves rather than any external truth (p. 187). This is a foundational question whether such a goal could be assigned to media as well as to history. Otherwise, it could be interpreted as a borderline between historical and media knowledge: while history as a symbolic form might lead to a self-cognition, media still stick to cognition of external truth. However, media facts just as historical facts are not physical by no means. This is also important to note that Cassirer (1944) sees the impact of a personality of a researcher, namely, a historian, as an unavoidable and ineffable condition of any cognition. He calls it "a color of personal life" of a historian (1987). In other words, Cassirer's objectification in culture is not an equivalent of the personal detachment or weeding out own personality of a researcher, a reporter, an investigator off the field of symbolic representations.

Susanne Langer, one of the most renowned Cassirer's intellectual followers, defines a fact as "an intellectually formulated event, whether the formulation be performed by a process of sheer vision, verbal interpretation, or practical response" (1954, p. 218). She calls the faith in ultimacy of facts "naive" (p. 221). Historians rather than scientists destroyed the mythical orientation of the contemporary European culture by introducing the single legitimate value and measure of reality - the standard of actual fact according to which time becomes a date, and space transforms into geography (Langer, 1954, p. 225). Media have just to continue this intellectual trend cultivating further the faith in fact. Langer identifies one more implicit belief of the dominant mode of thinking - faith in causation. Finally, she concludes that "sign and symbol are knotted together in the production of those fixed realities that we call 'facts', as I think this whole study of semantic has shown" (p. 228). Between the facts there are threads of symbolic envisagement and thought - memory and reconstructed memory, beliefs, dreams, hypotheses, theories, philosophical ideas (p. 228). In other words, symbols have references to facts (p. 233).

Nelson Goodman (1988) develops the theory of a fact within his broader theoretical framework of "universes of worlds as well as worlds themselves that may be built in many ways"

(p. 5). His contributions to symbol theory are presented in detail in the section on the reconsiderations of Cassirer's theory. Goodman uses the term "the fabrication of truth" that we can see as a by-product of "world-making" which evolves in a number of simultaneous processes. Within these processes the relations between different world unfold.

The aforementioned processes, according to Goodman, comprises composition, decomposition, weighting, ordering, deletion, supplementation, and deformation (1974, p. 101). Composition when "events are combined in an enduring object", weighting of relevance and irrelevance of certain information, and ordering as a process of building up hierarchies of events and constructing a central point of reference, - all this contributes to the constitution of a fact in a particular symbolic universe, namely, universe of media as the primary focus of our research. To deepen the understanding of a fact as such in this world-making that takes place in art or science as well as in media, according to Goodman, we have to paradoxically think of the conditions under which facts vanish. "As meanings vanish in favor of certain relationships among terms, so facts vanish in favor of certain relationships among versions", asserts Goodman (1974, p. 93). In other words, facts find a safe haven within a particular world but their transmission from one symbolic world to another is not assured. As a result, they could simply vanish. However, the deletion or the decomposition of a particular fact in history, for example, still might safeguard its status of a fact in media. The main safeguard for a fact as truth rather than falsehood (manipulations, distortion) is still symbol in its broadest meaning that is discussed below.

Cassirer distinguishes three modal forms of symbolic pronouncements (*Entäußerung*): expression (*Ausdruck*), intuition (*Darstellung, Anschauung*), and conceptualization (*Bedeutung*) (1929, p. 99). These modal forms predetermine the functional relations between sense-data and their meaning. The expressive mode (expression-function) means that external events have predominantly physiognomic traits and are pronounced within emotive-affective perspective of the worldview (Hamburg, 1956, p. 63). Expression is an act of exteriorization of a thought and senses



(Janz, 2001, p. 208). Janz (2001) proposes the different classification of symbolic functions: expression, representation, and signification (p. 143). Actually, signification in this matter is a definitional equivalent of conceptualization, but it is noteworthy that representation and intuition could be equated. This is more a question of terminological use while a symbolic representation appears at the crossroad of intuition and signification. The latter synthesizes the analytical data of the former.

Intuition-function (*Anschauung*) presupposes more distinct "polarity between the "sensory" and the "sense" (Hamburg, 1956, p. 65). Hamburg points out that while, according to Cassirer, any expression includes a *presentation* of a qualitative perception, a *representation* of some object arises when the aforementioned polarity becomes visible and tangible (1956, p. 65). At this level the thing-property relationships receive their embodiment in symbolic forms (Hamburg, 1956, p. 66). This representation manifests itself into culture in various and numerous forms ranging from artistic paintings to media reporting alive in the field.

The third level of functional relations between sense-data and a sense comes into play when the pure reason produces concepts by making explicit relations between perceptibly given data and their sense, those relations that were implicit in an intuitional form. The conceptual representation comprises a wide range of symbolic operations: establishing equivalences and trends, enumeration, statistical homogenization and generalization, abstraction of concrete data, etc. Basically, all these tasks are ascribed and prescribed to science. Through such representation the order, structure, and power relations within a particular cultural (symbolic) form are being cognized. However, media in their news analysis systematically contend to fulfill the same tasks of conceptualization although by means of different methods or by means of replication of sciences' merits and their adaptation to the mass audiences via simplification and media narrative strategies.

Presumably, media function at the levels of intuition and conceptualization in dependence on their genres and technical routinization. Studying symbolic representations of any events,

phenomena, processes, experience, we just have to distinguish which particular model form of functional relations between sense-data and a sense is being activated in each particular case.

### **Reconsiderations of the Cassirer's Theory**

One of the most self-sufficient and influential reconsiderations of the Cassirer's philosophy could be found in Susanne Langer's book *Philosophy in a New Key* that was first published in 1942. She herself defines it as the study of symbolism of reason, rite, and art. Symbolism is conceived by Langer as a key to the understanding of the mechanics of making meanings out of dispersed and disintegrated sense-data. *Philosophy in a New Key* comprises analysis of "discursive and presentational forms of symbolic signification", verbal language, "life-symbols as roots of sacrament and myth", "significance in music", and "fabric of meaning". While Cassirer was criticized for vagueness of definitions and too broad scope of his symbol's conception (Ricoeur, 1965), Langer delivers prudent, clear-cut working-out of basic concepts needed to undertake any empirical analysis of symbols, inter alia symbols in media, and she does it from the point of view of symbolic forms and phenomenological conception of representations. It has a special epistemological value for the given research.

For Langer a person has need in symbolization, and it is one of human primary activities to refer to things that are absent with the help of symbols (1954, pp. 24, 32). She conceptualizes symbols as "vehicles for the conceptions of objects" that allow to retain things (events, facts, situations, processes) for later references, considerations, comparisons, memorizing, living through:

Symbols are not proxy for their objects, but are vehicles for the conception of objects. To conceive a thing or a situation is not the same thing as to "react toward it" overtly, or to be aware of its presence. In talking about things we have conceptions of them, not the things themselves; and it is the conceptions, not the things, that symbols directly "mean." (1954, p. 49)

In order to understand how Langer arrives at this definition, it is necessary to look at her conception of sign. A sign is composed of sign as such, an object (thing, event, condition) which it signifies, and subject that is a reference to something beyond an object (the past, the future, the context of events, etc.) (Langer, 1954, p. 46). A sign and an object are paired together, and a subject enters into the relations with them as an entity but at the same time it has relations with each of them individually. So, a sign is a three-term item<sup>4</sup>.

The foundational difference between signs and symbols is that the former announce the objects, while the latter make us conceive of them (Langer, 1954, p. 49). Signs are coupled with objects; symbols are coupled with conceptions that fit objects and notions that objects correspond with and satisfy (p. 51). In a typical sign-function there are three terms: subject, sign, and object. In the simplest type of symbol - denotation - there are four essential terms: subject, symbol, conception, and object (p. 52). Meaning of symbol, according to Langer, could have three different "meanings": signification, denotation, and connotation (p. 52). They are not interchangeable.

Denotation is an explicit meaning of symbol. Connotation is its implicit associative meaning. Signification is a meaning that symbol regularly conveys and has conceptual rather than associative nature. The simplest example of denotation that Langer underpins is "the conventional expression of a feeling, an attitude" (1954, p. 93). Once an object is denoted, it can be held, so everything else finds itself in coexistence, in contrast, in conflict or in harmony with it (p. 110). Literally, people hold to the object by means of verbal symbols. Meanwhile, the first symbolic value of words is connotative like, for example, the word "hallelujah" (p. 108). The principle borderline between ordinary meanings (denotations) and symbolic meanings (connotations) of verbal symbols is their capability to growth. Symbolic meanings are capable of indefinite growth

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<sup>4</sup>The word "term" is used in symbol theory as an equivalent of "component", constitutive part.

(p. 228). Moreover, once a word receives its connotation, it could not be assigned any arbitrary denotation anymore (p. 62).

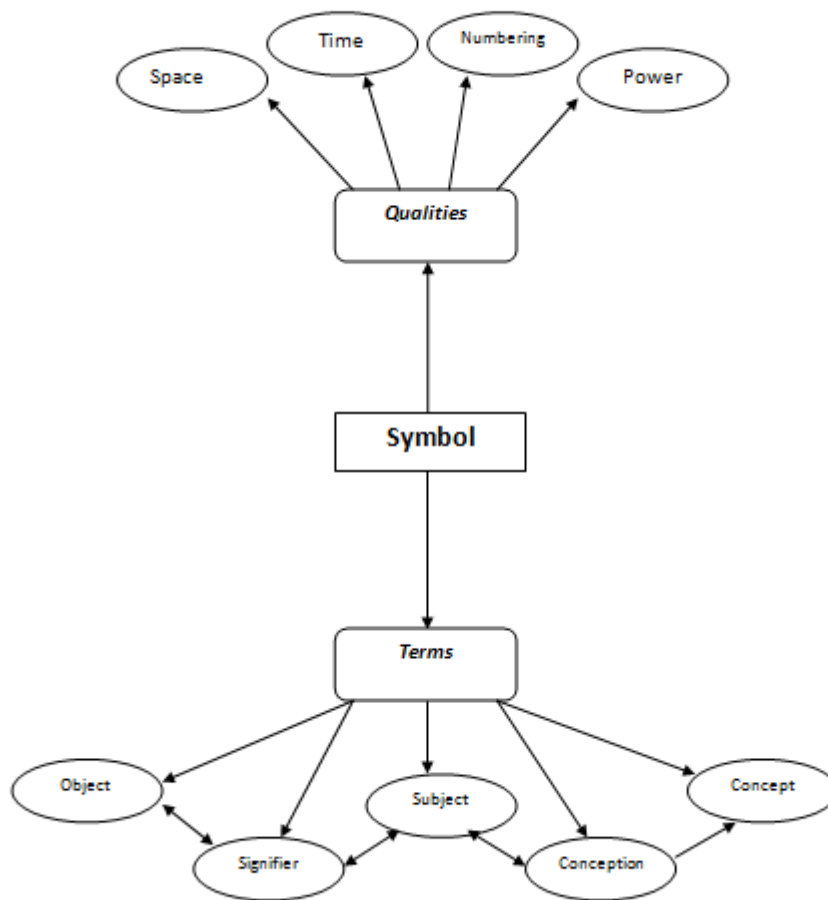
In order to grasp this delicate interplay of denotations of signs and symbols with other meanings, it is useful to cite the following excerpt from the Langer's work:

(...) The correlation of signs with their meanings by a selective mental process; the correlation of symbols with their concepts and concepts with things, which gives a rise to a "short-cut" relation between names and things, known as denotation; and the assignment of elaborately patterned symbols to certain analogues in experience, the basis of all interpretation and thought. (Langer, 1954, p. 63)

Furthermore, Langer distinguishes between concept and conception. An object might have a multiplicity of conceptions but there is only one concept for all of them. If people appeal to different conceptions, but behind them there is the same concept, they would understand each other. "A concept is all that a symbol really conveys. But just as quickly as the concept is symbolized to us, our own imagination dresses it up in a private, personal conception, which we can distinguish from the communicable public concept only by a process of abstraction", asserts Susanne Langer (1954, p. 58).

She claims that we have to look for symbols where some object, sound, act are presented that have no practical meaning, yet they are supposed to evoke an emotional response (Langer, 1954, p. 94). This is how the symbolic representation arises. Extrapolation of feelings into outer objects is the first way of symbolizing and, consequently, conceiving them (p. 100).

Langer supports the idea that language serves the goals of formulating conceptions, transforming of experience into concepts rather than communicating people's needs. From this point of view speech is predominantly symbolic and only sometimes significant (1954, pp. 96, 103). Below the schema of symbol, as it is conceived in this dissertation, is provided.



*Figure 1.* Schema of symbol's qualities and terms.

The philosopher distinguishes two fundamental types of symbolism: discursive and non-discursive, namely, presentational. Discursive symbolism is general and universal, it is actualized as soon as it is applied to the concrete sense-data, whereas non-discursive symbolism is specific and individualized, it motivates us to discern more general meaning out of the case (Langer, 1954, p. 232). Discursiveness is successive progress of meanings, presentational symbolism is characterized with simultaneity and is understood through the meaning of the whole (p. 78).

Discursiveness is discernible in verbal symbolism, it is the primary "bearer of ideas". It is an order according to which all meanings, expressed in words, have to be strung out, this order is determined by the syntactic rules of sentence-structures (Langer, 1954, p. 66). Only thought that

could submit to the discursive order is expressible and conveyable. Langer underlines that "All genuine thinking is symbolic, and the limits of the expressive medium, therefore, really the limits of our conceptual power" (1954, p. 70). However, Langer accepts the unexplored possibilities for semantics beyond the boundaries of discursive language. Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms is an overarching attempt to prove that the field of semantics is wider than that of language with its verbal discursiveness.

We find discursive symbolism in language whose power is its capability to embody concepts not only of things, but of things in combinations or situations (Langer, 1954, p. 62). She calls it "situation-concept" or "symbol-situation".

The second type, the presentational symbols, are visual forms, namely, colors, proportions, lines. According to Langer, they are just as capable of articulation of combinations of concepts, as discursive symbols. They present them not successively but simultaneously, so that relations, implicated in their structures, are embraced in a single act of vision (Langer, 1954, p. 75). It is an overarching feature of presentational symbols that many concepts may be compressed in the totality of one particular expression, without being presented by its distinct parts (Langer, 1954, p. 155). We find the examples of presentational symbols in painting, cinema, sculpture.

Langer distinguishes one more case of symbols - life-symbols that she takes as "presenting the basic facts of human existence, the forces of generation and achievement and death" and "embodying basic ideas of life and death, of man and the world" (1954, pp. 124, 122). She writes that people's most valuable intellectual assets are symbols of their general orientation in nature, society and existence in its broadest sense; they could be called "the symbols of Weltanschauung (world view) and Lebensanschauung (life view)" (p. 234). These symbols create what could be called "mental anchorage" (p. 236).

Langer finds instances of life-symbols in sacraments and mythology. In rituals sacred symbols give people insight into recurrent dramas of human life, responding to which people learn

emotional patterns that govern their lives; the latter gives a feeling of security, social (tribal) unity, and rightness (1954, p. 124). In sacrament every detail is filled with meaning. Any ritual synthesizes power and meaning, mediation and presentation, and the ultimate achievement of this blend is morale (Langer, 1954, pp. 131, 128). Life-symbols denote people's feelings while ordinary signs just complete feelings' history (p. 123).

Langer singles out as an example of life-symbol in the mythology - a superman like Prometheus that is "felt to be more than a man - he is Mankind in a single human figure" (1954, p. 157). Great mythologies find their fixation in national epic poems (Eddas, Ramayana, Kalevala). They have own temporal order, geography, and its characters are personal (p. 160 ). Langer explains the long-standing sustainability of myth as symbolic form that we find everywhere in culture, including even media, by the virtue of its recognition of natural conflicts, human aspirations, destroyed or threatened by non-human power and brutal oppression by evil forces; myth is a story of birth, life, defeat by death, and its ultimate goal is "fundamental truth, moral orientation, not escape" (1954, p. 143). From Langer's point of view, myth is tragic rather than utopian narrative. This makes it so relevant for replications in various symbolic forms.

Finally, Langer takes music as a symbol of irrationality in mental life and logical expression of human feelings (1954, pp. 176-177).

Langer inspired the subsequent studies of symbolism as well as reinvigorated studies of the assirer's philosophy that leaves its trace in the contemporary analytical philosophy.

Paetzold (1995) claims that, among contemporary symbol theories, world-making of Nelson Goodman is the closest to the Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms (p. 185). Goodman represents analytical philosophy.

He compares own task it with what has been accomplished by Ernst Cassirer:

Cassirer undertakes the search through a cross-cultural study of the development of myth, religion, language, art, and science. My approach is rather through an analytic study of types and functions of symbols and symbol systems. In neither case should a unique result be anticipated; universes of worlds as well as worlds themselves may be built in many ways. (1988, p. 5)

Goodman does not assume that plurality of versions of worlds could be reduced to one. In other words, according to him, there is no neutral and universal *something* beneath all these versions of different worlds (1988, p. 5). The main task of a researcher is to study the organization of different worlds instead of futile search for this universal *something*. Goodman calls upon studying meanings of symbols, as well as their qualities and properties, namely, he says that "Exemplification and expression, though running in the opposite direction from denotation - that is from a symbol to a literal or metaphorical feature of it instead of something the symbol applies to" are also symbolic functions and tools of worldmaking (1988, p. 12).

The author underlines that the perception without conception is blind while conception without perception is empty that means in practice that content without form vanishes; for example, we can have words without a world but no world without words and other symbols (Goodman, 1988, p. 6). In his understanding, world-making starts from worlds that are already available (p. 6), thus he points out that his theory of worldmaking concerns predominantly relationships among worlds rather than whether a particular world is composed of other worlds (p. 7). The parallels could be drawn between this approach and Cassirer's preoccupation with co-influences and inter-penetrations of different symbolic forms.

Goodman outlines a number of ways in which worlds make themselves, as it was mentioned in the previous section: composition, decomposition, weighting, ordering, deletion, supplementation, and deformation. Composition or decomposition of worlds is consolidated by the application of symbols: names, pictures, things, gestures (1988, p. 8). Weighting means that two worlds may contain the same symbols but they are sorted differently in terms of their relevance for a particular worldmaking (1988, p. 10). For instance, smoke at war caused by deployment of



weapons has different relevance from smoke in everyday life, like smoke from burnt leaves. We define ordering in the previous section. Making one world out of another, normally, includes deletion of some old and supplementation of some new symbolic material (Goodman, 1988, p. 14). Deformations in worldmaking is seen by the philosopher as either corrections or distortions (p. 16). To sum up the process of worldmaking, the philosopher writes that "If worlds are as much made as found, so also knowing is as much remaking as reporting" (Goodman, 1988, p. 22). If to adjust this statement to media and communication studies, it would sound like this: media reporting is one out of two instruments of knowing, the other one is remaking, but it is an open question whether reporting is possible without making and remaking.

Goodman also calls special attention to style of reporting, making, and remaking of worlds. He claims that this is as important for understanding of symbols as their subjects, objects, contexts, etc. He asserts that style absorbs characteristics "both of what is said and of how it is said, of content and of form, of subject and of wording", of substance and of function (1988, p. 27). Style could be traced from the preponderance of certain words, sentence structures, quotation modes.

Apart from style, Goodman emphasizes the importance of modes of quotations for the understanding of discursive as well as non-discursive symbols. He singles out two mandatory conditions for both direct and indirect quotation: containment of some paraphrase of what is quoted and reference to what is quoted by either naming or predication (Goodman, 1988, p. 43). It is possible to take symbol as a quotation that is more than semantic paraphrase or literal replication of some expression. In this matter quotation refers to something more than it is blatantly said. Every sentence, like, for example "Maidan is a peaceful protest movement" has a few distinguishable modes of its possible quotations: direct quotation; naming without containment when we say referring to this phrase "somebody said "this" without clarifying what is "this"; containment without naming which is assured with that-clause - "that Maidan is a peaceful protest movement". However, if we completely change the original phrase by totally paraphrasing it - "Maidan used to deploy

methods of peaceful contestation of the government's misconduct" - our quotation displays neither containment nor naming or predication. In the latter case de facto the quotation is lost as well as symbol. Goodman discriminates cross-system and cross-modal quotations (1988, pp. 52-56). The former concerns mainly the translation of quotation from one language to the other. The latter pertains to quotations of one symbolic form within the framework of the other, for example, when a news analysis or reportage is illustrated by a photo of Maidan folk or artistic paintings, or when a journalist quotes protest slogans and songs.

Goodman, in continuation to the Ernst Cassirer's critique of culture, formulates his main goal as critique of worldmaking. Cassirer studies various symbolic forms of expressive, intuitive and conceptual cognition of the reality. Goodman takes it as a study of different versions of worlds with special focus on their reporting, making, and remaking. Goodman shows that Cassirer's ideas of symbolic forms could be reconsidered within the framework of contemporary analytical philosophy, and he gives incentive to its analytical studies of symbols. The research design of the given dissertation follows this philosophical pattern of analytical study with focus on internal structures of symbols, symbolic representations, and external structures of power relations that utilize these symbols to their purpose.

Finally, one of the contemporary updates of the Cassirer's symbol theory could be found in *Ernst Cassirer, UnÉpistémologuedelaTroisièmeVoie* (2001) by Nathalie Janz. She proposes to differentiate two types of symbols in the Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms: *symbol-product* and *symbol-process* (2001, p. 160). Cassirer himself opens up the avenue for vigorous critic of his theorizations by leaving space for their ambiguity and uncertainty. He speaks of symbols both as intuitive and cognitive processes, and as a final product of the spiritual energy and mind of a person. By relying on this factual differentiation Janz introduces the concept of symbol-product as signifying sign and symbol-process as sense-giving intuition and signification of reality.

Symbols-products and symbols-processes could be distinguished as passive and active symbols, respectively (Janz, 2001, p. 162). Any symbol-product is a material or physical trace. It is possible to provide numerous examples; namely, everything that is associated with symbols in common sense could be embraced by this definition: paintings, musical melodies, names, poetry, landscapes, some instruments of work, self-defense, weapons, books, chemical elements, mathematical formulas, etc. The principle function of symbol-process is the structuring of sensual data. To sum up, Janz equates a symbol-process with signification (2001, p. 162).

In order to cognize symbol-concept we have to focus on inter-relations between an object and a concept, and between intuition and signification. Janz (2001) defines a link of an object with its concept and a link of intuition with signification as *genetic* while the link of a concept with an object and signification with intuition as *functional* (p. 245). In other words, intuition by focusing on an object of reality provides an analysis of sense-data while signification in its search for a concept provides a synthesis of intuitive revelations. The signification makes explicit the things that are implicit in intuition (p. 238). This is a basic understanding of a process of any symbolic conceptualization that has universal relevance and validity. It helps to cognize scientific formation of symbols-concepts as well as media formation of such symbols. Janz (2001) underlines that a conceptual relation for Cassirer is not the simple abstraction of the common features identified in a series of phenomena; this is a law of their relations (p. 241). The conceptual mind, the pure reason, is a particular case of symbolic mind from the Cassirer's viewpoint (pp. 173-174).

### **Symbolic Representations in Symbol Theory, Phenomenology and Post-Structuralism**

Representation itself is also a problematic term, at least from the viewpoint of phenomenology as well as post-structuralism. The cognition of both approaches helps to fulfill the tasks of the given research. The concept of representation is more taken for granted rather than problematized in media discourse studies (Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough, 1996; Talbot, 2007).

Meanwhile, phenomenology, namely transcendental phenomenology, proposes to trace the very foundations of the phenomenon of *re-presentation*.

Before getting to the phenomenology of representation, it is useful to introduce some basic epistemological points of departure. What represents something else (a word or an image) transforms present into represented. Representation transforms into signs - linguistic, iconic, etc. - the content of the sensible intuition and perceived objects; the function of representing issues presentation and acknowledgement (Janz, 2001, p. 192). This allows to make a thing present in a situation in which materially it is absent. This is the primary way of dematerialization of symbol, contrary to materiality of sign (p. 193).

The German philosopher Edmund Husserl (1901) in his *Logical Investigations*<sup>5</sup> points out that representative function of general signs and images, normally, receives multiple meanings and common sense interpretation. He abandons this framework of reference in his investigations. According to him, generality of notion pertains to generality of representation (Husserl, 2011, p. 158). It is possible to speak about a representative function of cognitive image to the extent that this image would constitute as a representative something singular out of a respective type and serve as a starting point for the construction of conceptual mind; due to such development, the *intention*<sup>6</sup> towards type, towards universality of conceptual subjects, and indefinite singular would actualize (Husserl, 2011, p. 158). As Husserl states (2011), this is what makes out of a subject of intuition and cognition a representant of a type, a class, indefinite singular, etc.

It is noteworthy that this schema of representation's construction is valid as for illustrative non-discursive images, as for verbal signs, names if they function representatively without

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<sup>5</sup>1901 - is the year of the first publication of Husserl's *Logical Investigations* in German. We used in the given research its Russian translation published in 2011, as it is properly referenced in the bibliography.

<sup>6</sup>The foundational concept of the Husserl's transcendental phenomenology.

illustrative back-up. A name is a representant. This means that its physical appearance is a bearer of a respective intention of meaning in which a conceptual object is constituted (Husserl, 2011, p. 159). Husserl concludes that such an understanding of representation, including representation through naming, excludes nominalism with its manipulations with names, ideas, and unconscious mechanisms of associations (Husserl, 2011, p. 159). In other words, the philosopher distinguishes between intuitive act of notion (in which the actual subject is presented) and conceptual act of notion that contemplates objectivity in a fundamentally new way. This conceptual act pertains to such forms as *singular* and *multiple*, *two* and *three*, *something in general* and *everything*, etc. This conceptual act of notion engenders a form in which a type constitutes itself as a represented object that could function as a subject of possible attributive and predicative relations (Husserl, 2011, p. 159).

The above-mentioned distinction between intuitive and conceptual acts of representation is shared by Ernst Cassirer as it was noted beforehand. It illustrates one more meeting points and similarities between two philosophers.

The phenomenological notion of representation helps to delve into unmarked and invisible elements of representation that would help to categorize the qualitative analysis of media symbolic representation in the Chapter III, namely, conceptual representations of universality, multiplicity, indefinite singularity in media discourse. This perfectly fits into the symbol theory of Cassirer and of his followers that implicitly or even explicitly draw on the Husserl's phenomenological foundations and that distinguish them from the symbol theory of semiotics.

Ernst Cassirer argues that in the true symbolic representation the formed intuition of the whole (*eine geformte Gesamt-Anschauung*) is reached that, practically, means definite cognitive act leading to a vision (*Darstellung*) of objective. Due to any true symbolic representation, the objective and significant whole filled with representative "sense" manifests itself (*objektiv-bedeutsames*

Ganzes, als erfüllt mit gegenständlichem "Sinn") (Cassirer, 1925, p. 144). Janz (2001) claims that for Cassirer a representation is present already in a single perception (p. 197).

In his work *Substanzbegriff und Funktionsbegriff* (1910) Ernst Cassirer writes of the history of the term "representation" that helps to understand how he arrives at his functional concept of symbolic representation. He mentions that this concept is a central one in the history of theories of cognition; in metaphysical theories a representation is cognized as "a vision" that points at a thing which stands behind it (Cassirer, 1910, p. 373). Sign is of different nature than signified. This is the mystery of cognition how we manage to read a specific character of a thing off a vision that corresponds to it being embodied in a sign (pp. 373-374). It takes a long way for Cassirer to ground his understanding of representation as a definite cognitive act leading to a vision (die Darstellung) of objective.

It is also worth mentioning that the key problem which Ernst Cassirer tries to solve in his critique of cognition is how to pass from objective to subjective rather than from subjective to objective (Cassirer, 1910, p. 369). I do not focus on this aspect of his theory; it is rather a subject for a separate research. Here it is just an illustration of the epistemological problems which Cassirer raises and which are untypical for the contemporary media studies that struggle with operational, technical approaches to objectivity.

We also have to take a brief note of the relations between matter (der Stoff) and form (die Formung) in the Cassirer's notion of representation (Janz, 2001, p. 175). In the symbolic representations there are two poles that could not be contemplated separately: matter could be *presented* while form - *represented*, but they both are impossible without each other and mutually reciprocal (p. 176).

One of the most paradoxical reflections on the Cassirer's theory of cultural representation we can find in the Feron's analysis. He claims that symbol is not a fixed and frozen meaning, but it is the realization of its survival (1997, p. 238). In other words, symbol is possible due to its link with

death. If in symbol we find no "center of stability" beyond accidental and immediate appearance, this symbol itself disappears.

The basic criterion for distinction between expression and representation in symbolic forms is their relation with the real (le réel). Any expression has an *immediate* relation with reality and relies on a direct identification with objects while any representation presupposes distancing from reality without complete disruption of *mediate* links with it (Janz, 2001, p. 235). For example, in myth a god and his/her name is the same; in fact, there is no distinction between them. This is exactly the case when a word is a thing, an image is a thing. In the Christian religion we find the distinction between God's name and the whole concept of him as a Trinity. In media reporting there is a distinction between reporter's description what he/she eyewitnesses on a spot, for example, descriptions of the ongoing clashes between riot police and protestors; and reporter's explanations of the phenomena of self-defense of Maidan. This vicissitude between expressions and representations is all-penetrating in contemporary symbolic forms.

To complete the picture of analysis we could refer to the American philosopher John Dewey that bridges experience and communication. He (1929) states that things acquire meanings and representatives *through* and *in* communication:

Where communication exists, things in acquiring meanings, thereby acquire representatives, surrogates, signs and implicates, which are infinitely more amenable to management, more permanent and more accommodating, than events in their first estate. (...) Even the dumb pang of an ache achieves a significant existence when it can be designated and descanted upon; it ceases to be merely oppressive (...); it gains important because it becomes representative... (p. 167)

Charles Peirce as a philosopher had an impact on the development of phenomenology. He thinks that representation obligatorily contains a reference to an interpretant (Categories. Cenopythagorean Categories, 2014).

One more demarcation line that I have to take note of separates *presentation* and *re-presentation*. What is a difference between two of them? Presentation functions at the level of sensual perceptions. Representation appears at the level of intuitive cognition with its analysis of objects leading to the conceptual synthesis of signification (Janz, 2001).

The post-structural view of a representation has some features in common with phenomenology but, overall, they differ in its angles of views and accentuations. One of the key similarities is the reference to symbol as a vehicle for sense-endowment. Within both theoretical frameworks history of culture is equated with history of symbolic forms. At this point the similarities end up. While for Ernst Cassirer culture is a self-liberation of human spirit, for Pierre Bourdieu culture is power that subordinates certain social actors to the others grounding the relations of domination.

For Bourdieu (1991) representation could be interpreted as one of the meanings of "ritual symbolism as delegation of power" (p. 115). This ritual symbolism *represents* such a delegation. Furthermore, Bourdieu speaks of "political labour of representation":

The political labour of representation (not only in words or theories but also in demonstrations, ceremonies or any other form of symbolization of divisions or oppositions) gives the objectivity of public discourse and exemplary practice to a way of seeing or of experiencing the social world that was previously relegated to the state of a practical disposition of a tacit and often confused experience (unease, rebelliousness, etc.). (1991, p. 130)

Bourdieu also stresses that "the effectiveness of representations is most apparent, and particularly in the words, slogans and theories" (1991, p. 129). They are needed to found and to sustain any social order. Expectedly, language is the main vehicle for representation and symbolization of any authority. The stylistics of language as an agent of authority is characterized with "routinization, stereotyping, and neutralization" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 109).



Hence, the symbolic representation from the Bourdieu's point structures experience in a way that it assures its objectification and exemplification. This is the principle condition for the legitimatization of any protest movement, including Maidan. We can assume that media get actively involved into this political labour of representation making out of confused experiences of numerous dissociated civil initiatives a coherent experience of durable peaceful protest with the potential of radicalization. The same accounts for life-worlds of unpolitical ordinary life. Hypothetically, somebody has to fulfill the labour of representing everyday experience for sake of helping its bearers to order and to structure it and to overcome inescapable confusion of disarranged daily experience. Are media able to efficiently participate in this division of labour? This is one of the research questions of this dissertation that is specified in the Chapter III.

It is noteworthy that any symbolic political representation could be produced, reproduced or destroyed (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 127). So, conceivably, media create as well as destroy symbolic representations of protests and everyday life. While it is feasible to enquire into *production* due to qualitative interpretative research, it is an open-ended question how to do research on *destruction of symbolic representations*. The sole observable indirect power of media to destruct representations lie in their selective approach to symbols, namely, the total media exclusion for any reason of a particular mediated symbolic representation would lead to its media destruction. The other question is whether media could directly destruct those symbolic representations that have at their core symbols created by media themselves, and how this could be discerned by scientifically relevant and valid research methods? In the Chapter III it is suggested to study the destruction of such representations by focusing on changes in structures of media symbols over time.

To make the last point, Carey (2009) points out that symbolic representation in culture, generally, and in media, particularly, are simultaneously representations *of* and *for* realities. In this dissertation we focus on the structure, content and referential nature of representations *of* realities

but once we step on a ground of any contemplations of their significance for audiences and readerships, representations *of* something transform in representations *for* something.

### **Media Representations: Major Categories**

There are two basic categories, identifiable for the analysis of symbols in culture, in general, and in media, in particular: meaning and power. Both of them are predictably closely intertwined: any meaning could be interpreted as a sense-endowment to life-worlds as well as the articulation, manifestation and product of the power relations. Meanwhile, power structures social relations and, consequently, symbolic representations by allocating unevenly symbolic resources, using symbolic violence and prescribing the righteousness through language (Bourdieu, 1991). Wolfsfeld (1997) asserts that there are two foundational dimensions of relations between power and its challengers: the structural dimension of the struggle over access to media and the cultural dimension of the struggle over meanings.

The interpretative branch in the symbolic representation studies (Langer, 1954; Geertz, 1973; Alexander & Mast, 2006; Carey, 2009) choose the meaning as the primary category of their analysis. This approach could be regarded as a direct or indirect response to the criticism of the conventional effect models in media studies. As Gauntlett summerized, "The effects model makes no attempt to understand meanings of the media" (Gauntlett, para. 9).

Carey (2009) unequivocally finds fault the contemporary social scientists for their incapability to study meanings of culture apart from its structures, institutions, actors, and psychological reality:

Faced with making some explicit statements about cultural forms, social scientists retreat to obscurantism and reduce their subject matter to social structures and psychological needs. They seem incapable of handling culture in itself - as an ordered though contradictory and heterogeneous system of symbols - and treat merely the social psychological origins of the symbols. (p. 39)

Carey emphasizes that communication and media studies are in forefront of this overwhelming trend. Just as the rest of social sciences, they do not inspect experience as "ordered system of meaningful symbols" (p. 42). They make inquiry into news analysis, media production, editorial policies, censorship, at most they question frames and tones of media coverage but rarely and scarcely meanings and/or symbols as an overarching carrier of meanings. Consequently, the author detects "the virtual absence in mass communication research anything more than a rudimentary conception of symbolic processes" (2009, p. 42). He postulates that the studies of communication have to scrupulously investigate the construction of diverse symbolic systems (2009, p. 24). Some of them were assiduously conceptualized by Cassirer, Goodman, Langer, Bourdieu. This range of symbolic systems includes myth, language, science, art, history, ideology, music. Carey adds to this list journalism and media as equitable symbolic system (2009, p. 24).

It is noteworthy that Carey comprehends communication as "representations of experience" (p. 26). According to him, the task of cultural studies as well as media studies as their integral part is "to diagnose human meanings""by descending deeper into the empirical world" (p. 43). To study meanings in communication, inter alia in media, is to view human behavior as a text and to construct a reading of this sequence of symbols - speech, quotations, concepts, cultural objects, symbolic actions, rituals, social dramas, visuals - this all comes to "interpretations of interpretations" (Carey, 2009, p. 46). The author claims that this is quite modest task: we just aim to cognize the meanings that others have assigned to experience (Carey, 2009, pp. 47, 49). However, at the same time this is an ambitious task of reaching out to the foundational relations and senses within society, within multiple life-worlds in all its variety of transcendental and everyday realities.

Alexander and Mast (2006) claim that a wide range of various thinkers of the last half a century make concerted efforts to prove that the possibility of meaning is destroyed. Here they mention Marx's theory of class conflict, Weber's theory of rationalization and power, Frankfurt

School's theory of culture industry (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1972), Arendt's mass society theory (1951), Jameson's theory of postmodernity and late capitalism (1991), Baudrillard's theory of hyperreality (1994) (Alexander & Mast, 2006, p. 9). They all argue that nothing can ever be the same again, that capitalism, bureaucracy and rationalization, culture industry, mass society or postmodernity destroyed the preconditions for meaning. Consequently, the history of culture is narrated as a process of disillusionment, as deviation from a once golden age of holiness (Sherwood, 1994 as cited in Alexander & Mast, 2006, p. 9). All these authors really assume that contemporary cultural representation appears to be imprisoned in sign systems in which one of essential elements is missed: either a referent, signified, object (hyperreality) or an interpretant (mass society, postmodernity). As a result, a meaning gets lost, meaningless becomes a norm. Symbol theories, theories of symbolic action and social performance break this ice by detecting areas of meanings in the contemporary societies.

Cassirer's conception of meaning is not conditioned on truth but it is closer to the phenomenological notion of *intentionality* (Skidelsky, 2011, p. 145). This is one more meeting point between Cassirer's critique of culture and Husserl's transcendental phenomenology. Husserl's intentionality is the most cognizable in what we call being "conscious" and "aware" (McIntyre & Smith, 1989, p. 147). This is the characteristic of our mental experience, the mind is conceptualized by Edmund Husserl as "intentional experience" (2011, pp. 363-382). All events of our mental life, namely, perceptions, have a characteristic of being *of* something and *about* something (McIntyre & Smith, 1989, 147). We are conscious and aware of something. So, any experience functions as a representation of something else and something more than it is by itself. The human mind, according to Husserl, has a representative nature, called "intentionality". Cassirer receives and creatively works out these phenomenological fundamentals in his works on the philosophy of symbolic forms.

"This understanding of meaning does not imply any restriction to a language. A gesture is meaningful insofar as it expresses a certain state of mind; a perception is meaningful insofar as it is *of a recognizable kind of object*", points out Skidelsky in his research of the Cassirer's philosophical project (2011, p. 145).

Any signification and symbolization is constructed on the basis of some meaning (Janz, 2001, p. 248). Furthermore, any life-world as lived experience whose media coverage I analyze in the given research gets constituted due to meanings. According to Alfred Schutz, "Meaning is not a quality of certain lived experiences emerging distinctively in the stream of consciousness - that is to say, of objectivities constituted within it; it is rather the result of my explications of past lived experiences which are grasped respectively from an actual now and from an actually valid reference schemata" (1973, pp. 15-16).

Langer (1954) understands meaning as function of a term of a symbol, namely, a function of subject, symbol, conception, and object. She claims that meaning is not a quality of symbols' terms. "A function is a pattern viewed with reference to one special term round which it centers; this pattern emerges when we look at the given term in its total relation to the other terms about it. The total may be quite complicated. For instance, a musical chord may be treated as a function of one note, known as the "written bass", points out Langer (1954, p. 44). She emphasizes that wherever a symbol enters into being, there is a meaning, and, vice versa, varying types of experience correspond to respectively different types of symbolic mediation (p. 79).

Alexander and Mast (2006) argue that modern and postmodern secularization of culture does not imply the loss of meaning as well as it does not mean the end of sacralization of power:

Powers are still infused with sacralizing discourses, and modern and postmodern actors can strategize only by typifying in terms of institutionally segmented binary codes. Secularization does not mean the loss of cultural meaning, the emergence of completely free-floating institutions (...). There remains, in Kenneth Thompson's (1990) inimitable phrase, the "dialectic between sacralization and secularization". (...) Secularization does

mean differentiation (...) not only between culture, self, and social structure, but within culture itself.  
(Alexander & Mast, 2006, pp. 7-8)

Power and symbolic representation as an overarching topic for the in-depth sociological research and contemplation is introduced, inter alia, by Pierre Bourdieu in his *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991). The importance of structural relations between power and media is stressed and put into the focus of empirical and conceptual scrutiny by researchers from a wide spectrum of theoretical traditions (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1982; Chomsky & Herman, 2010; McCargo, 2003; Hallin & Mancini, 2004). The structural and clientelist relations between media and power, media and state in the Ukrainian media system are studied through the lenses of media capture theory by Natalya Ryabinska (2014). Marta Dyczok (2006) applies the concept of censorship to investigate the same plethora of interrelations at the era of the Kuchma's presidency in Ukraine.

This is the level of structures and relations between them. Bourdieu offers to deconstruct them in order to see their ideational foundations, inter alia in language with its proliferating symbolism. The next step after this deconstruction of power relations, if we follow the logic of post-structuralism and critically assess the claims of loss of meanings, is to investigate the symbolism in its broad cultural sense that we find in Cassirer's, Husserl's, Langer's, Schutz's works.

For Bourdieu the question of principle is how at the core of the contemporary philosophical discourse the explicit opposition between the ontological and the ontic (anthropological) institutes (1991, p. 144). In this way the philosophical discourse keeps the gate closed for an enormous set of empirical data that are needed in order to understand power as a unit of philosophical reflection as well as empirical qualitative and quantitative investigation. Studies of media symbolism in this regard have a good potential to bridge ontological and ontic although Cassirer's theoretical approach, in principle, abandons ontological dimension focusing on a *function* rather than *being* as a starting point of any reflections and research.

For such authors as Bourdieu (1991), Foucault (1972), Couldry (2003) any "social center" is the outcome of the power relations. Bourdieu underlines the arbitrary nature of any social foundations. According to him (1991), Cassirer's "symbolic forms" are themselves "subjective structures", or "structuring structures" needed to know and to construct the world (p. 165). Any objectivity reached through symbolic forms becomes possible due to an agreement between subjects (consensus) (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 165).

Bourdieu conceives of language as a reservoir of symbolic resources for structural relations of dominance and subordination. They are outspokenly exemplified in literary versions of language that marginalize and delegitimize all dialects, colloquial pronunciations, accents, etc. This literary language becomes a gate to high education, social status, richness, and power. This does not imply that there are not any other gates that have to be passed through to these social and political capital but this one is crucial, according to Bourdieu. Post-structuralism aspires to see symbols in all their variety and diversity as resources for structuralization of power relations and sometimes even as resources for symbolic violence instead of symbolic liberation. The important question is who the symbols-creator and their primary interpreter are and which interpretation becomes dominant and consensual for those who are excluded from the symbolic signification and, especially, from its interpretation. Melucci claims that the real domination is achieved through exclusion from "the power of naming" (as cited in Couldry, 2003, p. 43). In addition, in symbols themselves we could detect concepts of power relations. In the section on representations in phenomenology and post-structuralism there is more detailed outline of the Bourdieu's conception.

Hence, in this study I try to keep focus of both meaning and power by balancing between cultural studies and post-structuralist critique of power. Presumably, the symbolic universe of any long-term that tries to contest the foundations of power, as it was in Maidan, gives examples of redistribution of symbolic resources and reconfiguration of concepts of power inside symbols

themselves. I attempt to explore this process in our analysis of symbolic representations in the media coverage of transcendental life-worlds<sup>7</sup>.

### **Symbolization of Life-Worlds**

Life-world is a concept used to designate and to signify the objective and subjective experience of human beings."Life-world appears to be more organized, better-structured and worked-out than experience as more general and ideational concept. Its prominent theoretician is Alfred Schutz.

Schutz is the Austrian-American philosopher and sociologist that represents phenomenological sociology. He is often presented as a follower of Edmund Husserl. Intrinsic affinity of Cassirer's and Husserl's philosophies is outlined in the given research in detail. So, although Ernst Cassirer represents the historical and cultural theorizations with its focus on meanings, and Alfred Schutz represents sociological one with its focus on stable structures, they have common roots in the transcendental phenomenology.

The American-Austrian sociologist Thomas Luckmann finalized and completed the Schutz's work on structures of life-worlds after the latter's death in 1959. So, two volumes on this subject appeared posthumously. I refer only to Schutz instead of the reference to both Schutz and Luckmann in those places where we focus on ideas as such rather than a particular book *Structures of the Life-World* that has two authors.

Schutz (1973) defines an everyday life-world as "a paramount province of reality" to which an average normal adult has "a natural attitude" (p. 21). He stresses that a life-world is

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<sup>7</sup>The term "transcendental life-world" is explained in the next section.



"fundamentally inter-subjective"; it is a social world in which interpretation of a meaning is a fundamental principle of a natural attitude towards a fellow-man (p. 16). By the latter the sociologist means a contemporary that finds himself or herself in the same historical situation. Jürgen Habermas (1985) asserts that in order to understand what life-world is, it is necessary to distinguish two types of perspectives of society's conception: a perspective of acting subjects that see society as "life-world of a social group" and a perspective of an observer, non-involved in actions, that sees society as "a system of actions that have functional significance according to their contribution to the maintenance of the system" (p. 117).

The experiences in a life-world, being replete with "natural objectivities", appear in the forms of linguistic typifications, recipes for behavior, and explications of predecessors (Schutz & Luckmann, 1973, p. 17).

Some experiences are compatible, the others are not. Schutz explains their compatibility with the help of a concept of "finite province of meaning":

The orders of reality do not become constituted through the ontological structures of their Objects, but rather through the meaning of our experience. (...) We prefer to speak of finite provinces of meaning, upon each of which we could confer the accent of reality. A finite province of meaning thus consists of meaning-compatible experiences. (...) All experiences that belong to a finite province of meaning point at a particular style of lived experience - viz., a cognitive style. (Schutz & Luckmann, 1973, p. 23)

He claims that there is no conversion formula for reducing one finite province of reality to the other. The only possible way to get from one to the other is to make "a leap"; by finite provinces of meaning Schutz (1973) means an everyday life-world, as well as world of dreams, world of science, world of religion (pp. 23-24).

A life-world could not be equated neither with "the simple copy of the structure of stock of knowledge" nor with "an aggregation of the individual experiences or objects of experience"; a life-

world appears when meaning contexts are submitted to the socially objectifying "natural logic" and are affected by subjective biography (Schutz & Luckmann, 1973, p. 180).

I compare the Schutz's definition of a life-world with the Goodman's "familiar serviceable world":

For the man-in-the-street, most versions from science, art, and perception depart in some ways from the familiar serviceable world he has jerry-built from fragments of scientific and artistic tradition and from his own struggle for survival. This world (...) is the one most often taken as real; for reality in a world (...) is largely a matter of habit. (Goodman, 1988, p. 20)

It is noteworthy what Goodman adds to this definition. He emphasizes that mere acceptance of many available "worlds" or frames of references is really liberating but it does not provide any achievements of human mind and spirit, namely no map for guiding our motions, no device for measuring temperature and pressure, no book for telling a story of a generation, no philosophical system or theory (Goodman, 1988, p. 21).

Schutz and Luckmann (1973) introduce the criteria of experience: duration, sequence, experiential depth, and narrowness. While duration and sequence are generally the self-evident criteria, experiential depth of human experience could be defined as the depth of experience's reach of human attitudes, habits, views, interests, etc. Every experience is based also on certain horizon of the world. This horizon could be broader or narrower that affects, consequently, the degree of narrowness of a particular experience.

Schutz and Luckmann (1973) identify the problem of inconsistency and incongruence between an individual stock of knowledge and an actual experience that he also describes as "incompatibility between different provinces of reference schemata" (p. 14). This problem, normally, pushes people towards "re-explication of the kernel of the horizon" of their stock of experience. In addition to an individual stock of knowledge, there is a social stock of knowledge that intersects with it. Speaking about the media representations of life-worlds I have to utilize this

distinction between a stock of knowledge and actual experience. In other words, where, when and how media identify incompatibilities between an existing stock of knowledge and actual experience that is especially relevant for life-worlds of protests.

For the purposes of the given analysis of life-worlds' symbolic representations it is important to show how Schutz defines the structure of subjective experience of the life-world:

Only part of the world is in actual reach. Around this province, other provinces of restorable or attainable reach are differentiated. Their spheres of reach exhibit the temporal as well as social structure. My experience of life-world is also temporally arranged: the inner duration is a flow of lived experience arising from present, retentive and protentive phases as well as memories and expectations. The zones of actual reach, restorable and attainable. It is intersected by world, biological and social time. It is determined in the unique sequence of articulated biography. (Schutz & Luckmann, 1973, p. 103)

I attempt to clearly identify the categories that help to analyze symbolic representations of life-worlds in media as subjective experiences. These are three types of provinces of a person's reach: actual reach, restorable reach (memories) and attainable reach (expectations). The inner duration of lived experience arises from the present as well as from memories and expectations. Living in this inner duration a person lives simultaneously within three other types of time. Therefore, altogether Schutz demarcates four of them: world time, biological time, social time, and inner duration (1973, p. 101). The sociologist also explains what aspects of temporality of a life-world he observes: finitude, fixed course of temporality, and historical situationality (Schutz & Luckmann, 1973, p. 50). The finitude imposes limits on biographical and social time; fixed course of temporality presupposes that we could not jump over certain actions and events; and historicity means that we always find ourselves in certain historical situation whose boundaries in our life-world we could not overcome. This sociological and phenomenological classificatory approach to time is useful for the purposes of the analysis of the symbolic qualities and relations of space, time, number, and causality.

The German historian Reinhart Kosellek (2006) identifies the similar relations between experience and time. According to him, there are three types of experience-acquisition: individual and unique experience; generational experience, and inter-generational experience.

Any individual experience is acquired uniquely, often unexpectedly and abruptly; it is always unset and often unplanned (p. 50). Within social entities, structured by a criterion of a year of birth, experience gets some common traits and characteristics that change with the death of old generation and emergence of a new one (Kosellek, 2006, p. 51). This generational experience could become disrupted or broken through due to commonly arranged and/or lived political events. Such events are differently lived by various age and social groups, but anyway they create some shared characteristics among the people that experience them, that is why we can acknowledge biological and social as well as political generations (p. 51). For Kosellek a life-world<sup>8</sup> is substantiated by two types of phenomena: single immediate events and accumulated experience that favors the structuration of human stories in the medium-run; the latter lay down the foundation for conditions and processes that are specific for certain generations and impact individual stories, but they refer to longer periods of time than those by which we measure individual human life (Kosellek, 2006, p. 53).

Meanwhile, Schutz develops his notion of experiential temporality by introducing one more concept, relevant for the given analysis - "a province of the practicable":

(...) A province of the practicable (...) has been built up in the stock of my knowledge from my experiences in previously actual zones of operation. This province of the practicable meets its absolute limitation in the unmodifiable ontological structure of the life-world, especially in its temporal structure. This province is also relatively limited by the technologically practical (also somewhat indirectly by the theoretical, scientific) state

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<sup>8</sup>Reinhart Kosellek uses the term "experience" (die Erfahrung). He does not use a term "life-world".

of knowledge of the society into which I was born, and by my own previous experiences. (Schutz & Luckmann, 1973, p. 50)

Alfred Schutz (1989) also outlines such constitutive elements in life-worlds as actions in its broad sense. As long as in the given research we focus profoundly on such categories of analysis as meanings, structural relations of dominance and subordination and symbolic actions as a particular case of social actions, we omit this category leaving the space for subsequent studies in social and cultural pragmatics. However, it is noteworthy that thinkers associated with philosophical pragmatism made their contribution to the understanding of symbols, as we showed with the help of Charles Pierce's theory, and to the understanding of experience.

Dreher (2003) presents the finding, crucial for the tasks of the given dissertation. He discovered that Schutz in his *Notebooks* drafted the schemata of theory of signs and symbols that was supposed to become an integral part of two volumes of *Structures of the Life-World*. The researcher criticizes Luckmann for certain neglect of this issue. Dreher's investigation bridges the concepts of symbols and everyday life-world. He relies in these undertakings, inter alia, on the unfinished manuscripts. The alleged chapter on symbols as a bridge between transcendental realities of religion, art, literature, politics, etc., and "the paramount reality of the everyday life-world" was supposed to be called "The transcendences of the life-world and their overcoming by signs and symbols". This discovery of connections between symbolic representations and life-worlds that, conceivably, were established by Schutz himself proves reasonable the general direction and conceptual orientation of this research that also tries to scientifically establish relations between symbols, representations, life-worlds, and media.

Dreher restores the Schutzian understanding of symbols "as objects, facts, or events in our everyday life that are means to communicate our experiences of other transcendent realities because they are present and accessible to everyone within our everyday life-world" (2003, p. 153). He underpins the example of scientific theory and literature which use "words" from everyday life-

world as symbols which "appresent realities of these finite provinces of meaning", although their validity is independent of common sense of everyday life.

Dreher (2003) points out that Schutz takes as foundational the concept of appresentation coined by Edmund Husserl within the framework of his transcendental phenomenology. Signs and symbols are appresentational systems, or "appresentational references of the highest order" that allow "the paramount reality of the everyday life-world" to transcend over multiple reality spheres. In its turn, any reality over everyday life-world needs to use appresentational systems.

"Significant for the symbolic appresentation of society is the fact that institutionalized systems outside the everyday reality such as religion or politics must employ elements present in the everyday life-world for their symbolization to make intersubjectivity and communication possible", asserts Dreher (p. 157). The everyday life-world also has to employ elements of science, art or media to make itself understandable for them that is called "reversal of symbolization". This observation corresponds with what the theory of social performance tells about the motivations and intentions of performing social actors. They use the elements of media reality sphere to be understandable for media practitioners and, as a consequence, to its audiences and readerships.

Dreher also restores three-stage stratification of transcendences of the intersubjective life-world: "the other's world within reach transcends mine", "transcendence of the other's existence itself in the pure we-relationship", and "the we-relation as such transcends my and your existence" (2003, pp. 147-148). The first stage is conceived as idealization of reciprocity of perspectives when something that is within the actual reach of other person is present within our potential reach. The second stage is a level of face-to-face relationship in which there are yet no preconditions for true symbolizations, and, finally, at the third stage the true symbolization begins with the constitution of various collective entities like nation, church, bureaucracy, etc. We can assume that in protests the third stage, the transcendence of we-relation over our individual existence, takes place. Moreover, media that cover protests are themselves a specific transcendental reality whose primary goal and

social mission is to bridge multiple reality spheres between themselves and make them understandable and reachable within the everyday life-world. We can call the life-world of such massive and continuous grassroots movement as Maidan "transcendental life-world" in contrast to the everyday life-world of unpolitical routine. This entails dense symbolization of the life-world while in everyday life beyond any contacts with transcendent reality spheres of religion, literature, art, history, there are very few opportunities for symbolizations.

While Schutz, as we see from the Dreher's reconstructive analysis, thinks that the life-world has multidimensional analytical range, Jürgen Habermas (1985) criticizes the concept of life-world from the perspective of the theory of communicative action and argues that it has limited empirical and analytical scope and proposes to conceive of societies as life-worlds and as systems that helps to separate the rationalization of life-worlds from increasing complications of the social systems (p. 118). Habermas takes a life-world as a synonym of society from the perspective of acting subject that is constituted through referential relations with three types of worlds, namely, three types of interpretative frameworks, within which people come to terms on the common definitions of historical and biographical situations: objective world "as the totality of entities about which true statements are possible"; social world "as the totality of legitimately regulated interpersonal relations"; subjective world "as the totality of experience to which a speaker has privileged access and which he can express before a public (1985, p. 120). This is one more view of structures of a life-world. Taking into consideration of this supplementation, in the given research the main focus is still on subjective experience of a life-world as long as media by their virtue tend to preoccupy foremost with concrete human interest stories leaving social and objective worlds, as they are defined by Habermas, to the discretion of experts, historians, and thinkers who penetrate media coverage through quotations.

The American philosopher and psychologist John Dewey (1929) draws attention to the key distinction existing in the experience: differentiation of ends "as de facto endings, and ends as

fulfillments" bearing in mind the relations between the latter and the former (p. 111). One more distinction that he emphasizes is between superior and inferior being: "the general, recurrent and extensive has been treated as the worthy and superior kind of Being; the immediate, intensive, transitory, and qualitatively individualized taken to be of importance only when it is imputed to something ordinary" (Dewey, 1929, p. 116). It is necessary to designate the universal, general, and stable in the human experience because all this creates the conditions and instrumentalities for "the occurrence of unique, unstable and passing" (p. 116). As basic examples of experience, indicative of these polarities, Dewey adduces labor and science.

Therefore, for the purposes of the given research I take note of this distinction between universal, stable, on the one hand, and unique, unstable, on the other. It is a part of this analysis to investigate how these polarities are interrelated in symbols.

To sum up, the transcendental phenomenology along with philosophical pragmatism provides us with a system of categories and descriptions of structural relations between different components of experience, namely, life-worlds, that are used as conceptual anchors for the analysis of symbolic representations of protests in media. Life-worlds fulfill the function of an intermediary between cultural symbolism, on the one hand, and politics and everyday life, on the other. When we try to analyze the media coverage of particular events or processes drawing on their direct representations, we take risk of blurring the object of representations and risk of their dehumanization. In other words, we could easily lose a personalized human interest focus that is a primary and foundational concern of any media. Once we shift the focus off the general events and processes, disseminated in time and space, towards experience, generated and accumulated through these events and processes, we come to the clearer, more reliable and distinct subject of symbolic representations. This issue is discussed in detail in the Chapter III.

In the history of media studies, we encounter the researchers that brought to scientific spotlight the importance of relations between historical experience and media in their everyday



operations. For example, Taddy Scannell (1996) in his *Radio, Television and Modern Life* showed how the philosophical theory could be successfully applied to the body of the contemporary media studies. There are actually two important contributions made by this author that are relevant for the purposes of the given study. Firstly, he used the Martin Heidegger's concept of the factuality and historicity of being to show how media implicate the everyday, routine existence into the wider historical process in which the particular social whole as well as the humankind are involved. This is a scientific showcase of the adaptation of the purely philosophical concepts to the historical, structural, empirical types of the analysis. Secondly, Taddy Scannell puts emphasis on media's over-preoccupation with the political reality that brackets out the everyday, ordinary life. In search for the explicit and implicit media representations of this ordinary life Scannell, finally, comes to the Heideggerian concept of factuality and historicity that helps to show media representations as the macro-structural process rather than the end-products of concrete media reporting.

By the way, Martin Heidegger and Ernst Cassirer took part in the Davos intellectual debate under the auspices of the Davos Hochschule in 1929 as two major opponents. They competed there for the audience's support. That audience was predominantly composed of students that came to spend some time on mountain hikes of Alps. In the run-up to the final stage of the debate both philosophers were invited to deliver a lecture on a subject of their choice. Heidegger's lecture was titled "Kant and the problem of Metaphysics" (Skidelsky, 2011, p. 209). Cassirer chose as a subject of his lecture "philosophical anthropology" (p. 2011). By numerous accounts, Heidegger won in that contestation, because the support of the young public was on his side (Skidelsky, 2011, pp. 208-217; Paetzold, 1995). However, in decades his philosophy is viewed as a part of an intellectual tradition that paved a way for nazism and fascism. Meanwhile, Cassirer had to flee Germany, and his philosophy, despite all critique of its finality, still preserves the potential for the reinvigoration of humanistic traditions in the studies of culture, as we try to prove in the given interdisciplinary media research. As Langer emphasizes, "In the fundamental notion of symbolization—mystical, practical, or mathematical, it makes no difference—we have the keynote of all humanistic

problems. In it lies a new conception of "mentality" that may illumine questions of life and consciousness" (1954, p.19).

The whole construction of symbolic power theory helps to pose a fundamental question of media's ability, capacity, willingness, and motivation to report on life-worlds of people. If we look just at the meanings and bracket out the impact of power relations, it would curtail the understanding of the limits and potential of media in signification of the life-worlds, namely, their ability to perform as self-sufficient symbolic form rather than a copy machines, replicas, mirror and/or mixture of other symbolic forms.

Couldry (2003) unambiguously contends that media fail to report human life-worlds:

If society's "center" is indeed a myth- or if (put another way, adopting Habermas' famous distinction between "system" and 'life-world') contemporary media fail to speak the "life-world's" truth to the "system", because they are in crucial respects *part of* that "system" - then we need to explain why this myth stays in place and how it connects with the wider legitimation of media power. (p. 42)

In order to agree or disagree with this statement we need to gather the sufficient empirical data that could display the symbolic representations of experience, defined as life-worlds, in contemporary media. I discuss in the Chapter III whether it is possible to generalize on the basis of the case of Maidan any tendencies, but anyway it is necessary to gather critically relevant data from case to case in order to arrive at some deeper understanding of the problem. In our analysis of media coverage of extraordinary political experiences of protest as life-worlds we try to establish the relations between symbols as representations and significations of concrete structural components of subjective experience of life-world (provinces of reach, types of time, subjective biography). Only through the lenses of such analysis we could test the validity of the Couldry's criticism.

In the given research I focus on print media and their online editions. For the purposes of such research there is a need in a crucial distinction between *media symbols* and *mediated symbols*.

The first kind of symbols could be defined as functional relations between object, sign, subject, and concept that media determine and decide by themselves. The mediated symbols are transmitted rather than predetermined by media themselves. In the latter case they perform structuring role as any autonomous symbolic power. However, they just report on the products and processes of symbolic resources' accumulation and application by other actors (grassroots movement, government, political opposition, riot police, the EU, etc.). The respective classification of symbols and other methodological issues are outlined in the next Chapter.

### **Other Theories of Symbols**

One of the most widely cited and scientifically reworked theories of signs that fits into the framework of pragmatism and semiotics is the Charles Peirce's theory of signs. He proposes own definition of symbols that represents the conceptualization of experience as well as the pragmatic understanding of any symbolism. From his point of view symbols are invariants of signs, so-called "general signs" (Peirce, 2006). So, in order to grasp his understanding of symbols, we have to look, first, at his overarching theory of signs.

Everaert-Desmedt (2011) points out that the Peirce's view of semiosis as a process or activity of production of meanings comprises all the components of semiotics: pragmatics (the side of interpretant), semantics (the side of the object), and syntax (the side of representamen) (para.2.3). Each of the three elements of semiosis is further divided according to the three categories: firstness, secondness and thirdness. They materialize in the representamen, in representamen-object relations, and in the way the interpretant realizes the relationship between representamen and object (Everaert-Desmedt, 2011, para. 2.4). Audience reception studies correspond with pragmatics, studies of meanings - with semantics, and studies of frames, patterns, symbols, templates, temporal layers, scripts - with syntax. However, pragmatism, namely symbolic actions, are prerogatives of the wider range of more concretely defined social actors than just impersonalized audience. Peirce

just pioneers such an angle of view of symbolic representations in which semiotics and pragmatics are intertwined and go side by side. Alexander and Mast (2006) argue that social actors, for example, protest movements or political parties, exercise symbolic actions as a part of their performance which represents them as sophisticated and interesting actors able to draw media's attention. These authors claim that symbolic actions are, actually, this performance which we can study with the means of semiotics and pragmatics:

What characterizes (...) entire line of thinking, which has been so central to the development of contemporary cultural-sociological thought, is the failure to take advantage of the theoretical possibilities of understanding symbolic action as performance. Fully intertwining semantics and pragmatics can allow for the openness and contingency that is blocked by theoretical nostalgia for simpler and more coherent societies. (Alexander & Mast, 2006, pp. 12-13)

I focus on the Geertz's theory of symbolic action below. This theory is one of the springboards for the theory of social performance and media rituals. At this stage it is important to admit that the Peirce's theory of signs is much more than just intellectual game in combining of signs. It paved the way for the union of semiotics and pragmatics in the subsequent culture studies.

Peirce's concepts of firstness, secondness, and thirdness correlate with his classification of signs whose invariant is symbol. This is a theory of predication which helps to grasp the categorization of signification of meanings for an interpretant. Peirce (Categories. Cenopythagorean Categories, 2014) uses trichotomy in the following list of categories, just as he does it in the case of signs.

Table 1

*Trichotomy of Categories*

Category	Typical characterization	Definition	As experience	As quantity	Examples

Firstness	Spontaneity, possibility, feeling quality	Originality, or mode of being without any reference to anything else	Ideas, chances	Some	Redness, blackness, continuity, successiveness
Secondness	Dependence, brute reaction	Mode of being with respect to a second but regardless of any third	Effort, resistance	Singularity, individuality	Political event, manifestation, concert, airplane crash
Thirdness	Mediation (transaction, translation, transfusion, transcendental), intelligibility	Mode of being in bringing a second and third into relation to each other	Objectified reason, influence, knowledge of future, prediction, law, rule, necessity	Generality, all	Rules of censorship, historical rule of protest radicalization, printed music, law of gravitation

*Note.* The characteristics of firstness, secondness, and thirdness are summarized on the basis of the respective articles of *The Commens Dictionary: Peirce's Terms in His Own Words* that, in their turn, contains summary of numerous Peirce's letters, manuscripts, and other items because the author scattered his theorizations over a wide range of sources.

Charles Peirce develops his classification of signs as well as conceptualization and terminology of his semiotics and pragmatics during all his life. While in his midterm works we find ten classes of signs and terminology, in his late research he comes up with sixty six classes of signs. There are at least two problems with his late approach to the typology of signs. First, it is complicated and hardly applicable for the purposes of concrete empirical analysis. Second, it was not clearly formulated by the author in some particular work. It is scattered along a wide range of letters, manuscripts, other written items, and it was gleaned from these various sources (Peirce's Theory of Signs, 2010, para. 4.3). Moreover, Peirce changes, at least partly, basic terminology with

every consequential attempt of reconsidering his primary theory that could easily perplex any reader and researcher. So, we focus on his ten classes of signs' typology as the most coherent and inter-subjectively reproducible theorization. These classes make up "ten mechanisms of signification" (Everaert-Desmedt, 2011).

Peirce identifies three elements of sign: a sign-vehicle (correlate, representament), an object and an interpretant<sup>9</sup>. Peirce's interpretant is comparable with Langer's subject of sign. Every element has three types which are classifiable as either a quality, an existential fact, or a convention (law, necessity, rule) (Peirce's Theory of Signs, 2010, para. 3.4). So, we get three types of sign-vehicle, namely, a sign as such beyond its relations with object and beyond any impact of its relations with object on an interpretant: qualisign, sinsign, legisign<sup>10</sup>. There are three types of objects with regard to either quality, existential fact, or law: icon, index, and symbol. An icon means the outright, direct resemblance with an object, its reduced copy. An index is a reference to an object, its indirect signification. A symbol is a general rule of relations between sign-vehicle and object. There are, respectively, three types of interpretant: rheme, dicent, delome. According to Peirce, generally, different types of sign's elements can differently combine with each other giving birth to various classes of them. However, for such a combination there is a firm rule: a quality type of one element could be conflated only with a quality type of another element; meanwhile, an existential fact type of an element could be conflated with both a quality type of the other element and an existential fact type, and, finally, a law type of an element could be integrated in a single sign with quality type as well as existential fact or law types. The combination of three elements of sign is lineal, thus it always starts from a sign-vehicle to which we add an object. Relations between sign-vehicle and object exert influence on interpretant.

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<sup>9</sup>By interpretant Charles Peirce means rather interpretation as an operation than an interpreter as a person or any agent of interpretation of sign.

<sup>10</sup>Charles Peirce uses own terminology for designation of elements of sign as well as their types.

We provide hereby this classification of signs (Peirce's Theory of Signs, 2010, para. 3.4).

Table 2

*Peirce's Ten Classes of Signs*

<b>Interpretant</b>	<b>Object</b>	<b>Sign-vehicle</b>
Rheme	Icon	Qualisign
Rheme	Icon	Sinsign
Rheme	Index	Sinsign
Dicent	Index	Sinsign
Rheme	Icon	Legisign
Rheme	Index	Legisign
Dicent	Index	Legisign
Rheme	Symbol	Legisign
Dicent	Symbol	Legisign
Delome	Symbol	Legisign

As it is noted in *Stratford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, the icon/index/symbol trichotomy was an abstraction, and Peirce was aware that any single sign may bear some combination of iconic, indexical, and symbolic traits (2010, para.3.2).

Peirce (2006) discriminates three types of symbols: terms, propositions, and arguments (para. 15). Symbols that directly clarify their grounds, by which pure abstraction is meant, or imputed qualities which are references to this abstraction, are called terms; for instance, blood as

symbol of redness. Symbols which determine their objects by means of other terms, and thus become "capable of truth or falsehood", are called propositions, for example, a biblical psalm. Propositions are usually discursive symbols, if we apply the terminology of Susanne Langer (1954). Symbols which determine "their interpretants, and thus the minds to which they appeal, by premising a proposition or propositions which such a mind is to admit" are designated as arguments (Peirce, 2006).

Charles Peirce (2006) identifies three criteria of symbols' validity and relevance: meaning, truth, and force. From his point of view, analyzing symbols we have to clarify the formal conditions for them of having certain meanings, being true and having force (para. 15).

In his later works Peirce develops additional classification of objects and interpretants that we briefly outline to give the general notion of pragmatic approach to these elements of signs. The philosopher introduces one more typology of objects: dynamic object and immediate object. The dynamic object is the object that produces a chain of signs (Peirce's Theory of Signs, 2010, para. 4.1.1). Ransdell describes the dynamic object as the "object as it really is" (cited in Peirce's Theory of Signs, 2010, para. 4.1.1) and the immediate object as "what we, at any time, suppose the object to be" (cited in Peirce's Theory of Signs, 2010, para. 4.1.2). Hence, the immediate object is not some other additional object that exists apart from the dynamic object, but is some incomplete derivative of the dynamic object produced at a particular moment of time.

This typology of objects could be converted into the terminology of media and communication studies. During reporting on air, alive, a correspondent reports on an immediate factual object because of time, space, and content limits, like requirements to speak with simple, short sentences without any concepts. In news analysis and features published in press and online a journalist has much more opportunities to move from the immediate to the dynamic object. Actually, this is the intrinsic requirement of in-depth story-telling to move towards "an exhaustive understanding of an object".



Furthermore, Peirce proposes one more typology of interpretants: the immediate interpretant, the dynamic interpretant, and the final interpretant (Peirce's Theory of Signs, 2010, para. 4.2). This distinction correlates with his "grades of clarity or understanding". The immediate interpretant is defined as "a general definitional understanding of the relationship between sign and dynamic object" that Peirce himself takes as "all that is explicit in the sign apart from its context and circumstances of utterance" (cited in Peirce's Theory of Signs, 2010, para. 4.2.1). The dynamic interpretant is the understanding of the sign/dynamic object relationship at some "particular semiotic stage" that Peirce describes as the "effect actually produced on the mind" (cited in Peirce's Theory of Signs, 2010, para. 4.2.2). The final interpretant could be described as "that which would, finally, be decided to be the true interpretation when an ultimate opinion is reached" (cited in Peirce's Theory of Signs, 2010, para. 4.2.3).

To put it precise, the final interpretant is "an ultimate opinion". A researcher that studies symbols in media text assumes this role of the final interpretant. Media audience, newspaper, weekly magazine readership or Internet-publication readership, according to this typology, are immediate and, especially, dynamic interpretants.

To sum up, the Peirce's theory of signs has an advantage of scrupulous deconstructing of internal dynamic structure of sign. Cassirer refers to Husserl rather than to Peirce. We could not say that he ignores the Peirce's contribution to symbol theory but his primary focus is on interpenetration and succession of expression, intuition, representation, and signification along with diverse symbolic relations of space, time, number, causality rather than on internal structure of symbol.

Peirce prepares the ground for any empirical analysis of symbols: first, to discern sign-vehicle (a word, a material thing, a situational interaction, a formula, a slogan, a process); to identify its object (a concept, a law, a convention, a value), and to provide their final interpretant. Studying meanings in media texts enveloped by symbolic representations, we resort to this final

interpretation of symbol. However, a journalist in his news analysis, features, and reportages also could aim at final interpretation. So, media research in this particular case tends to arrive at *final interpretation of final interpretation* that we could distinguish as simple final interpretation and reflective final interpretation.

In continuation to semiotics and pragmatism, we outline the opportunities and potential of post-structural approaches to signs and symbols. Bourdieu (1991) focuses exactly on the structural rather than ontological or functional nature of symbol:

Symbols are the instruments *par excellence* of "social integration": as instruments of knowledge and communication (cf. Durkheim's analysis of the festivity), they make it possible for there to be a *consensus* on the meaning of the social world, a consensus which contributes fundamentally to the reproduction of the social order. (p. 166)

Referring to Durkheim, Bourdieu takes note of the "logical conformism" as a "homogeneous conception of time, space, number and cause" needed to reach an agreement on the principle fundamentals of the social order between intellectuals (1991, p. 166). Any symbolic power uses these symbols. They make it often invisible for the subordinates. In addition, "that invisible power can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it" (p. 164). For Bourdieu (1991) misrecognition of symbolic power and violence that it could commit could be equated to 'misrecognition' of arbitrariness of the power foundations. This is the basic point for taking symbols as the instruments of domination rather than as the instruments of spiritual liberation, as Cassirer sees them. His conception of a symbolic form is hardly reconcilable with such post-structuralist approach to symbols as tools of the social integration.

However, Heinz Paetzold in his *Eine Philosophische Biographie* (1995) of Ernst Cassirer states that his theory could be defined as "hermeneutic structuralism" or as "structuralist hermeneutics". Paetzold argues that the post-structuralism of Pierre Bourdieu and symbol theory of

Nelson Goodman are remarkably close to the Cassirer's theory (1995, p. 185). We focus more scrupulously on Bourdieu's theory in the section on major categories of media symbolic representations' analysis.

Clifford Geertz (1973) proposes in his *Interpretation of Cultures* the notion of symbolic action. He worked out the theoretical frameworks of symbolic anthropology. Geertz had an impact, for example, on Susanne Langer (1954), one of the most influential followers of Ernst Cassirer and theoreticians of symbols, and on James Carey (2009) that puts into focus of media studies a meaning contained in media texts and visuals and contemplate any contemporary media as cultural phenomena. In addition, Clifford's symbolic action could be regarded as a precursor of the theories of social performance and media rituals that are also discussed in the given research.

This author clearly demarcates the studies of symbolic activities (myth, religion, art, ideology) from the studies of the people's interpretations of these symbolic activities through the lenses of their beliefs and values and with the help of concepts assigned to deal with symbolic material (symbolic actions, symbolic representations, symbolic capital, symbolic power, symbolic violence, etc.) (Geertz, 1973, p. 141). In media research we deal with interpretations of symbolic actions. We can logically pose a question what concepts could help to study the representations of beliefs and values in diverse types of symbols: symbol-actions, symbol-products, symbol-situations, symbol-processes, etc.? We could assert that these are structural elements of symbols (sign-vehicle, object, interpretant), as well as basic categories of analysis - meaning and power, structural components of life-worlds, concepts of law and regularities, beauty and morality.

Geertz (1973) asserts that once we see human behavior as symbolic actions, "the thing to ask is what their import is: what it is, ridicule or challenge, irony or anger, snobbery or pride, that, in their occurrence and through their agency, is getting said" (p. 10). Geertz convinces its readers that to see culture as a containment of "socially established structures of meaning" that determine how people, for example, react to a TV camera and respond to report's questions or how people behave

in front of Christian cross is to see it as psychological phenomenon. However, he proposes to see it in a broader sense as "the imaginative universe within which people's acts are signs" (1973, p. 13). He takes these symbolic actions and their clusters as only true signifiers in the analysis of culture (Geertz, 1973, p. 26).

The principle dividing line between theory of social action and post-structuralism is their respective view of power. While Bourdieu applies it as a primary unit of symbolic representations' and actions' analysis and equates, at least partly, culture with power, Geertz is much closer to Cassirer in its belief in culture as a context rather than power to which social events, behaviors, relations, institutions, processes, as well as symbolic representations of them, could be assigned (1973, p. 14). From the Geertz's point of view, "culture is a context (...) within which they can be intelligibly (...) described" (p. 14). The author also argues that we have to be actor-oriented in our attempts to formulate other people's symbol systems that is not to think in terms of their meaning as such but in terms of their meaning for a particular actor.

Geertz defines the basic method of own anthropological writings as interpretation that, once it is efficacious, is supposed to take "into the heart" of things (1973, p. 15, p. 18). The author accepts certain weakness of this method. He calls it "besetting sin". The interpretative method resists to conceptual articulations and tends to escape systematizations, systematic assessments (p. 24). As a remedy to this gap, Geertz suggests to make generalizations not *across* cases but *within* them (1973, p. 26). This method is not predictive by its nature. The anthropologist discerns his double task as "uncovering the conceptual structures that inform subjects' acts, the "said" of social discourse, and to construct a system of analysis in whose terms what is generic to those structures (...) will stand out against other determinants of human behavior" (p. 27).

He claims that the clear-cut line between substantive content and its symbolic representation is undrawable in the analysis of culture (p. 16). In other words, normally, it is hard to say where content ends, and its representation through symbolic actions starts. We could try to draw this line

intelligibly, but it is of little help for the empirical symbolic representations that we single out of substantive content of reality.

Geertz's definition of culture in relation to symbols is worthy of special attention because it gives the notion how the author sees the interplay of these two concepts:

Culture is most effectively treated... as a symbolic system (...) by isolating its elements, specifying the internal elements among those elements, and then characterizing the whole system in some general way - according to the core symbols around which it is organized, the underlying structure of which it is a surface expression, or the ideological principles upon which it is based. (1973, p. 17)

The author points out that symbol gives significance to things although they could be conceived vaguely (p. 128). He also admits that complexes of symbols display different aspects of the integration of world view and ethos (p. 132). This distinguishes Geertz from Cassirer (1923; 1925; 1929) who does not focus on ethical aspects of symbol. Drawing on a case of *wajang*, a shadow-puppet play, an arts form and a religious rite of the Javanese people, an ethnic group in Indonesia, Geertz writes of the fusion between "a mystical-phenomenological world view and an etiquette-centered ethos" in such symbolic actions as *wajang* (1973, p. 137).

Geertz (1973) emphasizes that anthropologists, once they accept the interpretation as a basic method of their research, do not study villages, towns, suburban areas, capitals, etc. They study *in* towns, suburban areas, capitals, etc. (p. 22). A media researcher could not say about himself/herself that he/she studies media symbolic representations of everyday and extraordinary life-worlds being *in* media. However, it is possible to develop such an epistemological and methodological point of view that a media researcher does not study life-worlds as they are symbolically represented in media, but he/she studies *in* life-worlds.

Geertz has developed the theoretical springboard for further considerations and reconsiderations of symbolic actions in social sciences. This branch of symbol studies flourished and burst out into theories of social performance and media rituals, all of them rely on symbols in

one or another way. It also resonates with the theory of liminality by Victor Turner. Below we overview them as well.

The theory of liminality could be one of the interpretative keys to the comprehension of symbolism of the contemporary grassroots movements and protests. Liminality as a concept originates in *rites de passage* that accompany every change of person's or social group's state, status, age, cultural identity, etc, and have three phases: separation, margin, and aggregation (Turner, 1969, p. 359). People who undergo liminal transition are designated as "liminal personae" or "threshold people". Their previous state and the structures of community, society, time, space are over and completed. They are moving towards new one but this something new is not reached yet. It is noteworthy how Victor Turner sees this ambiguous process of transition:

Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial. As such; their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualize social and cultural transitions. (Turner, 1969, p. 371)

From liminal perspective, there are two types of societies: structured, differentiated, stable, and hierarchical society, on the one hand, and unstructured, relatively undifferentiated societies of equals that submit willingly to the authority of ritual elders (Turner, 1969, p. 360). Turner calls the latter *communitas*.

The concept of liminality that Turner develops studying tribal rituals, finally, reaches out in his writings contemporary mass religious movements that he calls "millenarian movements". Liminality creates initial momentum when national, social, material, ethnic, linguistic divisions among people involved in such movement are cut across and, finally, neutralized. Everybody feels equal and close with others that are distant Other in the everyday life-world. Turner (1969) asserts that periods of history when such movements emerge correspond to liminal phases of social rituals in the stable societies (p. 370). These are the periods when major social groups pass from one

cultural state to another. So, this is about transition. These movements borrow their symbols from rites de passage in their cultures or in cultures with which they are in some close contact (p. 370).

Turner proposes a list of binary oppositions for the analysis of meanings and symbols of liminal entities and structured societies (1969, p. 366). We can correlate these distinctions with the demarcation between transcendental life-world of protests, namely, Maidan, and everyday life-world, as they are outlined in the section on symbolization of life-worlds.

Table 3

*Liminality Contrasted with Status System*

<b>Liminality</b>	<b>Status system</b>
Transition	State
Totality	Partiality
Homogeneity	Heterogeneity
Communitas	Structure
Equality	Inequality
Anonymity	Systems of nomenclature
Absence of property	Property
Absence of status	Status
Absence of rank	Distinctions of rank
Nakedness or uniform clothing	Distinction of clothing
Minimization of sex distinctions	Maximization of sex distinctions

Humility	Just pride of position
No distinctions of wealth	Distinctions of wealth
Unselfishness	Selfishness
Sacredness	Secularity
Sacred instruction	Technical knowledge
Silence	Speech
Suspension of kinship rights and obligations	Kinship rights and obligations
Simplicity	Complexity
Acceptance of pain and suffering	Avoidance of pain and suffering
Heteronomy	Degrees of autonomy

The overarching inference of the theory of liminality has special validity for the purposes of the given research. Turner (1969) says that although his focus is on traditional preindustrial societies, "It becomes clear that the collective dimensions, *communitas*, and structure are to be found at all stages and levels of culture and society" (p. 370). Liminality and marginality lay down favorable conditions for creation of symbols, myths, works of art, rituals, philosophical systems (Turner, 1969, p. 373). From liminality we turn to the theory of social performance that is its logic continuation and absorbs some of its core ideas of ritual dramatization.

Reviewing the theory of social performance, we can refer to Alexander and Mast (2006). They call to the development of more complex and deeper theory of social performance that could take into consideration the rich empirical materials from the stories of various protest actions and movements, public symbolic actions, dramatic performances in public sphere called upon to draw



attention of media. For this purpose they propose to transform the action theory of Weber and Parsons with their straightforward schematization of "means–ends–norms–conditions" (pp. 9-10). They considerably reformulate the definition of social act as it was inherited from Weber, Parsons, Habermas, Luhmann:

(...) Taking “act” in a theatrical rather than a nominalist and mundane manner. It meant transforming “conditions” into the notion of a “scene” upon which an act could be displayed. With analytical transformations such as these, cultural traditions could be viewed not merely as regulating actions but as informing dramas, the performance of which could display exemplary motives, inspire catharsis, and allow working through. (Alexander & Mast, 2006, p. 10)

Hence, in the theory of social performance social conditions are converted into "scene", traditions - into "informing dramas", symbolic action - into social performance whose main goal could be to represent social actors as meaningful, interesting, sophisticated, and worthy of public attention, especially attention of media in their contestation for their interests, rights, values. So, studying media representations of such symbolic actions, according to Alexander and Mast, we have to analyze them as a theater that is replete with symbols and their meanings. Symbolization of social actions is nothing else than their dramatization, according to this approach.

Symbolic actions could turn violent and weird to attract media attention. Wolfsfeld (1997) points out that challengers of structural power relations resort to violence and exceptionality as a substitute for lack of resources and status (p. 21). Moreover, dramatic attractiveness and exceptionality of protest symbolism vary over time and culture. Symbolic actions when they are carried out for the first time could draw media attention; however, later on media could reach "boredom threshold" in their perceptions and, consequently, lose interest in them. DeLuca and Peeples (2002) define symbolic violence as those which is directed against property, not people, and aims to attract media attention (p. 138).

Alexander and Mast emphasize that interpretation of symbolic practice implicated in social performance, so-called "culture in its “presence”, always contains a reference to culture in its

“absence” by which some semiotic text is meant, and this is the task of a researcher to track down the whole complex of meanings, those that are present and those that are absent:

To be practical and effective in action – to have a successful performance – actors must be able to make the meanings of culture structures stick. Since meaning is the product of relations between signs in a discursive code or text, a dramaturgy that intends to take meaning seriously must account for the cultural codes and texts that structure the cognitive environments in which speech is given form. (Alexander & Mast, 2006, p. 4)

Cottle (2008) emphasizes that one of the key research questions that has to be posed by the contemporary scholars of media reporting of protests is how media awareness and reflexivity are integrated into the tactics employed by protestors and their interactions with news media (p. 864).

To sum up, the theory of social performance opens up a new angle of view of collective symbolic actions that are common in such protest movements as Maidan and easily picked up and reported by media due to their dramatic forms. In the given research we try to integrate this angle of view into the analysis as it is outlined in the Chapter III.

Couldry (2003) builds up the whole theory of symbolic power of media around the concept of "media rituals". First of all, he asserts that in media rituals' theory the emphasis is shifted "from questions of meaning towards questions of power" (p. 12). This, basically, means, from the Couldry's point of view, that "the ability to produce symbolic forms is not evenly shared" (p. 38) because of the unequal distribution of symbolic resources. In this matter he replicates Bourdieu's principal disposition.

The foundational concepts which allow to critically reconsider the role played by media in the symbolic representation of the social reality is "the myth of the center" and "the myth of the mediated center". This myth tells the existence of some presumed social center to which media are the major access point. Media make efforts to endow sense to the "real reality". Literally, they have to report on facts, processes, and events within the framework of this "core reality" of the society that could be defined as "social center".

Couldry sees subtleties and nuances in the interplay of any foundational order or disorder in the society rather than clear-cut arbitrariness, as Bourdieu does. According to Couldry, "The term "media rituals" is designed to imply neither a simple order nor a simple disorder, but a complex and never fully stable interaction between order and disorder" (Couldry, 2003, p. 15). Couldry criticizes functionalism for "myth of foundational order" and some readings of structuralism for "myth of foundational disorder" while accepting in his theory of media rituals rather "actual levels of relative order (concentration of powers) and relative disorder (complexity)" (2003, p. 11). Notably, the Cassirer's analysis has both structural and functional elements. His concept of symbol is functional in its very core, as it was aforementioned. The basic symbolic qualities of representations - time, space, number, causality - predetermine the structured relations between mind (*der Geist*) and reality.

Media rituals make up "the ritual space of media" that is "a metaphor for how media rituals condense media-focused patterns of thought and action that are latent everywhere" (p. 13). This echoes the concept of social performance with its reliance on informing dramas (traditions) and media patterns that become salient in concrete symbolic actions.

Couldry (2003) gives as examples of media ritual: pilgrimages to media sites, reality TV shows, and self-disclosure through media forms of television and Internet (p. 15). Pilgrimages to media sites entail notion of space and distance that separates media reality from everyday reality, and people may feel a need to come to a particular TV show to express themselves or to prove something that is important for them and is inscribed into the bigger social narrative. Couldry points out that media production customarily takes place in particular places, most often these are metropolitan cities (2003, p. 81) that lays the foundation for their spatial organization. A person from a smaller city, town or village, realizes that a part of his prospective participation in a TV show is a journey to a big city. This is the general logic of the Couldry's conception of pilgrimages to media sites.

He claims that it is necessary to rethink the model of ritual, including media ritual, as it was molded by Durkheim's conception of ritual as a structure of social integration. Couldry proposes to look at them from the angle of the connections between contemporary media and forms of government (2003, p. 4).

Edmund Leach (2001) also pays attention to the ritual but in different ways and in its broader sense. He writes of it as a materialization of abstract ideas. This author develops within the framework of social anthropology own theory of symbols as a means of communication and cultural expression. According to him, symbol includes object or event in the external world, sensory image, and concept in the consciousness (Leach, 2001, p. 28). He asserts that there is the constant, substantive link between sensory images and concepts while the links between sensory images and objects of the external world are situational and random.

To finish this overview of different theories that deal with signs and symbols in one or other way, it is worth mentioning that all above-mentioned theories, including Cassirer's symbolic forms, are non-ontological that means they omit the question of substance (Peirce, 1992; 2006) or dissolve it in function (Cassirer, 1923; 1925; 1929), in structures of power (Bourdieu, 1991), in actions (Geertz, 1973; Turner, 1969; Couldry, 2003). On the other side of epistemological stream there are theoreticians that substantiate the ontological nature of symbols (Spengler, 2016; Losev, 1988).

Alexey Losev strives to work out universalization of symbol that is a starting point for research on symbolic representations in art, language, myth, religion (Symbol, 2005, p. 181). From his point of view a symbol has its substance, its being, and this being is characterized with veracity and validity. In his reflection on signs and symbols he refers to literary scholar and semiotician Juri Lotman. Drawing on his theorizations, Losev sums up seven different meanings of signs: 1) sign as virtually meaningful area that is neither thing itself nor idea of thing, psychological notion of thing, carrier of thing or meaning of thing; 2) sign as system of relations between signified, signifier, sign-vehicle (носительзнака), and meaning; 3) sign is the coincidence of signifier and signified, internal

and external in the signified thing or expression of thing; 4) sign of thing as one or another degree of its expressive-intelligible objectivity; 5) sign of thing is not yet its structure; the latter is always its partible unity that is, in its turn, internal structure of relations pointing at disintegrative nature of sign as a carrier of information about thing; 6) sign as an interpretative act in relation to non-signified objectivity (denotation) as well as in relation to conceptual content of objectivity; 7) sign differs from meaning, for it is a principle of interpretive cognition of one or another non-signifying area (Losev, 1988, p. 244). Finally, Losev concludes that as long as signs receive so many divergent interpretations, it is better to use the term "symbol" because it is more concentrated and coherent (p. 245). Losev criticizes the first understanding of sign as such that would lead to "nominalistic and phenomenological descriptiveness" (p. 245). The second definition of sign is very close to those that Cassirer, Peirce, Langer, Goodman shared. They all take signs and symbols as system of functional relations between signifier, signified, concepts of objects, and subjects (interpretants). Signifier and sign-vehicle that Losev differentiates are not demarcated by these authors.

Finally, Losev concludes that it is easily to slip into terminological and conceptual chaos if we rely on such diversity of signs' definitions. He sees the way-out in building "unity of dialectical contradictions" and replacing the term of signs in their broadest meanings with the term of symbol. The foundational difference between the authors that recognize in symbols function and authors that like Losev discern in them substance and being is in their attitudes towards the cognizability of substance as a basic principle of knowledge. The former reject it and revert to something that they believe to be cognizable, namely, function, power, structures, actions, etc. The latter look for methods of cognition of substance. In this regard Cassirer belongs to philosophical "prophets" of final defeat of substance in the philosophy of the 20th century, but we have to remember that the opposite polar always exists and keeps its heritage and intentions to impact the future of thought, knowledge, and experience.

## **Review of Empirical Research**

There are at least four different groups of empirical research that could be relevant for the given dissertation. One group includes research of symbolism in media coverage of varying issues: from fashion stories of Indian female accessories in the Western culture (Durhan, 2006) to the media representations of politicians' symbolic actions (Rauer, 2006). The other group of media studies concern the media impact on social understanding and notion of space and time (Bilandzic, 2006; Neiger& Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2016). The third group comprises studies of media reporting of protests (DeLuca). The forth group of empirical media studies focus on the media coverage of Maidan (Lokot, 2013; A. Asher, & S. Asher, 2015; Piechota & Rajczyk, 2015). Hereby the examples of all four groups of research is provided. This helps to showcase the empirical basis for this dissertation. However, I did not identify any media research on symbols in media coverage of protests in the publicly available sources. In this matter, the given research has no analogues. It is based on the broad understanding of symbols, as it was above-noted in this Chapter. This approach to symbols could not be found in the other media research of symbolism in media. This is one of the most important gaps that is being remedied in this dissertation.

Symbols and representations in media are studied from different angles and with the help of various theories and concepts. Crucial strand of research concerns study of meanings and the ways the are produced, conceptualized and articulated for media audiences. Scholars developed a number of concepts that help to grasp meanings in the media, including those of "simulacrum" (Baudrillard, 1994); "media templates" (Kitzinger, 2000); "cultural resonance" (Wolfsfeld, 1997); "citationality" (Derrida, 1978); "social performance" (Alexander & Mast, 2006); "news icon" (Perlmutter & Wagner, 2004); "pretext" (Taylor, 1994); "media ritual" (Couldry, 2003). Some of them, like "media template" and "news icon", explore how media produce their own meanings of certain events and processes, inter alia symbols. The others, namely, "citationality", ""cultural performance", "cultural resonance" help to investigate how media borrow meanings from other

discourses: due to "citationality", they bring in meanings from a variety of other discourses (political speeches, ideologies, literature, Bible, etc.); due to their involvement in "social performance", they see events as a part of bigger drama, as manifestations of symbolic capital and symbolic relations between power and its challengers. "Simulacrum" is a concept which helps to investigate the deconstruction of meanings in media, including deconstruction of symbolism: how they lose their content and turn into anti-meanings. This is the method of dialectics applied in the realm of post-modernist media research. Such concept as "media ritual" is used to investigate how media create "the myth of social center", namely, the overarching meaning of all social reality. This range comprises varying and divergent concepts that are united by only one common denominator - their authors try to propose the explanation of meanings in media from different angles. Meanwhile, they do not focus on defining symbol in media and take it rather by default as one of types of meanings. Symbol as such is just one more concept in this range of interpretative devices used in media research.

By "symbols in media" researchers could mean either cultural representations with focus on basic characteristics of their objects (Hendriyani, d'Haenens, & Beentjes, 2016), or cultural artifacts (Durham, 2006). The socio-cultural characteristics of representations could comprise gender, age, education, profession, religious views, living conditions, family units, institutional affiliations, etc.

Understanding of symbols as material things that represent certain objects underlie ethnographic and anthropological studies that, in its turn, affect media research. For example, Durham (2006) analyzes the media's portrayal of Indian female nose rings, mehndi, and bindis in the US fashion. He interprets this as "appropriation of South Asian symbols by Western popular culture". The author uncovers power hierarchies in the contemporary "ethnic chic" in which South Asian women are represented as "disembodied fetish" while White women are conceived as sexual objects.

Studying meanings, inter alia symbols, scholars resort to analysis of frames. Hertog and McLeod (2003) define news frames “as relatively comprehensive structures of meaning made up of a number of concepts and the relations among those concepts” (p. 140). According to these authors, to define a frame is foremost to discern its central concept around which the whole structure of meaning is constructed (Hertog & McLeod, 2003, p. 141).

Wolfsfeld (1997) studies how media construct the frames of political conflicts. The author underlines that in any political conflict there is always a cultural dimension of the struggle over meanings between authorities and their challengers. Media find themselves in the cross-fire of this struggle.

I take as an example the Rauer's research of symbols in national and transnational frames of the German Chancellor Willy Brandt's kneefall at the Warsaw Memorial on December, 7, 1970<sup>11</sup>. This memorial was erected in honor of Jewish heroes of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The Chancellor of the German Federal Republic Willy Brandt paved a visit to the Polish capital to sign the Warsaw Treaty that was a sign of the breaking through the Iron Curtain between Germany and Poland. Willy Brandt knelt for a minute at the Warsaw Memorial that was perceived as an unexpected and impressive symbolic action. The whole international press was full of the image of him kneeling the next day after this occurrence (Rauer, 2006, p. 257). The author presents a detailed longitudinal investigation of the symbolic meanings that media attached to this action.

The German media framed it as "remarkable event" and "sacred symbol". The transnational frames include "reconciliation gesture", "model for the others", "German-Jewish relationships", "history of Warsaw ghetto", and "necessary condition for Europeanization" (Rauer, 2006, pp. 269-272).

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<sup>11</sup>The picture of Willy Brandt's kneefall at the Warsaw Memorial is provided in Appendix.



This is a showcase of the importance of space in symbolic representations. A memorial embodies the moral context of the past and the present. It substantially differs from the legal, formalized context of tribunal or court, as well as from the political context of street riots. It transcends the time and space. "The mise-en-scène represents not only an instance of guilt or heroic resistance, it also questions the nature of human existence in general in the sense of a "moral universal", concludes Rauer (2006, p. 275).

Chancellor's kneelfall was framed by the German media as the sacred symbol that is conferred the power of identification within certain system of collective historical memory (2006, p. 269). Rauer tracked down that the media representation of Brandt's kneelfall in the 1990s lost its reference to the Ghetto Uprising, instead of this Chancellor's symbolic action became the symbol of the redeemed historical memory and new German identity (2006, p. 272).

Such symbols challenge the rigid and stable structures of dominant cultural representations. Rauer points out that this becomes possible due to their contingent character. In other words, the event which constitutes their object is conceived as accidental. It stands out of the stable cultural structures and structures of memory and is assigned the status "accidental" (2006, pp. 267-277). Otherwise, it could be interpreted as symbol that provides "truer meaning" to the pre-existing culture, politics, and memory (Rauer, 2006, p. 276).

The other branch of media research of our concern represents scientific attempts to explore different aspects of relations between time, space, on the one hand, and media, on the other. Time and space are conceived in the given research as symbolic qualities of representations. Jansson (2013) analyzes media's role in the production of social space. He defines mediatization in terms of three "sociospatial regimes of dependence": "material indispensability and adaptation", "premediation of experience", and "normalization of social practice". By "material indispensability" he mainly means the needs in certain media technologies which people develop and sustain. Chambers (2016) explains that the "premediation of experience" points at media's

ability to generate certain types of social actions and interactions that are mediated through particular representations. Finally, "normalization of social practice" is related to social conventions and norms associated with media change. For example, people organize their everyday activities according to timing of broadcasting. So, in this way particular social activities are normalized under the influence of media technologies. Chambers (2016) proposes the concept of "media imaginary" that is close by its idea and meaning to "premediation of experience". "Media imaginary" is the process which accompanies the stage before and during the mass domestic adoption of particular technologies. It comprises media fantasies and mythologies that arise when a particular technology's potential is debated, contested, and accepted. "Media imaginary" could be also understood as common cognitive schema that coordinates system of meanings which, in its turn, govern people's actions and interaction in relation to media.

Bilandzic (2006) studies the relations between media and perception of distance implicated in the subjective social world. Drawing, inter alia, on Schutz's concept of the everyday life-world, the author claims the dependence of media on this perception that people bear in their minds. It modifies the approach to processing, storage, and integration of television content into people's life-worlds. Bilandzic (2006) elaborates two notions of closeness for television viewing: "experiential closeness", based on personal biographical situation, and "mediated closeness", based on narrative experience. The examples show the tendencies in media studies to focus on media meanings that govern audience receptions of space, inter alia distance.

Neiger and Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2016) attempt to investigate trans-textual temporal order that structures news narratives, namely, temporal layers beyond the conventional three-term sequence of past, present, and future. They identify five clusters of temporal layers that correlate with different journalistic roles: "updating (present and immediate past/future), reporting (recent past), contextualization and ritualistic functions (midrange to distant past), analysis (near future), and projection (far/conjectured future)" (p. 139). Overall, these scholars discern eleven temporal

layers in news stories: distant past, long-range past, midrange past, recent past, immediate past, present, immediate future, near future, midrange future, foreseeable future, distant and unknown future (Neiger & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2016, p. 143). Their analysis shows that print narratives tend to fluctuate from deeper layers of the past to the more distant future layers, while the temporality in online media is more limited (p. 156). Comparing temporal layers in news of print and online media in Israel and the US, Neiger and Tenenboim-Weinblatt find out that the American news coverage tends to provide deeper temporality of events. They explain it by the growth of contextual journalism and shift from event-centered to meaning-centered news in the US (2016, pp. 156-157). Meanwhile, in the Israeli media they detect more future-oriented temporal layers and explain it by salient interventionist tendencies and reliance on news in organizing public life. To sum up, this research deals with media understanding of time.

The other branch of research, relevant for this dissertation, concerns media reporting on protests. This research focuses on power relations between media, protestors, and state authorities. Wolfsfeld (1997) defines the structural relations between media, power, and challengers of power as "competitive symbiosis": each side has the resources needed by the other to succeed; power and its challengers need access to media to convey their messages to multiple publics while media need antagonists from power and challengers' camps to get information and access to events that could become news (p. 13).

DeLuca and Peeples (2002) introduce the concept of "public screen", reminiscent of the Habermas' public sphere. The scholars analyze the case of the media coverage of WTO protests in Seattle in November 1999. The WTO Ministerial Conference was organized in this city, this meeting was supposed to become a launch of a new millennial round of trade negotiations. Thousands of people took to the streets in protest against economic globalization on the conditions designated by the WTO negotiating parties. On November 30, 1999 "black bloc", a group of militant anarchists, stood out of the generally peaceful protest and attracted a lot of media attention

by its "symbolic violence". They smashed dozens of police cars and shop windows. DeLuca and Peeples (2002) conclude that this violence was a well-planned symbolic action; it conveys dramaturgy which can be easily embedded in news narratives; it was committed with the instruments of the contemporary "imagefare" (p. 139), and followed the logic of "public discourse of images".

The researchers show that when violence break out, media coverage of protests escalate. The preliminary coverage of WTO Ministerial Conferences in Seattle and Washington DC was equally modest but as long as in Washington there was no violence, the TV coverage disappeared.

Having studied the case of WTO protests in Seattle, DeLuca and Peeples construct the concept of "public screen" that includes TV and newspaper screens:

In comparison to the rationality, embodied conversations, consensus, and civility of the public sphere, the public screen highlights dissemination, images, hypermediacy, spectacular publicity, cacophony, distraction, and dissent. We have focused on the image event as one practice of the public screen because it highlights the public screen as an alternative venue for participatory politics and public opinion formation that offers a striking contrast to the public sphere. (2002, p. 144)

Cottle (2008) asserts that in order to improve and deepen the media studies of reporting of demonstrations, protests, peaceful revolutions, grassroots movements, it is necessary to correctly pose the research questions. He suggests, inter alia, to question how protests and demonstrations appropriate or benefit from "mediated dramaturgy, performance and spectacle", and how, if at all, these are contested and utilized by different actors, interests, identities "both within and outside their news representation" (p. 266). He claims that such research has to bring together cultural, sociological, symbolic, and strategic elements and to encompass analysis of news representations of protests across media outlets, as well as communicative strategies, practices and processes of media production, and media performances of different sources (p. 266). In the given research we attempt to pose such research questions and to fulfill one of the tasks outlined by Cottle, namely, to

develop interdisciplinary approach for the analysis of symbolic news representations of protests across media outlets and across countries.

It is also possible to distinguish research that deal solely with Maidan and media and were accomplished within first two years after this protest finished. Most of them focus on the role of social media in information dimension of such political and social protest (Lokot, 2013; A. Asher, & S. Asher, 2015; Piechota & Rajczyk, 2015). Andrew Ashar and Sofiya Ashar (2015) have generated the sample of 884 232 tweets. They randomly choose out of this sample 483 posts and conducted the content analysis of their images and texts. The findings show that 26 % of tweets contain images of violence, potential for violence or aftermath of violence, including images of barricades and fire. The other research provides descriptive data on the Ukrainian media *during* and *on* Maidan (Szostek, 2014; Dyczok, 2016). Overall, this branch of research provides varying empirical data and does not focus on elaboration of any theoretical foundation.

So, I aim to study the media coverage of protest, using the case of Maidan, by elaborating the detailed conceptual and theoretical foundation whose elements could be drawn from the philosophy of symbolic forms and its contemporary reconsiderations within the framework of analytical philosophy, anthropology and media studies themselves.

## Chapter Three

### Methodology

#### Research Questions

The overall goal of this research is to conduct cross-national, comparative quantitative and qualitative analysis of the symbolic representations of the life-worlds in the media coverage of Maidan. It is based on the operationalization of the philosophy of symbolic forms and subsequent symbol theories that allows to study as sole symbols as complex symbolic representations in culture, in general, and in media, in particular. Research questions in this study are addressed on a comparative scale.

The major research question of this dissertation is formulated as follows:

**RQ: What symbolic representations of the protest life-world could be found in the tabloid and quality press coverage of Maidan in the period between November, 21, 2013 and February, 27, 2014 across the Ukrainian, Polish, and German media?**

Respectively, this major question is divided into four sets of more specific research questions, posed for each country under study separately. The first set of questions touches upon the presence of different types of symbols in the respective media coverage:

**RQ1a: What symbols did the Ukrainian tabloid and quality press use to represent the life-world of Maidan in the period between November, 21, 2013 and February, 27, 2014?**

**RQ1b: What symbols did the Polish tabloid and quality press use to represent the life-world of Maidan in the period between November, 21, 2013 and February, 27, 2014?**

**RQ1c: What symbols did the German tabloid and quality press use to represent the life-world of Maidan in the period between November, 21, 2013 and February, 27, 2014?**

The second set of specific research questions could help to uncover if media manage or fail to report life-worlds of people. It is proposed to do this by identifying correlations between structural elements of symbol, namely, object, subject, and conception, on the one hand, and structures of the life-world, on the other. In other words, by answering these questions we could see if structures of lived experience could become objects, subjects, and conceptions of symbols that media replicate or create in their coverage of protests.

**RQ2a: How do the objects, subjects, and conceptions of symbols in the Ukrainian tabloid and quality press coverage of Maidan overlap with the structures of the life-world?**

**RQ2b: How do the objects, subjects, and conceptions of symbols in the Polish tabloid and quality press coverage of Maidan overlap with the structures of the life-world?**

**RQ2c: How do the objects, subjects, and conceptions of symbols in the German tabloid and quality press coverage of Maidan overlap with the structures of the life-world?**

The third set of specific research questions allows us to see the quantitative tendencies in the symbolic representations, namely, what symbols dominated over the coverage in a particular period of time or in the media of a particular country:

**RQ3a: How visible were different symbols in the Ukrainian media coverage of the life-world of Maidan in the period between November, 21, 2013 and February, 27, 2014?**

**RQ3a: How visible were different symbols in the Polish media coverage of the life-world of Maidan in the period between November, 21, 2013 and February, 27, 2014?**

**RQ3a: How visible were different symbols in the German media coverage of the life-world of Maidan in the period between November, 21, 2013 and February, 27, 2014?**

The fourth set of research questions concerns the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world defined on the basis of the range of the coded symbols.

**RQ4a: What are the dominant symbolic representations of the life-world of Maidan in the Ukrainian media?**

**RQ4b: What are the dominant symbolic representations of the life-world of Maidan in the Polish media?**

**RQ4a: What are the dominant symbolic representations of the life-world of Maidan in the German media?**

### **Study Case of Maidan**

The case of Maidan is selected in the given dissertation as a critical case with the help of information-oriented strategy for the selection of samples and cases (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Flyvbjerg defines critical case as having "strategic importance in relation to the general problem" (p. 229). This author proposes the typology of cases: apart from critical case, he identifies extreme/deviant, maximum variation, and paradigmatic cases. Therefore, instead of making random choice of a wide range of cases, the study focuses on a case with potentially strategic meaning for studying symbolic representations as well as media reporting of protests. Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that one of the most wide-spread scientific misunderstandings about case studies is that it is impossible to generalize from a single case. He states that "one can often generalize on the basis of a single case, and the case study may be central to scientific development (...) but formal generalization is overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas "the force of example" is underestimated". Some studies of symbols and media reporting of protest really showcase the attempts to generalize on the basis of a single case (Rauer, 2006; DeLuca & Peebles, 2002). In the given research I try to keep balance between the conventional social sciences' understanding of study case with all its limitations and Flyvbjerg's



criticism of this conventional wisdom. It is proposed to follow the Geertz's proposal to generalize *within* the case rather than *across* numerous cases (1973, p. 26).

The case study of Maidan is considered to be critical because these three-month protests of 2013-2014 at the central square of Ukraine have the features that are the most attractive for media in such events and processes: violence, deviance, drama, and spectacle (DeLuca & Peeples, 2002, p. 860). Moreover, Flyvbjerg (2006) assumes that there are no concrete reliable criteria for identifying a particular case as critical. In fact, a researcher has to rely on his or her own intuition and preliminary field inquiry to be able to identify the case. In addition, the same case could have the traits of extreme, paradigmatic, and critical cases simultaneously (Flyvbjerg, 2002, p. 233).

At the end of the cross-national comparative empirical analysis of Maidan case we arrive at a set of generalized data that are open to interpretations, and, actually, one of the goals of this research is to provide findings in which different readers could discern different issues and facets of their interest. Overall, just as the whole mainstream of communication studies of meanings, the given research is interpretative. Geertz demarcates two basic types of research in social sciences: experimental in search of law and interpretative in search of meaning (1973, p. 5). Innis (2008) in his book *The Bias of Communication* defined the goal of the interpretative cultural study in communications as certain "escape from the obsession with the moment and obsession with history" (p. 90). It frees a researcher from a pressure and demands of time, on the one hand, and the need to submit to the generalizing logic of history, on the other. So, this research follows this approach to studies of meanings in media texts.

Maidan, or, as it was defined initially EuroMaidan, is a grassroots pro-European movement that rose up in protest against the Ukrainian ex-president Viktor Yanukovich's attempt to revoke the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU in November 2013. Protests were organized as a tent camp with a stage and various self-organized services

(kitchen, health care, self-defense) at the central square of Kyiv - Maidan (Portnov A, & Portnova T., 2014).

In fact, Maidan accumulated a multitude of civil initiatives, campaigns, protest actions, national gatherings (narodne viche, народне віче), political opposition's activities, dramaturgical events, and violent clashes (Orlova, 2016). It had gone through a number of different stages of development from the few thousand peaceful student protest to the violent and radical struggle with riot police that culminated in the mass killings of protestors in clashes and by snipers, identified by now by the General Prosecutor's Office as the riot policemen Berkut. The mass killings took place in Mariinsky Park, in the streets surrounding it, and in Maidan on February 18-20, 2014. The number of protestors varied from around one thousand at the beginning to half a million and even more by different estimates at the March of Millions on December 8, 2013 (TSN, 2014, p. 50).

Within three month time-span Maidan has undergone a few substantially different stages (Portnov,& Portnova, 2014): 1) the peaceful student movement between November 21, 2013 and November 30, 2013; 2) the peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces (riot police Berkut) between December 1, 2013 and December 11, 2013; 3) the reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces (riot police Berkut) between December 11, 2013 and January 18, 2014 whose reinforcement was triggered by the first attempt of the Maidan's dispersion by the riot police and culminated on January 16-18, 2014 after the adoption of the so-called "dictatorship laws"; the latter curtailed political and civil rights of the Ukrainian citizens including the right to protest; 4) the radicalized violent protest between January 19, 2014 and January 23, 2014 when the first deaths of the protestors happened during the clashes with the riot police in the Grushevskij street; 5) besieged radicalized protest between January 22, 2014 and February 17, 2014 when there were no radical changes in the balance of forces between the protestors and the government; 6) violent clashes and shootings

of protestors between February 18, 2014 and February 20, 2014 that claimed the lives of around 100 civilians, the Heavenly Hundred. This latter period of Maidan ended up with the Yanukovych's escape from the country and breakdown of his regime. In the given research we rely on a narrow understanding of Maidan as protest that unfolded in the city center of Kyiv. EuroMaidans in the other regions of Ukraine are excluded from this analysis.

This chronology used in the content analysis of the visibility of different symbols in the general amount of symbols which are identified in the media coverage under study. To sum up, the story of Maidan fell into to the media spotlight in Ukraine and abroad for all three months with some peaks when violence erupted: the first time - on January 19-22 and the second time - on February 18-20.

I select this critical case following also the logic of the theoretical ramifications of the Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms. Skidelsky assumes that the overall logic of the Cassirer's theory requires a *reconstructive* analysis: "Only by means of a reconstructive analysis from "factual knowledge", objective knowledge, can we attain knowledge of the forces that generate this knowledge and have brought it forth" (2011, p. 102). This kind of analysis leads us to the cognition of objectivity, as it is understood in the philosophy of symbolic forms: "(...) The concept of natural symbolism leads not inward, to an a priori analysis of consciousness, but rather outward, to an empirical exploration of "objective" (Skidelsky, 2011, p. 102). The study case of Maidan is explored by identifying different symbols that are used by media in their reporting and by analyzing qualities and relations of these symbols.

### **Media Sample and Period of Study**

I use the media sample of national press outlets that correspond to a few criteria. First, the media sample comprises quality as well as tabloid print outlets. One quality and one tabloid

media outlet is chosen from each three countries under study, namely, Ukraine, Poland, Germany. This allows to study the symbolic representations of the protest life-world on a cross-national comparative scale

Among all tabloid dailies the one with the largest readership in each respective country is chosen. For Ukraine this is the Russian-language daily newspaper *Segodnia* (Сегодня) that had the largest audience reach in the country during 2015 ("Newspaper Segodnia - Stable Leader", 2015). It is owned by the company System Capital Management which belongs to the Ukrainian mogul Rinat Akhmetov. For Poland the daily tabloid *Fakt* is chosen that has been the leading Polish tabloid since 2003 (Konopka, 2012, p. 63). It is owned by the international publishing house Axel Springer. For Germany the daily tabloid *Bild* is chosen, the leading one in the country<sup>12</sup>. It is also owned by Axel Springer.

To balance the media sample the leading national tabloids the leading quality weekly newsmagazines are chosen for each country. The main criterion for their selection is the readership. In the Ukrainian case the additional criteria is the language of the publication. So, for Ukraine the Ukrainian-language newsmagazine *Ukrainian Weekly* (Український тиждень) is selected. According to the information provided by the weekly on its editorial page, its circulation amounts to 32 000. The other weekly newsmagazine *Korrespondent* indicates the circulation of 50 000 on its editorial page. Accordingly, by these officially provided, but unverifiable data the leading quality newsmagazine of Ukraine is supposed to be *Korrespondent*. The other Russian-language weekly newsmagazine *Focus* has the same circulation as *Ukrainian Weekly* - 32 000 copies a week. The quality weeklies - *Novoye Vremia* (Новоевремя), *Kraina* (Країна) - indicate smaller circulations. In addition, *Novoye Vremia* has started up its publications after Maidan. *Ukrainian Weekly* is owned by ECEM Media GmbH.

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<sup>12</sup>The information is retrieved from <http://www.w3newspapers.com/germany/>.

In Ukraine the language of publication - either Russian or Ukrainian - has also its significance and, presumably, could mark symbolic representations implicated in the media coverage, as long as language, according to the Cassirer's theory, is one of the symbolic forms. So, in order to take into account in our analysis the factor of language the second largest weekly newsmagazine Ukrainian Weekly is taken.

For Poland the weekly newsmagazine *Polityka* is selected. According to the information provided by this media outlet, its circulation varies between 175 000 and 180 000 copies a week. The next largest quality newsmagazine *Newsweek* stands very close to *Polityka* in terms of its circulation - up to 175 000 copies. *Polityka* is owned by the company founded by the journalists and publishing house workers themselves - Polityka Sp. z o.o. S.K.A.

For Germany the weekly newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* was selected. It indicates the largest circulation of around 840 000 copies a week in the country. It is owned by the publishing house Spiegel-Verlag whose employees are among its shareholders.

For all selected media outlets we use their online editions.

The media sample of the proposed study is as follows:

Table 4

*Media Sample*

Country	Tabloid press	Quality press
Ukraine	<i>Segodnia</i> <a href="http://www.segodnya.ua/">http://www.segodnya.ua/</a>	<i>Ukrainian Weekly</i> <a href="http://tyzhden.ua/">http://tyzhden.ua/</a>

Poland	<i>Fakt</i> <a href="http://www.fakt.pl/">http://www.fakt.pl/</a>	<i>Polityka</i> <a href="http://www.polityka.pl/TygodnikPolityka">http://www.polityka.pl/TygodnikPolityka</a>
Germany	<i>Bild</i> <a href="http://www.bild.de/">http://www.bild.de/</a>	<i>Der Spiegel</i> <a href="http://www.spiegel.de/">http://www.spiegel.de/</a>

The period of the given study coincides with the period of Maidan protests. So, it is proposed to focus on the media coverage of Maidan at the time when it unfolded. The general period of study is November 21, 2013 - February 27, 2014. Therefore, the research is focused on news items published within this time-span. The first date of this period is the day when the first thousand people took to the central square of the country Maidan in protest against the ex-president Viktor Yanukovych's decision to revoke the signing of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union. February 27, 2014 is the ending of the first week after the mass killings of protestors and riot policemen in the city center. As the preliminary tentative research of the media coverage has shown, national and foreign media were very active in their reporting on the first days after the killings and Yanukovych's escape from Ukraine. Hence, it was decided as appropriate to include one week after the killings in the general period of study. The chronology that is used in the coding of symbols is as follows:

Table 5

*Chronology of the Study*

<b>№</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>

1.	November 21, 2013 - November 30, 2013	The peaceful student movement
2.	November 30, 2013 - December 11, 2013	The peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
3.	December 11, 2013 - January 18, 2014	The reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
4.	January 19, 2014 - January 23, 2014	The radicalized, violent protest
5.	January 23, 2014 - February 17, 2014	The besieged radicalized protest
6.	February 18, 2014 - February 27, 2014	The violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath

### **Categorization of the Protest Life-World**

For the purposes of the given analysis it is proposed to refer to those structures of the subjective experience that could be identified as objects, subjects, and conceptions and/or symbolic qualities of the representations. So, we single out the following categories designated by Alfred Schutz: provinces of actual, attainable, and restorable reach; four types of time - world time, biological time, social time, and inner duration; aspects of temporality of a life-world - finitude, fixed course of temporality, and historical situationality; presence or absence of reference to province of practicable; compatibility or incompatibility between social stock of knowledge and actual knowledge; identification of natural attitudes.

In each particular symbol it is proposed to identify what kinds of provinces of reach it represents; what kinds of time it signifies and what aspects of temporality it has; whether it represents the lived experience that could be assigned to the province of practicable; whether it

has any reference to compatibility or incompatibility between social stock of knowledge and actual knowledge, and, finally, which natural attitudes it conveys.

Only through the lenses of such structured analysis it could be possible to test whether Couldry is right claiming that media failed to report human life-worlds (2003, p. 42). For this purpose it is necessary to check out if the above-mentioned structures of life-world are represented *through* symbols and *by* symbols.

It is also important to emphasize that, according to Schutz, there is a clear-cut distinction between the transcendental reality of protest and its respective life-world and the reality of everyday life (Dreher, 2003). In the given research we attempt to apply the categories of structures of the life-world to the experience of protest. However, Schutz repeatedly refers to the "paramount reality of the everyday life-world" that, conceivably, differs substantially from the transcendental reality of Maidan as a massive multidimensional protest inside which "the we-relation" transcend over individuals' existence. One of the limits of this research is that it deals with the extraordinary, in some way transcendental subjective lived experience. The further research is needed to inquire into the media's ability to report the everyday life-world.

## **Classification of Symbols**

**Structure of symbols and symbolic representations.** Our reconstructive analysis of single symbols and the whole symbolic representations in media coverage is based on the notion of their structure, as it is worked out by the Ernst Cassirer's intellectual descendent Susanne Langer. For each particular symbol the following elements of internal structure are identified: *object* (thing, event, fact, situation, process, condition), *symbol-vehicle* (signifier), *subject* (a reference to something beyond an object, namely, the past, the future, the context of events), *conception* of something, and *concept* (the most general, pure idea). For each particular symbol



the types of meanings it conveys is classified, namely, denotation, connotation, and signification.

Symbolic representations are conceptualized as a set of interrelated symbols that appear to be replicable and recurrent in the media coverage of a particular topic over time and across media texts. Accordingly, not every single symbol is already a symbolic representation. In order to become such a representation a symbol is supposed to interact with some other symbols in the terms of Saussure's theory of signs (Holdcroft, 1991). It is required to discern the recurrent structural relations between symbols in order to ascertain the symbolic representation. This task is accomplished with the means of quantitative analysis of the most visible symbols in the overall amount of symbols for each particular period of Maidan and with the means of qualitative analysis in which we see what symbols and how are combined within journalistic texts.

**Types of symbols and criteria for their identification.** Summing up and synthesizing the classifications of symbols proposed by Langer (1954), Hamburg (1956), Janz (2011) on the basis of the Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms, we employ the following typology of symbols for the analysis of symbolic representations:

- *Symbol-product* that is a material, physical, tangible trace, namely, material things and complexes of things that convey all three possible types of meanings: denotations, connotations, and significations. The things that have no connotation and no signification could not be defined as symbol-products.

- *Symbol-concept* that is close by its meaning to symbol-process. The major difference between symbol-process and symbol-concept is the reference to particular situations that help to grasp the commonly shared goals of parties involved in them. While symbol-process comprises a succession of such situations, symbol-concept focuses on the pure idea that is signified by a symbol or a complex of symbols in the totality of their ideal meaning.

- *Symbol-slogan* that is a slogan with meanings that could be understood either in deeper historical context or through the lenses of the general social critique of power. They are actively, repeatedly used by protesters.

- *Symbol-situation* that is an interaction of people within the framework of social world which becomes possible due to the exchange of symbols and combinations of symbols or due to the imposition of symbols and their combinations by power on its subordinates and its challengers.

- *Symbol-process* that is a succession of situations which are united with the common goals. Although their participants could change each other, and their unfolding could vary within certain period of time, the main integrating elements that make out of bunch of situations a process is the commonly shared goals of each side of the protest.

- *Symbolic action* that is intentionally dramatic and dramaturgical, staged action. It is orchestrated to challenge long-established power structures and, respectively, to draw public attention. The difference between symbol-situation and symbol-process, on the one hand, and symbolic action, on the other, is grounded in the natural character of the former and in the artificial and staged character of the latter. Reporters could follow symbolic actions according to their intentionally and pre-emptive logic. They always could rely on announcements, comments, and explanations of their organizers and performers. Meanwhile, it is much more difficult to cover symbol-situations as long as their scripts are not written in advance and their development could take unpredicted courses.

It is noteworthy that six basic types of symbols are designated. Every types might be presented by numerous different kinds of symbols.

The operationalization of symbols in the given research takes the shape of operationalization of each above-mentioned type of symbol separately. Symbol-products are operationalized by

identifying all material, physical objects, mentioned in a Maidan news story, and by coding them, accordingly. Symbol-concepts are operationalized by identifying all universal concepts, mentioned in a Maidan news story, and by coding them as *a priori* symbols. Symbol-slogans are operationalized by identifying all popular slogans and by coding them as *a priori* symbols. Symbol-situations are operationalized by identifying in a Maidan news story descriptions of situations that answer, apart from questions "what, where and when", a question "what it means?" In other words, such situations are reported as for the sake of information delivery, as for the purpose of conveying deeper meanings of events. The same is valid for the operationalization of symbol-processes: they are reported in order to provide information as well as to express deeper meanings. Sometimes symbol-situations and symbol-processes provide very little information as such. They are reported exclusively to express meanings, feelings, general mood of protest.

All symbol-products, symbol-situations, symbol-processes, symbol-concepts, and symbolic actions are divided into two groups of symbols, according to Susanne Langer's classification (1954): discursive, or verbal symbols and presentational, visual symbols.

Two sets of criteria for the identification of symbols are proposed in the given research: the first set includes the possibility to single out in a discursive statement or visual representation (mainly photos) an object, a symbol-vehicle, a subject, a conception, and a concept, as they are defined above; the second set of criteria includes the possibility to discern in a discursive statement or visual representation all three types of meanings: denotation (explicit meaning), connotation (implicit associative meaning), signification (conceptual meaning).

**Symbols and Life-Worlds.** For each symbol identified in a media text it is proposed to discern which province of reach its subject and conception belong to: actual, attainable, or restorable reach. For each symbolic representation identified in a media text it is specified which types of time characterize its symbolic qualities: world time, biological time, social time,

and/or inner duration. Social time and inner duration are, in their turn, split into finitude, fixed course of temporality, and historical situationality. For each symbol it is diagnosed whether it incorporates the reference to the province of practicable. The latter is defined in our analysis as the province of knowledge predetermined by technological, scientific, intellectual state of the society and previous experiences of individuals. Finally, for each particular symbol it is ascertained whether its conception as an element of social stock of knowledge is compatible or incompatible with actual knowledge gained in protest.

### **Coding Procedure**

The application of combination of qualitative and quantitative methods in the given research is explained by the needs of providing both in-depth interpretations of meanings and cross-media, cross-national generalizations. The former are achieved through qualitative analysis of symbolic relations in media texts, namely, space, time, number, power as qualities of symbols. The latter is enabled by the content analysis of visibility of symbols in the overall amount of symbols for each country under study (Ukraine, Poland, Germany). I use the individual Maidan news story as the unit of analysis and coding. The Maidan news story is defined as any news analysis, feature story or reportage whose dominant topic is Maidan protest actions, Maidan's routine functioning, and/or its relations with power of Yanukovych's regime delimited from other news items by a change of topic. Simple news are excluded from this analysis as well as news items that are reprints from other media. One of the formal indicators for the distinction between news analysis and news is mentioning/non-mentioning of an author of a text.

The Maidan news stories is identified with the help of key words in headings, subheadings, and leads that are typed in search engines of the online editions of media included in our sample. These words are as follows: Maidan, EuroMaidan, civil protest in Kyiv, Ukraine,

civil unrest, violence in Kyiv, Ukraine, student protest. The major key words that in most cases allow to find all Maidan news stories in a respective online edition of a media outlet are Maidan, EuroMaidan, and civil protest in Kyiv, Ukraine. There is one group of categories that is used to operationalize and structure the proposed analysis, namely: symbol-product, symbol-concept, symbol-slogan, symbol-situation, symbol-process, and symbolic actions. Every individual example of these categories is described in detail: its main characteristics and naming are specified, as well as structural elements (objects, signifiers, subjects, conceptions, concepts) and meanings (denotations, connotations, significations). However, these detailed descriptions are rather the part of interpretative method applied in this study while coding process as such focuses on the Maidan news story and a set of categories that correspond with the typology of symbols.

The coding passes through three stages. The first stage of coding is the identification of possible symbols by their types in Maidan news stories. The second stage is the description of identified possible symbols according to their basic elements: object, symbol-vehicle, subject, conception and concept, - as well as according to their three meanings: denotation, connotation and signification. The second stage also includes the count of number of times that each particular symbol is used in media outlets. At the third stage of coding each symbol is described in terms of life-world structures.

### **Measure of Content Analysis**

This study uses one measure for the quantitative analysis: *visibility* of a particular symbol in the general amount of symbolic representations. For each country under study the general amount of symbols in the media outlets is quantified as well as the amount of coded

symbols separately in tabloid and quality press. As it is mentioned in the section on the media sample and period of study, six separate periods within three months of protests could be identified according to historical development and key events of this grassroots movement. So, symbols are coded with mentioning the period(s) in which they are used by media.

I try to quantify which particular symbols, as they are named and typified, dominate in symbolic representations of Maidan in the Ukrainian, Polish, and German media. I do this separately for tabloid and quality press in order to be able to compare their approaches.

I also measure what symbols are the most visible in terms of their types: three most visible symbol-products in the general amount of coded symbol, three most visible symbol-concepts in the same general amount, three most visible symbol-slogans in the general amount of coded symbol-slogans, three most visible symbol-situations, three most visible symbol-processes, and three most visible symbolic actions in the respective general amount.

### **Qualitative Analysis of Symbolic Relations**

The qualitative analysis of symbolic relations of time, space, number, and power is the basic interpretative method used in this dissertation. I attempt to synthesize theories of Ernst Cassirer, Edmund Husserl, Alfred Schutz, and Pierre Bourdieu in order to work out the criteria for the qualitative analysis of symbolic representations, namely, symbolic qualities and relations, as they are singled out by Ernst Cassirer and by post-structuralists. These qualities and relations are categorized as space, time, number, power, and semblance. I use basic characteristics of space, time, and number in myth, language, and science, as they are identified in the Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms (1923; 1925; 1929). This allows to study if media replicate symbols of myth, language, science in different combinations and variations, and if they create own symbolic

relations that do not fit into the frames of well-established symbolic forms of myth, language, science, history, art.

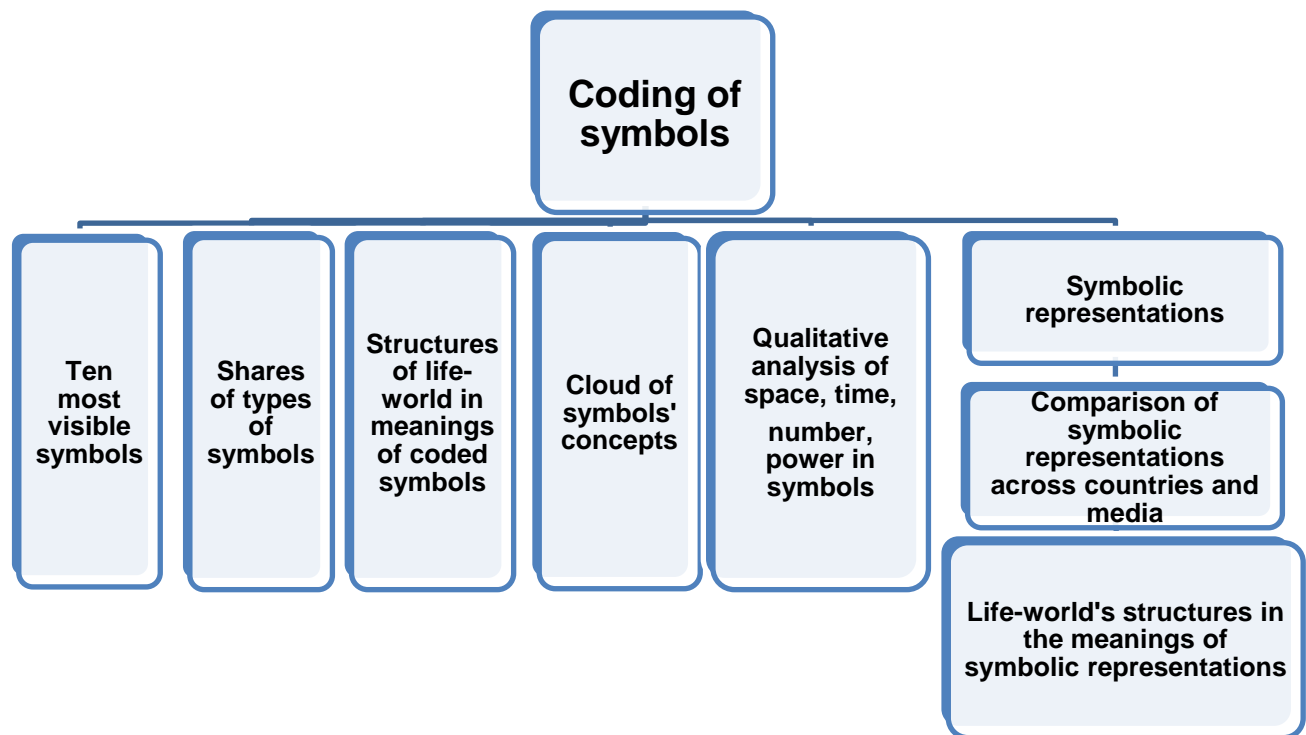
*Space.* I analyze space applying the following interpretative devices: the division of the human life-world into profane and sacred (myth), a place as a part of being of a thing (myth), space in which every place and every direction have their own nature and their own value (myth), heterogeneity of space (myth), continuity, homogeneity, and infinitude of space (science), the single large whole (myth), verbs as linguistic elements in which there is the symbolism of space appropriation and space overcoming (language).

*Time.* I use for the analysis of time the following interpretative and conceptual tools: rhythmic being (myth), circles of in-coming and out-coming, of inwardness and outwardness (myth); a simple undivided now (language), succession of moments (science), differentiation of time into world time, social time, biological time, and inner duration of time within the structure of subjective experience; finitude, fixed course of events, historical situationality of world time, social time, and inner duration.

*Number.* I analyze numbers using the interpretative devices: every number has its own being, its own nature, and power (myth); number as a sign of things (myth), number as a sign of operations (science), multiplicity (language), indefinite singularity (language), number as a function of order (science), inclusive plural "we" (language), exclusive plural "they" and "you" (language).

*Power.* I analyze power relations in symbolic representations of the protest life-world through the lenses of both post-structuralism and Turner's theory of liminality (1969). The categories of symbolic capital and symbolic violence are used as well as binary oppositions of liminality and status system, or challengers of power and power: transition/stability, homogeneity/heterogeneity, communitas/structure, equality/inequality, anonymity/system of nomenclature, absence of property/property, absence of status/status, absence of rank/distinction of rank, humility/pride of position, no distinctions of wealth/distinction of wealth,

unselfishness/selfishness, sacredness/secularity, simplicity/complexity, acceptance of pain and suffering/avoidance of pain and suffering. The general schema of research design is presented in the Figure below.



*Figure 2.* The schema of the research design.

### Criteria for Comparative Analysis of Symbols

**Comparison across media of Ukraine, Poland, and Germany.** One of the major goals of this research is to compare the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world as a critical case in media of different countries, namely, Ukraine, Poland, and Germany. The German media later used to be one of the normative references for media in the countries of Central-Eastern Europe.

The comparison of symbolic representations in the media of three counties is arranged around the following criteria: the most visible symbols in the media coverage of the Maidan



life-world; the visibility of different concepts implicated in symbols that is visualized by means of cloud generator; the interpretation of major symbolic representations in the respective coverage and their visibility; the meanings of symbolic representations in terms of basic structures of the life-world (area of reach, province of practicable, compatibility between social and actual experience). For the analysis of visibility and statistics of the symbolic representations across media the method of data mining is applied. The data mining is accomplished with the help of the software *RapidMiner Studio Professional*. It allows to build up scatter graphs. One of the drawbacks of this analysis is that every symbol could be assigned only to one particular symbolic representation in order to make possible data mining. It resembles the strict partitioning clustering with outliers.

I draw the parallels between defining symbolic representations with the help of symbol theory and narratives with the help of phenomenological method. Symbolic representations could be compared with such narratives that are, in their turn, the definitions of themes of descriptions of participant's experience in phenomenology (Waters, 2000). The foundational difference between symbolic representations and phenomenological narratives of themes is that the former convey cultural and social meanings in which we could try to identify the elements of lived experience, meanwhile, narratives convey the meanings of phenomena in consciousness. Speaking about symbolic representations of life-worlds in media, we test if they perform and in which way the function of phenomenologists along with the function of reporting on socially relevant events. In other words, whether media, reporting on events, report simultaneously on phenomena by bracketing out own social experience and by focusing on people's feelings, memories, images, associations much more than on stereotypes and presuppositions that protesters express.

**Comparison across media outlets.** I also compare the most visible symbols in the media coverage of the Maidan life-world in tabloids with quality weeklies, and the

characteristics of time, space, number, and power in symbolic representations in tabloids with quality weeklies. This could help to see whether there is a substantial difference in the selection of symbols between tabloid and quality media. The distribution of various types of symbols is also compared across media outlets.

### **Limitations of research and methodology**

The given research provides a set of empirical data based on the operationalization of symbol as a concept. They have to be interpreted through expert interviews with sociologists, historians, social psychologists. This goes beyond the scope of this research and requires full-fledged independent research. Therefore, these data are just a springboard for the ongoing conceptualization.

The media sample of this study is limited to online editions of two print media outlets per country. This number and type of media in the sample are predetermined by the capacity and ability of a researcher. The whole procedure of coding for such media sample took four months. The bigger the sample is, the more coders have to be involved and the longer time it would take. Within the limits of time and resources in my case the proposed number and type of media appeared to be the most appropriate.

The content analysis of symbols' visibility has to be based on the detailed operationalization of all types of symbols. The most problematic appears to be the operationalization of such types as symbol-situation and symbol-process. This is undertaken through the method of interpretation that is always vulnerable to the criticism from the point of basic scientific values: validity, relevance, intersubjective replicability, etc.

This study is carried out by one researcher without any intercoder reliability. The more coders are involved, the higher level of intercoder reliability could be achieved.

The whole idea and intentions of the research are constituted within the frameworks of philosophy of culture and phenomenology with their focus on universality of human thinking. Subsequently, they could not provide proper response to the post-modernist criticism and deconstruction of any universality and ideality.

## Chapter IV

### Data Analysis: Ukraine

#### Symbols in the Ukrainian Media Coverage of Maidan: Quantitative Findings

I coded 29 news stories in the tabloid daily *Segodnia* and 33 news stories in the quality newsmagazine *Ukrainian Weekly*. The coded news stories include news analysis, reportages (news reports), feature stories. News, photo reports, opinion pieces, interviews are excluded from the given analysis. Overall, I coded 107 symbols of all types, except symbol-slogan, in *Segodnia* and 276 symbols of all types, except symbolic action, in *Ukrainian Weekly*. Altogether 383 symbols were coded in two Ukrainian print media outlets. Within this number 128 different kinds were identified. It means that some symbols were used two and more times.

I should accept that in practice it is difficult enough to reach the exhaustive coverage of all meanings that could be conceptualized as symbols, according to the typology used in this dissertation. Moreover, as long as the interpretative, reconstructive method is applied to the identification and description of symbols and their structures, as well as their relations with different elements of structures of subjective experience, namely, protest life-worlds, there is always a sufficient scope for reconsiderations and re-readings of the coded symbols. To lay the ground for making such research replicable, scientifically valid and admissible for the rules of intercoder reliability, it is necessary to make a few introductory points concerning technical aspects of coding. For this research the author is the only one coder.

My familiarity with the general historical context of Maidan and all related events helped to identify symbol-products, symbol-concepts, symbol-slogans, symbol-situations, symbol-processes, and symbolic actions more easily and, conceivably, with lower probability of arbitrariness and misconceptions. This reveals the necessity of in-depth factual knowledge of the historical context

and preliminary readings on events under study. In addition, any presence in the field is an added value and additional assurance of better-grounded interpretations and generalizations.

The same symbol could be mentioned within single text a few times. If it was mentioned more than once within the same thematic and situational context, it was coded only one time. If it was mentioned in the different contexts, it was coded each time for any particular context within the same text. By the thematic and situational context I understand the telling of story of some event, person, situation, problem within the same spatial and temporal framework.

I excluded from the coded sample news stories in *Segodnia* that were reprints of news items from the other media outlets. One of the formal criteria for coding the news story from *Segodnia* was the presence/absence of the author in the byline. If the news story had an author and could be identified as either news analysis, reportage or feature story, it was coded.

The Table 6 and the Figures 3 and 4 suggest that the first hypothesis of the given research is partly confirmed: symbol-concepts, symbol-situations, symbol-processes of the protest life-world are main types of symbols coded in the quality press while in the tabloids symbol-products dominate over other types of symbols; meanwhile, symbol-concepts, symbol-situations, symbol-processes are either absent or marginalized. The media coverage of the protest life-world in the tabloid newspaper used enough symbol-concepts, but we managed to identify only four kinds of symbol-situation and four kinds of symbol-processes: altogether four symbol-situations and ten symbol-processes were coded. In comparison, the coverage of the quality weekly for the same events and the same period included 23 kinds of symbol-situations and 11 kinds of symbol-processes: altogether 35 symbol-situations and 23 symbol-processes were coded. The quality weekly used 38 different kinds of symbol-products, 34 different kinds of symbol-concepts, four kinds of symbol-slogans and none of symbolic actions. In comparison, the tabloid publication used 32 different kinds of symbol-products and 22 different kinds of symbol-concepts. These data prove that, in general, tabloid press report the life-worlds through physical objects, material products,

some basic concepts of social life. However, it does not help people to get information-oriented understandings of situationality, historicity of experiences as well as processes. Only quality press is still able to trace down processes and develop journalism of processes.

It is noteworthy that symbols with the similar objects, symbol-vehicles and subjects are characterized with divergent conceptions and concepts in tabloid press and in quality press. The most illustrative example are the symbol-concept "sociology of protest delegitimation" in the tabloid press and the symbol-concept "sociology of protest legitimation" in the quality press. While the former used the sociological data as the symbols of lack of social representativeness in Maidan as grassroots protest, the latter used comparably similar data to substantiate the social representativeness of the same protest. The other example is the symbol-concept "compromise". They have different meanings in the tabloid and in the quality publications under study: for *Segodnia* this symbol means the unavoidable reconciliation while for *Ukrainian Weekly* it means the unreachable, unattainable goals under the real life circumstances of Maidan.

This demonstrates how depending on the political leanings and ideological predispositions that could be linked with the ownership, the press could endow the same signs with polar conceptions and concepts.

Table 6

*The distribution of the coded symbols across the tabloid and quality media outlets*

	<b>Media outlets</b>		
<b><i>Types of symbol</i></b>	<b><i>Tabloid daily Segodnia</i></b>	<b><i>Quality newsmagazine Ukrainian Weekly</i></b>	

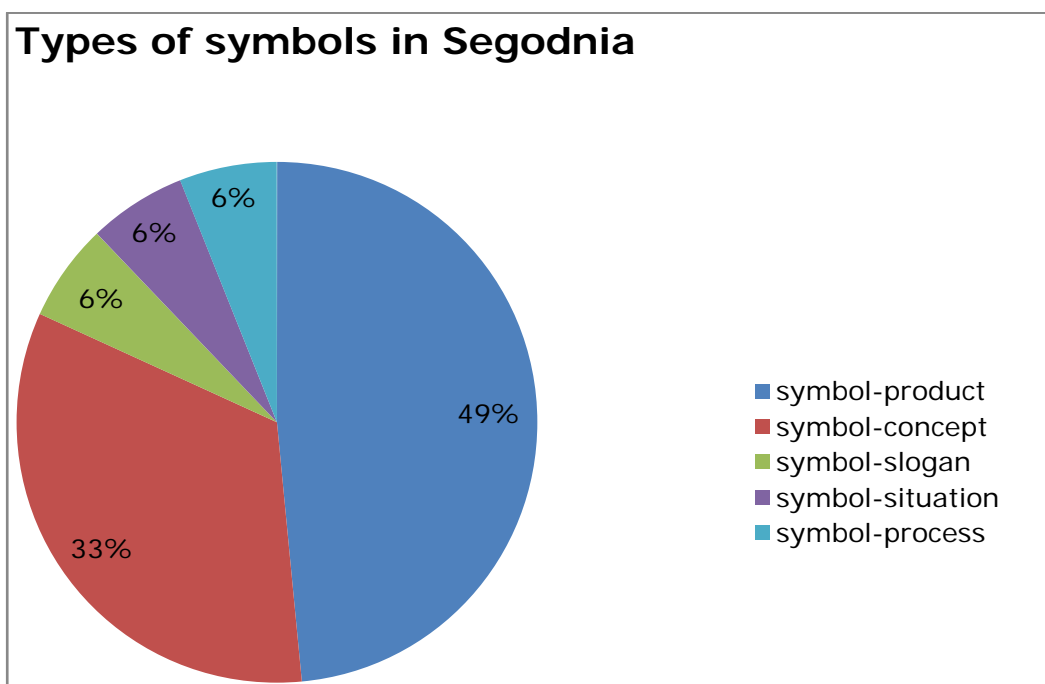
Symbol-product	Strike fighters (2), smoke grenade, shields (4), siren, ambulance, explosion, fire, national anthem (2), injuries of Maidan activists, Grifon, Automaidan, Grushevskogo street (4), titushka (3), cocktail Molotov, internal troops (3), fighters with chains, tire, Institutska street (2), buses with black-out windows, flack jacket, stele (3), New Year's tree, flag of Ukraine, baton (4), tear gas (2), sonic grenade (2), construction helmet, barrel, firewood, Michailovska square/ Michailovsky cathedral, sandwich, tea.	Baton (3), titushka (15), internal troops (6), tear gas (4), radical (3), national anthem (3), New Year's Tree on blood (2), sonic grenade (2), crowd of many thousands, construction helmet (2), smoke grenade (2), splinters, balaclava (3), ambulance, injuries of Maidan activists, House of Trade-Unions (3), Lenin monument, flag of Ukraine (2), piano, Instytutska street (4), cocktail Molotov (5), presidential palace Mezhygiria (2), flag of the EU, Bankova street, Liadski Gates (2), Grushevskogo street (7), shield (4), laws of the 16th of January (3), black helmet (3), tire, smoke (2), rubber bullets, flack jacket, Mariinka (2), buses with the detained protesters, tent, police snipers (2), first aid post (2), Antimaidan (3), Automaidan.
Symbol-concept	Lustration, sociology of protest delegitimation (2), astrological forecast, people's power, rebellion (2), civil activists (3), elite, Berkut (7), peaceful protesters, amnesty, compromise, foreigner at Maidan, barricade (6), European values, volunteer (2), negative energy, positive energy, cleansing (zachistka), European integration (2), Orange Revolution (2), gathering of people, Heavenly Hundred.	Gathering of people (3), Berkut (13), cleansing (3), European integration (2), European values, provocation (7), revolution (7), repression (9), disappointment of society (3), elite, barricade (11), Orange Revolution (3), sociology of protest legitimation, civil activists (10), compromise (3), social trust (2), elite, rebellion (2), consolidation of opposition, self-defense (6), art of Maidan, political prisoners, March of Millions, dignity (2), terror (2), amnesty, state of emergency (2), Heavenly Hundred (3), self-organization, victory (3).
Symbol-slogan		"Butcher to prison!", "Zeka get!" (3), "Glory to Ukraine!" (2), "Drop in ocean".

Symbol-situation	<p>Opposition leader is ignored and attacked by protesters; protesters demand a single leader; fighters attack empty parliament, night storm.</p>	<p>Storm of the presidential administration (2), Berkut hits a woman; riot police beats people lying on the ground (2), opposition calls people to move without goals, assaults on Maidan activists (4), opposition lost elections in four constituencies (3), repressions against Automaidan activists (3), titushkas attacked Forum of Euromaidans, Kruty battle, search of the journalist's apartment, Berkut beats a person with white flag lying on the ground, Berkut targets journalists in the Grushevskogo street, Berkut attacks the medical center in the Grushevskyj street, naked person tortured by police, women pick cobbles and bricks, negotiations between power and opposition (3), disappearance of Bulatov, the Party of Regions' office is set on fire (2), members of parliament save protesters beaten by the police; leader of the Party of Regions' fraction Oleksandr Yefremov says that he is not ashamed of killed protesters; deaths of protesters almost alive; the gangs of titushkas are headed by policemen; protesters demanded public repentance from PR politician Nestor Shufrych.</p>
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Symbol-process	Blocking of road, coming to the aid (2), singing together, dispersal of Maidan (6).	War with own people, slow investigation of assault on journalist Tetiana Chornovol (2), dispersal of Maidan (7), artists distribute tea, rebellion of regions (2), return to the 2004 Constitution (4), anti-terrorist operation (2), deconstruction of oligarchy, thousand people are coming to the place of Heavenly Hundred's death; trolling of Maidan in social media, resetting of the country.
Symbolic action	Holding mirror in front of policemen.	

*Note.* The figures in the brackets show the number of times that a particular symbol is used in a media outlet within the period under study.



*Figure 3.* The shares of different types of symbols in the general amount of coded types of symbols in the Ukrainian tabloid.

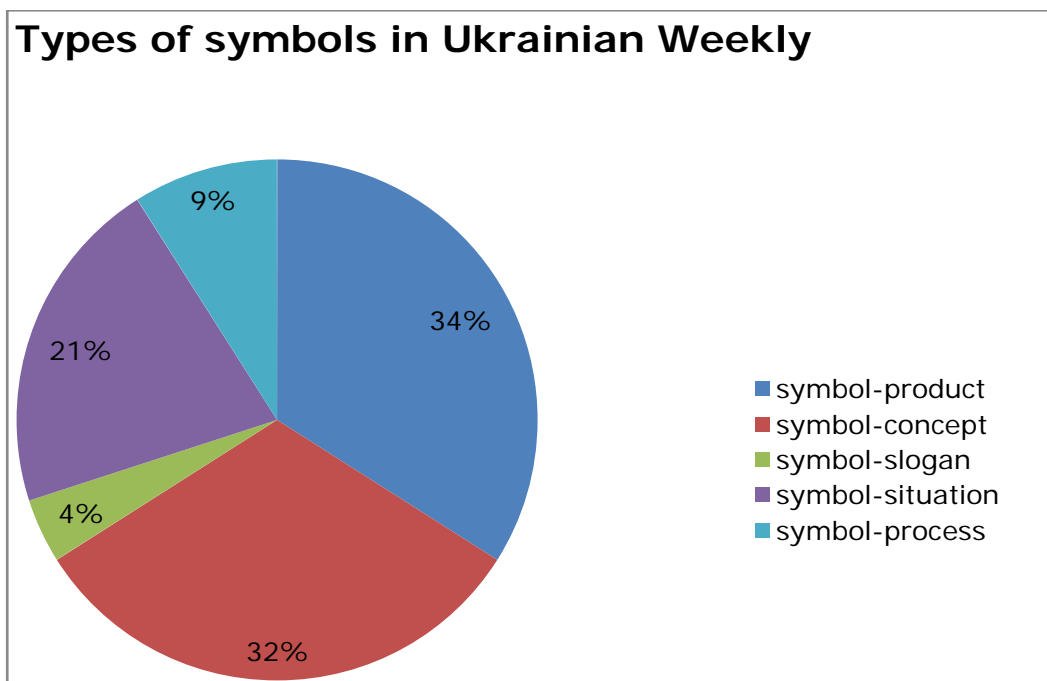


Figure 4. The shares of different types of symbols in the general amount of coded types of symbols in the Ukrainian quality weekly.

The Table 7 provides the full list of all coded symbols with the detailed descriptions of their structures and periods of Maidan in which they were used in the media coverage. This detailed analysis of symbols' structures help to track down how the meanings in symbols are born and worked out.

Table 7

*Coded symbols, their structures and periods of use in media*

Type of symbol	Name	Object	Signifier	Subject	Conception	Concept	Period
Symbol-product	Shield	Tool of self-defense	The word "shield"	The active application of shield	Radicalization of protest	Violence	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces, violent clashes and shootings
Symbol-product	Smoke grenade	Tool of self-defense and attack	The words "smoke grenade"	The active application of smoke grenades by police and by protestors	Radicalization of protest	Violence	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters

Symbol-product	Ambulance	Violent clashes	The word "ambulance"	There is a need in the first medical aid	Violence causes injuries and casualties	Danger	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Siren	Violent clashes	The word "siren"	There is disorder, fire in progress	Maidan is on alert	Danger	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Explosion	Violent clashes	The word "explosion"	This is a larger scale of violence than before	Large-scale violence	Danger	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-product	National anthem	People singing altogether national anthem	The wording "people singing national anthem"	People unanimously display their national and civil identity	Unity of people in action and behavior	Patriotism, solidarity	All six periods
Symbol-product	Fire	Something is set on fire, inter alia, tires	The word "fire"	There is disorder, fire in progress	Large-scale violence	Danger	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Strike fighters	Weapons or fighters for attacks	The word "Shturmovik"	Parallels between Right Sector and nazi fighters	Representation of Maidan by radical nationalists	Militaristic nationalism	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Injuries of Maidan activists	Maidan activists are brutally beaten by police	The wording "toughly beaten"	Maidan activists - target of state violence	Activists - victims of power	Terror	All periods apart from peaceful student movement and reinforced peaceful protest against violence of government forces
Symbol-product	Titushka	An armed civil person that fights on side of police against Maidan activists	The word "titushka"	Gangs are hired and armed by the government to attack Maidan activists	Parallelism of state and criminals	Terror	All periods apart
Symbol-product	Cocktail Molotov	Improvised incendiary weapon	The word "cocktail" and the name "Molotov"	Protesters use self-made weapons	Violence by protestors	Violence	Radicalized violent protest, violent clashes and shootings of protesters

Symbol-product	Grushevska street	The location of the first violent clashes	The official name of street 'Grushevskego'	The place of protest radicalization that led to the activists' detentions and arrests	The place of the first victims	Sacredness	Three last periods of Maidan
Symbol-product	Grifon	A special police unit in charge of civil order in court hearings	The word "grifonovtsi"	Governmental forces are the source of insecurity instead of order	The defenders of challenged power	Delegitimation of power	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Internal troops	A special police unit composed of 18-20 year old conscripts	The word traced back to abbreviation VV "veveshniky"	Government uses the force of young conscripts in dangerous clashes	The weak defenders of challenged power	Delegitimation of power	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Fighters with chains	Unidentified radical protestors with chains and other heavy items attacked riot police in Grushevskij street	The word "boyeviki"	Radical, armed and dangerous protesters	Radicalization of protest	Violence	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Tire	Tires as a shield between Maidan and police	The word "tires"	Non-lethal self-defense	People's struggle against power	Self-defense	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Splinters	Activists and journalists get splinters caused by explosion of grenades	The word "splinter" ("oskolok")	Riot police used grenades against protesters	Self-defense and attacks of the riot police	Violence	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Police buses with black-out windows	Riot police rides in Kyiv only buses with non-transparent windows	The wording "bus with black-out windows" ("zatonirovann yje steklo")	Riot police evokes fear with its attributes	Distinction of the riot police	Fear and suppression	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Sonic grenade	Police uses sonic grenades	The wording "sonic grenade"	It gets hard for protesters when police uses sonic grenades	Police self-defense attack	Conflict	Peaceful student movement, peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces

Symbol-product	Flack jacket	Police and some Maidan activists wear flack jackets	The word "flack jacket" ("bronezylet")	Flack jackets are used although it is more difficult to move with them	Radicalization of Maidan	Security risks	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces, violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Mariinka	The park where the parliament is located became the place of violent deadly clashes of February 18	The name "Mariinka" or "Mariinki park"	Police and armed titushkis attacked protesters	The place of first mass killings and injuries	Violence	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters, violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Stele	Stele, the central Maidan's monument, is the most negative, black place at Maidan	The word "stele at Maidan", "monument of independence of Ukraine", "column with Hrystia"	It is better to keep away from stele at Maidan	Negativism is in the heart of Maidan	Future	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Tear gas	Riot police uses tear gas against protesters during clashes	The wording "tear gas"	When police uses tear gas, collective crying happens	Police self-defense and attack	Conflict	Peaceful student movement
Symbol-product	Baton	Police uses batons against protesters	The word "baton"	Indiscriminate use of batons by the riot police	Police attacks	Violence	Peaceful student movement, peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Flag of Ukraine	People carry and hold flags of Ukraine	The wording "flag of Ukraine", "national flag"	People manifest their national identity and ideals	Ukraine's future	Patriotism, solidarity	Peaceful student movement
Symbol-product	New Year's tree	Communal services established New Year's tree at the place of dispersed student protest	The word "jolka"	People do not need New Year's Tree, if their civil rights are suppressed	Failure of power to curb protest	Delegitimation of power and freedom of people	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces

Symbol-product	Construction helmet	Protesters carry construction helmets	The wording "construction helmet"	Weak safety protection against potentially strong power of riot police	Protesters' self-defense	Danger	Peaceful student protest, reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces, violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Hot tea	Volunteers prepare and distribute hot tea at frost	The wording "hot tea"	Everybody could join the distribution of hot tea as a volunteer and could get a glass of tea visiting Maidan or staying there for longer	The binary opposition hot tea/cold winter; hot tea of Maidan/cold response of power	Solidarity	Peaceful student movement, violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Sandwich	Volunteers prepare and distribute sandwiches	The word "sandwiches"	Everybody could join the distribution of sandwiches as a volunteer and could get a sandwich visiting Maidan or staying there for longer	Self-organization and self-maintenance	Solidarity	Peaceful student movement, violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Michailovska square/ Michailovskij cathedral	After the dispersal of student Maidan protesters found shelter in the cathedral. At the night storm of Maidan the cathedral rang the bells	The names "Mychailavska square/cathedral"	At the crucial moments of Maidan the Ukrainian church supported its protesters.	The solidarity of church with people	Sacredness	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces, reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Barrel	Protesters used barrels to warm up amid low temperature	The word "barrel"	Barrels helped people to survive long cold nights	Self-organization, comfort of the Maidan space	Solidarity	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Piano	There was a number of pianos established at Maidan which everybody could play	The wording "Maidan's piano"	Everybody could present his/her talents and give pleasure to others amid clashes and conflicts	Freedom of choice and creativity	Freedom	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces

Symbol-product	Firewood	Protesters organized supply and storage of firewood	The word "firewood"	The supply of firewood was regular	Self-organization of people	Civil society	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Tent	Tents are placed at Maidan to shelter protesters	The word "tent"	People stay at Maidan day and night	Long-standing protest	Motivation	Peaceful student protest, violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Lenin monument	The monument to Lenin in Kyiv was demolished	The wording "Monument to Lenin"	This demolishment is not worthy of condemnation	The legacy of communism and post-communism is deconstructed	Decommunization	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	New Year's Tree on blood	The establishment of New Year's Tree was an excuse of the power for the dispersal of Maidan	The wording "New Year's Tree on blood", "bloody New Year's tree"	The power lied and found ridiculous excuses for violence against Maidan	Distrust of power	Delegitimation of power	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Balaclava	Radical protesters wear balaclavas	The word "balaclava"	Balaclavas help to prevent persecution of protesters	Anonymity is better for radical protesters than publicity	Repressions	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	House of Trade-Unions	Headquarters of the protest is located in self-occupied House of Trade-Unions	The name "House of Trade-Unions"	One of the main locations of protest coordinators and volunteers	Center of self-organization	Civil society	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Crowd of many thousands	The protest comprises crowds of thousands	The wording "crowd of many thousands"	Protests mobilize many thousand people	The large-scale grassroots movement	Representativeness	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Liadski Gates	The Gates at Maidan where the poetry was read for public	The name "Liadski Gates"	Maidan comprises multiplicity of places where everybody could find the way to express own creativity	The particularization of space	Creativity and freedom	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Presidential palace Mezhygiria	The private residence of the president Yanukovich	The name "Mezhygiria"	Yanukovich had no right to appropriate this residence, its luxury indicates misuse of power	State capture by the president	Corruption	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces

Symbol-product	Bankova street	The place of first serious violence and detentions of activists	The name "Bankova street"	Riot police allowed provocation which became a pretext for assault on innocent activists and eyewitnesses	Lawlessness and brutality of riot police	Terror	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Antimaidan	The power organizes the antipode of Maidan	The name "Antimaidan"	This protest is staged and hierarchical, top-down	The contrast of state-sponsored protest with authentic anti-governmental protest	Fake protest	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Black helmet	Riot police wears black helmets	The wording "black helmet"	Riot police is identified by black helmets	The power relies on brutal riot police rather than on any people's support	Violence	Radicalized, violent protest; besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Laws of the 16th January	The Party of Regions passed the laws that curtailed rights and freedoms	The wording "dictatorship laws", "laws of the 16th January"	These laws make protests illegal	Reversal of democracy, suppression and terror	Dictatorship	Radicalized, violent protest, besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Police snipers	The government engaged police snipers	The term "police snipers"	Police snipers kill innocent people	Killings of unarmed protesters	Terror	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Smoke	Smokes covers the heaven over Maidan	The wording "black smoke"	The heaven over city center is covered with black smoke caused by ongoing clashes	Violence and sharpening of clashes	Conflict	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Flag of the EU	Participants of Forum of Euromaidans held the flag of the EU	The wording "flag of the EU"	Activists hold the flag of the EU along with the flag of Ukraine	European values, European integration	Europe	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Naked person tortured by police	Riot police stripped off and beat an activist in the Grishkevskyj street	The wording "police tortured a naked man in street and filmed these tortures"	Riot police tortures innocent people	Suppression and inhumanity	Terror	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	First aid post	There is a number of first aid posts at different locations of Maidan	The term "first aid post"	Maidan medicine workers managed to organize efficient first aid system	Health care of Maidan	Civil society	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath



Symbol-product	Buses with the detained protesters	Police packs detained protesters into special buses - autozaks	The wording "Autozaks with detained activists"	Police packs people into autozaks brutally, breaking their rights and with the disproportionate application of violence	Mass detentions of activists	Terror	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Rubber bullets	Riot police shoots with rubber bullets	The term "rubber bullets"	Activists and journalists get injured with rubber bullets	Protesters and journalists are targets	Violence	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Automaidan	The movement of car drivers in support of Maidan	The name "Automaidan"	The outstanding civil initiative whose activists were suppressed	Civil activism	Challengers of power	Radicalized violent protest, besieged radicalized protest violent clashes and shootings of protestors
Symbol-concept	Sociology of protest	Percentage of people that support protest and its claims	Figures of percentage (50 % won't take part, etc.), the wording "public opinion is divided on EU agreement"	General mood of the society in relation to Maidan protests	Protest that is supported by the minority and whose claims divide society	Social support of protest	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Sociology of protest	Percentage of occupation, education, regional distribution among participants	Figures of percentage (17 % of businessmen, 6 % of students, etc.)	Social, regional and demographic structure of protest	Lack of protest representativeness	Social basis of protest	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Berkut	A special police unit in charge of protests' dispersion and suppression	The words "Berkut", "special policemen"	The riot police betraying own nation and reverting to brutality and violence	The defenders of challenged power and enemies of Maidan	Delegitimization of power, terror	All periods apart from the first - peaceful student movement
Symbol-concept	Gathering of people	Gatherings of hundred thousand people on Sundays at Maidan	The wording "gathering of people" (narodne viche)	Gatherings of people show the representatives of protests and mobilization	People as decision-makers	Direct democracy	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces, reinforced peaceful protest against violence of governmental forces

Symbol-concept	Elite	Politicians in opposition and in power	The word "elite"	Maidan contests legitimacy of both oppositional elites and governmental elites	Weakness of elites	Delegitimization of elites	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces, reinforced peaceful protest against violence of governmental forces
Symbol-concept	Lustration	Legal procedure	The word "lustration"	Experience of post-communist states in imposition of bans on former officials	Resetting of power, purification	Accountability of power	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Astrological forecast	Different astrological forecasts of Maidan peaceful fading	Quotations of different astrologists on the same topic	Consensus of astrologists on close peaceful ending of protest	Peaceful outcome of the protest without power change	Status-quo	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-concept	Peaceful protesters	Maidan participants that do not take part in clashes	The wording "peaceful protesters"	Maidan is predominantly a peaceful protest	Non-recognition of violence in politics	Peaceful protest	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-concept	Barricade	The protesters build up barricades to demarcate and protect Maidan	The wordings "first, second, barricade, etc.; barricades in Instytutska, Grushevskij, etc."	Demarcation of borders of own territory and its defense	Own territory	People's struggle	Radicalized, violent protest, besieged radicalized protest, violent clashes and shootings of protestors
Symbol-concept	Amnesty	Amnesty proposed by power is a solution	The word "amnesty"	Amnesty is a main condition for compromise and finalization of protest	Forgiveness of all activists	Reconciliation	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Compromise	Power and opposition have no choice but compromise	The word "compromise"	Compromise is unavoidable	Agreement between opposition and power	Reconciliation	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	European values	Values of human rights and liberties, justice, power accountability that are normal in Europe's everyday life	The wording "European values", "European standards"	European values as the ideal of Maidan	Human dignity, democracy, socio-economic prosperity	Europe	Besieged radicalized protest

Symbol-concept	Self-defense of Maidan	Units of self-defense coordinate security issues	The wording "self-defense of Maidan", "hundred of Maidan self-defense"	Maidan managed to organize self-defense	Self-defense of people against state-enemy	Civil society	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Civil activism, civil activists	Active participants and representatives of Maidan	The wording "civil activists"	There are active people that constitute Maidan's mainstream	Activism, responsibility, self-organization	Civil society	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Orange Revolution	The memories of Orange Revolution are again alive	The wording "Orange Revolution"	EuroMaidan resembles Orange Revolution	The experience of Orange Revolution	Experience	Peaceful student movement
Symbol-concept	Foreigner at Maidan	Foreigners used to come to eyewitness Maidan and take part in it	The wording "Foreigners at Maidan"	Maidan has both Ukrainian and foreign elements	Involvement of foreigners in Maidan	Alien protest	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Volunteer	Different people volunteer at Maidan	The word "volunteer", "woman-volunteer"	Volunteers as representatives of Maidan	Self-initiative, non-material motivation of protesters	Self-sacrifice	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-concept	Positive energy	Search for positive energy at Maidan is problematic	The wording "positive energy"	Very few places at Maidan have any positive energy	Lack of positive energy	Future	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Negative energy	There are many places with negative energy at Maidan	The wording "negative energy"	It is difficult to escape negative energy at Maidan	Domination of negativism	Past	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	European integration	People took to streets to safeguard the political course towards Europe	The wordings "European integration", "European Union", "Europe", "European choice"	Better life for the whole society, higher living standards, political freedom, economic prosperity	Integration into the better part of the world	Future	Peaceful student movement
Symbol-concept	Paid participation	There are offers of payments for participation in Maidan posted in Internet	The wording "there are offers for students to earn money at Maidan"	There are offers of payments which Maidan declines as a provocation	Corrupt and politicized protest	Corruption	Peaceful student movement
Symbol-concept	Repression	The danger of repression is overwhelming protest	The word "repression"	Nobody could predict at what cost people would defend their rights	Risks of protesters	Dictatorship	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces

Symbol-concept	Provocation	The first clashes were intentionally provoked	The words "instigator", "provocation"	The directors of provocations are not identified but it is possible to guess	The attempt to discredit the protest	Violence	Peaceful student protest, peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-concept	New generation	The generation of bloggers and activists that take active part in Maidan	The wordings "generation of bloggers", "young generation", "youth"	The young generation that uses social media and longs for fast changes	Agents of change and new way of thinking	Future of Ukraine	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-concept	March of Millions	On December 8, 2013 hundred of thousand people took to the city center of Kyiv for anti-governmental protest	The wording "March of Millions"	The largest mass protest in Ukraine ever	The protest is representative and all-embracing	Solidarity	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-concept	Self-organization	Maidan shows excellent self-organization even after the massive tragedy of killings	The word "self-organization"	Protesters show strong will and high spirit amid chaos and death	Power of people	Civil society	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Disappointment of people	Orange Revolution ended up with disappointment of people	The wording "disappointment of people"	The warning of the possible disappointment of people if this revolution does not succeed	Experience of the Orange Revolution	-	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-concept	Revolution	Maidan is revolution in progress	The word "revolution"	This is more than protest or rebellion	Way to the new life	Change	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-concept	Sociology of protest legitimization	Sociology does not prove the social stereotypes about Maidan that it relies only on students and people from the west of Ukraine	The wordings "two thirds of protesters have degrees", "over the half of protesters live in Kyiv", "one third of protesters speak Russian in everyday life"	Protest relies on the new young generation, Russian-speaking Ukrainians, Kyiv's inhabitants	Protests unite both young and experienced, mature people from different social and linguistic groups as well as regions	Representativeness	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces

Symbol-concept	Heavenly Hundred	Around one hundred unarmed people were killed in Mariinka and Institutska street on February 18-20	The name "Heavenly Hundred"	People sacrificed their lives for better future of Ukraine	Self-sacrifice, extraordinary courage	National heroism	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Political prisoners	Civil activists arrested indiscriminately	The wording "political prisoners"	There are politically motivated persecutions	Power assaults on rights and liberties of people	Repressions	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-concept	Victory	Maidan gets just the first victory	The wording "the first victory", "the beginning of victory"	The true victory will come with the total resetting of the whole system	Belief in future, hope	Future	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Social trust	Ukrainians discover the value and possibility of social trust	The word "trust"	Protesters recreate the space of social trust	Deficit of trust	Social contract	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-concept	Consolidation of opposition	Opposition has to undergo consolidation to succeed	The wording "opposition has to consolidate"	The opposition has no chances to win without the consolidation from inside	Weakness and deficiencies of oppositional elites	Power vacuum	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-concept	Terror	Killings of innocent people is apogee of terror	The wording "terror is covering the country"	The country with such government has no future	Repressions against protesters, killings of innocent people	Terror	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Dignity	Maidan defends dignity of people	The wording "dignity of people"	People align European choice and their rights with the value of dignity	Value of any individual and human life	Morality	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-concept	Victims killed in the Grushevskij street	Two protesters Sergiy Nigoyan and Mychailo Zhyznevs-kij were killed in the Grushevskij street	The names of first victims: Armenian Sergiy Nigoyan, Ukrainian Yuriy Verbitskyj, Belarussian Mychailo Zhyznevs-kij, Ukrainian Roman Senyk	The Yanukovych's regime sanctions killings of protesters	Deadly struggle	Terror	Radicalized, violent protest

Symbol-concept	State of emergency	The government could introduce the state of emergency	The term "state of emergency"	The government will use this state for repressions	Suppression of protest	Terror	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-concept	Automaidan	Owners of cars constitute a protest civil initiative	The name "Automaidan"	Automaidan activists make efficient protest actions	Respatialization of protests	Civil society	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-slogan	"Zeka get"	People scream untranslatable slogan addressed to Yanukovich. He is called criminal that has to step down	The wording "Zeka get"	People want Yanukovich to step down because of his criminal past and his use of violence against protesters	President lost all social trust	Delegitimation of power	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-slogan	Drop in ocean	The slogan that was spread in social media and on posters	The wording "Drop in ocean"	Everybody's contribution to common cause is valuable	Harmony of individuality and collectivity	Solidarity	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-slogan	"Butcher to prison" ("Kata za graty")	People scream a slogan addressed to Yanukovich. His place is identified in a prison instead of power	The wording "Kata za graty"	People want Yanukovich to step down because of his criminal past and his use of violence against protesters	President lost all social trust	Delegitimation of power	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-slogan	"Glory to Ukraine - Glory to Heroes"	Protesters often used this slogan	The wording "Glory to Ukraine - Glory to Heroes"	The manifestation of the loyalty to Ukraine and normative reference to heroism in the name of Ukraine	Faith in Ukraine	Patriotism, solidarity	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-situation	Opposition leader is ignored and attacked by protesters	Events on January 19 when protesters sprayed opposition leader Klychko with extinguisher	The wording "Protesters sprayed Klychko who tried to stop them with extinguisher"	Angry protestors humiliated the opposition leader that tried to stop them	Weakness of opposition	Power vacuum	Radicalized, violent protest

Symbol-situation	Fighters attack empty parliament	Protesters tried to break through the police chain to the parliament that was on vacation	The wording "protesters took to the parliament that was on vacation"	Protest loses its clarity and understanding of goals	Uncoordinated aimless protest	Meaninglessness	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-situation	Night storm	Possibility of night assault on Maidan	The wording "night storm of Maidan"	The riot police tends to attack Maidan at night	Non-transparency and meanness of power	Suppression	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-situation	Dispersal of Maidan	Maidan was physically dispersed on November 30, 2013 at night. Afterwards there was one more attempt on December 11 and a permanent danger of recurrence	The wording "dispersal of Maidan" ("rozgin Maidanu")	Riot police on orders of Yanukovych and his entourage crack down on the civil society	Suppression of protest and reversal of European integration	Dictatorship	Peaceful student movement, reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces, violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Storm of the presidential administration	Masked people with chains attacked unarmed internal troops	The wording "storm of the presidential administration"	Protesters were provoked to storm the administration	Mixture of provocation and radical protests	Radicalism	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-situation	Members of parliament save protesters beaten by police	Members of parliament having immunity save protesters from detentions	The wording "members of parliament save protesters beaten by police"	Only people with immunity are still able to help protesters amid clashes and violence	The loss of control over protest	Violence	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Berkut hits a woman	A policeman hit a woman that was crying	The wording "Berkut hits a woman against ambulance"	Brutality and indiscriminate application of violence by riot police	Assault on all freedoms and rights of people	Terror	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-situation	Riot police beats people lying on the ground	Policemen beat people lying on the ground and stepping on them	The wording "riot police beats people lying on the ground"	Brutality and indiscriminate application of violence by riot police	Assault on all freedoms and rights of people	Terror	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces

Symbol-situation	Opposition calls people to move without goals	Opposition did not formulate any clear goals for people while calling them to go to the government building	The wording "opposition calls people to march to the Cabinet of Ministers without goal"	Opposition sets no clear goals for protest	Weakness of opposition	Power vacuum	Peaceful student protest
Symbol-situation	Artists distribute tea	Maidan does not show any discrimination of social roles, inter alia, artists distribute tea	The wording "artists distribute tea"	Artistic spirit is integrated in Maidan everyday life	Deconstruction of hierarchies and social status structures	Equality and solidarity	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-situation	Protesters demanded public repentance from PR politician Nestor Shufrych	PR politician Nestor Shufrych was stopped by protesters and required to repent in public	The wording "protesters detained Shufrych and demanded from him repentance"	People lose any tolerance to representatives of the Party of Regions	Public outrage and despair	Delegitimation of power	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Repressions against Automaidan activists	Road police come up with allegations against Automaidan activists	The wording "repressions against Automaidan activists"	Police forges the evidence against Automaidan activists	Inefficiency and rotten nature of law enforcement system, no rule of law	Lawlessness	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-situation	Opposition lost elections in four constituencies	Opposition candidates lost snap elections to pro-governmental candidates	The wording "opposition lost elections in four out of five constituencies"	Opposition did not manage to use the potential of Maidan to overtake pro-governmental opponents	Weakness of opposition	Power vacuum	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-situation	Old women carry tea to the frontline	Old women carry hot tea to the frontline of clashes in the Grushevskij street	The wording "old women carry tea to the frontline"	Everybody contributes to protest in the most efficient way	Gender and age equality in protest	Solidarity	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Deaths of protesters almost alive	People could observe alive clashes and violence and their aftermath due to video streams	The wording "deaths of protesters almost alive while people were following streams"	For the first time in history death and violence are observable for everybody	Emotional involvement of the whole nation into violent clashes, sympathy with protesters	Solidarity	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath



Symbol-situation	Assaults on Maidan activists	Activists all over Ukraine are attacked, beaten by unknown strangers	The wordings "assaults on activists", "beatings of activists", "terror against activists"	The terror against Maidan is growing	Persecutions of activists	Violence	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-situation	Leader of the Party of Regions' fraction Oleksandr Yefremov says that he is not ashamed of killed protesters	Oleksandr Yefremov says that he feels no shame for killings of protesters and policemen in streets	The dialogue: "- Are you not ashamed of people killed in streets? - he was asked. - No, - he answered nervously and rushed away"	Party of Regions lost any trust, any legitimacy and any understanding of the real situation in the country	Cynicism and irresponsibility of power	Dehumanization of power	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Gangs of titushkas are headed by policemen	Police officers coordinate and command over armed gangs	The wording "titushkas are headed and coordinated by police officers"	State uses proxies to commit brutal violence against protesters	Criminalization of state	Terror	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Party of Regions' office is set on fire	Protesters purged and set on fire the office of Party of Regions on February 18	The wording "Party of Regions' office is set on fire"	The situation is out of control and unpredictable	Violence and revenge of protesters	Conflict	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Yanukovich flies to Sochi	Yanukovich flies to Russia amid protest to meet its president Putin and to attend the opening of the Olympic Games	The wording "Yanukovich flies to Sochi"	Yanukovich goes to Russia to get instructions	Dependence on Russia	Colonialism	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Titushkas attacked the Forum of Euromaidans	Titushkas threw eggs at activists, stormed the church where they held meeting	The wording "titushkas threw eggs at activists, stormed the church where they held meeting"	There are well-organized gangs that attacked activists	Repressions, persecutions of activists by state-hired gangs	Terror	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-situation	Berkut targets journalists in the Grushevskiy street	Berkut shot in the direction where journalists were based in the Grushevskiy street	The wording "Berkut targets journalists in the Grushevskiy street"	Berkut intentionally tries to injure journalists	Suppression of freedom of speech, media freedom	Terror	Radicalized, violent protest

Symbol-situation	Kruty battle	Kruty battle took place on January 16, 1918 between Kyiv's students of military school and Red army	The name "Kruty battle"	The battle for free and independent Ukraine	History repeats	Historical memory	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-situation	Berkut beats a person with a white flag lying on the ground	Espresso.tv caught the scene of beating of a person that came to Berkut with a white flag	The wording "On espresso video stream the man went towards police with white flag, he was hit to the ground and beaten by Berkut"	The power gave up any self-restraints on application of violence	Brutality, terror, repressions	Violence	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-situation	Berkut attacks medical center in the Grushev-skyj street	Berkut purged the makeshift medical center	The wording "Berkut attacks medical center in the Grushev-skyj street"	Riot police attacks medical workers and helpless injured people	Violence without boundaries	Terror	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-situation	Search of the journalist's apartment	The apartment of the journalist Oleksandr Michelson was searched by police	The wording "the apartment of journalist Oleksandr Michelson was searched by police"	The repressions and intimidations are directed at journalists	Repressions are reinforced	Terror	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Negotiations between power and opposition	Opposition and power meet but this does not bring any results	The wording "Negotiations between power and opposition"	Any agreement between opposition and power won't have proper legitimacy for Maidan	Deficit of legitimacy	Power vacuum	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Disappearance of Bulatov	Leader of Automaïdan Dmytro Bulatov disappeared without trace	The wording "Bulatov disappeared"	Police does little to investigate his disappearance	Repressions against activists	Terror	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Protesters demand a single leader	On January 19 after "the dictatorship laws" were passed, Maidan demanded to appoint a single leader	The wording "Maidan hissed off opposition heads and cried "Leader!"	Maidan needed a single leader to move on	Weak and lost opposition	Power vacuum	Radicalized, violent protest

Symbol-process	Blocking of roads	Maidan and police block roads	The word "blocking"	Police blocks more roads and create more obstacles than Maidan	Disruption of normal life and demarcation of territories of control	Suppression	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-process	Rebellion	Events in the Grushevskij streets	The word "rebellion"	The use of violence turned peaceful protest into rebellion	Protest turns into rebellion	People's struggle	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-process	Singing together	Protesters sing together Ukrainian songs and anthem	The wording "people sing"	People know by heart the same lyrics and melodies	Common inspiration, common emotions and goals	Solidarity	Peaceful student movement
Symbol-process	Coming to the aid	At nights of storm, clashes or when there was a higher probability of storm a lot of people joined Maidan to help its stationed protesters	The wording "people come to the aid", "flow together to Maidan at critical moment"	Maidan survived due to people who came to support it at nights	Mobilization of the society	Solidarity	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-process	People's gathering	The special meetings announced by opposition for discussing important issues. Hundred thousand people took part in them	The wording "people's gathering" ("narodne viche")	People's gatherings help to keep the spirit of Maidan and set its goals	People's decision-making and deliberations	Direct democracy	Peaceful student protest, reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-process	Art of Maidan	Maidan hosts numerous creative initiatives	The wording "art of Maidan"	Numerous professional and spontaneous artistic expressions constitute the inclusive creative process	Art helps protesters to challenge the power	Creativity and freedom	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-process	Cleansing	The operations of the riot police against Maidan	The word "cleansing"	Riot police assaults on peaceful protest and tries to re-conquer its territory	Suppression of peaceful protest	Dictatorship	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces, violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath

Symbol-process	War with own people	Power wages war with own people	The wording "war with own people"	Government commits both hidden and open violence against civil society	Divide between power and people	Conflict	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-process	Slow investigation of assault on journalist Tetiana Chorno-vol	Police makes little progress in its investigation of the assault on the journalist	The wording "police unwillingly investigates the assault on the journalist"	Police could do more and better to investigate this case	Inefficiency and rotten nature of law enforcement system, no rule of law	Lawlessness	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-process	Rebellion of regions	Protests spread all over the country	The wording "rebellion of regions"	The whole country rises up	All-Ukrainian rebellion	Revolution	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-process	Return to the 2004 Constitution	Opposition and Maidan demand the return to the parliamentary-presidential republic	The wording "return to the 2004 Constitution"	The return to the 2004 Constitution helps to solve the conflict and remove Yanukovych from power	The required concession of the power	Reconciliation	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-process	Office plankton carries tires and sacks of snow	Office workers join protests before and after work	The wording "office plankton carries tires and sacks of snow"	People who were the least probable supporters of protest joined it	Representativeness, broad social basis	Solidarity	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-process	Women pick cobbles and bricks	Women pick and distribute cobbles and bricks to the frontline	The wording "women pick cobbles and bricks"	Although it is dangerous women are also at the frontline	Gender equality in protests	Solidarity	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-process	Trolling of Maidan in social media	There is a systematic spread of hatred and provocative messages against Maidan, its activists and journalists in social media	The wording "trolling of Maidan in social media"	These messages are ordered and intentionally distributed by trolls	Psychological pressure on activists and journalists	Aggression	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-process	Anti-terrorist operation	The anti-terrorist operation turns into the suppression of Maidan and the whole country	The term "anti-terrorist operation"	Anti-terrorist operation will be terror against people	Suppression of all rights, repressions and terror	Dictatorship	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath

Symbol-process	Deconstruction of oligarchy	In order to make the victory of Maidan sustainable oligarchy has to be deconstructed	The wording "anti-oligarchy revolution", "demolishing of oligarchy"	Maidan will lose in the longer-run if oligarchs keep their power	State capture by oligarchy is still in place	Victory	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-process	Resetting the country	The country has to be reset	The wording "resetting the country"	Reforms and de-oligarchization are required to make the victory of Maidan sustainable	The change of the whole country	Future	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-process	Thousand people are coming to the place of Heavenly Hundred's death	People come to lay down flowers and pay tribute to the Heavenly Hundred	The wording "thousand people are coming to Institutska to pave tribute to Heavenly Hundred"	People live though the common grief and sorrow	Commemoration of common heroes	Solidarity	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbolic action	Holding mirror in front of policemen	The activists organized the action "Oh, God, it's me?" by holding mirrors in front of policemen	The wording "police got a chance to have a look at own embarrassed faces"	Protesters wanted the riot police to reflect on its violence and loyalty to the challenged power	Normative reference to morality and ethics	Delegitimation of power	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces

The Figure 5 shows the absolute numbers of the most visible coded symbols in the general amount of coded symbols. The group of symbols called "the rest of the coded symbols" include all symbols whose number equates to 6 and less.

## Visibility of symbols in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world in the Ukrainian press

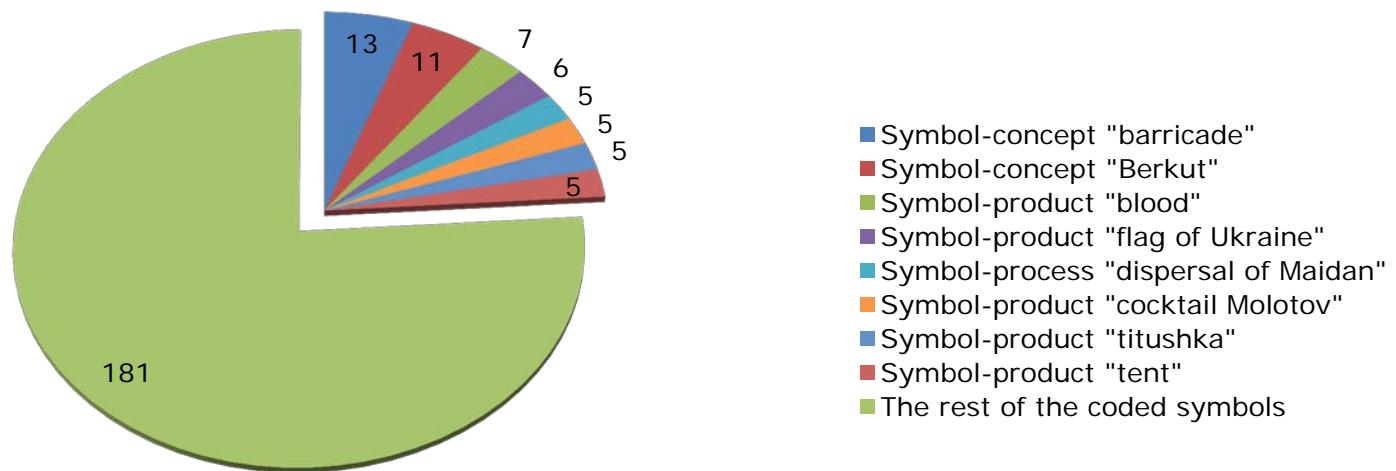


Figure 5. Visibility of different symbols in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world by the Ukrainian press (in absolute numbers) (N=383).

The Figure 6 shows the same measure of the visibility of different symbols in the general amount of the coded symbols. These are 10 most visible symbols in the amount of 383 coded symbols, namely, symbol-concept "Berkut" (5,2 %), symbol-product "titushka" (5 %), symbol-concept "barricade" (4,5 %), symbol-concept "civil activists" (3,4 %), symbol-process "dispersal of Maidan" (3,4 %), symbol-product "Grushevskogo street" (2,9 %), symbol-concept "repression" (2,4 %), symbol-product "shield" (2 %), symbol-product "baton" (1,8 %), symbol-concept "revolution" (1,8 %), symbol-concept "provocation" (1,8 %). The rest of symbols are coded 6 and less times. Such symbols as "Berkut", "barricade", "civil activists" could be defined both as symbol-products and symbol-concepts. They fit all definitional criteria of symbol-product. However, from the general historical context of the protests as well as media texts under study we could assume that these symbols cross the boundaries of physical, material traces and get some conceptual meanings far beyond materiality and tangibility that they are primarily assigned. So, the above-mentioned three symbols are defined and coded as symbol-concepts rather than symbol-products.

The highest visibility of such symbols as "Berkut", "titushka", "barricade", "civil activists" (or "civil activism"), "dispersal of Maidan", and "Grushevska street" is indicative of the very nature of the events under study - massive grassroots movement, three-month protest that ended up with toppling down the power regime. The symbols with openly negative connotations and significations related to violence and suppression dominate in top 10 symbols in the Ukrainian media coverage of Maidan life-world: "Berkut", "titushka", "dispersal of Maidan", "repression", "baton", "provocation". The rest of symbols, except "civil activists", also reflect on the conflict and violence: "barricade", "revolution", "shield". This correspondence between the visibility of certain symbols used in media and the specificity of experience, namely, life-world of protest shows that media, just as people, think in symbols, as Susanne Langer (1954) postulates it.

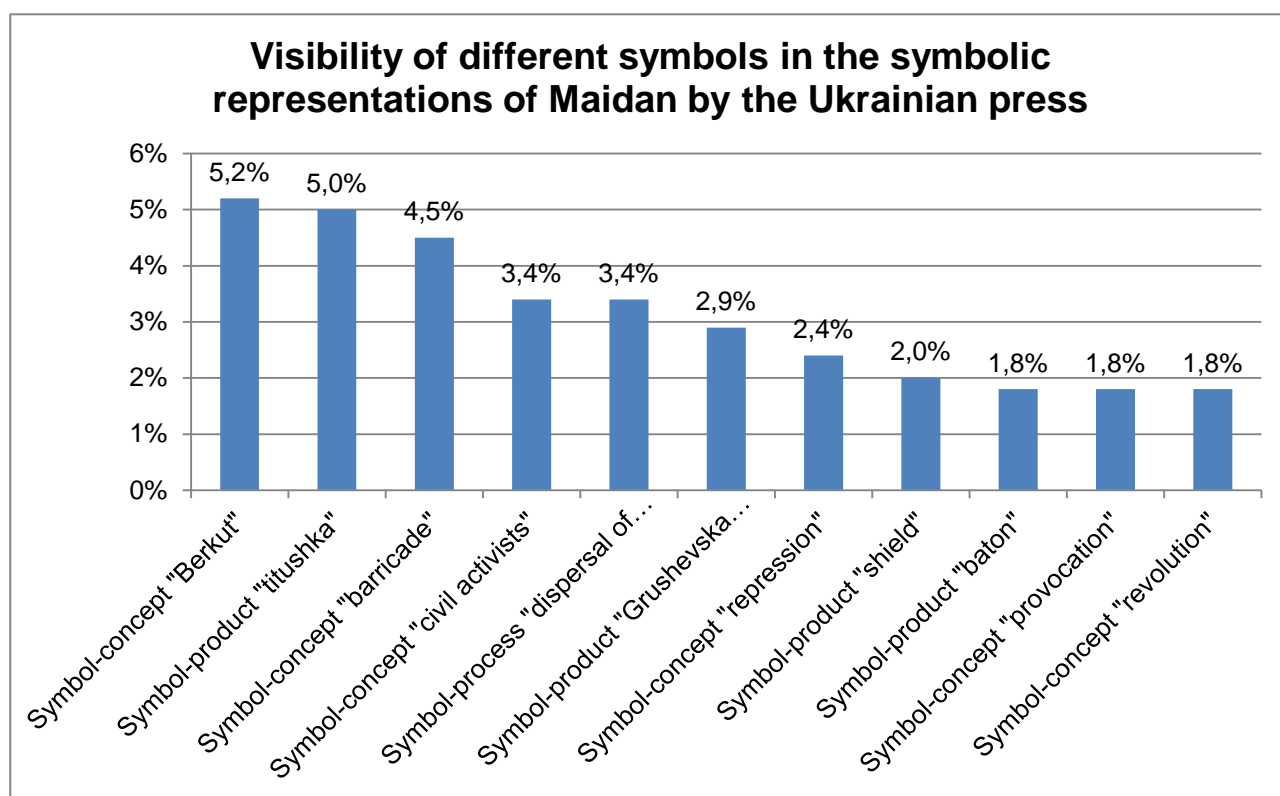
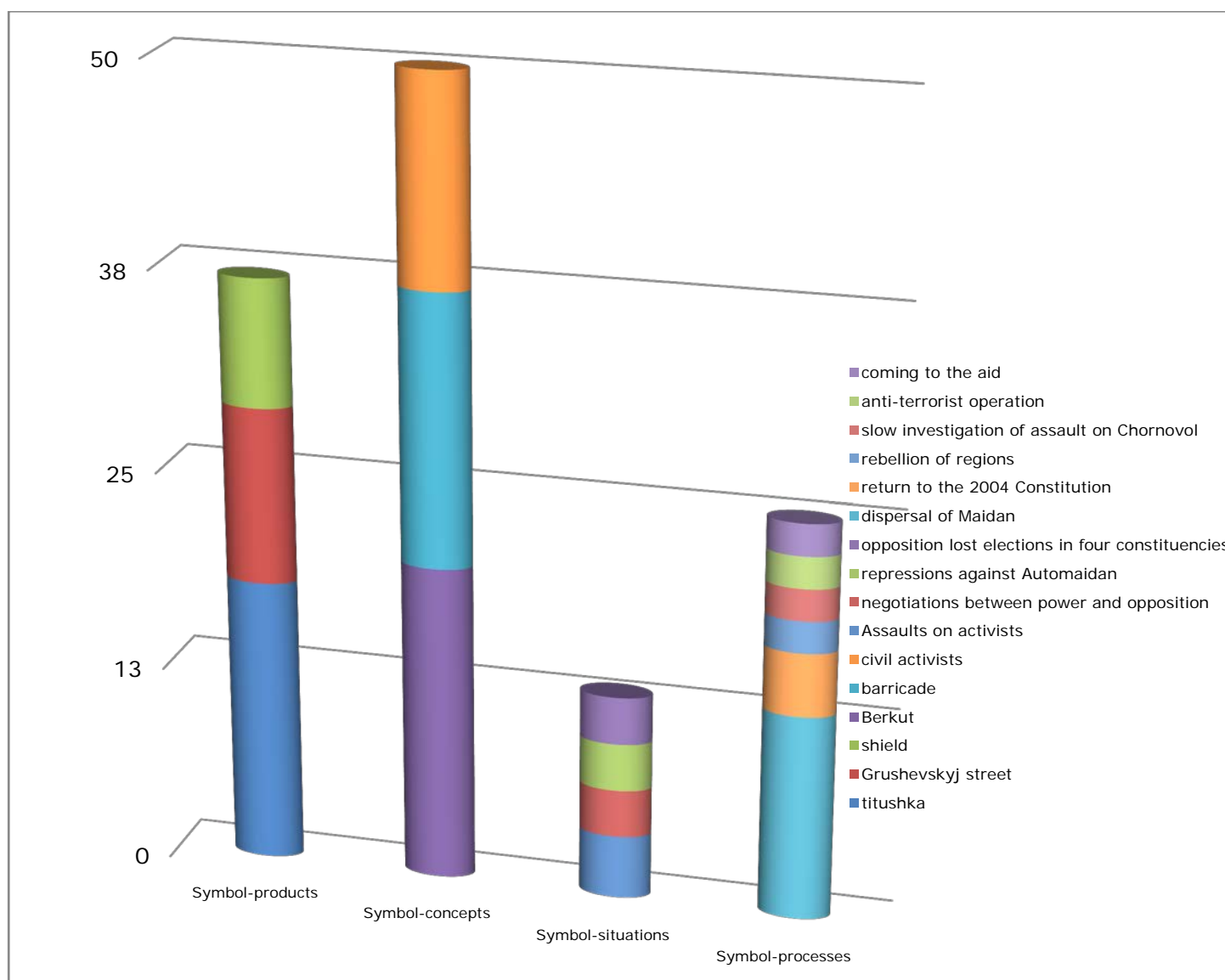


Figure 6. Visibility of different symbols in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world by the Ukrainian press (N=383).

The Figure 7 visualizes what symbols are the most visible in the general amount of the coded symbols in terms of their types: three most visible symbol-products in the general amount of the

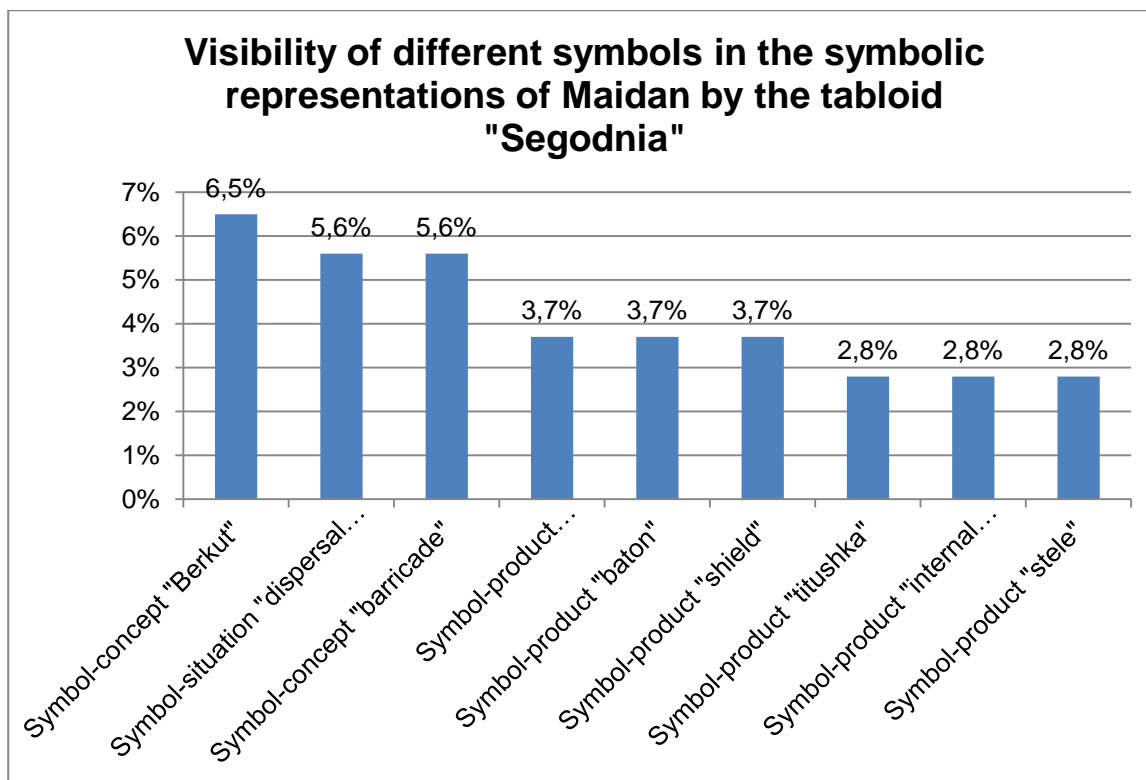
coded symbol, three most visible symbol-concepts in the same general amount, three most visible symbol-situations, three most visible symbol-processes in the general amount of the coded symbol-processes. Symbol-slogans and symbolic actions are excluded because of their small numbers (four coded symbol-slogans and one coded symbolic action). There are more than three symbols for symbol-situations and symbol-processes because some places are shared by the same symbols. For example, such symbol-situations as "opposition lost in four constituencies", "repressions against Automaidan", and "negotiations between power and opposition" were coded three times each. The Figure 7 also shows the dominance of symbol-products and symbol-concepts over symbol-situations and symbol-processes in the general amount of the coded symbols. In other words, it proves that, overall, media are inclined to represent physical traces of the real world and use basic range of concepts rather than investigate situations and especially processes. The latter requires much more insights into the news and stories which journalist report and tell.





*Figure 7.* Visibility of different symbols by their types in the Ukrainian press: the most visible symbol-products, symbol-concepts, symbol-situations, and symbol-process (N=383).

The Figure 8 shows the visibility of different symbols in the general amount of the coded symbols in the tabloid newspaper. These are nine most visible symbols in the amount of 107 coded kinds of symbols. The rest of symbols are coded two and less times.



*Figure 8.* Visibility of different symbols in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world by the tabloid newspaper *Segodnia*(N=107).

The Figure 9 shows the visibility of different symbols in the general amount of the coded symbols in the quality weekly newsmagazine. These are ten most visible symbols in the amount of 276 coded symbols. The rest of symbols are coded two and less times.

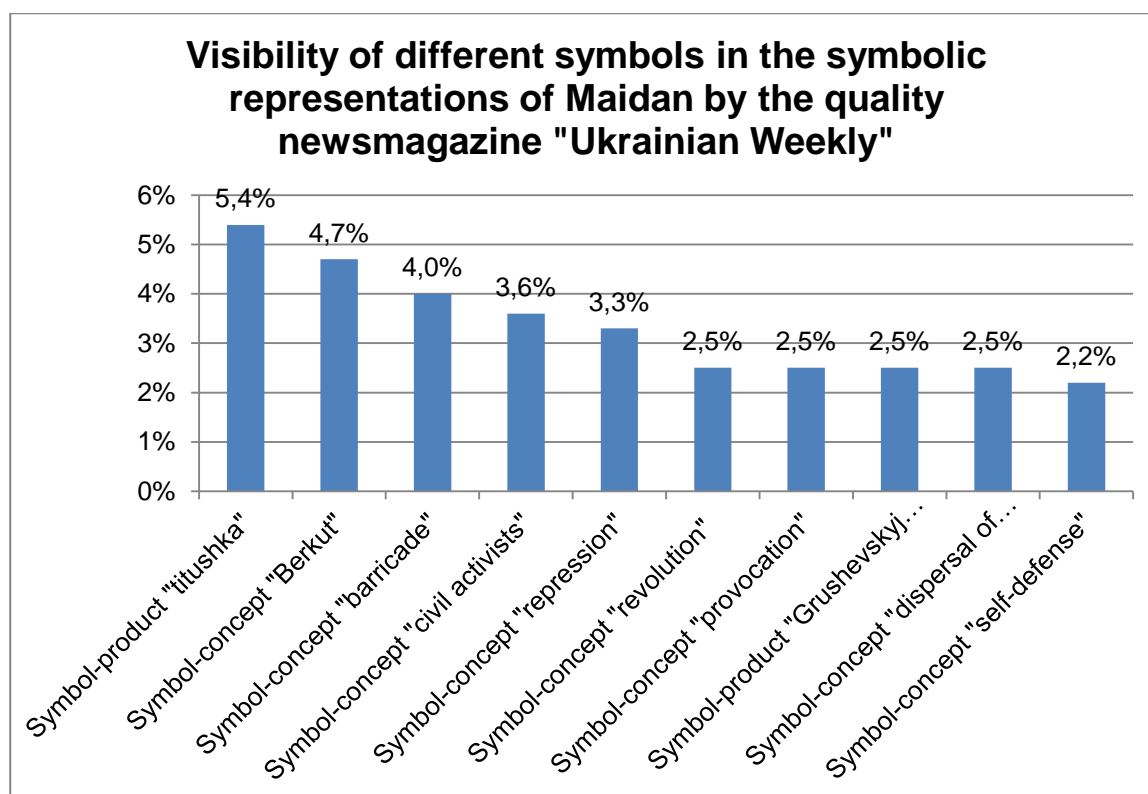


Figure 9. Visibility of different symbols in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world by the quality weekly newsmagazine Ukrainian Weekly (N=276).

The Figures 8 and 9 show that the most visible symbol "Berkut" in the tabloid newspaper is the second most visible in the quality weekly. The symbol-concept "barricade" also belongs to top three most visible symbols in both tabloid and quality press. This is the most salient similarity between them. Among the most visible symbols they also have in common the symbols "titushka" and "Grushevskogo street". It is noteworthy that the tabloid does not use such visible symbol-concepts in the quality weekly as "repression", "revolution", "provocation", "self-defense". In other words, they are absent at all in the media coverage of the protest life-world by the newspaper *Segodnia* while they are really important for the media coverage by the quality *Ukrainian Weekly*.

This shows that different media detect and use as anchors of meanings divergent products, concepts, situations, processes although common sense would suggest that the representational register of symbols is limited, and it is logical to assume that the most visible symbols have to

coincide at least partly because they are supposed to be the most visible in reality. Hence, I conclude that it does not function in this way.

The Figure 8 shows the cloud of the most visible concepts, conveyed by symbols, in the media coverage of the Maidan life-world by the Ukrainian media under study. It visualizes the highest visibility of such concepts as violence and terror<sup>13</sup>. The concepts of delegitimation of power in particular and elites in general, civil society, dictatorship, solidarity, and self-defense are also quite visible in this media coverage. Therefore, out of six most visible concepts two are not related to the conflict and violent nature of the events: civil society and solidarity.



*Figure 10.* The cloud of the most visible concepts conveyed by symbols in the media coverage of the Maidan life-world of the Ukrainian media (N=383).

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<sup>13</sup>The difference in meanings between violence and terror is related to the agents of violent actions. When violence was committed on both sides of the conflict it was defined simply as violence. When it was committed by the power and its defenders, namely, the police, it was defined as terror.

The Appendix D proposes the summary of three types of meanings, as they are defined in the theory of symbols by Susanne Langer (1954), for each coded symbol, namely, their denotations, connotations, and significations. These data help to illustrate how sense is born and endowed in symbols. We can metaphorically call it the internal laboratory of meanings inside symbols. It also helps to discern in which elements of symbols what kind of meanings are packed. The object of symbol bears its denotation. At the intersection of subject and conception the connotation emerges, and, finally, the conception and concept correspond to the signification as the ideality of meaning. These findings are compared with meanings ascribed to the same symbols in the cultural contexts of the other national press (Polish and German) in the Appendices E and F. It helps to explore how the Cassirer's objectification functions in media: whether any universality of meanings and senses exists in media symbolic representations across countries. In the Ukrainian press in most cases the interpretations of meanings of symbols coincided in the tabloid and in the quality weekly. The most salient divergence is detected in the symbol-concept "sociology of protest", as it is described above.

Finally, I arrive at the analysis of the structures of the protest life-world as a special case of subjective experience in the meanings of the coded symbols in the Ukrainian press. One of the tasks that is set in this research is to investigate whether media fail or not to report social and personal life-worlds. It is visible from the Table 8 that for any coded symbol we can identify to which area of reach it refers: restorable, actual or attainable. In most cases this is an area of actual reach. Sometimes this area is of reach that could be restored through centuries, as, for instance, the symbol of the Mychailovskyj cathedral. This temple symbolizes the solidarity of church with people at the critical point of history and its support to them. It received also such a connotation that the bells of the Mychaylovsky cathedral rang at night on alert on the 11th of December 2013. Before they rang at night only at the days of the Mongol-Tatar attack on Kyiv in autumn 1240. Very few symbols refer to the areas of attainable reach. The examples are the symbol-concepts "compromise", "astrological forecast", "amnesty", "European values". Some symbols with critically

negative meanings, such as "terror", for example, also referred to the areas of attainable reach at the time when Maidan still unfolded and nobody knew how it could end up.

Most of symbols could be ascribed to the social time, according to Alfred Schutz's classification of time. When media symbolize such things as "injuries of Maidan activists", "construction helmet", "rubber bullet", "repressions against Maidan activists", we can speak of biological time. This is the time of finitude of human life and experience that become tangible when the matters of life and death, the matters of physical vulnerability of people come to the surface amid violence which accompanied two out of six periods of Maidan. In addition, some symbols convey meanings that cross the boundaries of particular social and biological temporality, transcend them and fit into the inter-generational experience of the world. I identified such temporality in the following symbols: symbol-product "Mychailovska square/ Mychailovskyj cathedral", symbol-product "flag of the EU", symbol-concept "lustration", symbol-concept "civil activists", symbol-concept "elite", symbol-concept "repression", symbol-concept "revolution", symbol-slogan "Glory to Ukraine - Glory to Heroes", symbol-situation "Kruty battle". The inner duration could be identified in symbols that help people to live through their temporality from inside themselves. Such symbols as symbol-concept "negative energy", symbol-concept "positive energy", symbol-slogan "Drop in ocean", symbolic action "holding of mirrors in front of policemen", and symbol-situation "deaths of protesters almost alive" could be interpreted as examples of the meanings with the qualities of inner duration.

From the Table 8 it is possible to note that most of symbols refer to the province of practicable, namely, to social, technological, scientific experience of the given society. 77 symbols out of 128 coded kinds of symbols could have some reference to the province of practicable. Most of symbols of violence ("tire", "injuries of Maidan activists", "New Year's Tree on blood", "night storm") appeared to be incompatible with the previous social experience. Some other symbols, like "Lenin monument" appeared to be incompatible with the future social experience. Meanwhile, it is

still hard to say whether media fail or not to report life-worlds, meanings of symbols could be structured with the help of life-worlds' theory without any serious difficulties.

Table 8

*The structures of the protest life-world in the meanings of the coded symbols*

<b>Symbol</b>	<b>Area of reach</b>	<b>Type of time</b>	<b>Reference to the province of practicable</b>	<b>Compatibility with actual experience</b>
Symbol-product "strike fighters"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-product "shield"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "smoke grenades"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "ambulance"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "national anthem"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "fire"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "injuries of Maidan activists"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-product "titushka"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "Grifon"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "Grushevskij street"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-product "Automaidan"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "cocktail Molotov"	Actual	Biological time social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "internal troops"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "balaclava"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "fighters with chains"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-product "tire"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible

Symbol-product "Institutska street"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "splinter"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "buses with black-out windows"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "flack jacket"	Actual	Biological time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "stele"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "baton"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "tear gas"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-product "sonic grenade"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "Michailovska square/ Michailovsky cathedral"	Restorable, actual	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "sandwich"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "Mariinka"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-product "flag of Ukraine"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "construction helmet"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-product "firewood"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "radical"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-product "New Year's Tree on blood"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "Lenin monument"	Restorable, actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "Antimaidan"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "flag of the EU"	Attainable	World time, social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-product "presidential Mezhygiria"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "Liadski Gates"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "Bankova street"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible



Symbol-product "laws of the 16th January"	Restorable, actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "smoke"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-product "rubber bullets"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "buses with detained protesters"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "black helmets"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-product "first aid post"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "police snipers"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "lustration"	Attainable	World time, social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "Berkut"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "sociology of protest delegitimation"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "astrological forecast"	Attainable	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "civil activists"	Actual	World time, social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "elite"	Actual	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "self-defense"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "barricade"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "victims killed in the Grushevskij street"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "amnesty"	Attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "compromise"	Attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "foreigner at Maidan"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "European values"	Restorable and Attainable	World time, social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "volunteer"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "Orange Revolution"	Restorable	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible

Symbol-concept "negative energy"	Restorable, actual	Biological time, social time, inner duration	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "positive energy"	Restorable, actual, attainable	Biological time, social time, inner duration	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "self-organization"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "state of emergency"	Attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "Heavenly Hundred"	Actual	Biological time, social time, inner duration	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "terror"	Restorable, actual, attainable	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "European integration"	Attainable	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "gathering of people"	Restorable, actual, attainable	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "provocation"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "repression"	Restorable, actual, attainable	World time, social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "revolution"	Restorable, actual	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "disappointment of people"	Restorable, attainable	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "crowd of many thousands"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "sociology of protest legitimation"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "new generation"	Restorable, actual, attainable	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "March of Millions"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "dignity"	Actual, attainable	Biological time, social time, inner duration	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "art of Maidan"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "consolidation of opposition"	Actual, attainable	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "social trust"	Actual, attainable	Biological time, social time, inner duration	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "victory"	Actual, attainable	Social time	Yes	Compatible

Symbol-slogan "Drop in ocean"	Actual, attainable	Biological time, social time, inner duration	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-slogan "Zeka get"	Actual, attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-slogan "Butcher to prison" ("Kata za graty")	Actual, attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-slogan "Glory to Ukraine - Glory to Heroes"	Actual	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "opposition leader ignored and attacked by protesters"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "protesters demand a single leader"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "fighters attack empty parliament"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "night storm"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "dispersal of Maidan"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "storm of the presidential administration"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "naked person tortured by police"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "artists distribute tea"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "opposition lost elections in four constituencies"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "disappearance of Bulatov"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "titushkas attacked the Forum of Euromaidans"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "assaults on Maidan activists"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "repressions against Automaïdan activists"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "negotiations between power and opposition"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "women pick cobbles and bricks for frontline"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible

Symbol-situation "old women carry tea"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "the Party of Regions' office is set on fire"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "members of parliament save protesters beaten by the police"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "leader of the Party of Regions' fraction Oleksandr Yefremov says that he is not ashamed of killed protesters"	Actual, attainable	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "protesters demanded public repentance from PR politician Nestor Shufrych"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "deaths of protesters almost alive"	Actual	Biological time, social time, inner duration	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "the gangs of titushkas are headed by policemen"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "Berkut targets journalists in the Grushevskij street"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "Kruty battle"	Restorable	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-process "rebellion"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-process "blocking of roads"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-process "cleansing"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-process "singing together"	Restorable, actual	Social time, inner duration	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-process "coming to the aid"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-process "Berkut hits a woman"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-process "riot police beats people lying on the ground"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-process "opposition calls people to move without goals"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-process "slow investigation of assault on journalist Tetiana Chornovol"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible

Symbol-process "office plankton carries tires and sacks of snow"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-process "anti- terrorist operation"	Actual, attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-process "thousand people are coming to the place of the Heavenly Hundred's death"	Actual, attainable	World time, social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-process "resetting the country"	Attainable	World time, social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-process "trolling of Maidan in social media"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-process "return to the 2004 Constitution"	Actual, attainable	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-process "dispersal of Maidan"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-process "deconstruction of oligarchy"	Attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-process "rebellion of regions"	Actual, attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbolic action "holding mirror in front of policemen"	Actual	Social time, inner duration	Yes	Compatible

### **Symbols of the Life-World in the Ukrainian Media Coverage of Maidan: Qualitative Findings**

*Space.* In the amount of the coded symbols there are those that directly represent the symbolic qualities of space. Some places and streets in the city center of Kyiv became the epicenters of clashes, violence, conflict (New Year's Tree on blood, Bankova street, Grushevskogo street, Mariinka, Instutytska), the others were associated with Maidan's creativity (Liadski Gates), Maidan's self-organization (House of Trade-Unions) or social solidarity and historicity of events (Mychailovska square/ Mychailovskyj cathedral), or power abuse and corruption (presidential residence Mezhygiria). They all get their symbolic meanings of places with own nature and value. This is the typical mythic understanding of places in the space. Grushevskogo street is the second most visible symbol-product among all coded symbol-products. It is the sixth most visible symbol among all coded symbols. It is the fourth most visible symbol in the tabloid newspaper and the

eighth most visible in the quality weekly. The symbol-product "Grushevskogo street" is closely intertwined with such symbols as symbol-concept "victims killed in the Grushevskogo street", symbol-concept "Berkut", symbol-situation "naked person tortured by police", symbol-situation "Berkut beats a person with white flag lying on the ground", symbol-situation "Berkut attacks medical center in the Grushevskogo street", symbol-situation "Kruty battle", symbol-situation "Berkut targets journalists", symbol-situation "women pick cobbles and bricks", symbol-concept "laws of the 16th January", symbol-product "tear gas", symbol-product "smoke grenade", symbol-product "sonic grenade". All these symbols constitute symbolic representations of disproportionate state violence, protest radicalization, conflict that went out of control, power's assault on human rights and freedom, the atmosphere of insecurity and lawlessness. Out of numerous situations and processes, physical traces of reality and more general concepts media select those that help to objectify their notion of space as well as time, number, and power relations. In this matter media act in the manner similar to myth as a symbolic form: they ascribe value to particular places and spatial directions but, contrary to myth that sees this particular value in every single place within the world of sacredness, media need additional rational arguments in order to make a place sacred: they represent the place as the ground of events as well as the ground of situations and processes in which they recognize universal conceptions and concept.

The media space in the case of reporting on Maidan by the Ukrainian press is heterogeneous: it is divided into the space of freedom, namely, Maidan, the places of violence, defense of the space of freedom, and clashes with the world of delegitimized power (Bankova street, Grushevskogo street, Instytutska street, Mariinka), and the places of the outside world of power abuse, corruption, lawlessness, delegitimized authorities (presidential residence Mezhygiria). This trichotomic spatial structure is represented in symbols of the quality weekly while the tabloid daily uses just dichotomic spatial structure: the place of people's gathering and foreigners, namely, Maidan, on the one hand, and the places of violence and clashes (Grushevskogo street and Instutska street), on the other. The symbol-product of "presidential residence Mezhygiria" is not found in the

media coverage of the Maidan life-world by the tabloid. It uses the symbol-concept "compromise" as a substitute for the space of power. The compromise is considered to be necessary beyond the boundaries of Maidan. In the periods of protest radicalization, violent clashes, shootings of protestors and their aftermath *Segodnia* represented Maidan as a place with the negative value applying the symbol-concept "negative energy" and symbol-product "stele" with outright negative connotation. The tabloid weekly is closer to myth in its treatment of space than the quality daily because it uses the intuitional, irrational, non-conceptual expressions of meanings to assign value to Maidan as a specific place. *Segodnia* published the feature story in which journalist goes on tour around Maidan together with the specialist in psychological bioenergy. He diagnoses the energy of different places at Maidan discovering that the "worst energy" is accumulated around the stele, the Independence Monument in the heart of Maidan.

The verbal symbolic representations of both tabloid and quality press use verbs that have the meanings of space assimilation and transcending the boundaries of certain parts of space. For example, *Segodnia* uses the symbol-process "blocking of roads" by police showing that disruptions of connections in space are caused by power rather than by protesters. The road police *blocks* the Kyiv's roads. This also shows that the space in the city is controlled by the police and power, not by protesters. For the quality press the symbol-concept "self-defense" has its predication: "to defend barricade". The "barricade" itself transcends the boundaries of symbol-product and grows into the symbol-concept of struggle for own space of freedom, human rights, rule of law, decency. "To defend barricades of Maidan" means to defend the borders of the space of freedom. These symbolic relations are clearly represented in the media coverage of the protest life-world by *Ukrainian Weekly*. However, I did not find them so sufficiently conceptualized in the tabloid press. Meanwhile, both kinds of press - tabloid and quality - used the symbol-concept "cleansing" (zachistka) and symbol-process "dispersal of Maidan" that has its predication "to cleanse Maidan", "to disperse Maidan", "to storm Maidan". This verb means the intentions of delegitimized power to re-conquer the space of freedom (*Ukrainian Weekly*) or the space of people's gathering (*Segodnia*)

and to make the space of the whole country homogeneous, namely, the space of suppression and dictatorship (*Ukrainian Weekly*) and the space of compromise (*Segodnia*).

To sum up, in the media coverage of the Maidan life-world the whole country was squeezed to the Independence Square and a few streets around it. This idea of unity of things, the concept of representation of the whole through its part is also a paradigmatic characteristic of myth. Media do not problematize this mythical way of thinking. At the same time we can identify the symbol-concept that respatializes Maidan, namely, Automaidan which united civil activists who used their cars to get to symbolic places outside the borders of Maidan, for instance, to the presidential residence Mezhyhiria.

*Time.* The Ukrainian press uses symbols with temporal connotations and significations of circles of in-coming and out-coming. This is characteristic for myth as a symbolic form. These are symbol-concept "gathering of people" (narodne viche), "night storm", "dispersal of Maidan". Protesters permanently expected the storm of Maidan in the period between the 1st of December and the 11th of December 2013. The attempt of night storm by the riot police occurred on December 11, 2013. There were the peaks and bottoms in expectations of Maidan's storm and dispersal. After the radicalization of protest and violent clashes in the Grushevskogo street on January 19-23, 2014 the threat of Maidan dispersal came back and remained on the agenda of self-defense of Maidan. However, the assessment of its probability fluctuated from high to low from day to day. This created certain rhythm of protest. The tabloid newspaper does not reproduce this rhythm so continuously and coherently, as the quality newsmagazine does it, although for both "dispersal of Maidan" is one of the most visible symbols: it is the second most visible symbol in the *Segodnia* coverage and the sixth most visible symbol in the *Ukrainian Weekly* coverage.

The other cyclical symbol is the concept "gathering of people" (narodne viche). These special gatherings took place normally at Maidan on Sundays. Opposition along with civil activists tried to prepare agenda for every gathering. The biggest gatherings took place on the 1st of



December, 2013 and on the 8th of December, 2013. The latter was called "March of Millions". After the people's gathering on January 19, 2014 radical protesters attacked the riot police in the Grushevskogo street. The whole period of Maidan protests had a cyclical temporal structure that included routine days of protest camping and different small-scale civil protests, symbolic actions, civil initiatives, namely, days of inwardness, and the days of large-scale peaceful manifestations of many thousand people mostly on Sundays, namely, the days of outwardness. This is the typical mythic temporality. Both the Ukrainian tabloid and quality weekly used the symbol of gathering of people, although it was not highly visible in their coverage. The tabloid publication did not try to represent this rhythmic nature of protest temporality while the quality newsmagazine attempted to express the rhythms, although it was more focused on rhythms of violence against Maidan rather than rhythms of gathering of people.

All coded symbols have the quality of social time, as it is defined by Schutz and Luckmann (1973). Some of them have also the qualities of biological time when the symbol underlines the human finitude, physical vulnerability, physical and moral limits of resistance to suppression and repressions. I analyze the overlaps of social, world, biological times, and inner duration in symbols in the section on quantitative findings. Hereby, it is more important to identify symbols which uncover the qualities of temporality in symbolic representations of media under study.

For example, the symbol-process "resetting the country" used by *Ukrainian Weekly* connects the contemporary generations with the future one and offers the temporal perspective of years and decades of transformation. The symbol-situation "deaths of protesters almost alive" used by *Ukrainian Weekly* reveals completely different symbolic relations of time: this is the time of inner duration, a simple undivided now of death that is lived through by a person who is not present physically at Maidan due to video streams. The symbol-process "slow investigation of assault on the journalist Tetiana Chornovol" used by *Ukrainian Weekly* relies on the key signifier "slow". The normative reference to responsiveness and immediacy of investigation is implicitly meant in this

symbol. In other words, it refers to certain normative temporality which does not coincide with social time.

Overall, I did not manage to identify the symbols of temporal qualities in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world by the tabloid.

*Number.* In the overall amount of the coded symbols there are a few which could be regarded as indicative of qualities of numbers in media. *Ukrainian Weekly* uses the symbol-concept "March of Million". This is the multi-thousand manifestation and people's gathering at the Independence Square in Kyiv on the 8th of December, 2013. By the estimate of the opposition over one million people took to the streets on that day while, according to the police count, only around 50 thousand people took part in the manifestation (TSN, 2014, p. 50). Media trusted the count of Maidan and the visual proof provided by the cameraman of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Andriy Dubchak. He managed to climb to the peak of the New Year's Tree at Maidan and filmed multi-thousand crowd. However, the rigor of such approximate calculations that are multiplied by media and reflected in the symbol "March of Millions" could not be compared with the numerical rigor of science. The number "million of protesters" is not a function of operation. It is closer to the mythical understanding of number as a function of things that has own power and nature.

The other relevant examples of symbol are the symbol-product "crowd of many thousands" and symbol-process "thousand people are coming to the place of the Heavenly Hundred's death" that are encountered in the symbolic representations of *Ukrainian Weekly*. In both cases media assess the multiplicity of participants as "multi-thousand" crowd or flow of people. In fact, media pretend to be scientific in their use of numbers as functions of order and operations. However, they have no tools, no methodology, no conditions to reach the scientific precision and correctness in their handling of numbers. In this matter they get closer to myth with its endowment of particular numbers with particular meanings. Media symbolism of crowds and flows of thousands has the features of indefinite singularity of masses and indefinite multiplicity of protests and protesters.

Finally, both Ukrainian print media outlets under study avoid inclusive plurality "we" and resort to the exclusive plurality "they".

*Power.* Seven out of nine most visible symbols in the media reporting of *Segodnia* represent violence: symbol-concept "Berkut", symbol-situation "dispersal of Maidan", symbol-product "Grushevskij street", symbol-product "baton", symbol-product "shield", symbol-product "titushka", symbol-product "internal troops". These symbols convey the meanings of physical violence as well as symbolic violence. Only two symbols out of nine most visible in the Maidan coverage by *Segodnia* represent definite symbolic capital: symbol-concept "barricade" and symbol-product "stele".

The same dominance of symbolic violence over symbolic capital is observable in the Maidan coverage by *Ukrainian Weekly*. Out of ten most visible symbols eight represent physical and symbolic violence: symbol-product "titushka", symbol-concept "Berkut", symbol-concept "repression", symbol-concept "revolution", symbol-concept "provocation", symbol-product "Grushevskij street", symbol-concept "dispersal of Maidan", symbol-concept "self-defense".

Out of 23 coded kinds of symbol-situations 20 represent physical and symbolic violence. Out of 17 coded kinds of symbol-processes 9 represent physical and symbolic violence. All this shows that media in their coverage of the protest life-world are the most susceptible to meanings of violence, suppression, security threats. According to Cassirer (1923), objectification of world in a particular symbolic form through its notions of space, time, number, causality leads to the liberation of human energy and spirit. Media tend to tell their stories of protest life-worlds through symbols of suppression. This differentiates them from symbolic forms of myth, language, science, history, law, art. Violence disrupts space and time, disrupts norms of causality. The disruption of space, time, and causality is the breach of universal laws. Skidelsky, writing about the symbols in Cassirer's philosophy, emphasizes that symbol bears a reference to "a more universal complex, or a law of the whole" (2011, p. 77). Many symbols on which media rely and base their coverage of transcendental

reality of protests bear a reference to a breach of laws of the whole, as long as violence is represented as incompatible with the previous experience of the society and as anomaly.

I coded symbols that clearly fit into the frameworks of liminality contrasted with status system. Homogeneity, equality, absence of ranks and status, humility, no distinction of wealth, and unselfishness are implied in the symbol-situation "artists distribute tea", symbol-situation "women pick cobbles and bricks for the frontline", symbol-process "office plankton carries tires and sacks of snow", symbol-concepts "volunteer", "self-defense".

Sacredness and acceptance of pain, suffering are signified in the symbol-concept "Heavenly Hundred" and in the symbol-process "thousand people are coming to the place of the Heavenly Hundred's death".

Selfishness of power system is represented in the symbolic-situation "leader of the Party of Regions' fraction Oleksandr Yefremov says that he is not ashamed of killed protesters".

A number of the coded symbols imply the concept of delegitimation of power: symbol-product "New Year's Tree", symbol-product "New Year's Tree on blood", symbol-situation "protesters demand public repentance from the PR member of parliament Nestor Shufrych", symbol-slogans "Butcher to Prison!", "Zeka Get!", symbolic action "holding of mirror in front of police". The symbol-situation "leader of the Party of Regions' fraction Oleksandr Yefremov says that he is not ashamed of killed protesters" implies the concept of dehumanization of power. I coded the symbol-concept that signifies the challengers of power, namely, civil activists that used their private cars for respatialized protests and symbolic actions, for instance, the rides to the presidential residence Mezhygiria. The symbol-concept "civil activists" also represent the power challengers.

Contrary to the symbols of power delegitimation, there is a number of symbols which signify solidarity and communitas in terms of the theory of liminality. These are the symbol-concept "social trust", symbol-product "hot tea", symbol-product "national anthem", symbol-

process "singing together", symbol-process "coming to the aid", symbol-product "flag of Ukraine", symbol-slogan "Glory to Ukraine - Glory to Heroes!".

To sum up, the majority of the coded symbols implies the conceptions and concepts of state violence, delegitimation of power, power vacuum, and solidarity of protests. This shows that power relations are in the core of media and mediated symbols and their meanings.

## Chapter V

### Data Analysis: Poland

#### Symbols in the Polish Media Coverage of the Maidan life-world: Quantitative Findings

I coded 17 news stories in the tabloid daily *Fakt* and six news stories in the quality newsmagazine *Polityka*. The coded news stories include news analysis, reportages (news reports), feature stories. The news stories published at the web-site of *Fakt* often included video reports as integral parts and continuation of the written text. These video reports contain full-fledged narration and story-telling. They were considered to be the part of the written news story and coded, respectively. Overall, I coded 133 symbols of all types, except symbolic action, in *Fakt* and 106 symbols of all types, except symbol-slogan and symbolic action, in *Polityka*. Altogether 239 symbols were coded in two Polish print media outlets. Within this number we identified 112 different kinds of symbols. It means that some symbols were used two and more times.

From the Table 9 and the Figures 11, 12 it is possible to see that the first hypothesis of the given research is not confirmed: both the Polish tabloid and quality press mostly use symbol-concepts, and symbol-situations of the protest life-world. Symbol-processes are either absent or marginalized in *Fakt*, as well as in *Polityka*. The media coverage of the protest life-world in the tabloid newspaper used enough symbol-concepts and symbol-situations. I managed to identify and to code 33 kinds of symbol-product, 18 kinds of symbol-concept, 21 kinds of symbol-situation, and four kinds of symbol-processes in the tabloid: altogether - 62 symbol-products, 36 symbol-concepts, 26 symbol-situations, and five symbol-processes. Meanwhile, in the quality press I coded 23 kinds of symbol-product, 22 kinds of symbol-concept, 17 kinds of symbol-situation, and three kinds of symbol-processes: altogether - 39 symbol-products, 43 symbol-concepts, 18 symbol-situations, six symbol-processes.

Table 9

*The distribution of the coded symbols across the tabloid and quality media outlets*

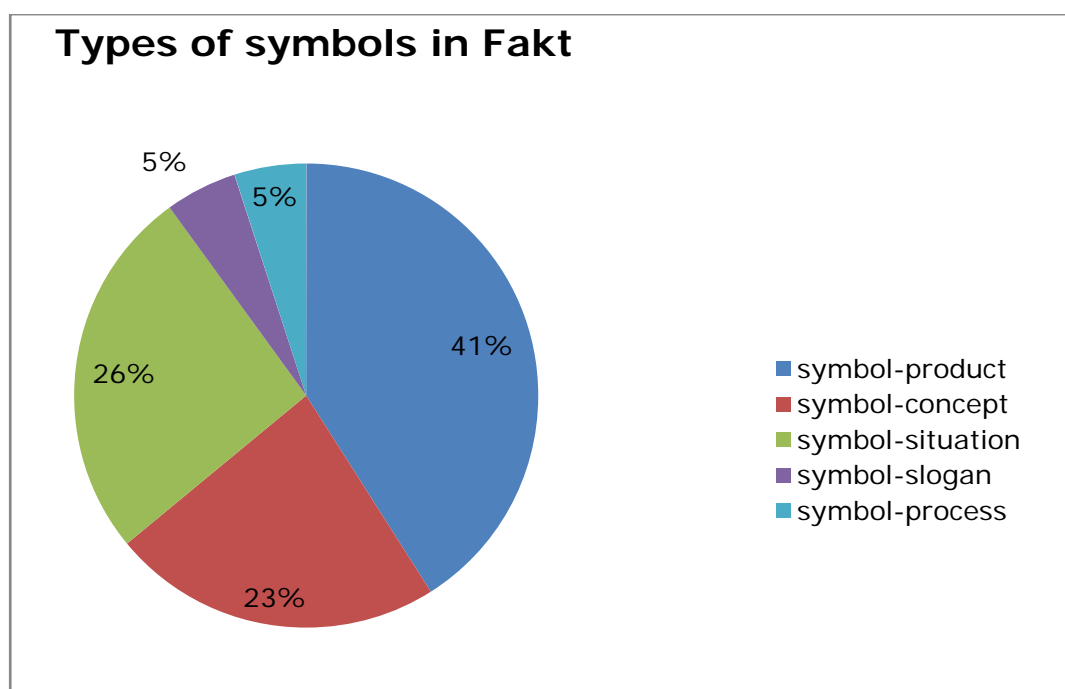
	<b>Media outlets</b>	
<i>Types of symbol</i>	<i>Tabloid daily Fakt</i>	<i>Quality newsmagazine Polityka</i>
Symbol-product	Rubber bullets (2), sonic grenade, cobbles (2), cocktail Molotov (2), snipers of Yanukovych (2), blood (5), fire (3), shots, titushka (3), national anthem (2), Right Sector, Civil Council of Maidan, sandwich (2), hot tea (2), laws of the 16th of January, coffins, Committee of Support for Ukraine (2), balaclava, shield (2), flag of Ukraine (10), tent (4), barrel (2), tank, flag of the EU, New Year's Tree, crowd of many thousands (2), protesters with flags of Ukraine, smoke, faces of people, construction helmet, sack of snow, Automaidan.	Burnt police bus, cocktail Molotov (3), cobbles (2), tear gas (2), rubber bullets, laws of the 16th of January, tent, shield, construction helmet, Right Sector (2), shots, blood (2), snipers (2), baton (3), frost, presidential residence Mezhygiria (2), tire (2), smoke, titushka (2), flag of the EU, House of Trade-Unions, Lenin monument, Association Agreement (3), Instutytska street, flag of Ukraine.
Symbol-concept	Berkut (7), civil war (wojna domowa), storm (3), March of Millions, sanctions, parallels with Ceaușescu, state of emergency, dismissal of Yanukovych, self-defense, barricade (7), freedom (3), round table (2), solidarity, struggle with totalitarianism, anti-terrorist operation (2), truce, revolution, provocation.	Compromise (2), state of emergency (2), Berkut (4), barricade (6), revolution (3), provocation, country's disintegration (2), amnesty, Orange Revolution (2), Moscow's embrace (2), snap presidential and parliamentary elections (3), divided opposition, multi-vector politics (2), political crisis, European standards, round table (2), self-defense (3), rebellion, truce, sanctions, self-organization, church.

Symbol-slogan	"Don't shoot in own people", "The Power of Bandukovych Away!" ("Vladu Bandukovycha Get!"), "Gang Away!" ("Bandu Get!"), "Police with People!"	
Symbol-situation	Berkut targets journalists, Yanukovych invites opposition to negotiations in which he does not participate; Berkut brutally dispersed attacks on presidential administration; Ukraine is bleeding (2); cleaning of EuroMaidan; Yanukovych consults with Putin; people die in the streets; father holds the blue helmet of his son killed by a sniper; people with their cars bring medicine, water, food to Maidan; people come to the place where the history of their motherland changes; people ask to hold no negotiations with the criminal; Maidan is again full of people after killings; Polish minister of foreign affairs brought wounded protesters to Poland; dead bodies and blood but they dance; dead and wounded people lying on the ground (4), Lviv administration refuses to subordinate to Yanukovych's government; Automaidan activist Bulatov crucified; the Polish reporter under bullets asks Berkut why it shoots in protesters; people are kidnapped from hospitals; prayer at Maidan; barricades are reinforced; assault on the journalist Tetiana Chornovol.	Opposition leader is ignored and attacked by protesters (2); six year old boy marches with toy saber; woman threatens police with her handbag; president did not address the nation; Akhmetov demands the crisis solution with people's involvement; Yuriy Verbytskyj found tortured and dead in forest; attacks on medical workers, journalists; people mock Yanukovych; people come "to defend children"; beating of children; people threw away party emblems; release of Yulia Tymoshenko; snipers shot in hearts, heads, backs; Ukrainians get up in a new country; the EU responded to Maidan only when the bloodshed occurred; Party of Regions condemned Yanukovych; Maidan self-defense stopped the car with Tymoshenko and Yatsenyuk to warn against traffic rules' breach.



Symbol-process	War with own people (2), return to the 2004 Constitution; dispersal of Maidan, singing together.	Dispersal of Maidan (4), people decide destiny of their country in streets; resetting the country.
Symbolic action	-	-

*Note.* The figures in the brackets show the number of times that a particular symbol is used in a media outlet within the period under study.



*Figure 11.* The shares of different types of symbols in the general amount of the coded types of symbols in the Polish tabloid.

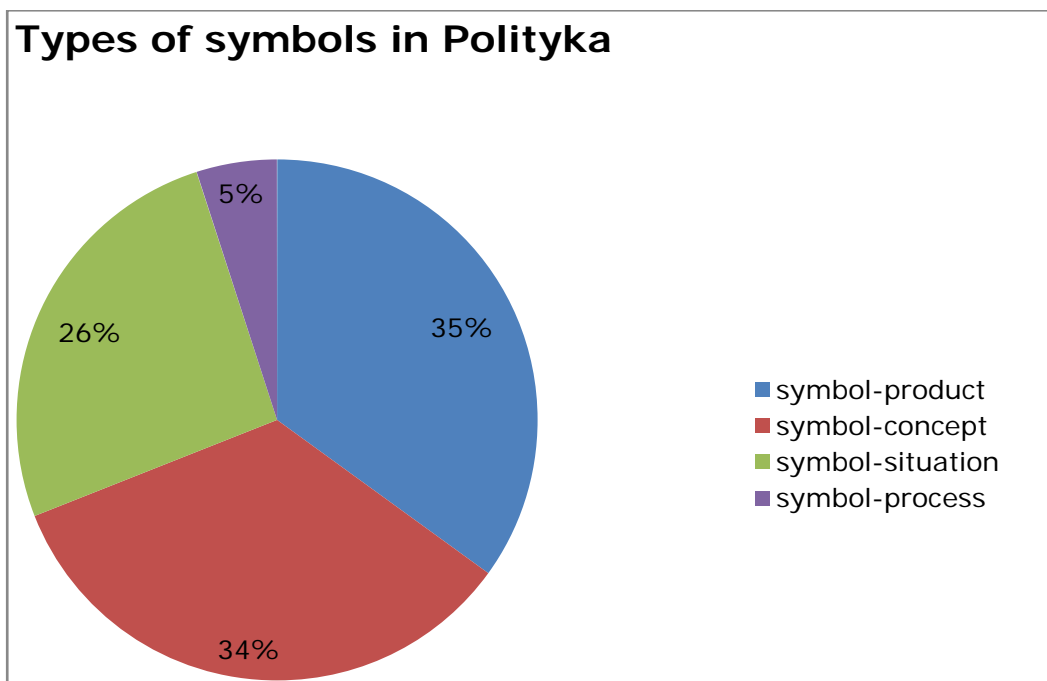


Figure 12. The shares of different types of symbols in the general amount of the coded types of symbols in the Polish quality weekly.

The Table 10 provides the full list of all coded symbols with the detailed descriptions of their structures and periods of Maidan in which they were used in the Polish media coverage.

Table 10

*Coded symbols, their structures and periods of use in media*

Type of symbol	Name	Object	Signifier	Subject	Conception	Concept	Period
Symbol-product	Rubber bullets	Police shoot with rubber bullets	The wording "rubber bullets"	Police commits violence against protesters	Protests grew in violent clashes	Terror	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Sonic grenade	Police uses sonic grenades	The wording "sonic grenades"	The burst of sonic grenades are heard	Police defense self and attack	Conflict	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Cobbles	Protesters throw cobbles at the police	The word "cobbles" ("bruk", "kamień")	Protests attack riot police	Eruption of violence	Conflict	Radicalized, violent protest

Symbol-product	Cocktail Molotov	Improvised incendiary weapon	The word "cocktail" and the name "Molotov"	Protesters use self-made weapons	Violence by protesters	Violence	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Snipers of Yanukovich	Police snipers shot at protesters at Maidan	The wording "snipers of Yanukovich "	Police snipers are identified with the president Yanukovich	Killings of people by power	Massacre	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Blood	Maidan is bleeding	The word "blood" ("krew")	People are dying in the name of freedom	State warlike violence	Massacre	Radicalized, violent protest; violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Fire	Fire is visible at main locations of Maidan	The word "fire"	There is disorder, Maidan is set on fire	Large-scale violence	Danger	Radicalized, violent protest; violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Shots	Shots could be heard in the Grushevskij street	The plural form of the word "shot"	Maidan passed over the no return point	Danger and large-scale violence	Violence	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Titushka	An armed civil person that fights on side of police against Maidan activists	The word "titushka"	Gangs are hired and armed by the government to attack Maidan activists	Parallelism of state and criminals	Terror	All periods apart from the peaceful student protest
Symbol-product	National anthem	People sing altogether national anthem	The wording "people singing national anthem", the pictures of singing people	People unanimously display their national and civil identity	Unity of people in action and behavior	Patriotism, solidarity	All periods
Symbol-product	Right Sector	Ultra-right organization fighting against riot police	The name "Right Sector"	This organization has weapons but it does not use it for the moment. It is not so dangerous as it is meant to be by some Polish people	Nationalism without chauvinism and hatred	Nationalism	Radicalized, violent protest;

Symbol-product	Civil Council of Maidan	Civil Council of Maidan is one of actors at Maidan	The name "Civil Council of Maidan"	Civil Council of Maidan takes decisions	Direct democracy and self-organization	Civil society	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Sandwich	Volunteers prepare and distribute sandwiches	The word "sandwich", the picture of boxes with sandwiches	Everybody could get a sandwich visiting Maidan or staying there for longer	Self-organization and self-maintenance	Solidarity	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces; reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Hot tea	Everybody could get a glass of tea visiting Maidan or staying there for longer	The word "tea", the picture of people drinking hot tea	The binary opposition hot tea/cold winter; hot tea of Maidan/cold response of power	Self-organization and self-maintenance	Solidarity, hospitality	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces; reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Flag of Ukraine	People carry and hold flags of Ukraine	The wording "national flag", "flag of Ukraine", the picture of people with flags of Ukraine	People manifest their national identity and ideals	Ukraine's future	Patriotism, solidarity	All periods
Symbol-product	Coffins	Coffins are placed nearby the stage at Maidan	The plural form of the word "coffin"	Maidan moans its victims	Deaths of protesters	Massacre	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Committee of Support for Ukraine	Wroclaw helps Ukraine and creates the special committee	The name "Committee of Support for Ukraine"	It is time to provide concrete material aid to Ukraine	Poland supports Maidan	Polish solidarity with Ukraine	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Balaclava	Protesters from Maidan self-defense hide their faces behind balaclavas	The picture of protesters with balaclavas	It is dangerous to show its face	Threat of state violence	Danger	Radicalized, violent protest

Symbol-product	Shield	Tool of self-defense	The word "shield"	The active use of shield	Radicalization of protest	Violence	Radicalized, violent protest; violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Tent	Tents are placed at Maidan to shelter protesters	The word "tent"	People stay at Maidan day and night	Long-standing protest	Motivation	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces; reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Barrel	Protesters used barrels to warm up amid low temperature	The word "barrel", the picture of barrel surrounded by people	Barrels helped people to survive long cold nights	Self-organization, comfort of the Maidan space	Solidarity, hospitality	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces; reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Tank	Yanukovych could consider the options of army's involvement in the anti-terrorist operation	The word "tank"	It is still unclear whether Yanukovych resorts to the application of heavy armament against Maidan	Threat of army deployment	Suppression	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Flag of the EU	Ukrainian flags are mixed with the flags of the EU at Maidan	The wording "flag of the EU"	At the time when European are disappointed with Europe, Ukrainians stand for Europe	European identity of Maidan	European future	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Lenin monument	Lenin monument was shaken by protesters	The wording "Lenin monument"	Maidan is ready to give up the remains of the communist past	The refusal from the past	Decommunization	Peaceful student protest

Symbol-product	House of Trade-Unions	Headquarters of the protest is located in self-occupied House of Trade-Unions	The name "House of Trade-Unions"	One of the main locations of protest where Right Sector is stationed	Self-organization of protest	Civil society	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Instytutska street	Killings of protesters by snipers took place in the Intytutska street	The name "Instytutska street"	The place where the unarmed protesters were killed by snipers	Death of the protesters	Massacre	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Tire	Tires as a shield between Maidan and police	The word "tire"	Non-lethal self-defense	People's struggle against power	Self-defense	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Frost	People protest in frost	The word "frost" ("mróz")	Frost does not stop protesters and does not prevent them from continuing their protest	Determination and self-sacrifice of people	Struggle	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Presidential residence Mezhygiria	The private residence of the president Yanukovich with own zoo and many other attractions	The name "Mezhygiria"	Yanukovich fears more to lose Mezhygiria than the whole country	State capture by the president	Corruption	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Association Agreement	Yanukovich revoked the signing of the Association Agreement that gave a push for Maidan	The term "Association Agreement"	Association Agreement gave a start to the protest but later on it went far beyond this particular issue	European integration, European values	Future	Besieged radicalized protest, violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	New Year's Tree	New Year's Tree becomes the background of protest	The picture of New Year's Tree at Maidan	Remarkable location of Maidan	The part of protest space	No concept	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Crowd of many thousands	Crowds of many thousands gather at Maidan	The picture of crowd of many thousands	Maidan is a real grassroots movement	Large-scale mobilization of people	Representativeness	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces; reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces

Symbol-concept	Automaïdan	Civil activists use their cars to organize distant protests and deliver aid to Maidan	The name "Automaïdan"	Maidan unites various civil initiatives and types of protests	Unique grassroots initiatives	Civil society	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Protesters with flags of Ukraine	Many protesters carry the national flags, fold themselves in the flags	The pictures of protesters with flags of Ukraine	People manifest their national identity and ideals	Belief in Ukraine's future	Patriotism, solidarity	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Smoke	Smoke covers the heaven over Maidan	The word "smoke"	The violence and conflict are on rise	Violent clashes	Danger, violence	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Faces of people	Protesters smile have kind, open faces	The picture of smiling gay people	Maidan attracts open-minded, positive people, lots of them young and enlightened	Open-mindedness, positive energy, unselfishness	People	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Construction helmet	Protesters carry construction helmets	The word "helmet"	Weak safety protection against potentially strong power of riot police	Self-defense of protestors	Danger	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Tear gas	Riot police uses tear gas against protestors during clashes	The wording "tear gas"	There is a lot of tear gas used in the Grushevskij street	Police self-defense and attack	Conflict	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Baton	Police uses batons against protestors	The word "baton"	Indiscriminate use of batons by the riot police	Police attacks	Violence	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Burnt police bus	Protesters set on fire police bus in the Grushevskij street	The wording "burnt police bus"	Protest loses its peaceful nature	Violent radicalized conflict	Violence	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Laws of the 16th of January	The Party of Regions passed the laws that curtailed rights and freedoms	The wording "laws of the 16th January"	These laws make protests illegal	Attack on human rights	Suppression terror	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Sack of snow	Protesters use sack of snow to construct new barricades	The wording "sack of snow"	Maidan's inventiveness in the barricade construction	Defense of own territory by peaceful means	Self-defense	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath

Symbol-concept	Berkut	A special police unit in charge of protests' dispersion and suppression	The words "Berkut", "funkcjonariuszy"	Berkut brutally defends the government violating human rights	The defenders of power and enemies of Maidan	Delegitimation of power, terror	All periods apart from the peaceful student protest
Symbol-concept	Civil war	Power wages civil war against own people	The term "civil war" ("wojna domowa")	Conflict in Ukraine has characteristics of civil war	Violent conflict between people and power	Dictatorship	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Storm	Maidan survived storms and expect a new one	The word "storm"	Maidan exists under permanent threat of storm	Danger and violence	Suppression	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces; reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-concept	March of Millions	On December 8, 2013 hundred of thousand people took to the city center of Kyiv for anti-governmental protest	The wording "March of Millions"	The largest mass protest in Ukraine ever	The protest is representative and all-embracing	Solidarity	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-concept	Sanctions	Visa bans and freeze of assets for Yanukovich and his accomplices	The plural form of the word "sanction"	The EU and US could have imposed sanctions against Yanukovich much earlier	The delay with sanctions	Responsibility of power for crimes	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Compromise	Conceivable compromise between opposition and power	The term "compromise"	Maidan won't accept compromise between opposition and power without meeting all its demands	Delegitimation of any compromising	Reconciliation	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Snap presidential and parliamentary elections	Key claim of Maidan is snap presidential and parliamentary elections	The term "snap presidential and parliamentary elections"	This key claim is one of stumbling blocks towards compromise, Yanukovich does not accept it	The resetting of the whole power system	Change of elites	Besieged radicalized protest



Symbol-concept	Orange Revolution	Maidan could be compared with Orange Revolution	The name "Orange Revolution"	Maidan differs from Orange Revolution with its radicalization and determination to pursue own goals even under threat of terror	The experience of Orange Revolution	New experience	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Amnesty	Yanukovich accepts amnesty for imprisoned protestors	The word "amnesty"	The amnesty won't hush protests	Forgiveness of protestors	Fake reconciliation	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Moscow's embrace	Maidan wants to overcome dependence on Russia	The wording "Moscow's embrace"	Maidan sees no future in the subordination to Russia	European integration is needed to move away from Russia	True independence	Besieged radicalized protest, violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Divided opposition	The opposition is divided, Tymoshenko has own interests, Yatsenyuk, Tiagnybok, Klychko could not come to terms	Multi-word, long wordings and descriptions	Opposition does not control protest and does not have the common vision of main issues	Weakness of opposition	Power vacuum	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-concept	Disintegration of the country	Ukraine can disintegrate because some regions (Crimea, for instance) may break away, some regions may break away from Ukraine if it remains under Yanukovich's rule	The word "disintegration" ("rozpad")	Maidan is not supported by the whole country, and some regions would never accept Yanukovich still in power	Potentially breakaway regions	Risks	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Political crisis	Ukraine is in deep political and economic crisis	The wording "deep political and economic crisis"	Ukraine faces many serious challenges	Search of crisis solutions	Crisis	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	European standards	Protesters claim European standards for Ukraine	The wording "European future"	Ukrainian wish to set European standards in their country	The reforms of the country	Future	Besieged radicalized protest

Symbol-concept	Rebellion	Protests in Kyiv amount to rebellion	The word "rebellion"	Ukrainians rise up against corruption and for the European future of their country	Challenging of power	Revolution	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Self-organization	Maidan organizes functioning of normal life	The word "self-organization"	People maintain all basic services of Maidan even amid clashes	Self-discipline, determination	Civil society	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Parallels with Ceaușescu	Relatives of killed protestors may wish to take revenge	The wording "Yanukovych can repeat the story of Ceaușescu"	Yanukovych may be executed as the Romanian dictator Ceaușescu	The fate of dictator	Conflict	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	State of emergency	The government could introduce the state of emergency	The term "state of emergency"	The government will use this state for repressions	Suppression of protests	Terror	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Dismissal of Yanukovych	Maidan demands dismissal of Yanukovych	The wording "dismissal of Yanukovych"	Maidan does not have any alternative to the dismissal of Yanukovych	Delegitimation of president	Change of power	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Self-defense	Protesters organize self-defense of Maidan	The word "self-defense" (samoobrona), the picture of self-defense activists	Protesters organize to defend Maidan up to the very end	Self-defense of the territory of freedom	People's power	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Barricade	The protestors build up barricades to demarcate and protect Maidan	The word "barricade"	Demarcation of borders of own territory and its defense	Own territory	Struggle	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces; radicalized, violent protest; besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Freedom	Freedom is a key value that helps to understand motives of protestors	The word "freedom" ("wolność")	Maidan fights for freedom of the Ukrainian people	Political and civil freedom	Freedom	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces; radicalized, violent protest; besieged radicalized protest

Symbol-concept	Round table	There is a probability that Maidan ends up with "round table"	The wording "round table" ("okrągły stół")	In order to avoid violence, Maidan could have ended with the negotiations between power and opposition	Negotiations between power and opposition	Reconciliation	Radicalized, violent protest; besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Solidarity	Maidan shows extraordinary solidarity of people	The word "solidarity"	Self-organization of Maidan, general spirit of people show what solidarity means in practice	Practice of solidarity	Solidarity	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces; reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-concept	Church	Priests are present at Maidan	Picture of priests at Maidan	Involvement of church in protests	Solidarity of church with people	Sacredness	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces; radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-concept	Struggle with totalitarianism	Maidan is a case of struggle with totalitarianism	The wording "struggle with totalitarianism"	Maidan reminds of struggle against totalitarianism at the communist times	People struggle against suppression and in the name of freedom	Freedom	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-concept	Anti-terrorist operation	The anti-terrorist operation is in progress	The term "anti-terrorist operation" or "anti-terrorists"	Anti-terrorist operation has to suppress Maidan	State violence against own people	Dictatorship	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Truce	Formally, the truce is proclaimed on January 19, 2014	The word "truce" ("rozejm")	The truce won't bring peace	Fragile and temporary appeasement	Reconciliation	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath

Symbol-concept	Revolution	The revolution is unfolding in Ukraine	The word "revolution"	Protesters demand changes that should reset the whole country	Reshuffle of the country, rebellion of people against power	Change	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces, violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Multi-vector politics	Yanukovych decided to pursue multi-vector politics instead of the European integration	The term "multi-vector politics"	Ukrainian people did not accept the return to multi-vector politics	Strategic choice of political course of the country	No concept	Besieged radicalized protest, violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	New historical narrative	Maidan creates new historical narrative	The wording "new historical narrative"	New view of history could help to unite the country	Writing new history	History of future	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Provocation	Protesters are afraid of provocations	The word "provocation"	The masterminds of provocations are not identified but it is possible to guess	The attempt to discredit the protest	Violence	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-slogan	"Don't shoot in own people"	Protesters explain the riot police that they are people of the country, not criminals	The wording "Don't shoot in own people"	People try to persuade riot police to side with them	Attempt of direct dialogue with riot police	Legitimacy of protest	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-slogan	"Power of Bandukovych Away!"	People create new words "Bandukovych" that is a synthesis of the name of president and the word "banda"	The wording "Power of Bandukovych Away"	People think that criminals are in power and rule the country	Criminalization of current power	Change of elites	Radicalized, violent protest; besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-slogan	"Gang Away!"	People call the power "gang" ("banda")	The wording "Gang Away!"	People think that criminals are in power and rule the country	Criminalization of current power	Change of elites	Besieged radicalized protest

Symbol-slogan	"Police with People!"	People try to communicate with riot police and explain that it has to stay with people rather than with the government	The wording "Police with People!"	People try to persuade riot police to side with them	People's power changes the country	Delegitimation of power	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-situation	Berkut targets journalists	Berkut intentionally hits journalists in the Grushevskij street	The wording "Berkut targets journalists"	Journalists are the first victims of violence	Suppression of freedom of speech	Terror	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-situation	Yanukovich invites opposition to negotiations in which he does not participate	Yanukovich invites opposition to negotiations but he does not show willingness to talk	The wording "Yanukovich invites opposition to negotiations in which he does not participate"	President Yanukovich imitates negotiations	Profanation of the idea of negotiations at round table	Fake reconciliation	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-situation	Berkut brutally dispersed attacks on the presidential administration	Riot police dispersed attacks on the presidential administration	The wording "Berkut brutally dispersed attacks on presidential administration"	Berkut was not right to respond so brutally to protests in Kyiv	Disproportionate deployment of power	Terror	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-situation	Ukraine is bleeding	Ukraine, literally, is bleeding	The wording "Ukraine is bleeding"	People were attacked and killed in Ukraine, suffering is on rise	Compassion to Ukraine	Massacre	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Cleaning of EuroMaidan	People clean Maidan after the killings and shootings of February 18-20	The wording "People clean Euro"	People keep calm and well-disciplined even after the massacre against them	Solidarity after shootings and deaths of protesters	Self-organization	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Yanukovich consults with Putin	Yanukovich consults with Putin amid protests in Kyiv	The wording "Yanukovich consults with Putin"	Yanukovich takes decision only after getting guidelines from Moscow	Responsibility of Russia	Dependence on Russia	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	People die in streets	People are hit and killed in the streets of Kyiv	The wording "people die in streets"	Protests in Kyiv reached the critical point after which Ukraine would never be the same again	Violence without boundaries and limits	Massacre	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath

Symbol-situation	Father holds the blue helmet of his son killed by sniper	Father of 19 year old Ustym Golodnyuk holds UN blue helmet of his son which was shot by sniper	The wording "father holds the blue helmet of his son killed by sniper"	Protesters killed by snipers have their stories, families, careers; parents lost their children	Human dimension of casualties	Death	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	People with their cars bring medicine, water, food to Maidan	People who have cars bring all necessities to Maidan after killings and shootings	The wording "private cars bring medicine, water, and food to Maidan"	Ordinary people supply Maidan with all necessities, the supply line is not broken even after killings of protestors	Solidarity after shootings and deaths of protestors	Self-organization	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	People come to the place where the history of their country changes	People come to Maidan after the shootings and killings	The wording "people come to the place where the history of their motherland changes"	Maidan decides the history of Ukraine	Intensification of history, history-making	People's power	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	People ask to hold no negotiations with the criminal	People consider Yanukovich to be a criminal with whom no negotiations are possible	The wording "people ask to hold no negotiations with the criminal"	Negotiations won't solve the crises	Criminalization of power and distrust in president Yanukovich	Delegitimation of power	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Maidan is again full of people after killings	Thousands of people come to Maidan after killings and shootings	The wording "Maidan is again full of people after killings"	Nothing could stop Maidan	People's resistance and determination	Solidarity	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Polish minister of foreign affairs brings wounded protestors to Poland	Polish minister of foreign affairs on his way back to Ukraine brought wounded protestors for treatment in Poland	The wording "Polish minister of foreign affairs brought wounded protestors with his aircraft"	Poland has to help Ukraine at the critical moment of protest	Poland's support for Ukraine	Solidarity	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Dead bodies and blood but they dance	Protestors dance even in the days of the toughest violence against them	The wording "dead bodies and blood but they dance"	Maidan is able to survive with high spirit everything, even deaths and violence	Belief in cause of protests	Vitality	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Dead and wounded people lying on the ground	Literally, dead and wounded people lying on the ground in the streets of Kyiv	The wording "dead and wounded people lying on the ground", the picture of wounded people	Conflict escalation reached its highest point	Tragedy, casualties	Massacre	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath

Symbol-situation	Lviv administration refuses to subordinate to Yanukovych's government	Lviv administration breaks away from Yanukovych's regime	The wording "Lviv administration refuses to subordinate to Yanukovych's government"	Lviv is the first region where the power rises up against the dictatorship	The power gets more and more delegitimized	Disintegration of the country	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Automaian activist Bulatov crucified	Automaian activist Bulatov found with the signs of terrifying tortures	The wording "Bulatov was crucified"	Maidan activists become victims of brutal violence	Brutal violence by state proxies	Dehumanization of Maidan opponents	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Ahmetov demands the crisis solution with people's involvement	The most influential oligarch demands from Yanukovych to take into account Maidan's claims	The wording "Ahmetov demands the crisis solution with people's involvement"	Even oligarchs understand that it is impossible to ignore Maidan	Critical point of protests	Oligarchy	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Yuriy Verbytskyj found tortured and dead in forest	One of Maidan activists was kidnapped and found dead in the forest	The wording "Yuriy Verbytskyj found tortured and dead in forest "	Large-scale violence against Maidan activists take place in Ukraine	State violence, lawlessness, insecurity, repressions	Dictatorship	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Attacks on medical workers, journalists	Berkut attacks medical workers, journalists	The wording "attacks on medical workers, journalists"	State sanctions violence without boundaries and limits	Lawlessness and insecurity	Terror	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	People mock Yanukovych	Ukrainians mock Yanukovych in Internet	The wording "Ukrainians mock Yanukovych with the help of Internet"	Yanukovych has lost the adequate understanding of the reality	Mistrust, disrespect of the president	Delegitimation of power	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	People come "to defend children"	People took to streets in response to the dispersal of Maidan on November 30, 2013	The wording "people come to defend their children"	People protest for their rights rather than for politicians	Rebellion against violence and for future	Self-defense	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Beating of children	Young people, students were beaten by Berkut on November 30, 2013 at Maidan	The wording "beating of children"	People took to streets because such young people were brutally beaten by the police	The threat to democracy and country	Terror	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	People threw away party emblems	Protesters deny the presence of party symbols	The wording "people threw away party emblems"	Protesters are critical of power as well as opposition	Transcendence over conventional politics	Drelegitimation of power	Peaceful student protest

Symbol-situation	Release of Yulia Tymoshenko	Protesters do not claim release of opposition politician as their primary goal	The wording "release of Tymoshenko is not a goal of Maidan"	Tymoshenko is not a politician that could become a single leader of Maidan	Weakness of opposition	Power vacuum	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Polish reporter under bullets asks Berkut why it shoots in protesters	Bartłomiej Maślankiewicz directly approached Berkut amid clashes	The wording "Polish reporter Bartłomiej Maślankiewicz under bullets asks Berkut why it shoots in protesters"	Reporter asked why Ukrainians kill Ukrainians	Accountability of violent power	Truth	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-situation	People are kidnapped from hospitals	Wounded activists are kidnapped from hospitals by police and unidentified people	The wording "wounded activists are kidnapped from hospitals"	Protesters are not protected from persecutions even at hospitals	Lawlessness and violence	Repressions	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-situation	Prayer at Maidan	Priests read prayer in front of the riot police	No wording, presentational symbol	Priests try to reconcile protesters	Solidarity of church with people	Faith	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-situation	President did not address the nation	Yanukovych did not deliver any speech to his nation at the critical time	The wording "president did not address the nation"	Yanukovych fears Maidan	Weakness of president	Delegitimation of power	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Barricades are reinforced	Protesters rebuilt and improved barricades after the attempt of storm	The wording "protesters reinforced barricades "	Maidan decisively defends own territory	Vitality of protests	Struggle	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-situation	Assault on the journalist Tetiana Chornovol	The investigative reporter Tetiana Chornovol was attacked after her revealing publications about high-ranking officials	The wording "The investigative reporter Tetiana Chornovol was attacked by unknown"	Everybody who challenges power are under threat	Violence against journalists and activists	Repressions	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-situation	Opposition leader is ignored and attacked by protesters	Events on January 19 when protesters sprayed opposition leader Klychko with extinguisher	The wording "people sprayed Klychko with extinguisher"	Opposition has no true control over protests and ability to prevent violence	Weakness of the opposition	Power vacuum	Radicalized, violent protest



Symbol-situation	Six year old boy marches with toy saber	Children play the warlike games	The wording "six year old boy marches with toy saber "	Maidan is determined to go up to the end	Radical mood of protesters	Conflict	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Woman threatens police with her handbag	Lay people in Kyiv react negatively to riot police	The wording "woman threatens police with her handbag "	Maidan is determined to go up to the end	Radical mood of protesters	Conflict	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Snipers shot in hearts, heads, backs	Snipers at Maidan targeted protesters in hearts, heads, backs	The wording "professionals shot the protesters, bullets pierced hearts, heads, backs"	Protesters were killed by professionals	Deadly state violence	Massacre	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	People get up in a new country	After the events of February 18-20, 2014 Ukraine changed	The wording "people get up in a new country"	Ukraine would never be the same after it survived bloodshed	Resetting the country	Change	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	The EU responded to Maidan only when the bloodshed occurred	Europe decided on sanctions against Yanukovich only after killings of February 18-20, 2014	The wording "the EU responded to Maidan only when the bloodshed occurred"	Europe was slow and hesitant in its response to Maidan	Maidan succeeded without serious external support	Self-made victory	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Party of Regions condemned Yanukovich	Party of Regions claims that Yanukovich is the main liable for crimes against Maidan	The wording "PR leader Oleksandr Yefremov announced the party's statement in which the party condemned Yanukovich's escape and irresponsibility"	That is not enough for this party to expiate its guilt	Distancing from Yanukovich's crimes	Responsibility	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Maidan self-defense stopped the car with Tymoshenko and Yatsenyuk to warn against traffic rules' breach	Maidan self-defense warned Tymoshenko and Yatsenyuk that the rules are the same for every citizen	The wording "The car of Tymoshenko i Yatsenyuk was stopped by the self-defence to remind that they have to abide by traffic rules"	Maidan fought for the accountable power	Rule of law for everybody in the future Ukraine	Future	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-process	War with own people	Yanukovich deploys well-armed police against legitimate protests	The wording "war with own people"	The power in Ukraine wages war with own people	Delegitimized and criminalized power	Terror	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath

Symbol-process	People decide destiny of their country in streets	People with their radical violent protests have impact on power and opposition	The wording "People decide destiny of their motherland in streets "	Both power and opposition have to take protesters into account	History is done by people	Direct democracy	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-process	Return to the 2004 Constitution	Opposition and Maidan demand the return to the parliamentary-presidential republic	The wording "return to the 2004 Constitution"	The return to the 2004 Constitution is inevitable	The solution to the political crisis	Reconciliation	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-process	Dispersal of Maidan	Riot police tried to storm and disperse Maidan	The wording "police tried to storm Maidan", the word "pacyfikacja"	The attempt to disperse Maidan failed completely	Riot police had small chance to disperse Maidan	Victory of protest	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-process	Singing together	People at Maidan sing together the national anthem	The wording "people sing national anthem"	Maidan reinforces Ukrainian national identity	Maidan is rise of patriotism	Solidarity	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-process	Resetting the country	The main challenge for Ukraine is to build up a new system and integrate the country	The wording "łamanie systemu"	Reforms and de-oligarchization are required to make the victory of Maidan sustainable	The change of the whole country	Future	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath

The Figure 13 shows the absolute numbers of the most visible coded symbols in the general amount of the coded symbols in two Polish publications. The group of symbols called "the rest of the coded symbols" include all symbols whose number equates to four and less.

### Visibility of symbols in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world in the Polish press

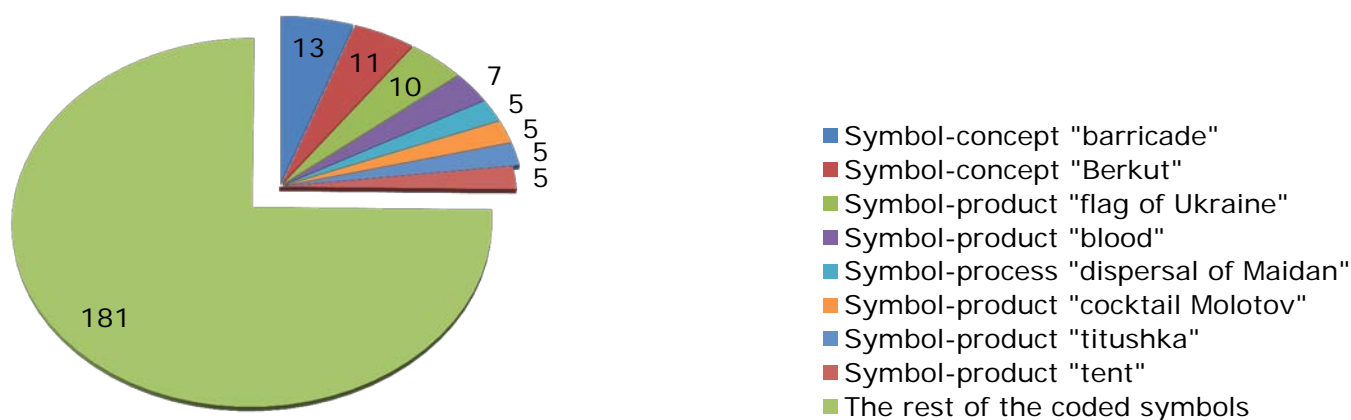
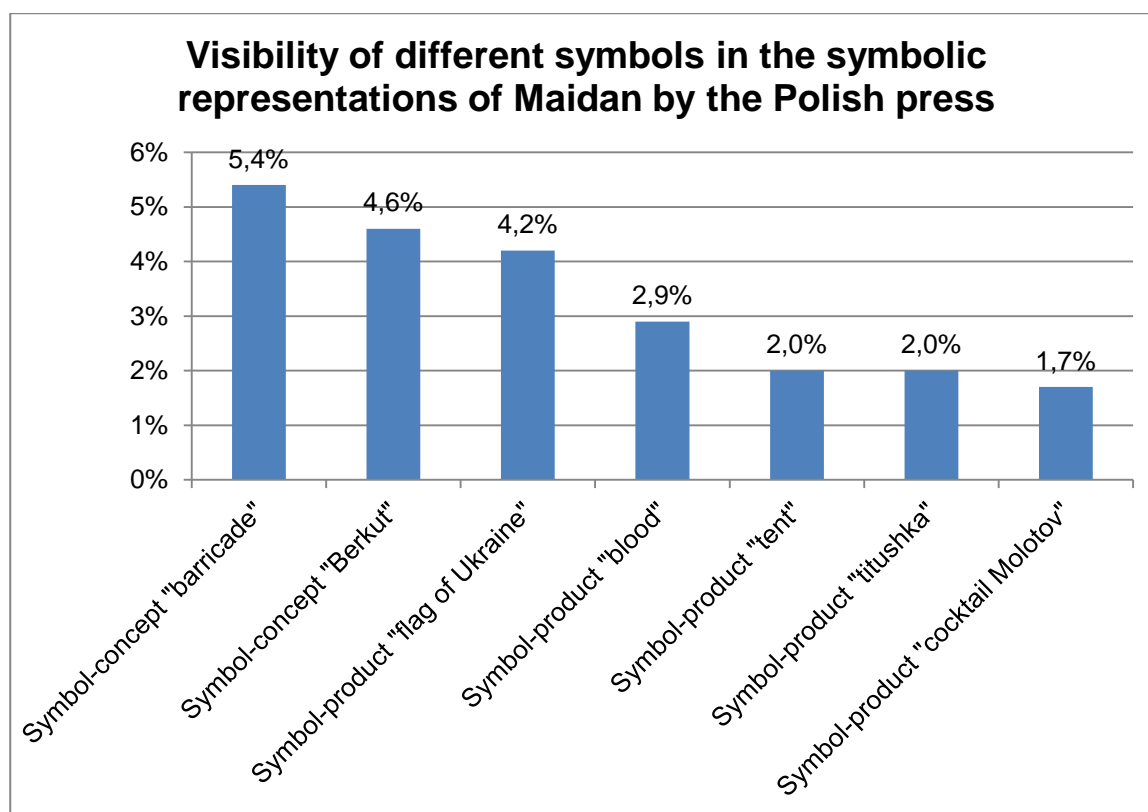


Figure 13. Visibility of different symbols in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world by the Polish press (in absolute numbers) (N=239).

The Figure 14 shows the same measure of the visibility of different symbols in the general amount of the coded symbols in terms of percentage. These are seven most visible symbols in the amount of 239 coded symbols, namely, the symbol-concept "barricade" (5,4 %), the symbol-concept "Berkut" (4,6 %), the symbol-product "flag of Ukraine" (4,2 %), the symbol-product "blood" (2,9 %), the symbol-product "tent" (2 %), the symbol-product "titushka" (2 %), and the symbol-product "cocktail Molotov" (1,7 %). Out of seven symbols six are indicative of conflict escalation and violence. Two exceptions are the symbol-product "flag of Ukraine" and the symbol-product "tent". The high visibility of the former is reached due to its presence in numerous visuals that *Fakt* run along with textual elements of its news stories from Maidan. Moreover, the Polish media often referred to the symbol-product "tent" whose connotations and signification could be defined as "long-standing protest" of people that stay in their positions day and night.



*Figure 14.* Visibility of different symbols in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world by the Polish press (in percentage) (N=239).

The Figure 15 visualizes what symbols are the most visible in the general amount of the coded symbols in terms of their types: three most visible symbol-products in the general amount of the coded symbols, three most visible symbol-concepts in the same general amount, three most visible symbol-situations, three most visible symbol-processes. Symbol-slogans and symbolic actions are excluded because of their small numbers or absence (four coded symbol-slogans and none of symbolic actions). The Figure 15 also shows the dominance of symbol-products and symbol-concepts over symbol-situations and symbol-processes in the general amount of the coded symbols. Symbol-processes are the least visible in the symbolic representations of the protest life-world.

We can see that in the Polish press three out of five most visible symbols-products are related to conflict escalation and violence: "blood", "cocktail Molotov", "titushka". All three most visible symbol-concepts are violence-related symbols: "barricade", "Berkut", "self-defense". The same is valid for three most visible symbol-situations: "dead, wounded people lying on the ground",

"Ukraine is bleeding", and "opposition leader (Vitali Klitschko) attacked by protesters". The only recurrent symbol-processes in the Polish media coverage of the Maidan life-world, namely, "dispersal of Maidan" and "war with own people" also have the significations of violence, conflict escalation, terror, suppression, civil war.

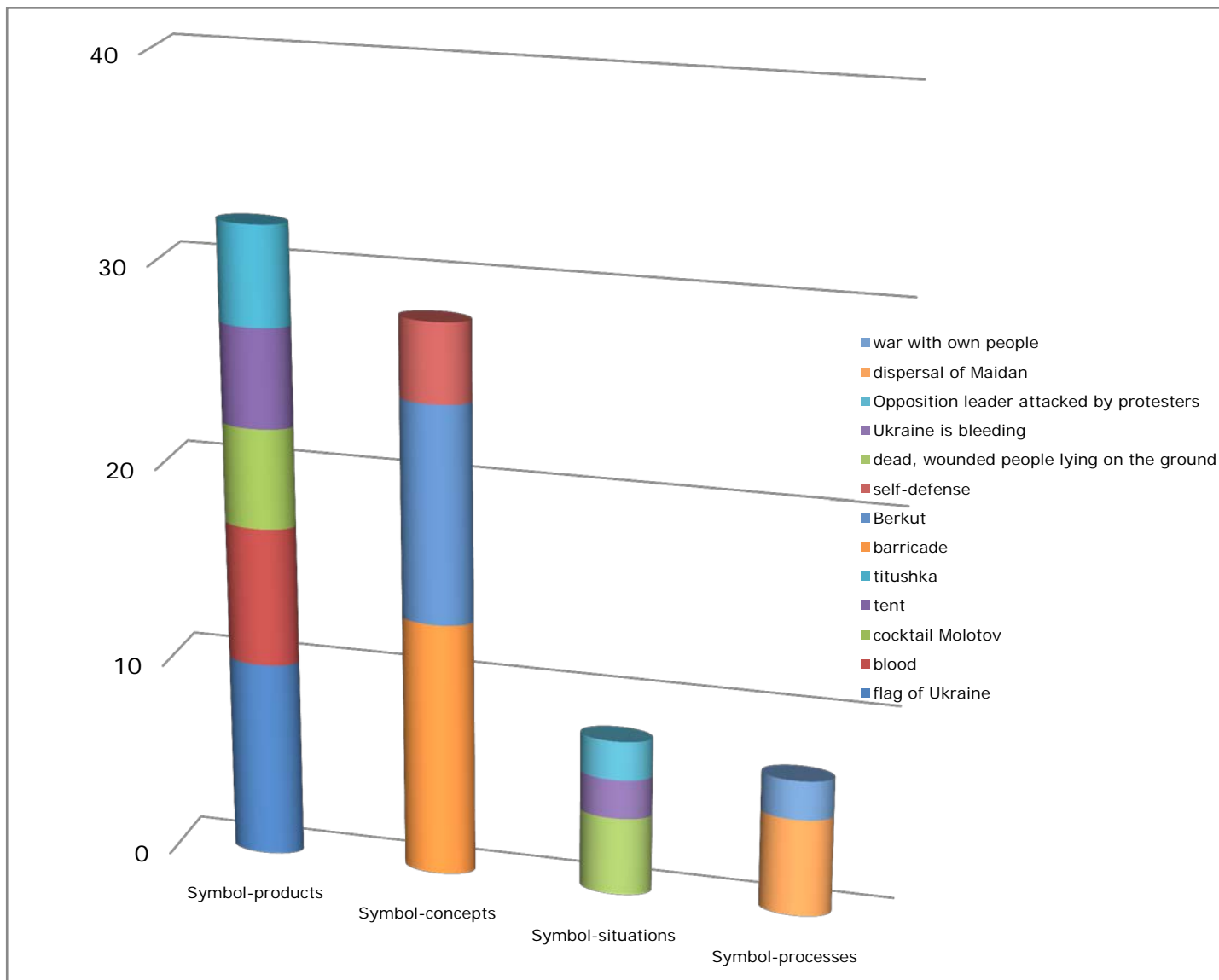


Figure 15. Visibility of different symbol by their types in the Polish press: the most visible symbol-products, symbol-concepts, symbol-situations, and symbol-processes (N=239).

The Figure 16 shows the visibility of different symbols in the general amount of the coded symbols in the tabloid newspaper *Fakt* in the terms of percentage. These are six most visible symbols in the amount of 133 coded symbols in this publication. The rest of symbols are coded three and less times. Among these six symbols there is one symbol-situation "dead, wounded people

lying on the ground" that is noteworthy for a tabloid publication with its assumed leaning towards symbol-products and symbol-concepts. Three of the rest of five symbols are violence-related: symbol-product "Berkut", symbol-concept "barricade", symbol-product "blood".

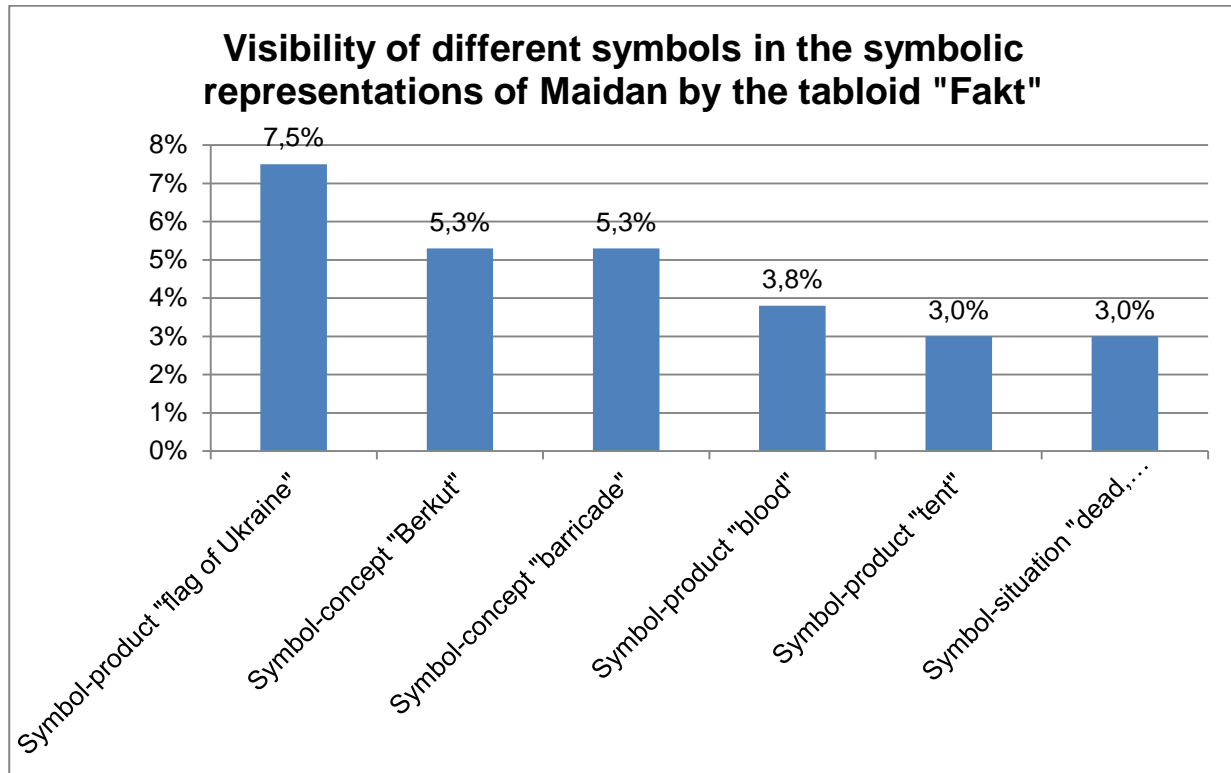
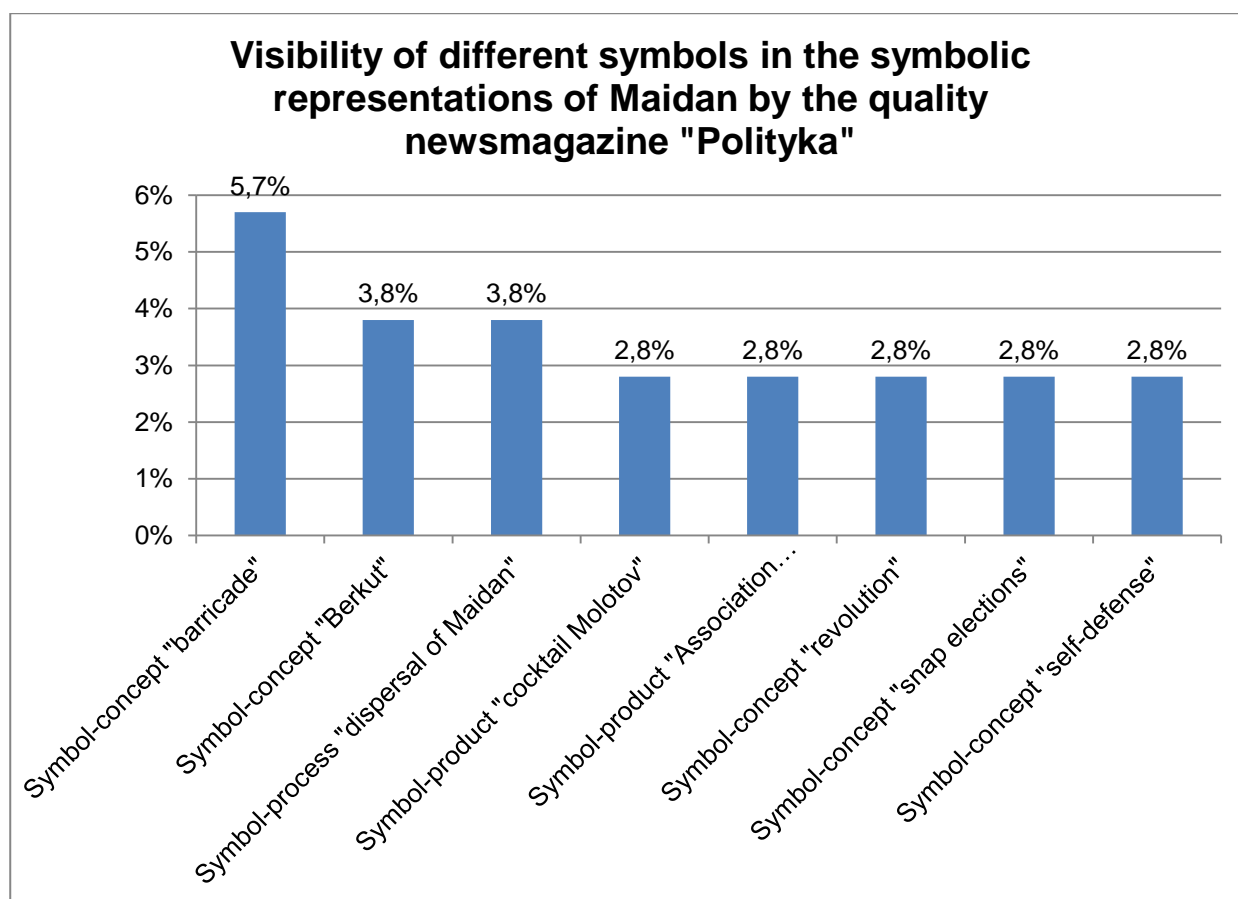


Figure 16. Visibility of different symbols in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world by the tabloid newspaper *Fakt* (in percentage) (N=133).

The Figure 17 shows the visibility of different symbols in the general amount of the coded symbols in the quality weekly newsmagazine *Polityka* in the terms of percentage. Three out of five symbols convey either no meanings of violence, like symbol-product "Association Agreement", symbol-concept "snap elections", or, at least, no explicit meaning of violence, like symbol-concept "revolution". Two symbols coincide in the tabloid and in the weekly: symbol-concept "Berkut" and symbol-concept "barricade".



*Figure 17.* Visibility of different symbols in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world by the quality weekly newsmagazine *Polityka* (in percentage) (N=106).

The Figure 18 shows the cloud of the most visible concepts conveyed by symbols in the media coverage of the Maidan life-world by the Polish media under study. It visualizes the highest visibility of such concepts as solidarity, violence, massacre, delegitimation of power, democracy, change, and patriotism. So, although the most visible symbols in the Polish press are mostly related to violence, if we analyze the cumulative visibility of different concepts across all coded symbols, we find out that along with violence, terror, and massacre such positive concepts as solidarity, democracy, change, and patriotism are also highly visible in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world by *Fakt* and *Polityka*.



Figure 18. The cloud of the most visible concepts conveyed by symbols in the media coverage of the Maidan life-world of the Polish media (N=239).

The Appendix E proposes the summary of three types of meanings, as they are defined in the theory of symbols by Susanne Langer (1954), for each coded symbol, namely, their denotations, connotations, and significations. It is possible to track down with the help of such analysis, based on the symbol theory, the meanings ascribed to the symbols of the Maidan life-world in the cultural context of Poland.

From the Table 11 we see that the majority of the coded symbols refer to the areas of actual reach. There are also symbols for which the reference to the restorable area of reach is of special importance, such as the symbol-product "blood" on streets of Kyiv and Ukraine with all possible historical connotations and reminiscences; the symbol-product "Lenin monument" with the historical reference to communism that is supposed to be fully overcome and given up with the victory of Maidan; the symbol-concept "solidarity" whose area of restorable reach is rather related to the national history of Poland with its movement of the trade-union "Solidarity" in the 1980s; the symbol-concept "divided opposition" with its reference to the negative experience of the elites that came to power after the 2004 Orange Revolution; the symbol-concept "struggle with



totalitarianism"; the symbol-concept that rose out of the metaphor "Moscow's embrace" with its reference to the colonial subordination of Ukraine to Russia. Along with such historically-laden symbols with clear-cut references to the areas of restorable reach, there are symbols with attainable historical reach, namely, the symbol-concept "new historical narrative", the symbol-concept "European standards", the symbol-product "flag of the EU", the symbol-concept "round table" with its implicit reference to the Polish experience of the Round Table between power and the trade-union *Solidarity* in 1989. The Polish press uses the symbol-concept with the negative meanings of attainable reach, namely, connotation of the possible negative scenario of Ukraine's development after the revolution - "disintegration of the country".

Expectedly, all coded symbols have the quality of social temporality. Some symbols could be interpreted as meanings with the quality of the world temporality, for example, the symbol-concept "new historical narrative", the symbol-concept "Moscow's embrace", the symbol-situation "people come to the place where the history of their country changes".

Majority of symbols related to the violence have the connotations and significations of matters of life and death, human vulnerability and sensitivity, human dependence on weather and other external circumstances. They have the symbolic quality of biological time and sometimes also inner duration. The examples of such symbols are the symbol-product "cocktail Molotov", the symbol-product "barrel", the symbol-product "construction helmet", the symbol-situation "snipers shot in hearts, heads, backs", the symbol-situation "Polish reporter under bullets asks Berkut why it shoots in protesters".

Less than half of the coded kinds of symbols, namely, 46 symbols are interpreted as such that contain reference to the province of practicable. Symbols related to violence or explicitly focused on violence have meanings of experience incompatible with the previous social life-world of the Ukrainian society. Meanwhile positive values of solidarity, freedom expressed through the respective symbol-concepts are considered to be compatible with the previous experience. Media

create "the myth of foundational order" and "social center" (Couldry, 2003). Everything that deviates from the positive picture of the reality with some foundational human values is symbolically represented as incompatible with the previous social experience. This incompatibility between social and actual experiences is an essential part of the above-mentioned myth.

Table 11

*The structures of the protest life-world in the meanings of the coded symbols*

<b>Symbol</b>	<b>Area of reach</b>	<b>Type of time</b>	<b>Reference to the province of practicable</b>	<b>Compatibility with actual experience</b>
Symbol-product "rubber bullets"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "sonic grenade"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "cobblestones"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "cocktail Molotov"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "snipers of Yanukovich"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "blood"	Restorable, actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "fire"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "shots"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "Lenin monument"	Restorable, actual	World time, social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-product "presidential residence Mezhygiria"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "Instytutska street"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "House of Trade-Unions"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "frost"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "tire"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "burnt police bus"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible

Symbol-product "baton"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "titushka"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "national anthem"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "Right Sector"	Actual	Social time	Yes	
Symbol-product "Civil Council of Maidan"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "sandwich"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "hot tea"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "flag of Ukraine"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "coffins"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "Committee of Support for Ukraine"	Actual	World time, social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-product "balaclava"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "shield"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "tent"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "barrel"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "Automaïdan"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-product "tank"	Attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "flag of the EU"	Actual, attainable	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "New Year's Tree"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "crowd of many thousands"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "protesters with flags of Ukraine"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "smoke"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "faces of people"	Actual	Social time, inner duration	Yes	Compatible

Symbol-product "laws of the 16th January"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "construction helmet"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-product "sack of snow"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "Berkut"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "civil war"	Attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "storm"	Actual, attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "March of Millions"	Actual	World time, social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "sanctions"	Attainable	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "parallels with Ceaușescu"	Attainable	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "state of emergency"	Attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "dismissal of Yanukovich"	Attainable	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "self-defense"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "barricade"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "freedom"	Attainable	Social time, inner duration	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "round table"	Attainable	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "solidarity"	Restorable, actual, attainable	Social time, inner duration	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "struggle with totalitarianism"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "compromise"	Attainable	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "divided opposition"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "disintegration of the country"	Attainable	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "amnesty"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "European standards"	Attainable	World time, social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "political crisis"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible

Symbol-concept "Orange Revolution"	Restorable	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "Moscow's embrace"	Restorable	World time, social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "new historical narrative"	Attainable	World time, social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "snap presidential and parliamentary elections"	Attainable	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "rebellion"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "self-organization"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "anti-terrorist operation"	Actual, attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "truce"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "revolution"	Restorable, actual	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "provocation"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-slogan "Don't shoot in own people!"	Actual	Social time, inner duration	No	Incompatible
Symbol-slogan "The Power of Bandukovuch Away!"	Attainable	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-slogan "Gang Away!"	Attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-slogan "Police with People!"	Attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "Berkut targets journalists"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "Yanukovich invites opposition to negotiations in which he does not participate"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "Berkut brutally dispersed attacks on presidential administration"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "Ukraine is bleeding"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "cleaning of EuroMaidan"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "Yanukovich consults with Putin"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible

Symbol-situation "people die in streets"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "father holds the blue helmet of his son killed by sniper"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "people with their cars bring medicine, water, food to Maidan"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-situation "people come to the place where the history of their country changes"	Actual	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "people ask to hold no negotiations with the criminal"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "Yuriy Verbytskyj found tortured and dead in forest"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "Party of Regions condemned Yanukovych"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "snipers shot in hearts, heads, backs"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "woman threatens police with her handbag"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-situation "opposition leader is ignored and attacked by protesters"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-situation "Maidan self-defense stopped the car with Tymoshenko and Yatsenyuk to warn against traffic rules' breach"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-situation "the EU responded to Maidan only when the bloodshed occurred"	Actual	World time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "beating of children"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "people come to defend their children"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-situation "six year old boy marches with toy saber"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible

Symbol-situation "Ahmetov demands the crisis solution with people's involvement"	Actual, attainable	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-situation "Maidan is again full of people after killings"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "Polish minister of foreign affairs brought wounded protesters to Poland"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-situation "dead bodies and blood but they dance"	Actual	Biological time, social time, inner duration	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "dead and wounded people lying on the ground"	Actual	Biological time, social time, inner duration	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "Lviv administration refuses to subordinate to the Yanukovich's government"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Automaiddan activist Bulatov crucified	Actual	Biological time, social time, inner duration	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "Polish reporter under bullets asks Berkut why it shoots in protesters"	Actual	Biological time, social time, inner duration	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "people are kidnapped from hospitals"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "prayer at Maidan"	Actual	Social time, inner duration	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "barricades are reinforced"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-situation "assault on the journalist Tetiana Chornovol"	Actual	Biological time, social time, inner duration	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-process "war with own people"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-process "return to the 2004 Constitution"	Attainable	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-process "dispersal of Maidan"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-process "singing together"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-process "resetting the country"	Attainable	World time, social time	No	Compatible

Symbol-process "people decide destiny of their country in streets"	Actual	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible
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### **Symbols in the Ukrainian Media Coverage of the Maidan Life-World: Qualitative Findings**

*Space.* The Polish media that we studied represent the space of Maidan as rather homogeneous space of being of protesters and their struggle with the power. This is a combination of scientific (homogeneity) and mythical (space as a place of being) conceptions of space. I did not manage to code any single symbol-product with clear spatial qualities and a place-signifier (place as a symbol-vehicle) in the Polish tabloid *Fakt*. In the quality publication *Polityka* three symbol-products are coded in which a place is a signifier, namely, "presidential residence Mezhygiria", "House of Trade-Unions", "Instytutaska street". All these places get their special values and nature as the typical mythical places. The symbol-product "presidential residence Mezhygiria" means the corruption and state capture by the president Victor Yanukovych and his accomplices. "House of Trade-Unions" becomes a symbol of self-organization of the Ukrainian civil society. Before the apogee of the clashes on February 18-20, 2014 it served as the headquarters of the protests' administration, press-center, and base of the Right Sector.

Overall, the Polish press tended to depict Maidan as a single space of protesters' being and of freedom. Such spatial being it is indicative of myth as a symbolic form. However, its homogeneity is a typical scientific characteristic. This is the hybrid spatiality that could be defined as uniquely media symbolic representation of space. Some sacralization of space of the Maidan life-world in the Polish tabloid is identifiable. The distinction between sacred and profane is depicted through the distinction between the space where people sacrifice their lives and the history of the country is being decided and the rest of the profane world.



*Time.* Although the tabloid *Fakt* provides the extensive, detailed coverage of the Maidan life-world, in general it does not recreate the circles, cycles, and rhythm of the protests that moved from one Sunday people's gathering to the next Sunday people's gathering (narodne viche). The temporality of its symbolic representations is rather linear. It is mainly the linear succession of events.

The coded symbols that have the salient temporal qualities are the symbol-concept "parallels with Ceaușescu", the symbol-situation "people come to the place where the history of their motherland changes", the symbol-situation "people decide destiny of their country in streets", the symbol-process "resetting the country". The parallels with the former president of Romania Nicolae Ceaușescu have the connotations of the world time in which such events as Maidan are inscribed. It is the idea of history repeating. It could not be interpreted as circles or cycles of history but to certain extent this kind of temporality is closer to the symbolic form of myth rather than to the other symbolic forms. Actually, it is the temporality of history as one of the symbolic forms defined by Ernst Cassirer.

The symbol-situation "people come to the place where the history of their motherland changes" represents the simple undivided now that has its unique historical duration. This is "now" in which the whole course of the country's development is being changed. The duration of such compressed "now" is short but more meaningful than the duration of the whole epochs during which no serious turmoil, such as wars, revolutions, takes place.

The symbol-situation "people decide destiny of their country in streets " has the temporal meaning of the simple undivided now and the spatial meaning of the equation of one particular place with the whole space. The idea of such unity between one place with its special value and the whole space is typical for myth. The symbol-process "resetting the country" has the temporality of the future development of the country, just as the symbol-concept "European values", the symbol-concept "new historical narrative". This is the symbolism of linear time. The symbolic quality of the

simple undivided now could be identified in the symbol-situation "Ukrainians get up in a new country".

*Number.* Among the coded symbols there are at least two with salient qualities of symbolic numbering: the symbol-product "crowd of many thousand" and the symbol-concept "March of Millions". Both of them were mentioned by the tabloid *Fakt*. Both of them do not meet the criteria of scientific rigor and verification. These are the signs of things, the signs of massive protest mobilization of the Ukrainian society. As it was already noted in the Chapter IV, there were the divergent accounts of the number of participants in the March of Millions provided by the police and by the opposition.

*Fakt* tried to represent "the crowd of many thousand" at Maidan by means of visual symbols. This crowd often sings the national anthem. This creates the symbolic representation of the massive protest that rose on the wave of social solidarity, patriotism, reinforcement of civil society. The extremely approximate number of "many thousand" in this situation has its value and nature beyond any order and operations that are indicative of scientific use of numbers. Such numbering in media is the frontier case between myth with its sacralization of particular numbers and science with its instrumentalization of numbers.

*Power.* The Polish press has identified as the bearers of the main symbolic capital in the power relations at and around Maidan the target unit of the riot police Berkut, president Viktor Yanukovich the opposition, and the protesters. The weekly *Polityka* also includes in this range the Ukrainian oligarchs. Although physical as well as symbolic violence is attributed to Berkut, there are symbols of people's radicalization towards the appropriation of means of symbolic violence. This is exemplified by the symbol-situation "six year old boy marches with toy saber", "woman threatens police with her handbag".

The Polish media pay attention to such elements of the Maidan life-world as free distribution of hot tea and sandwiches. "Hot tea" in frost and "sandwiches" become the symbol-products of equality and hospitality that dominate at Maidan.

Among the coded symbols there is the symbol-situation with the outright meaning of the power delegitimation, challenging the power "Lviv administration refuses to subordinate to Yanukovych's government". There is also the symbol-situation which represents the acceptance of suffering and pain by protesters, their unselfishness and their courage, ability to preserve good spirit amid death and violence, namely, "dead bodies and blood but they dance". This wording is put into the title of the news story.

The symbol-product "blood" is important and highly visible in the Polish media coverage of the Maidan life-world. It also could be interpreted as a symbol of *communitas*, its sacred self-sacrifice, its suffering and pain for the sake of the transition to the better future. This is the mythical and religious symbol. The tabloid also used this symbolism in description of situations of violence. These are exemplified by the symbol-situation "Ukraine is bleeding", the symbol-situation "people die in the streets", the symbol-situation "the EU responded to Maidan only when the bloodshed occurred". The Polish journalists underline that "blood" is present on the streets of the contemporary European city. This creates the contrast between the European modern time and the suffering of the Maidan *communitas*.

The meaning of compromise and reconciliation in the *Fakt* media coverage is less inclusive than in the *Polityka* media coverage. *Fakt* defines three types of actors that have to reach agreement - power, opposition, and protesters. *Polityka* adds to them one more - oligarchs that is reflected in such coded symbol as the symbol-situation "Akhmetov demands the crisis solution with people's involvement".

In addition, the symbolic representations of the power relations in the Polish press focus on the delegitimation of power. The most illustrative examples are the symbol-situation "people mock

Yanukovych", the symbol-situation "protesters throw away party emblems", the symbol-situation "people ask to hold no negotiations with the criminal", the symbol-situation "the president did not address the nation". The symbols of "Berkut" and "titushka", both highly visible, also have the connotations and significations of the power delegitimation. All these situations are less informative than symbolic. In conclusion, the Polish media try to depict the transfer of the symbolic capital from the power to the protesters rather than to the opposition.

## Chapter VI

### Data Analysis: Germany

#### **Symbols of the Life-World in the German Media Coverage of Maidan: Quantitative Findings**

We coded 56 news stories in the tabloid daily *Bild* and five news stories in the quality newsmagazine *Der Spiegel*. The coded news stories include news analysis, reportages (news reports), feature stories. The news stories published at the web-site of *Bild* often included video reports as integral parts of the written text. These video reports contain narration and on-the-spot reporting. So, they were considered to be the part of the written news story and coded, respectively. Overall, we coded 363 symbols of all types in *Bild* and 46 symbols of all types, except symbol-slogan and symbolic action, in *Der Spiegel*. Altogether 409 symbols were coded in two German print media outlets. Within this number we identified 133 different kinds of symbols. It means that some symbols were used two and more times.

From the Table 12 and the Figures 19, 20 we can see that the first hypothesis of the given research is not confirmed: both the German tabloid and quality press predominantly use symbol-products, symbol-concepts, and symbol-situations of the protest life-world. There are just seven symbol-processes coded in the German media. The media coverage of the protest life-world in *Bild* used enough symbol-situations alongside symbol-products and symbol-concepts. We managed to identify and to code 42 kinds of symbol-product, 26 kinds of symbol-concept, five kinds of symbol-slogan, 36 kinds of symbol-situation, four kinds of symbol-processes, and two kinds of symbolic actions in the tabloid: altogether - 170 symbol-products, 121 symbol-concepts, five symbol-slogans, 58 symbol-situations, six symbol-processes, and two symbolic actions. Meanwhile, in the quality press we coded 11 kinds of symbol-product, 18 kinds of symbol-concept, 10 kinds of symbol-situation, and one kind of symbol-process: altogether - 11 symbol-products, 24 symbol-concepts, 10 symbol-situations, and one symbol-process. We did not find any examples of symbol-slogan and symbolic action in the quality newsmagazine coverage of the Kyiv's Maidan life-world.

Table 12

*The distribution of the coded symbols across the tabloid and quality media outlet*

	<b>Media outlets</b>	
<b><i>Types of symbol</i></b>	<b><i>Tabloid daily Bild</i></b>	<b><i>Quality newsmagazine Der Spiegel</i></b>
Symbol-product	Black-red flag, Right Sector, Civil Council of Maidan, cocktail Molotov (9), cobbles (14), water cannon (5), catapult, stage (7), shield (5), protesters with flag of Ukraine; faces of people (2), coffin (2), Tymoshenko's speech at Maidan (3), presidential residence Mezhygiria (2), burnt House of Trade-Unions (6), Klitschko (15), handshake between Yanukovych and Klitschko (3), fire (13), burnt tire (7), Hotel Ukraine (7), Michaylovsky Cathedral, blood (2), flowers on pavement, snipers, shots (2), tear gas (11), flak jacket, helm (5), grenade (6), frost (8), baton (8), masks (2), burnt police bus (2), laws of the 16th of January (3), rubber bullets, tee, sandwiches, flag of the EU (2), ambulance, tent (3), national anthem, Lenin monument (2).	Ambulance, cocktail Molotov, cobbles, burnt tire, water cannon, the laws of the 16th of January, Right Sector, rubber bullets, armored car, blood, Klitschko.

Symbol-concept	Partisans, revolution (10), civil activists (4), rebellion (2), despot (9), disintegration of the country (4), massacre, freedom, barricade (32), snap presidential elections (12), state bankruptcy (2), European values, self-defense (4), compromise (3), Berkut (8), sanctions (8), anti-terrorist operation (2), radicals, extremists, provocation (3), gathering of people (4), amnesty, Orange Revolution (4), civil war (2), bandits, oligarchy.	Barricade (2), civil war (3), fascists, bandits, extremists, terrorists, disintegration of the country, repression, revolution (2), compromise, the second front, European values; Orange Revolution, oligarchy, Berkut, sanctions (3), reforms, partisans of Kyiv.
Symbol-slogan	"For freedom of Ukraine", "Klitschko, Klitschko, Klitschko!", "No sanctions, no peace", "Shame!", "We stay to stand".	-

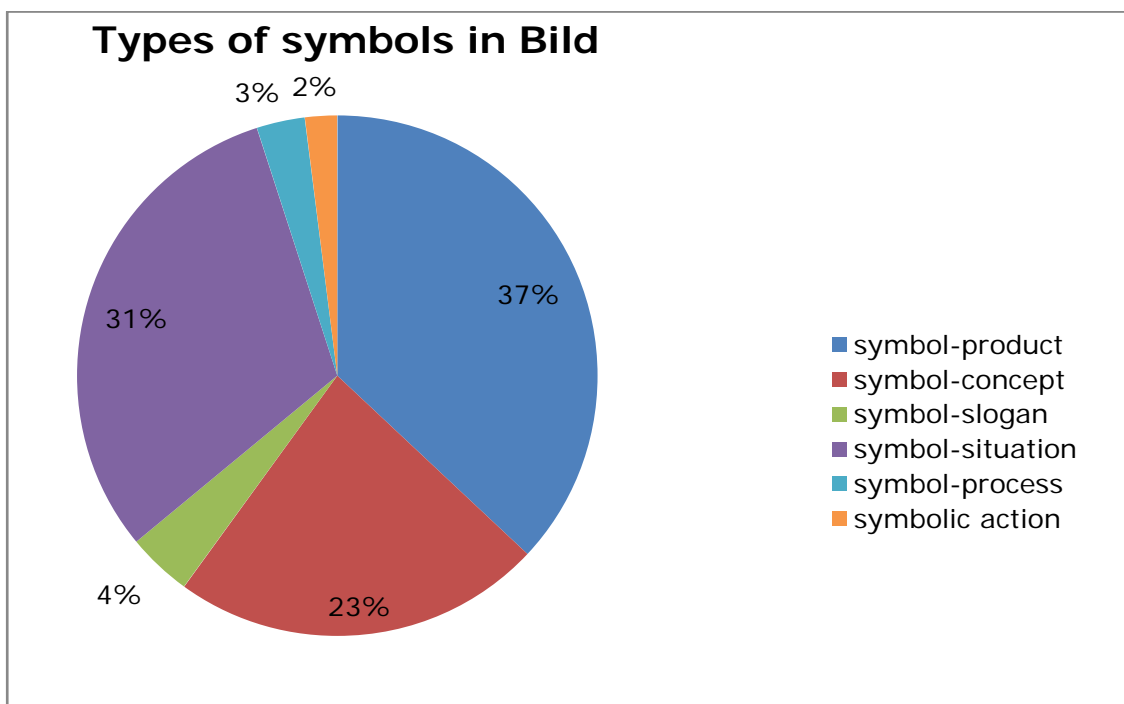
Symbol-situation	<p>Protesters make police flee; foreign politicians come to Maidan (3); police doesn't let Klitschko in the hospital to visit protesters; women talking to the riot police; Klitschko wears a flack jacket; police destroyed the medical point in Grushevskogo; a man knelt in the street at night and read Bible; police targets journalists; confession in front of police; opposition refused from the proposal of posts by Yanukovych; police tortured a naked person in frost; a policeman drags a protester; Maidan activist got shot in back; leader of Right Sector Dmitry Yarosh was received better by protesters than Klitschko; leader of Right Sector Dmitry Yarosh received more support at Maidan than Tymoshenko; president Yanukovych flees Ukraine (4); Ukraine issues warrant of arrest of Yanukovych (2); release of Tymoshenko (5); Tymoshenko in the wheel chair at Maidan delivered emotional speech; kneeling people at Maidan; Party of Regions makes Yanukovych responsible for the country's predicament; Yanukovych makes a phone call to Yatsenyuk; army declared that it won't interfere with power struggle; crowd singing national anthem (2); protesters suddenly took to stage and threatened to storm president's palace if he does not quit (2); suppression of Maidan (8); German foreign minister says: "It's the last chance for solution" (2); police standing on the side of barricade; Klitschko and Steinmeier discuss when they have to speak to Maidan representatives; the Polish minister says that if opposition doesn't support deal with Yanukovych, there will be the state of war and they all die;</p>	<p>Party's of Regions members quite it; scandalous adoption of the laws of the 16th of January; protesters burnt down the property of communists' leader Petro Simonenko and found two posh cars in his garage; Tymoshenko arrived at Maidan in the autocade of Mercedes and Lexus cars; Yanukovych flew to Sochi to meet Putin; suppression of Maidan (2); pro-governmental Russian writer Alexander Prochanov was on tour to explain that Yanukovych is a traitor because he did not suppress Maidan; oligarchs Firtash and Achmetov keep silent amid protests; Achmetov made a statement calling to peaceful conflict resolution; young oligarch Kurchenko disappeared.</p>
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	<p>security service hunts down protesters; protesters met opposition leaders with whistle after deal with Yanukovych; protesters block Kyiv's airport; House of Trade-Unions is set on fire; Klitschko is sprayed with the extinguisher in the face by protesters (3); toppling down of Lenin monument; young women asking Germany to help.</p>	
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Symbol-process	Rebellion of regions (2); history is written in Ukraine at fast pace; snipers shooting in unarmed people's arteries, hearts, heads, backs (2); protesters building barricades.	Oligarchs fighting for saving their milliards.
Symbolic action	Protesters wear pots, sieves, and cardboard boxes on heads in protest against the laws of the 16th of January; Femen activists pissed on the Yanukovich's portraits.	-

*Note.* The figures in the brackets show the number of times that a particular symbol is used in a media outlet within the period under study.



*Figure 19.* The shares of different types of symbols in the general amount of coded types of symbols in the German tabloid.

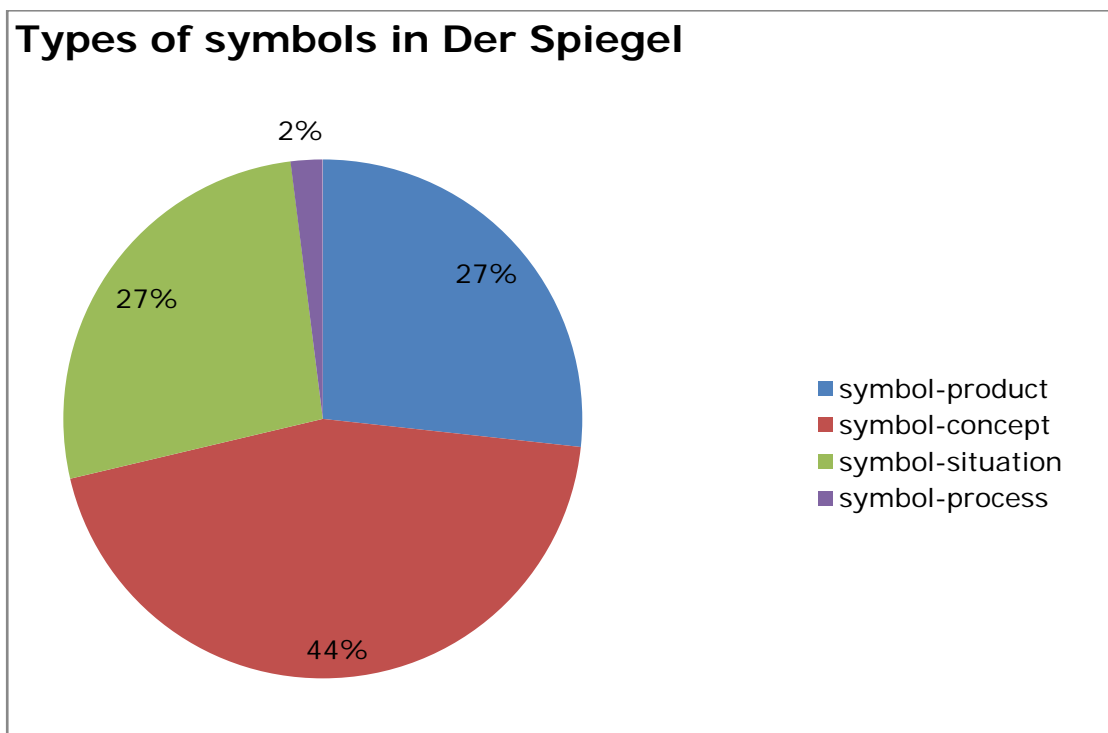


Figure 20. The shares of different types of symbols in the general amount of coded types of symbols in the German quality weekly.

The Table 13 provides the full list of all coded symbols with the detailed descriptions of their structures and periods of Maidan in which they were used in the German media coverage.

Table 13

*Coded symbols, their structures and periods of use in media*

Type of symbol	Name	Object	Signifier	Subject	Conception	Concept	Period
Symbol-product	Ambulance	Ambulances are in the Kyiv's streets	The word "ambulance"	Kyiv is almost dead, only ambulances are seen in its streets	Danger, uncertainty and bloodshed	Violence	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Cocktail Molotov	Protesters throw cocktails Molotov	The name "cocktail Molotov"	Defensive measures that protests take won't protect them from the police	Violent clashes	Self-defense	Besieged radicalized protest

Symbol-product	Cobbles	Protesters throw cobbles	The word "cobbles"	Defensive measures that protests take won't protect them from the police	Violent clashes	Self-defense	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Burnt tire	Protesters burn tires to defend themselves	The wording "burnt tires"	Defensive measures that protesters take won't protect them from the police	Violent clashes	Self-defense	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Water cannon	Police uses water cannons against protesters	The word "water cannon" ("Wasserwerfer")	Police is stronger than protesters due to its equipment	Violent clashes	Terror	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Rubber bullets	Police shoots at protesters	The word "rubbers"	Police is stronger than protesters a priori because it shoots at them	Violent clashes	Terror	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Armored car	Police ride armored cars	The word "armored car" ("Panzerwagen")	Police is a priori in stronger position due to its equipment and weapons	Violent clashes	Terror	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Civil Council of Maidan	Civil Council of Maidan takes decisions on how to go on with protests	The name "Civil Council of Maidan"	Protesters have influence and have what to say	Protesters are decision-makers	Direct democracy	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Laws of the 16th of January	Parliament passed these laws using the Russian templates	The wording "laws on demonstrations"	These laws provoked more tensions and violence	Bad decision	Conflict	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Right Sector	Right Sector demands a vice-prime-minister's post for his leader, its symbols are everywhere at Maidan	The name "Right Sector"	Radicals are coming to power in Ukraine	Nationalism and radical ideologies	Radicalism	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Black-red flag	Black-red flag of Right Sector is everywhere at Maidan	The wording "black-red sector"	Right Sector is visible as an actor	Nationalists' involvement	Nationalism	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath

Symbol-product	Blood	A lot of blood could be shed at Maidan, assumes opposition politician	The wording "a lot of blood could be shed"	There is a risk of large-scale violence	Radicalization of protest	Violence, terror	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Catapult	Protesters fight against police with the makeshift catapult	The word "catapult"	Protesters defend themselves and attack the police with medieval weapons	Protesters' self-defense	Violence	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Shield	Police and protesters use shields	The word "shield"	Both sides are committing violence and need to defend	Self-defense	Violence	Radicalized, violent protest,
Symbol-product	Stage	Opposition leaders and activists deliver speeches and make announcements on stage	The word "stage"	The center of the self-organized territory of Maidan	Self-organization	Direct democracy	All periods, except peaceful student protest
Symbol-product	Protesters with the flag of Ukraine	Protesters often carry flags of Ukraine	The pictures of protesters holding flags of Ukraine	People manifest their national identity and ideals	Belief in Ukraine's future	Patriotism	Radicalized, violent protest, violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Faces of people	Protesters smile or look determined and courageous	The close-ups of people's faces	Maidan attracts open-minded, positive people, lots of them young and enlightened	Open-mindedness, positive energy, unselfishness	People	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Coffin	Funerals of killed protesters	The picture of the coffin	Violence leads to casualties	Moaning of victims	Terror	Radicalized, violent protest; violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Tymoshenko's speech at Maidan	Just-released opposition politician Yulia Tymoshenko delivered emotional speech at Maidan	The video of the speech and the wording "Tymoshenko talked to Maidan"	Tymoshenko showed that she is ready to assume the responsibility for the country	Political aspiration of opposition	Change of power	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath

Symbol-product	Presidential residence Mezhygiria	Protesters open the doors of Mezhygiria to the world	The name "presidential residence Mezhygiria"	Yanukovych had the luxurious lifestyle	High-ranking corruption	State capture, corruption	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Burnt House of Trade-Unions	House of Trade-Union was set on fire by the police	The wording "House of Trade-Unions is set on fire"	Police attacks the heart of Maidan	Violent clashes	Terror	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Klitschko	Boxer and opposition politician Klitschko leads protests	The name "Vitaliy Klitschko"	Despite fatigue Klichko behaves courageously under stress	New political elite	Change of power	All periods, except the peaceful student protest
Symbol-product	Handshake between Klitschko and Yanukovych	Klitschko shook the hand of Yanukovych after killings of protestors	The wording "handshake between Klitschko and Yanukovych"	Maidan receives this gesture as treason	Illegitimate reconciliation	Compromise	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Fire	Maidan is set on fire	The word "fire"	Violence is in progress	Violent clashes	Violence	Radicalized, violent protest; violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Michaylovsky Cathedral	One of protestors' destinations	The name "Michaylovsky Cathedral"	Maidan could rely on the church	Church's support for Maidan	Solidarity	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Hotel Ukraine	There are dead protestors lying at the medical point located in the hotel; the hotel is at the crossfire	The name "Hotel Ukraine"	Snipers could shoot from the Hotel Ukraine	Killings of protestors	Terror	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Flowers on pavement	There are casualties at Maidan	The picture of flowers on pavement	People died for Maidan goals	Fresh memories	Terror	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Snipers	Snipers shoot at protestors	The word in plural "snipers"	Target police units are involved in the bloodshed	Killings of protestors	Massacre	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their

							aftermath
Symbol-product	Shots	Shots are heard in the city center of Kyiv	The word in plural "shots"	Police shoot at protesters	Killings of protesters	Terror	Radicalized, violent protest, violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Tear gas	Police uses police gas against protesters	The word "tear gas"	Tear gas becomes the usual element of protests in Kyiv	Violent clashes	Violence	Radicalized, violent protest, violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-product	Flak jacket	Protesters wear flak jackets	The word "flak jacket"	Protesters expect the violence against them and suppression	Radicalization of protest	Danger	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Helmet	Protesters wear helmets	The wordings "construction helmets", "ski helmets"	Protesters defend themselves	Radicalization of protest	Violence	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Grenade	Police uses grenades against protesters	The word "grenade"	Protesters run risk of injuries	Radicalization of protest	Violence	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Baton	Both police and protesters apply batons	The word "baton"	Protesters use old-fashioned tools to defend themselves against disproportionate violence of police	Radicalization of protest and self-defense of protesters	Violence	All periods, except the peaceful student protest
Symbol-product	Frost	There is strong frost in Kyiv	The temperature's indicators and the word "frost"	Maidan survives strong frost that does not stop it anyway	Self-determination of protesters	Courage of protesters	All period, except the peaceful student protest
Symbol-product	Burnt police bus	Protesters burnt the police bus	The wording "burnt police bus"	Protesters crossed the line between peace and violence	Radicalization of protest	Violence	Radicalized, violent protest

Symbol-product	Mask	Protesters wear ski masks	The word in plural "masks"	Protesters hide their faces being concerned about possible persecutions	Radicalization of protest	Conflict	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-product	Laws of the 16th of January	The parliament passed the laws that curtail the political rights	The word "demonstration laws" ("Demonstrationsrechte")	Yanukovych chose the confrontation instead of reconciliation	Assault on the political rights of protesters	Suppression	Radicalized, violent protest, besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-product	Lenin monument	Protesters demolished the Lenin monument in Kyiv	The name "Lenin monument"	Protesters are ready to more radical measures	Elimination of old symbols	Revolution	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Tent	Protesters fix tents in the city center and reside in them	The word in plural "tents"	Protesters are determined to fight for their rights	Long-standing protest	Struggle	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces, reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	National anthem	Protesters often sing national anthem	The wording "national anthem"	People get united in their common actions	National identity and solidarity	Patriotism	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Tee	Everybody can get tee free of charge at Maidan	The word "tee"	The friendly atmosphere dominates at Maidan	Self-organization of protests	Solidarity	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-product	Sandwich	Everybody can get a sandwich free of charge at Maidan	The word in plural "sandwiches"	The friendly atmosphere dominates at Maidan	Self-organization of protests	Solidarity	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-concept	Barricade	Protesters build and keep barricades	The word "barricade"	Barricades demarcate the territory of protest	Protesters' position	Conflict	All periods, except the peaceful student



							revolution
Symbol-concept	Civil war	There was a risk of civil war in Ukraine	The word "civil war" ("Bürgerkrieg")	There are chances of Maidan growing into civil conflict because of existing numerous camp of Yanukovich's supporters, especially in the east and Crimea	Disintegration of the country and bloodshed	Conflict	Besieged radicalized protest, violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Fascists	Opposition politician calls Yanukovich and his supporters "fascists"	The word in plural "fascists"	There is a deeply-rooted confrontation in Ukraine	Delegitimation of power by opposition	Conflict	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Bandits	Opposition politician calls Yanukovich and his supporters "bandits"	The word in plural "bandits"	There is a deeply-rooted confrontation in Ukraine	Delegitimation of power by opposition	Conflict	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Terrorists	Prime-minister Azarov calls protesters "terrorists"	The word in plural "terrorists"	There is a deeply-rooted confrontation in Ukraine	Stigmatization and condemnation of protesters	Conflict	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Extremists	Prime-minister Azarov calls protesters "extremists"	The word in plural "extremists"	There is a deeply-rooted confrontation in Ukraine	Stigmatization and condemnation of protesters	Conflict	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Disintegration of the country	There is the probability of the country's divide	The wording "divide and disintegration of the country" ("Spaltung")	There are reasons for concerns of the loyalty of some regions to Maidan goals	Potentially breakaway regions	Risks	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Repression	The laws of the 16th of January were passed to lay ground for repressions	The word in plural "repressions"	Yanukovich's regime prepares to suppress Maidan	State suppression of protests	Terror	Besieged radicalized protest

Symbol-concept	Revolution	Revolution took place in Ukraine	The word "revolution"	The country tries to change the rules of game through revolution	Rebellion of people against oligarchy	Change	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Compromise	Compromise is needed to solve the conflict but Klichko does not accept it	The word "compromise"	The compromise between opposition, Maidan and oligarchs has to be reached	Conflict settlement	Reconciliation	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Second front	There are active protests and seizures of administrations in regions	The wording "second front"	Regions rises up against Yanukovich	Delegitimation of power	Revolution	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Orange Revolution	After Orange Revolution the new power played by old rules	The name "Orange Revolution"	Negative experience has to teach	Experience and history repeats	Experience	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	European values	Opposition politicians talk about European values	The wording "European values"	Even nationalists accept European values as uniting ground for protesters	Better standards of life	Future	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Oligarchy	Oligarchs try to save their influence and money	The word "oligarch"	Oligarchs feel threatened by Maidan and decided to let Yanukovich to fall down	Oligarchs are the most influential decision-makers in Ukraine	State capture, corruption	Besieged radicalized protest, violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Berkut	Riot police assaults on protestors; the commander of Berkut fled after shootings at Maidan	The name "Berkut"	This riot police unit played key role in Maidan clashes	Defenders of regime	Delegitimation of power, terror	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Sanctions	Klychko calls the EU to introduce sanctions	The word in plural "sanction"	Opposition thinks that sanctions are the most efficient help that the West could give	Western influence	Responsibility of power for crimes	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Reforms	Ukraine needs reforms	The word in plural "reforms"	Ukraine has to be fundamentally changed	The resetting of the country	Change	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath

							aftermath
Symbol-concept	Partisans of Kyiv	Protesters could be compared with partisans	The word on plural "partisans"	Protesters risk their security and lives	Civil confrontation	Conflict	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Civil activists	Civil activists take responsibility for Maidan	The word in plural "activists"	Maidan is bottom-up grassroots movement	Self-organization	Civil society	All periods, apart from the peaceful student protest
Symbol-concept	Rebellion	Rebellion is in progress in Ukraine	The word "rebellion"	People rose up to change the power	Sweeping change of power	Revolution	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Despot	Yanukovich turns a despot, a dictator ordering the deployment of snipers against own people	The words "despot", "dictator"	People struggle against despot	Delegitimation of power	Dictatorship	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Massacre	The bloodshed is going on in the city center of Kyiv	The words "massacre", "bloodshed"	Violence went beyond any imaginable boundaries	Casualties and murders of protestors	Death	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Freedom	Protesters struggle against the despot for freedom	The word "freedom"	Maidan is the territory of freedom	Human rights and democracy	Freedom	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Snap presidential elections	Protesters demand snap presidential elections	The wording "snap presidential elections", "dismissal of Yanukovich" ("Rücktritt")	Protesters accept no alternative to fast snap presidential elections	Delegitimation of Yanukovich	Change of power	All periods, except the peaceful student protest
Symbol-concept	State bankruptcy	Ukraine is at the edge of state bankruptcy	The wording "at the edge of solvency" (am Rande der Zahlungsfähigkeit)	Ukraine is facing serious challenges	Financial risks of revolution	Crisis	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath

Symbol-concept	Anti-terrorist operation	Yanukovich starts anti-terrorist operation against Maidan	The term "anti-terrorist operation"	Maidan is supposed to be dispersed and suppressed	Suppression of Maidan	Terror	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-concept	Self-defense	Some protesters get armed with batons, shields and helmets and organize special defensive groups	The pictures of self-defense activists	People have to defend themselves	Self-organization of Maidan	Violence	All periods, except the peaceful student protest
Symbol-concept	Compromise	First, Klitschko thinks the compromise with the power impossible; then he accepts it in order to stop violence	The wording "compromise with cutthroats"	Compromise is needed to stop violence but Maidan is against it	Unreachable reconciliation	Conflict	Peaceful protest against governmental violence, radicalized, violent protest,
Symbol-concept	Radicals	Radicals attacked the riot police	The word in plural "radicals"	There are proponents of violent measures among protesters	Radicalization of protest	Conflict	Radicalized, violent protest, besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-concept	Provocation	Klitschko is afraid of provocations; police really provokes protesters	The wording "police provokes protesters", the video of Berkut policeman showing vulgar gestures	It is necessary to identify provocations of the police that instigate violence	Brutality of power	Suppression	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-concept	Gathering of people	On Saturdays and Sundays hundred thousand people come to Maidan	The word "gathering of people" ("Kundgebung")	Protesters regularly gather at Maidan	Mobilization of society	Direct democracy	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces, radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-concept	Amnesty	Yanukovich agrees to assure amnesty to protesters	The word "amnesty"	The power is ready to provide amnesty in exchange of liberation of administrative buildings	Mistrust between power and its challengers	Reconciliation	Besieged radicalized protest

Symbol-slogan	"For freedom of Ukraine"	The slogan "for freedom of Ukraine" is written on a protester's baton	The wording "For freedom of Ukraine"	Protesters struggle for their freedom	Democracy, independence, human rights	Freedom	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-slogan	"Klitschko, Klitschko, Klitschko!"	Protesters cry "Klitschko!" when he appears among them	The recurrent cries "Klitschko, Klitschko, Klitschko!"	Klichko enjoys true support of protesters, he is a potential leader of the country	Legitimacy and people's support	Leadership	Peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces, reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-slogan	"No sanctions, no peace"	Protesters argue that sanctions of the EU and US are urgently needed	The wording "No sanctions, no peace"	Only sanctions could prevent Yanukovich from violence	Need in the aid of the West	Dictatorship	Radicalized, violent protest
Symbol-slogan	"Shame!"	Protesters cry "Shame" in response to the power's decisions	The word "Shame!"	The power with its decisions does not solve the crisis	Deepening of conflict	Delegitimation of power	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-slogan	"We stay to stand!"	Protesters cry the slogan of their decision to stay at Maidan	The wording "We stay to stand"	Maidan is ready to go up to the end	Determination of protesters	Power of protest	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Party's of Regions members quite it	In the parliament and in regions functionaries quit the Party of Regions	The wording "one third of members of parliament from Party of Regions quitted the party"	The worst-case scenario comes into being	The end of Yanukovich's regime	Delegitimation of power	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Scandalous adoption of the laws of the 16th of January	The parliament adopted these laws with hand vote and violations	The wording "scandalous adoption of the laws of the 16th of January"	The adoption of these laws worsened the conflict	Legal basis for suppression of Maidan	Dictatorship	Besieged radicalized protest

Symbol-situation	Protesters burnt down the property of communists' leader Petro Simonenko and found two posh cars in his garage	20 people attacked the property of the communists' leader Simonenko, burnt it down and found the posh cars of him and his wife Toyota Land Cruiser und ein Aston Martin Vantage	The wording "protesters burnt down the property of communists' leader Petro Simonenko"	Maidan protested against luxurious style of life of the politicians	Richness of politicians	Revolution	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Tymoshenko arrived at Maidan in the autocade of Mercedes and Lexus cars	Tymoshenko arrived at Maidan in the autocade of Mercedes and Lexus cars	The wording "Tymoshenko arrived at Maidan in the autocade of Mercedes and Lexus cars that did not add people's support to her"	Old opposition leader did not understand what Maidan fought for	Change of elites	Revolution	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Yanukovych flew to Sochi to meet Putin	Yanukovych travelled to Sochi specially to meet the Russian president	The wording "Yanukovych flew to Sochi to meet Putin"	Yanukovych consults with Putin what to do with Maidan	Influence of the Russian president	Dependence on Russia	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Suppression of Maidan	Yanukovych is considered traitor by Russia because he did not dare the suppression of Maidan; riot police made a few attempts to disperse Maidan	The wording "suppression of Maidan" (Niederschlagung von Maidan, Räumung von Maidan)	Russia expects the suppression of Maidan; riot police on orders of Yanukovych and his entourage crack down on the civil society	Influence of Russia; assault on the human rights of protesters	Delegitimation of power	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Pro-governmental Russian writer Alexander Prochanov was on tour to explain that Yanukovych is a traitor because he did not suppress Maidan	Prochanov has the assignment to deliver the message that Yanukovych has to disperse Maidan	The wording "Alexander Prochanov was sent on tour to take part in talk shows explaining why Yanukovych is a traitor"	Russia expects the suppression of Maidan	Influence of Russia	Delegitimation of power	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Oligarchs Firtash and Achmetov keep silent amid protests	Oligarchs do not reveal their opinions about Maidan	The wording "oligarchs Firtash and Achmetov keep silent"	Oligarchs think how to save their money and influence	Influence of oligarchs	Oligarchy	Besieged radicalized protest

Symbol-situation	Achmetov made a statement calling to peaceful conflict resolution	Achmetov revealed his opinion	The citation of Achmetov's statement	Oligarch Achmetov distances himself from Yanukovich	Influence of oligarchs	Oligarchy	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Young oligarch Kurchenko disappeared	Maidan made the young oligarch to flee Ukraine	The wording "young oligarch Kurchenko disappeared"	Oligarchs feel insecure and unsafe after Maidan's victory	Loss of power by oligarchs	Oligarchy	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Protesters make police flee	During the night storm of Maidan protesters make police flee	The wording "protesters make police flee"	Maidan is strong enough to struggle with the riot police	Strength and determination of Maidan	Victory of protest	Reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-situation	Foreign politicians come to Maidan	Different foreign politicians visited Maidan	The wording "McCain (Westerwelle, Harms) paid visit to Maidan"	The West supports Maidan	Internationalization of support	International solidarity	Peaceful protest against governmental violence; reinforced peaceful protest against violence of the governmental forces
Symbol-situation	Police doesn't let Klitschko in the hospital to visit protesters	Klitschko had to persuade long the police to let him in the hospital to visit injured protesters	Video of Klitschko's visit to the hospital and the verbal description of his dialogue with the police on guard	Police behaves in the hospital as if it is prison	State assault on activists and opposition	Suppression	Radicalized violent protest
Symbol-situation	Women talking to the riot police	Women talking to the riot police	The picture of women talking to the riot police	There are peaceful protesters	The hope of reconciliation	Conflict	Radicalized violent protest
Symbol-situation	Klitschko wears a flack jacket	Klitschko wears a flack jacket	The title of the article "Klitschko wears a flak jacket"	Klichko feels unsafe	The life threat to opposition	Violence	Radicalized violent protest
Symbol-situation	Police destroyed the medical point in Grushevsky	Riot police smashed the medical point in Grushevsky	The wording "police destroyed the medical point in Grushevsky"	Riot police attacks medical workers	Violence without boundaries	Terror	Radicalized violent protest
Symbol-situation	Klitschko is sprayed with the extinguisher in the face by protesters	Klitschko is attacked by protesters during his attempt to stop violence	The wording "Klitschko is sprayed with the extinguisher"	Protest goes out of opposition's control	Radicalization of protest	Conflict	Radicalized violent protest

Symbol-situation	A man knelt in the street at night and read Bible	The man read Bible in the street	The wording "a man knelt in the street at night and read Bible"	People seek refuge and relief amid violence	Moral relief	Danger	Radicalized violent protest
Symbol-situation	Police targets journalists	Berkut shot in the direction where journalists were based in the Grushevsky street	The wording "police targets journalists"	Berkut intentionally tries to injure journalists	Suppression of freedom of speech, media freedom	Terror	Radicalized violent protest
Symbol-situation	Confession in front of police	Priest listening to the confession of a believer in front of the police chain	The picture of this situation	People seek moral refuge and relief amid violence	The possibility of forgiveness	Expiation	Radicalized violent protest
Symbol-situation	Opposition refused from the proposal of posts by Yanukovych	Yatsenyuk refused from the post of prime-minister, Klichko - from the post of vice-prime-minister	The wording "Yatsenyuk refused from the proposal of prime-minister's post by Yanukovych "	Yanukovych tries to bribe the opposition leaders	Integrity of opposition	Morality	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Police tortured a naked person in frost	Police beats and humiliates a naked activist in frost	The video of tortures and detailed verbal description	Riot police tortures and commits other crimes against own people	Tortures of activists	Terror	Radicalized violent protest
Symbol-situation	A policeman drags a protester	A policeman drags a protester	The picture of a policeman dragging a protesters through snow	Riot police tortures and commit other crimes against own people	Violence against protesters	Terror	Radicalized violent protest
Symbol-situation	Maidan activist got shot in back	Maidan activists got shot by the police	The wording "Maidan activist got shot in back"	There are casualties at Maidan caused by the police	Murders of protesters by the police	Violence	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Leader of Right Sector Dmitry Yarosh was received better by protesters than Klitschko	Protesters show more support to the leader of Right Sector that to Klitschko for his deal with Yanukovych	The verbal description of the situation	Maidan accepts no compromise with Yanukovych and supports Right Sector's radicalism	Radicalism, weakness of opposition	Power vacuum	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Leader of Right Sector Dmitry Yarosh received more support at Maidan than Tymoshenko	Tymoshenko was not received so well, as it was expected	The verbal description of the situation	Maidan looks for new leaders	Radicalism, weakness of opposition	Power vacuum	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath



Symbol-situation	Ukraine issues a warrant of arrest of Yanukovich	Ukrainian authorities are looking for Yanukovich to bring him to justice	The wording "Ukraine issues warrant of arrest of Yanukovich"	Yanukovich may try to find shelter in Russia	Political and moral justice	Responsibility	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Release of Tymoshenko	Yulia Tymoshenko is liberated from prison	The wording "leader of Fatherland's Party Yulia Tymoshenko is liberated"	Freed politician will change the power landscape and fight for the president's post	Political justice	Freedom	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Tymoshenko in the wheel chair at Maidan delivered emotional speech	Tymoshenko in the wheel chair at Maidan delivered speech	The wording "Tymoshenko talked to Maidan"	Tymoshenko showed her renewed political ambitions	New leadership	Power struggle	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Kneeling people at Maidan	People kneel at the places of mass murders of protesters	The verbal description of a person kneeling at Maidan	People pay tribute to victims	Commemoration of victims	Sacredness	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Party of Regions makes Yanukovich responsible for the country's predicament	Party of Regions claims that Yanukovich is the main liable for crimes against Maidan	The wording "Party of Regions makes Yanukovich responsible for the country's predicament"	That is not enough for this party to expiate its guilt	Distancing from Yanukovich's crimes	Responsibility	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Yanukovich makes a phone call to Yatsenyuk	Yanukovich makes a phone call to Yatsenyuk	The verbal description of Yanukovich's call to Yatsenyuk during the parliamentary vote	Last-minute negotiations between Yanukovich and opposition	Change of power	Delegitimation of power	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Army declared that it won't interfere with power struggle	Army officially states that it won't take part in political struggles	The wording "army won't interfere with power struggle"	Army keeps away from violence against Maidan	Neutrality of army	People's revolution	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Crowd singing national anthem	Crowd unanimously singing national anthem	The pictures and verbal description of crowd singing national anthem	People get united and inspired at Maidan	National identity and mobilization of society	Patriotism, solidarity	Besieged radicalized protest, violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath

Symbol-situation	Protesters suddenly took to stage and threatened to storm president's palace if he does not quit	An unknown protester took suddenly to the stage	The verbal description of the situation	Maidan is ready to go up the end and topple down Yanukovych	Extreme radicalization of protest	Civil conflict	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	German foreign minister says: "It's the last chance for solution"	German foreign minister says after meeting with Yanukovych to opposition that there is the last chance for peaceful settlement of the conflict	The citation of the minister's words "It's the last chance for solution"	The only alternative to talks with Yanukovych is bloodshed	Full-fledged suppression, repressions and bloodshed	Terror	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Police standing on the side of barricade	Some policemen manifest that they are on the side of Maidan	The picture of police standing on the side of barricade with blue-yellow ribbons	There are policemen that openly support protesters	Solidarity between police and protesters	Revolution	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Klitschko and Steinmeier discuss when they have to speak to Maidan representatives	Steinmeier wanted first to reach agreement with Yanukovych, and then to explain it to Maidan; Klitschko insisted that it is necessary first to talk to Maidan representatives	The detailed verbal description of the situation	Negotiators with Yanukovych have to consult with Maidan	Power of people as decision-makers	Direct democracy	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	The Polish minister says that if opposition doesn't support deal with Yanukovych, there will be the state of war and they all die	Radoslaw Sikorski told to opposition that they all die if no agreement with Yanukovych is reached, namely, they would be killed	The citation of the Polish minister of foreign affairs Radoslaw Sikorski	The only alternative to talks with Yanukovych is bloodshed	Full-fledged suppression, repressions and bloodshed	Dictatorship	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Protesters met opposition leaders with whistle for deal with Yanukovych	Protesters met Klichko and others with whistle for compromise with Yanukovych	The detailed verbal description of the situation	Maidan accepts no compromise with Yanukovych	Delegitimation of power	Conflict	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath

Symbol-situation	Protesters block Kyiv's airport	Protesters block Kyiv's airport to prevent the Yanukovich's and his officials' escape	The wording "protesters block Kyiv's airport"	Maidan is afraid that Yanukovich and his entourage would evade responsibility	Revolutionary moment	Responsibility for crimes	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	House of Trade-Union is set on fire	House of Trade-Unions is set on fire amid violent clashes	The wording "House of Trade-Unions is set on fire"	It gets perilous at Maidan	Escalation of violence	Conflict	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	President Yanukovich flees Ukraine	President Yanukovich flees Ukraine although nobody knows his actual place of stay	The wording "president Yanukovich flees Ukraine"	Yanukovich may try to find shelter in Russia	Political and moral injustice	Responsibility	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-situation	Young women asking Germany to help	Young female protesters ask Germany to help	The video of short speeches of young women	Attractive female protesters have to prove that the German help is really needed	Gender relations in protest movement	Gender	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbol-situation	Toppling down of Lenin monument	Protesters demolished the Lenin monument in Kyiv	The wording "Lenin monument is toppled down"	Protest can get more radical	Decommunization	Change	Peaceful protest against governmental violence
Symbol-process	Oligarchs fighting for saving their millions	Oligarchs are anxious about their future in Ukraine	The wording "fear for millions"	Oligarchs try to save their money obtained due to state capture	Influence of oligarchs	Oligarchy	Besieged radicalized protest; violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-process	History is written in Ukraine at fast pace	Events in Ukraine unfold at extraordinary pace	The wording "history is written in Ukraine at fast pace"	It is the unique momentous in the history of Ukraine	Rapid changes	Revolution	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath
Symbol-process	Snipers shooting in unarmed people's arteries, hearts, heads, backs	Snipers at Maidan targeted protestors in hearts, heads, backs	The wording "snipers shoot in people's arteries, hearts, heads, backs, according to medical worker's account"	Protesters were killed by professionals	Deadly state violence	Massacre	Violent clashes and shootings of protestors and their aftermath

Symbol-process	Security service hunts down protesters	Professional snipers kill protesters	The wording "security service hunts down protesters"	Security service commits inhuman crimes	Deadly state violence	Massacre	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-process	Protesters building barricades	Protesters build up barricades with sacks of snow, metal constructions, etc.	The detailed verbal instruction of the process of barricade construction	Protesters show expertise in barricade construction	The demarcation of Maidan's territory	Self-defense	Violent clashes and shootings of protesters and their aftermath
Symbol-process	Rebellion of regions	Protests spread all over the country	The wording "manifestations in other regions"	The west of the country and some regions in the center rise up	All-Ukrainian rebellion	Revolution	Besieged radicalized protest
Symbolic action	Protesters wear pots, sieves, and cardboard boxes on heads in protest against the laws of the 16th of January	Protesters wear pots, sieves, and cardboard boxes on heads	The wording "protesters wear pots, sieves, and cardboard boxes on heads"	Protesters mock the absurdity of the laws of the 16th of January	Political satire	Delegitimation of suppression	Radicalized violent protest
Symbolic action	Femen activists pissed on the Yanukovich's portraits	Femen activists literally pissed on the president's portraits in front of TV cameras	The video of this action	There is no respect to Yanukovich	Disdain of power	Delegitimation of power	Peaceful protest against governmental violence

The Figure 21 shows the absolute numbers of ten most visible coded symbols in the general amount of the coded symbols in two German publications. The group of symbols called "the rest of the coded symbols" include all symbols whose number equates to nine and less.

## Visibility of symbols in symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world in the German press

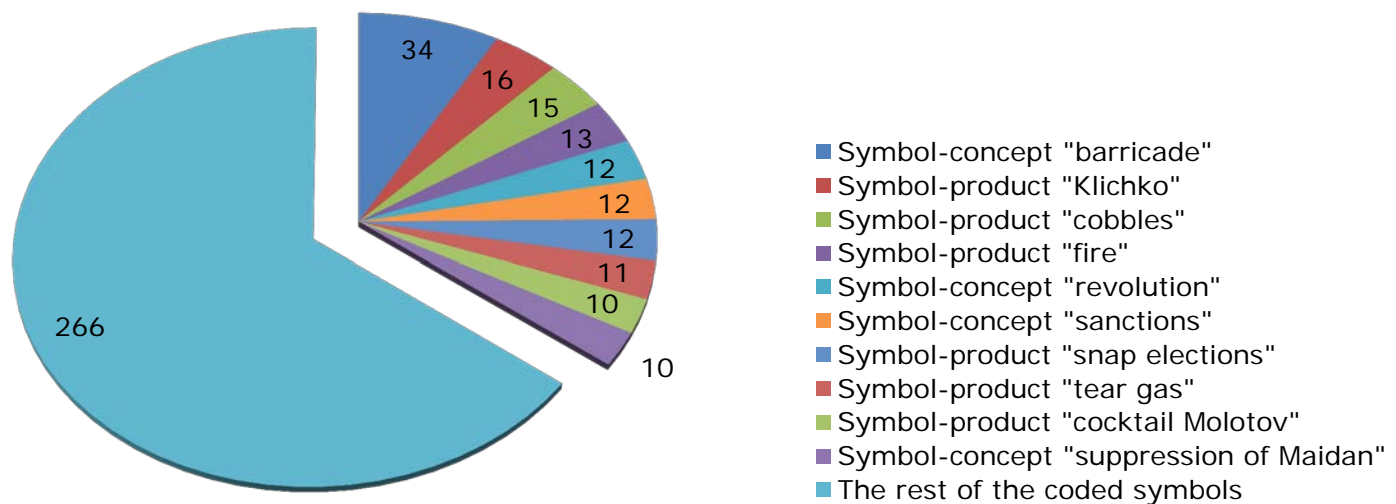
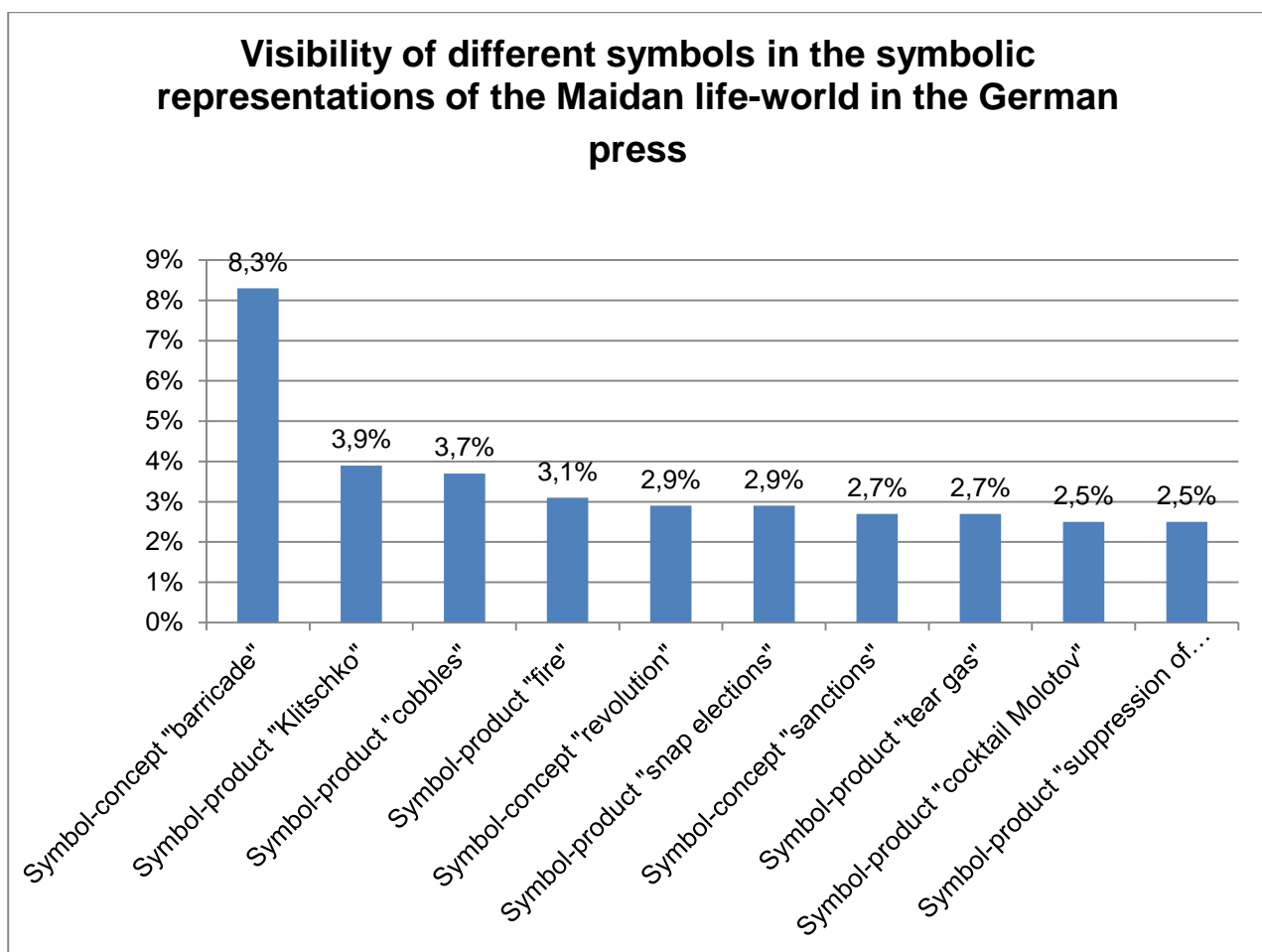


Figure 21. Visibility of different symbols in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world by the German press (in absolute numbers) (N=409).

The Figure 22 shows the same measure of the visibility of different symbols in the general amount of the coded symbols in terms of percentage. These are ten most visible symbols in the amount of 409 coded symbols, namely, symbol-concept "barricade" (8,3 %), symbol-product "Klitschko" (3,9 %), symbol-product "cobbles" (3,7 %), symbol-product "blood" (3,1 %), symbol-concept "revolution" (2,9 %), symbol-concept "sanctions" (2,9 %), symbol-concept "snap elections" (2,7 %), symbol-product "tear gas" (2,7 %), symbol-product "cocktail Molotov" (2,5 %), and symbol-situation "suppression of Maidan" (2,5 %). Among these symbols there is the unique example when a person becomes a symbol. This is one of three leaders of the political opposition at Maidan Vitali Klitschko. *Bild* followed the days and nights of this politician and world-renowned Ukrainian boxer during Maidan describing many symbolic situations with his participation and portraying him as a symbolic public figure, a key person for the understanding of the dramatic events and violent clashes in the city center of Kyiv.

Out of ten most visible symbols seven are indicative of conflict escalation and violence: symbol-concept "barricade", symbol-product "cobblestones", symbol-product "blood", symbol-product "tear gas", symbol-concept "revolution", symbol-product "cocktail Molotov", and symbol-situation "suppression of Maidan". There are two highly visible symbol-concepts - "snap elections" and "sanctions" - that have the meanings of the possible crisis solutions and protesters' reclamation. It is noteworthy that such a solution as "compromise" and the respective symbol-concept has the visibility of just 1 % in the general amount of the coded symbols in the German press.



*Figure 22.* Visibility of different symbols in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world by the German press (in percentage) (N=409).

The Figure 23 displays what symbols are the most visible in the general amount of the coded symbols in terms of their types: three most visible symbol-products in the general amount of the coded symbol, four most visible symbol-concepts in the same general amount, three most visible

symbol-situations, two most visible symbol-processes. Two symbol-concepts "sanctions" and "snap elections" share the third place with close measures of visibility (2,9 % and 2,7 %, respectively). There are just two symbol-processes that were coded more than one time. Symbol-slogans and symbolic actions are excluded because of their small numbers (five coded symbol-slogans and two symbolic actions). The Figure 23 also shows the dominance of symbol-products and symbol-concepts over symbol-situations and symbol-processes in the general amount of the coded symbols. Symbol-processes are the least visible in the symbolic representations of the protest life-world.

In the German press two out of three most visible symbols-products are related to conflict escalation and violence: "cobblestones" and "fire". Two most visible symbol-concepts are violence-related: "barricade" and "revolution". Two most visible symbol-concepts have the connotations and significations of the crisis solutions: "sanctions" and "snap elections". Among three most visible symbol-situations just one has the explicit violence-related meaning - "suppression of Maidan". The other one symbol-situation has implicit violence-related meaning "rebellion of regions". The third most visible symbol-situation "Yanukovich flees Ukraine" signifies the political and legal responsibility of the once-president Viktor Yanukovich for the crimes against protesters. The only repetitive symbol-processes in the German media coverage of the Maidan life-world are "rebellion of regions" and "snipers shooting in people's arteries, hearts, heads, backs". They have the significations of violence, conflict escalation, terror, massacre, and civil war.

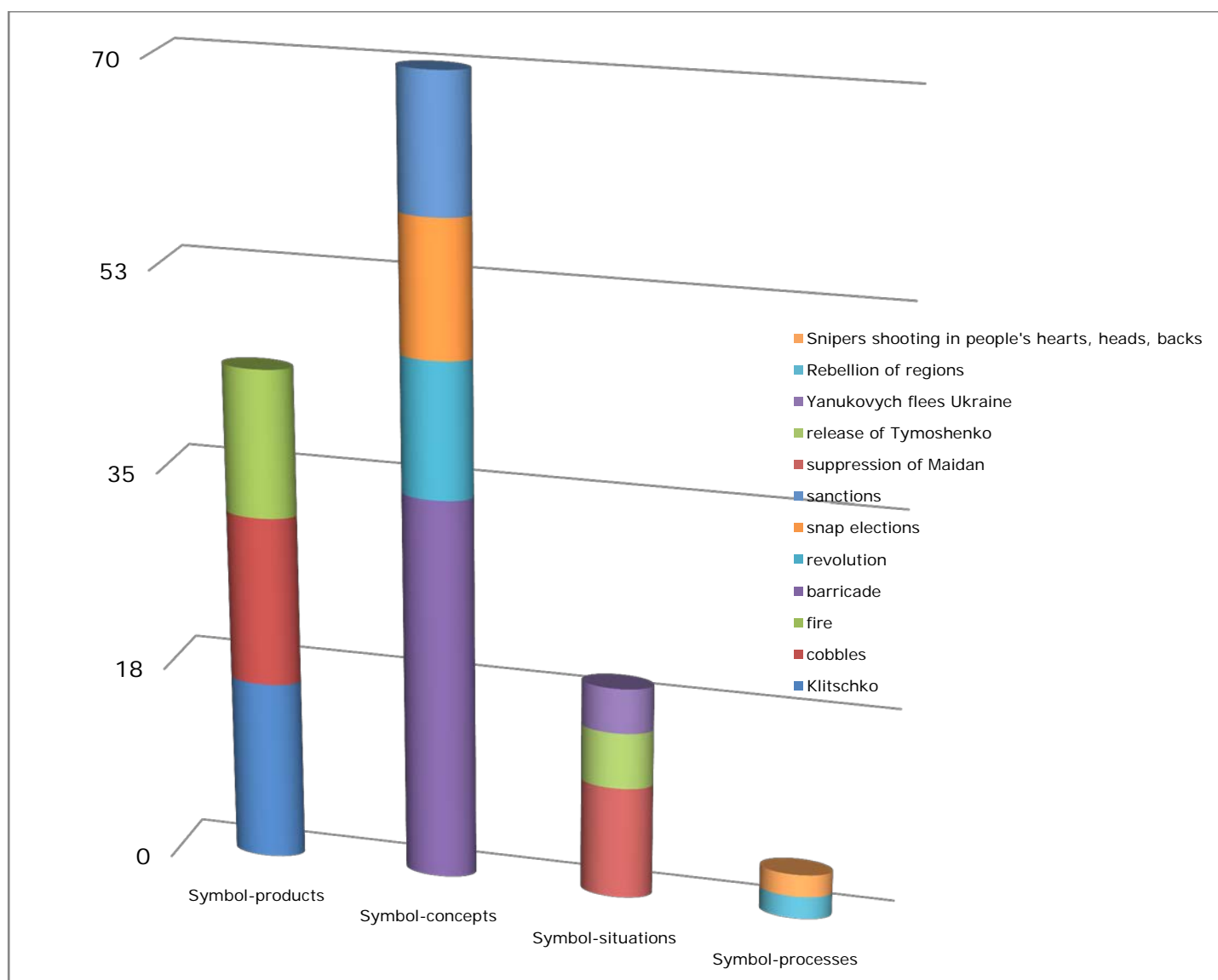


Figure 23. Visibility of different symbol by their types in the German press: the most visible symbol-products, symbol-concepts, symbol-situations, and symbol-processes (N=409).

The Figure 24 shows the visibility of different symbols in the general amount of the coded symbols in the tabloid newspaper *Bild* in the terms of percentage. These are 12 most visible symbols in the amount of the coded symbols in this publication. The rest of symbols are coded seven and less times. Out of 12 symbols eight are violence-related: symbol-concept "barricade", symbol-product "cobbles", symbol-product "fire", symbol-product "tear gas", symbol-concept "revolution", symbol-concept "despot", symbol-product "baton", and symbol-concept "Berkut" are violence-related. The symbol-product "frost" receives its relatively high visibility in the media coverage of the Maidan life-world (2 %) because the *Bild* reporters repetitively underlined that protest kept on going in frost, under minus temperatures which normally prevent people from long



stay outside in the open air, although in the case of Maidan protesters managed to stay in the streets for days and night fighting with well-equipped and well-armed police.

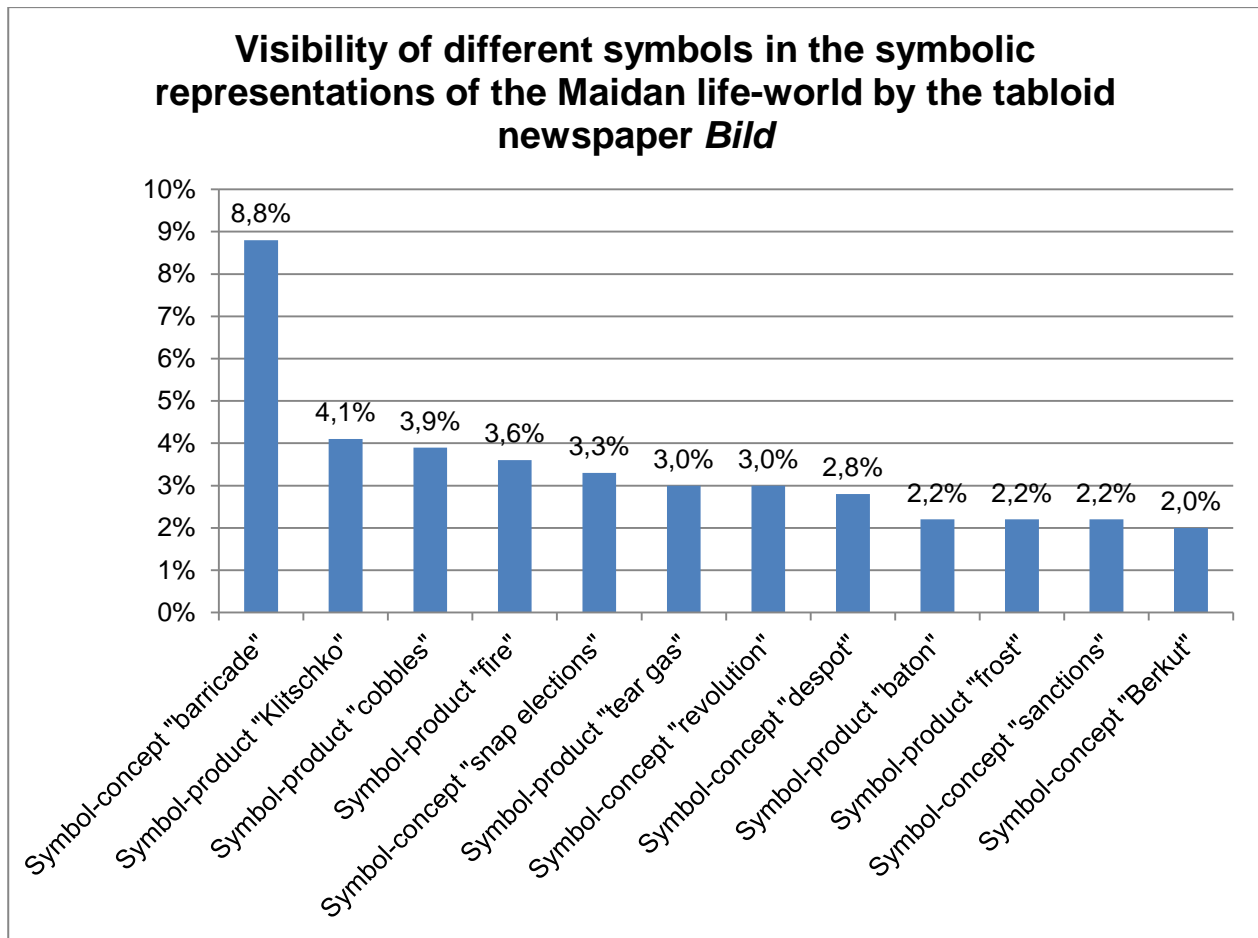
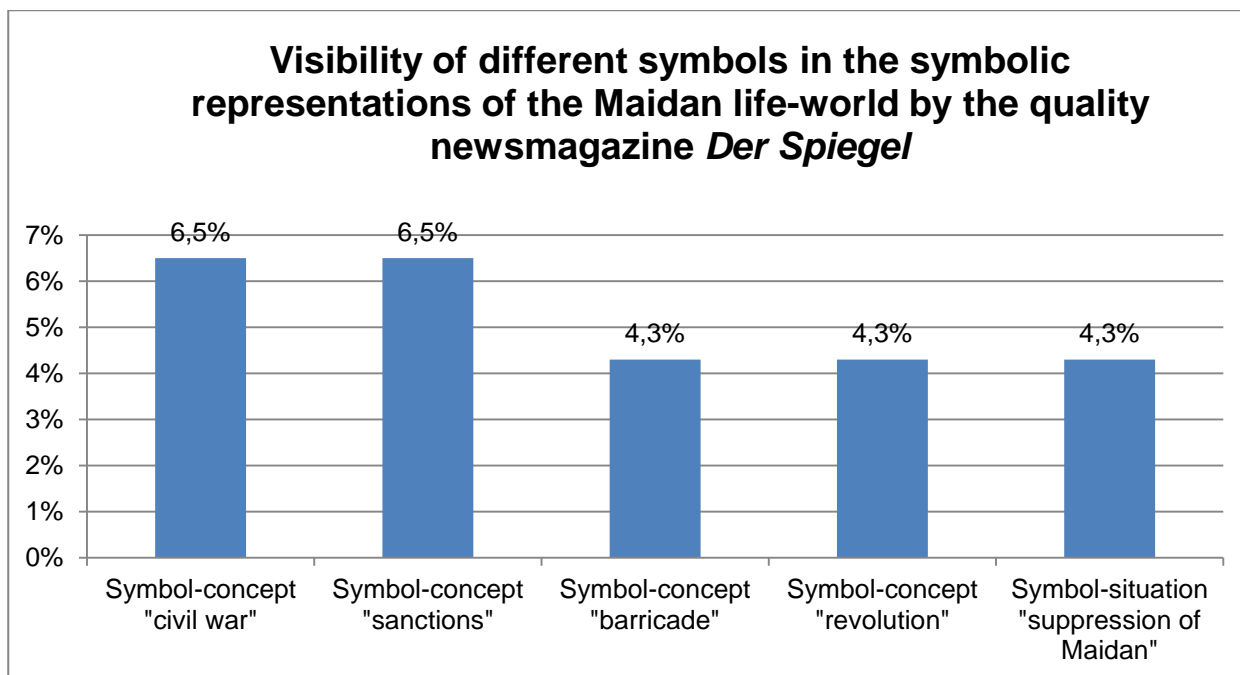


Figure 24. Visibility of different symbols in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world by the tabloid newspaper *Bild* (in percentage) (N=363).

The Figure 25 shows the visibility of different symbols in the general amount of the coded symbols in the quality weekly newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* in the terms of percentage. It includes five symbols. The rest of symbols were coded just one time. Four out of five symbols convey implicit or explicit meanings of violence: symbol-concept "civil war", symbol-concept "barricade", symbol-concept "revolution", and symbol-situation "suppression of Maidan". Three most visible symbols coincide in the tabloid and quality publications: symbol-concept "sanctions", symbol-concept "barricade", and symbol-concept "revolution".



*Figure 25.* Visibility of different symbols in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world by the quality newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* (in percentage) (N=46).

The Table 16 proposes the summery of three types of meanings, as they are defined in the theory of symbols by Susanne Langer (1954). It is done for each coded symbol, namely, their denotations, connotations, and significations are formulated. By the means of this analysis I identified the meanings ascribed to the symbols of the Maidan life-world in the cultural context of Germany and diagnose in which structural elements of the symbol different types of meanings are conveyed.

The Figure 26 shows the cloud of the most visible concepts conveyed by symbols in the media coverage of the Maidan life-world by the German media under study. It visualizes the highest visibility of such concepts as violence, change, self-defense, terror, conflict, and responsibility. All these concepts, except responsibility, are related to violence, even change, because the symbols with such meaning often have connotation of revolutionary, violent change of power. The only highly visible concept that does not have denotations and connotations of violence is responsibility, although implicitly it also concerns violence. German media wrote about the responsibility of the president Viktor Yanukovych and his entourage for the crimes against protesters.

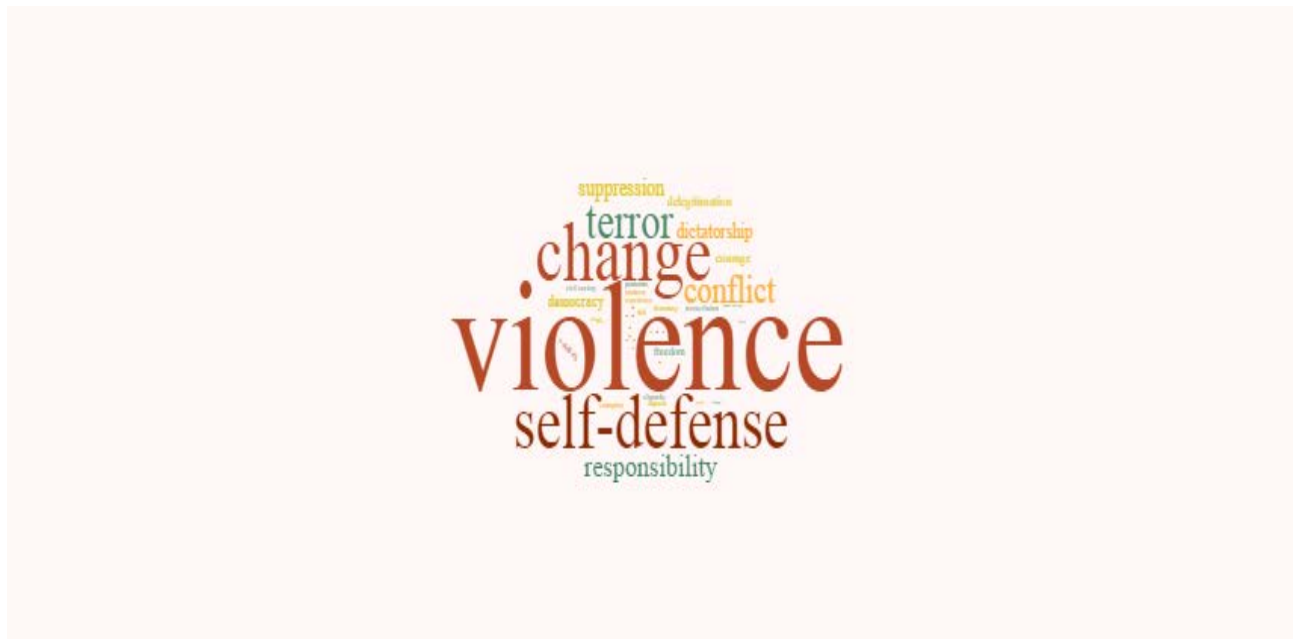


Figure 26. The cloud of the most visible concepts conveyed by symbols in the media coverage of the Maidan life-world of the German media (N=409).

From the Table 14 it is visible that the majority of the coded symbols refer to the areas of actual reach. There are very few symbols for which the reference to the attainable area of reach is of special importance, such as the symbol-product "Klitschko" who is portrayed as a potential future leader of Ukraine or the symbol-situation "young women asking Germany to help". However, overall, if the coded symbols even refer to the attainable area of reach, this reach is short-term like in the symbol-situation "army declared that it won't interfere with power struggle" or the symbol-concept "anti-terrorist operation". I identified just one historically-laden symbol with the clear-cut references to the areas of restorable reach - symbol-concept "partisans". It was used to portray the protesters as the successors of the World War II partisans. Both *Bild* and *Der Spiegel* use this symbolism in their reporting of the Maidan life-word. The weekly even put this symbol in the heading of its news analysis of the Maidan protests.

There are at least two symbols with attainable historical reach, namely, the symbol-concept "European standards" and the symbol-product "reforms". The German press also uses the symbol-concept with the negative meanings of attainable reach, namely, "disintegration of the country".

All coded symbols have the quality of social temporality. Some symbols could be interpreted as meanings with the quality of the world temporality, for example, the symbol-concept "European values" or the symbol-concept "disintegration of the country".

Symbols related to the violence, conflict escalation have the connotations and significations of matters of life and death, human vulnerability and sensitivity, and human dependence on weather. Respectively, they have the symbolic quality of biological time of a person. The examples of such symbols are the symbol-product "frost", the symbol-product "cobblestones", the symbol-product "cocktail Molotov", the symbol-product "rubber bullets", the symbol-product "coffin", the symbol-product "grenade", the symbol-product "tear gas", the symbol-product "shots", the symbol-situation "Klitschko wears a flak jacket", the symbol-situation "snipers shooting in people's arteries, hearts, heads, backs". There are few symbols with the temporality of inner duration. Their examples are the symbol-situation "kneeling people at Maidan" and the symbol-situation "young women ask Germany to help". This kind of temporality appears when there is the strong emotionalization of the life-world's representations.

Less than half of the coded kinds of symbols, namely, 51 symbols are interpreted as such that contain reference to the province of practicable. Symbols related to violence have meanings of experience that is incompatible with the previous social life-world of the Ukrainian society. Symbols with positive connotations of freedom, future, change of the country, commemoration of dead, direct democracy have the meanings of experiential compatibility with the preceding social experience. I see here again how in practice media create "the myth of foundational order" and "social center" (Couldry, 2003). Everything that deviates from the positive picture of the reality is symbolically represented as incompatible with the social experience, although, in fact, the given society had already the negative social experience of violence in the previous historical periods. Historically, such symbols as the symbol-product "blood" or the symbol-concept "despot" are, actually, compatible with the actual experience because they are integrated in the social experience.

But due to media representations they are intrinsically incompatible with this social experience. Media understanding of social experience excludes violence and creates *a priori* the above-mentioned "social center".

Table 14

*The structures of the protest life-world in the meanings of the coded symbols*

Symbol	Area of reach	Type of time	Reference to the province of practicable	Compatibility with actual experience
Symbol-product "ambulance"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "cocktail Molotov"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "cobblestones"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "burnt tire"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "water cannon"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "rubber bullets"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "laws of the 16th of January"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "armored car"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "Right Sector"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-product "blood"	Attainable	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "black-red flag"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "shield"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "stage"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "protesters with the flag of Ukraine"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "faces of people"	Actual	Biological time, social time, inner duration	Yes	Compatible

Symbol-product "coffin"	Actual	Biological time, social time, inner duration	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "Tymoshenko's speech at Maidan"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "presidential residence Mezhygiria"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-product "burnt House of Trade-Unions"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "handshake between Klitschko and Yanukovich"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "Klitschko"	Actual, attainable	Biological time, social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-product "fire"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-product "Michaylovsky Cathedral"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "Hotel Ukraine"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "Flowers on pavement"	Actual	Biological time, social time, inner duration	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "snipers"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "shots"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "tear gas"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-product "helmet"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "grenade"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "tent"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "laws of the 16th of January"	Actual, attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "sandwich"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "frost"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-product "burnt police bus"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "tea"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "baton"	Actual	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible

Symbol-product "mask"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-product "national anthem"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-product "Lenin monument"	Restorable, actual	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "civil war"	Attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "barricade"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "fascists"	Restorable	World time, social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "bandits"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "extremists"	-	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "terrorists"	-	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "repression"	Attainable	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "revolution"	Actual	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "second front"	Actual, attainable	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "disintegration of the country"	Attainable	World time, social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "Orange Revolution"	Restorable	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "compromise"	Attainable	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "European values"	Attainable	World time, social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "Berkut"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "sanctions"	Attainable	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "reforms"	Attainable	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "oligarchy"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "partisans of Kyiv"	Restorable, actual	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "civil activists"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "massacre"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "despot"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible

Symbol-concept "rebellion"	Actual	World time, social time	No	
Symbol-concept "snap presidential elections"	Attainable	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "state bankruptcy"	Attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "freedom"	Attainable	Social time, inner duration	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "compromise"	Attainable	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "anti-terrorist operation"	Actual, attainable	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "self-defense"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-concept "radicals"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "provocation"	Actual, attainable	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-concept "gathering of people"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-concept "amnesty"	Attainable	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-slogan "For freedom of Ukraine"	Actual, attainable	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-slogan "Klitschko, Klitschko, Klitschko!"	Actual, attainable	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-slogan "No sanctions, no peace"	Actual, attainable	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-slogan "Shame!"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-slogan "We stay to stand!"	Actual, attainable	Biological time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "Party's of Regions members quite it"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-situation "scandalous adoption of the laws of the 16th of January"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "protesters burnt down the property of communists' leader Petro Simonenko and found two posh cars in his garage"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible



Symbol-situation "Tymoshenko arrived at Maidan in the autocade of Mercedes and Lexus cars"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "Yanukovych flew to Sochi to meet Putin"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "suppression of Maidan"	Attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "pro-governmental Russian writer Alexander Prochanov was on tour to explain that Yanukovych is a traitor because he did not suppress Maidan"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "oligarchs Firtash and Achmetov keep silent amid protests"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "Achmetov made a statement calling to peaceful conflict resolution"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "young oligarch Kurchenko disappeared"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-situation "protesters make police flee"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "foreign politicians come to Maidan"	Actual	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "police doesn't let Klitschko in the hospital to visit protesters"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "women talking to the riot police"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "Klitschko wears a flak jacket"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "police destroyed a medical point in Grushevskogo"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "a man knelt in the street at night and read Bible"	Actual	Social time, inner duration	No	Incompatible

Symbol-situation "confession in front of police"	Actual	Social time, inner duration	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "opposition refused from the posts proposed by Yanukovych"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-situation "police tortured a naked person in frost"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "a policeman drags a protester"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "Maidan activist got shot in a back"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "leader of the Right Sector Dmitry Yarosh was received better by protesters than Klitschko"	Actual, attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "leader of the Right Sector Dmitry Yarosh received more support at Maidan than Tymoshenko"	Actual, attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "release of Tymoshenko"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "Ukraine issues a warrant of arrest of Yanukovych"	Actual, attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "Tymoshenko in the wheel chair at Maidan delivered emotional speech"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "kneeling people at Maidan"	Actual	Biological time, social time, inner duration	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "Party of Regions makes Yanukovych responsible for the country's predicament"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "Yanukovych makes a phone call to Yatsenyuk"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "army declared that it won't interfere with power struggle"	Actual, attainable	Social time	Yes	Compatible

Symbol-situation "crowd singing national anthem"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "protesters suddenly took to stage and threatened to storm president's palace if he does not quit"	Actual, attainable	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "German foreign minister says: 'It's the last chance for solution'"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "police standing on the side of barricade"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "Klitschko and Steinmeier discuss when they have to speak to Maidan representatives"	Actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-situation "the Polish minister says that if opposition doesn't support deal with Yanukovich, there will be the state of war and they all die"	Attainable	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "protesters met opposition leaders with whistle after the deal with Yanukovich"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "protesters block Kyiv's airport"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-situation "House of Trade-Union is set on fire"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "Yanukovich flees Ukraine"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-situation "young women asking Germany to help"	Actual, attainable	Social time, inner duration	No	Compatible
Symbol-situation "toppling down of Lenin monument"	Actual, attainable	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-process "oligarchs fighting for saving their millions"	Restorable, actual	Social time	Yes	Compatible
Symbol-process "history is written in Ukraine at fast pace"	Actual	World time, social time	Yes	Compatible

Symbol-process "snipers shooting in unarmed people's arteries, hearts, heads, backs"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-process "security service hunts down protesters"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible
Symbol-process "protesters building barricades"	Actual	Social time	No	Compatible
Symbol-process "rebellion of regions"	Actual	Social time	No	Incompatible
Symbolic action "protesters wear pots, sieves, and cardboard boxes on heads in protest against the laws of the 16th of January"	Actual	Social time, inner duration	No	Incompatible
Symbolic action "Femen activists pissed on the Yanukovich's portraits"	Actual	Biological time, social time	No	Incompatible

## Symbols of the Life-World in the Ukrainian Media Coverage of Maidan:

### Qualitative Findings

*Space.* The symbolic representation of space substantially differs in two German publications under study. *Der Spiegel* does not use any single symbol with spatial symbolic quality. In its media coverage of the protest life-world Maidan is depicted as a relatively homogeneous space that is demarcated from the external world by its anti-oligarchism and its coherent attempts to delegitimize the power system based on oligarchy. This kind of spatial organization is closer to science than to myth.

Meanwhile, *Bild* makes salient in their coverage the locations by attributing them the special value and nature: the symbol-product "Hotel Ukraine" with the meanings of violence and terror because in this hotel the bodies of the victims lied, the symbol-product "presidential residence

Mezhygiria" with the meanings of corruption and state capture by the once-president Viktor Yanukovych and his family; the symbol-product "burnt House of Trade-Unions" with the meanings of attacks on the heart of Maidan; the symbol-product "Michaylovsky Cathedral" with the meaning of solidarity between people and the Ukrainian church. In its elaborate and regular on-the-spot reporting the German tabloid differentiates the space of Maidan. On the one hand, it represents it as the homogeneous space of freedom. On the other hand, it represents its heterogeneity and discontinuity. This dialectics of unity and disintegration, homogeneity and heterogeneity of space is close to the myth as a symbolic form. However, myth, in principle, does not represent the space as homogeneous form. So, media could combine scientific and mythical elements. At some point this combination turns to be the unique and exclusive form rather than replication of the other forms.

The symbol-product "barricade" is the most visible in the German press coverage of the Maidan life-world. This symbol has also the spatial quality and meanings of quality relations between Maidan and the external world. It demarcates the territory of freedom and civil activism, the territory where the challengers of the power become, actually, the power. It is the symbol of struggle with the power, the symbol of self-defense and borders between two worlds: the external world of corruption, suppression, terror, state capture, indecency, and the internal world of freedom, self-organization, direct democracy, decency. The visibility of the symbol "barricade" (8 %) could be considered really high as long as symbols, contrary to frames or media templates, are interpretative devices for numerous micro-meanings rather than for general, dominant macro-meanings. This means that the German media in its representation of Maidan were looking for symbolic anchors that could help to convey both the conflict nature of events and the spatial borderlines. So, any coherent and complex symbolic representation of Maidan in the German press is unthinkable without the symbol-product "barricade". When it is accompanied by various symbol-products, symbol-concepts, and symbol-situations with the meanings of conflict, violence, terror, such as "baton", "fire", "tear gas", "shield", "rubber bullets", "shots", "armored car", "water cannon", "despot", "revolution", "massacre", "House of Trade-Unions is set on fire", "snipers

shooting in people's hearts, heads, backs", it creates the stable symbolic representations of conflict and violence. When the symbol "barricade" is accompanied by symbol-products and symbol-concepts with the meanings of solidarity, patriotism, self-organization, direct democracy, such as "national anthem", "crowd singing the national anthem", "kneeling people at Maidan", it creates the stable symbolic representation of foundational values of freedom and representation of sacredness of the moment. Sacredness as such comes from the mythical and religious symbolic forms, according to Ernst Cassirer (1925). This sacredness is present in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world by the tabloid *Bild* and is absent in the same representations by the quality weekly *Der Spiegel* that does not leave any space for emotions, feelings, and mythical distinction between profane and sacred. This publication rationalizes its symbolic representations making them closer to the conceptual notions, indicative of scientific, analytical way of thinking.

*Time.* The German press does not represent almost any cyclical rhythm of Maidan with its outwardness (weekly people's gatherings, regular, repetitive mobilizations at the time of storms and attempts of dispersal) and inwardness (the periods of relative peace and accumulation of resources, preparations for the continuation of the struggle with the power). *Bild* forms the other kind of symbolic temporality by following the story of the Ukrainian opposition leader and boxer who lived in Germany for many years Vitali Klitschko. This tabloid provides the extensive coverage of his involvement in protests, follows him days and nights in his international trips and Maidan adventures. This kind of story-telling is replete with various symbols. The examples are the symbol-slogan "Klitschko! Klitschko! Klitschko!", the symbol-situation "Klitschko wears a flak jacket", the symbol-situation "police doesn't let Klitschko in the hospital to visit protesters", the symbol-situation "the leader of the Right Sector Dmitry Yarosh was received better by protesters than Klitschko", the symbol-situation "Klitschko and Steinmeier discuss when they have to speak to Maidan representatives", the symbol-situation "protesters met the opposition leaders with whistle after the deal with Yanukovich". Klitschko himself becomes a symbol of Maidan through the lenses of such media coverage. This story-telling represents the temporality of biological time of a

particular person that is courageous and vulnerable as anybody else ("Klitschko wears a flak jacket"), the temporality of finitude of human life, fixed course of events, and inner duration of events - all this comes up within the follow-ups of Klitschko's leadership of protests.

The time of symbol representations of the Maidan life-world in the tabloid is the linear time of succession of events at the personal level (the story of Klitschko) and at the social level (the story of Maidan). However, the perspectives of the longer-term future or retrospectives of the past are almost absent in the *Bild*'s symbolic representations of Maidan, as the analysis of meanings of the experience, conveyed by symbols, revealed. Practically, all symbols referred either only to the province of the actual reach or to the province of the actual reach along with the province of the attainable reach in the short-run.

*Der Spiegel* does not create any specific symbolic relations in its representations of the Maidan life-world. However, it tries to synchronize the Maidan stories with the stories of the Ukrainian oligarchs using the method of timing. This kind of parallels and comparison has some similar features with the scientific analysis. The resemblance and parallelism of events is here the analytical device that helps to cognize both Maidan and the Ukrainian oligarchy. The latter exerts the decisive influence on the power structures of Ukraine which Maidan challenges. In comparison, for myth any resemblance, any parallelism proves the innate unity of things in the external world.

It is possible to identify some symbols with the salient temporal qualities, namely, the symbol-situation "history is written in Ukraine at fast pace" with the symbolic relation of the "undivided now and here", "now" which has own inner duration; the symbol-concepts "European values" and "reforms" with the temporality of better future; the symbol-situation "toppling down of the Lenin monument" with the temporality of the forthcoming de-communization of the country.

*Number.* Overall, the German press is cautious in its use of numbers. Instead of any verbal numerical symbols *Bild* relies more on visuals of crowds, background shots of multi-thousand crowds singing national anthems or moving around barricades. I coded such a presentational

(visual) symbol as "crowd singing national anthem". This is the way to symbolically represent the multiplicity of protesters accepting its inability to count them with the scientific precision. *Der Spiegel* uses many numbers to illustrate the oligarchs' struggle for their fortunes, their misappropriation of public resources, and their luxurious life-style. We coded the symbol-process, described in detail in a range of the Spiegel publications, "oligarchs fighting for saving their milliards". In this case "milliards" is the sign of things and power relations rather than any operations and calculations. It is the typical mythical use of numbers. However, in general, numbers do not play a significant role in the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-word in the German press.

*Power.* In the Spiegel coverage of the Maidan life-world the main holders of the symbolic capitals are oligarchs. The symbol-concept "oligarchy" is the pivotal for the understanding of the power relations implied in the symbolic representations of the protests. Out of ten kinds of the coded symbol-situations in the German quality publication three have the meanings of oligarchs' empowerment and prospective delegitimation in Ukraine: "oligarchs Firtash and Achmetov keep silent amid protests", "Akhmetov made a statement calling to peaceful conflict resolution", "young oligarch Kurchenko disappeared". The only coded symbol-process also has this meaning - "oligarchs fighting for saving their milliards".

This focus on oligarchs is totally absent in the Bild coverage of the Maidan life-world. Instead of this it focuses on the symbolic capital of the opposition leader Vitali Klitschko producing numerous concrete symbols around his public figure.

Both *Bild* and *Der Spiegel* attribute the symbolic violence to the police, although the tabloid points out that protesters, for example, also shot with rifles and pistols and threw cobbles, cocktails Molotov towards the police, but we did not identify the descriptions or visual depictions of these situations as symbol-situations while the descriptions of the situations, when real as well as symbolic violence was committed by the riot police, conveyed various connotations and



significations of suppression, terror, power delegitimation, massacre. This variety of meanings make them symbolic. The examples are the symbol-situations "a policeman drags a protester", "snipers shooting in people's arteries, hearts, heads, backs", "police targets journalists", "police destroyed a medical point in Grushevskogo", "police tortured a naked person in frost", the symbol-process "security service hunts down protesters". It is noteworthy that Berkut, the riot police target unit, was not so often distinguished out of all ranks of the police involved in the defense of the government, as I observed in the Ukrainian and Polish media. For the German media it does not have special and salient symbolic capital in comparison to the other police units. The only two symbol-situations in which physical and symbolic violence is attributed to protesters are "protesters burnt down the property of communists' leader Petro Simonenko and found two posh cars in his garage" and "Klitschko is sprayed with the extinguisher in the face by protesters". The first concerns the delegitimation of power, revelation of its state capture, corruption, and luxurious life-style. The second one signifies the delegitimation of the opposition's leadership of protests

*Der Spiegel* tries in its protest reporting to underline the contrast between Maidan's no distinction of wealth and the power's distinction of wealth, including the just-released opposition politician Yulia Tymoshenko. This is exemplified by the symbol-situation "Tymoshenko arrived at Maidan in the autocade of Mercedes and Lexus cars". The journalist adds to this that for protesters it showed that she did not understand what actually occurred at Maidan if she rode there on such posh cars.

I coded the symbols that convey the meanings of sacredness and unselfishness of Maidan, namely, the symbol-situation "kneeling people at Maidan", the symbol-situation "a man knelt in the street at night and read the Bible", symbol-situation "confession in front of police", the symbol-products "tea" and "sandwich" that were distributed at Maidan free of charge, creating the general atmosphere of equality and friendliness. This is characteristic of *communitas*, according to the theory of liminality, in contrast to the status system with its power structures.

In the German media representations of the Maidan life-world protesters are often important actors, power challengers whose voice has to be heard and taken into account. This voice often points at the radicalization of protests. These are exemplified by the symbol-situation "the leader of the Right Sector Dmitry Yarosh was received better by protesters than Klitschko", the symbol-situation "the leader of the Right Sector Dmitry Yarosh received more support at Maidan than Tymoshenko".

To sum up, symbolic capital and the general understanding of power structures represented in symbols could differ across media of the same country and across media outlets of different types: the tabloid focused on personal story of opposition leader, and the quality weekly focused on oligarchs. Media pick up and repetitively use the respective symbols.

## **Chapter VII**

### **Comparative Analysis of Symbolic Representations of the Maida Life-World**

#### **Comparison across Media of Ukraine, Poland, Germany**

The content analysis of visibility of various symbols in the media coverage of the Maidan life-world allows to discover which symbols were used more frequently than others in the respective national media. The Table shows that the most visible symbol coincided in the Polish, German press - symbol-concept "barricade", and it is the third most visible symbol in the Ukrainian media. It is possible to speak about the cross-national symbol that unites different media cultures and media presuppositions. It could be also seen that the symbol-concept "Berkut" being the most visible in the Ukrainian media is the second most visible in the Polish media and does not belong to highly visible symbols in the German media. The same is valid for the symbol-product "titushka" which is among most visible symbols in the Ukrainian and Polish press and is absent as such in the German media that did not recognize or did not single out it in the general stream of events and in the lived experiences of the participants. The very fact that the most visible symbol "barricade" coincided in the Polish and German media being the third most visible in the Ukrainian media could be the confirmation of the universality of symbolic thinking in culture. There are common symbols, common symbolizations of the universal laws and historical memories that could be detected in the cultural reflections, inter alia, media reflections on such events and processes as large-scale, long-standing protest that demanded the resetting of the whole power system and the country in general.

Every national media has found some tangible things in the external world that it repeatedly used in its descriptions of the protesters' lived experiences. For the Ukrainian media these include batons and shields, both weapons were used as by the police, as by protesters. The Ukrainian press picked up the tangible elements of self-defense of protesters

that have connotations of violence. For the Polish media these include flag of Ukraine, cobbles, cocktail Molotov, and tents. For the German media such symbols are cobbles, fire, cocktail Molotov, and tear gas. Foreign reporters from Poland and Germany focused more frequently on the same things at Maidan - cocktail Molotov and cobbles. However, we do not find them among the most visible symbols in the Ukrainian media. Hence, thinking *in* symbols and *with* symbols the consciousness is selective in its choice of them, and we see that there are some universal features (symbol-concept "barricade") as well as national peculiarities.

The salient peculiarity of the Polish media coverage is the high visibility of the symbol "blood" that could be traced from the symbolic forms of myth and religion. This symbol is not highly visible neither in the Ukrainian nor in the German press. Meanwhile, the Polish reporters and editors provide various contexts of its mentioning: "blood on streets of Kyiv", "Ukraine is bleeding", "protests cost human blood", etc.

As long as I rely in this study on the broad conception of a symbol, concepts are also understood as symbols of the highest point of symbolization and symbolic representation, according to Ernst Cassirer (1929). Four symbol-concepts, apart from "barricade" and "Berkut", are found among ten most visible symbols in the Ukrainian media: "civil activists", "repression", "provocation", and "revolution". There are no symbol-concepts among the most visible one in the Polish press, apart from "barricade" and "Berkut". As it was noted before, these symbols are border-line symbols in terms of their types: they could be defined as symbol-products either. Their higher degree of conceptualization depends on the author's interpretations. There are three highly visible symbol-concepts in the German press, namely, "revolution", "sanctions", "snap elections".

It is also possible to conclude that symbolic thinking of media finds its landmarks in tangible elements of the external world. In this matter it is close to arts and history. I discern

this from the range of the most visible symbols in all media outlets under study: six symbols of this kind are among ten most visible in the Ukrainian media (Berkut, titushka, barricade, Grushevskogo, baton, shield), all eight most visible symbols in the Polish media are of this kind (barricade, Berkut, flag of Ukraine, blood, cocktail Molotov, tent, titushka), six symbols of this kind are among ten most visible in the German media (barricade, Klitschko, cobbles, fire, tear gas, cocktail Molotov).

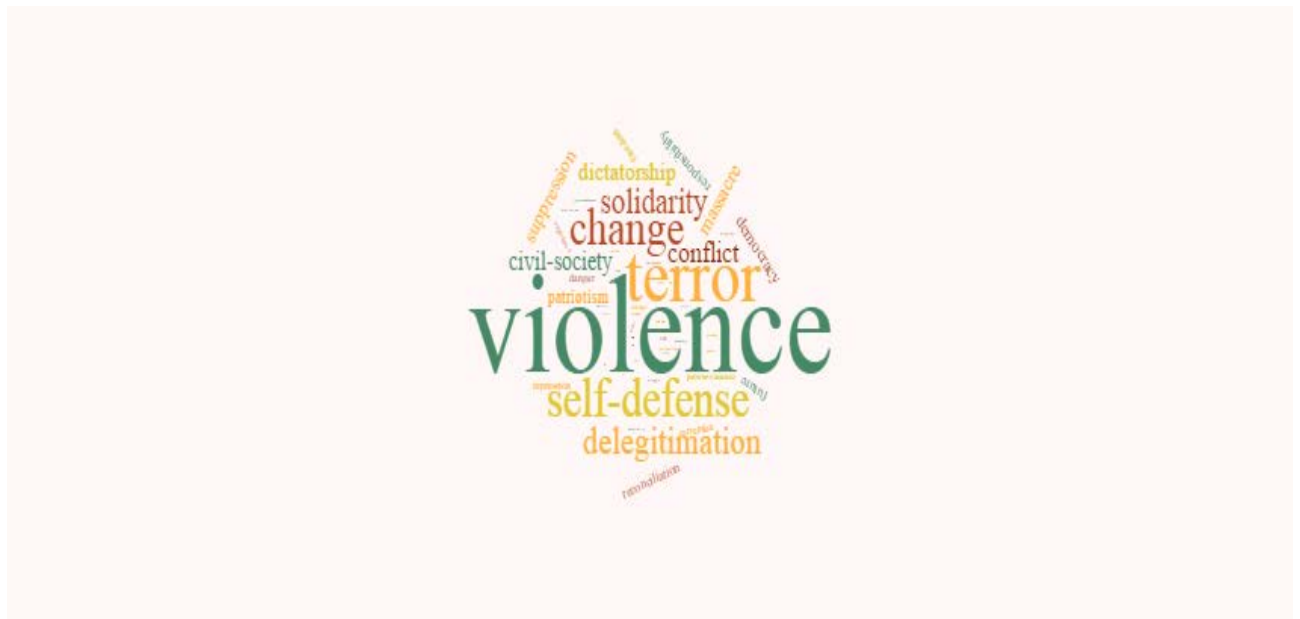
It is also noteworthy that in terms of numbers of kinds of coded symbols approximately the same result is received for every country: Ukraine - 127 symbols, Poland - 113 symbols, Germany - 133 symbols.

Table 15

*Most visible symbols in the Ukrainian, Polish, and German press*

Place	Ukrainian media	Polish media	German media
1.	Berkut	barricade	barricade
2.	titushka	Berkut	Klitschko
3.	barricade	flag of Ukraine	cobbles
4.	civil activists	blood	fire
5.	dispersal of Maidan	cocktail Molotov	revolution
6.	Grushevskogo	tent	sanctions
7.	repression	titushka	snap elections
8.	baton, provocation, revolution, shield		tear gas
9.			cocktail Molotov
10.			suppression of Maidan

In the Chapters IV, V, VI the clouds of concepts conveyed by symbols are built for each national media. I compare the most visible concepts in the Ukrainian, Polish, and German media separately with the most visible concepts in the general amount of coded symbols in all six media outlets (1020 symbols). When for the Ukrainian media the cloud shows as the most visible the concepts of violence, terror, delegitimation of power, civil society, dictatorship, self-defense, and solidarity, for the Polish media - the cocepts of solidaity, violence, massacre, delegitimation of power, democracy, change, patriotism, for the German media - the concepts of violence, self-defense, change, terror, conflict, responsibility, the most visible concept across all media and countries is violence. The cloud shows the high visibility of concepts of terror, self-defense, change, delegitimation of power, solidarity, conflict, and dictatorship. There is only one concept among them that could be used to describe the protesters' experience beyond violence and suffereing - solidarity. It scores in this cloud largely due to its high visibility in the Polish media. So, the studied media describe protesters' experience predominantly through the concepts of violence, terror, delegitimation of power, conflict, omitting or reducing at the same time the visibility of positive experiences of self-direction, benevelance, self-organization, civil solidarity, creativity, responsibility that the Maidan life-world incorporated. The importance of these positive concepts is confirmed by hundreds of protesters' testimonies documented by journalists and researchers (Finberg & Golovach, 2016).



*Figure 27.* The cloud of the most visible concepts conveyed by symbols in the media coverage of the Maidan life-world: cumulative data for all Ukrainian, Polish, and German media under study.

Finally, I reach the point when it is possible to formulate the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world in the Ukrainian, Polish, and German media. By the means of the interpretative method the following symbolic representations are defined for the main themes of the symbolizations of the Maidan life-world in the Ukrainian media: "struggle against dictatorship", "struggle for the change", and "uncoordinated protest that turns violent". The Figure groups with the help of the data mining the whole amount of coded symbols into the respective symbolic representations. The sheets of data are attached in the Appendices D, E, F. The biggest number of symbols is grouped around "struggle against dictatorship", "struggle for the change" groups less symbols being the second largest symbolic representation, and "uncoordinated protest that turns violent" groups the least number of symbols. It is also noteworthy that "struggle against dictatorship" unites symbols with the highest measured visibility - from 2,5 % to 5 %.

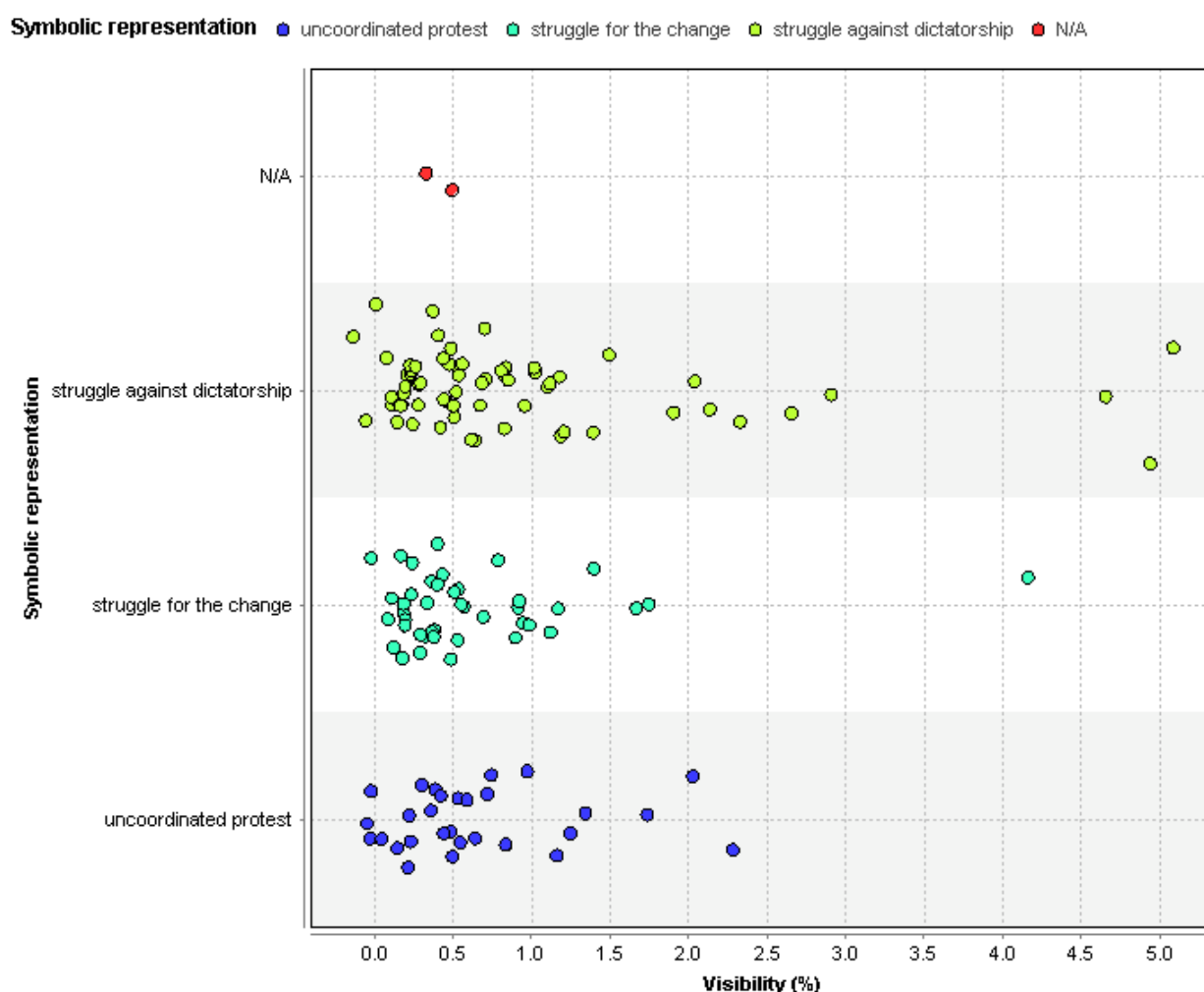


Figure 28. The distribution of symbols across symbolic representations in the Ukrainian media.

*Note.* The graph shows on the x-Axis the visibility of symbols that are distributed across three major symbolic representations.

In the Polish media the following three symbolic representations are defined: "struggle against dictatorship", "struggle for freedom", and "challenge to oligarchs". The biggest number of symbols are grouped around "struggle against dictatorship". Comparably similar number of symbols fit into the the symbolic representation "struggle for freedom". The symbolic representation "challenge to oligarchs" has the low visibility.



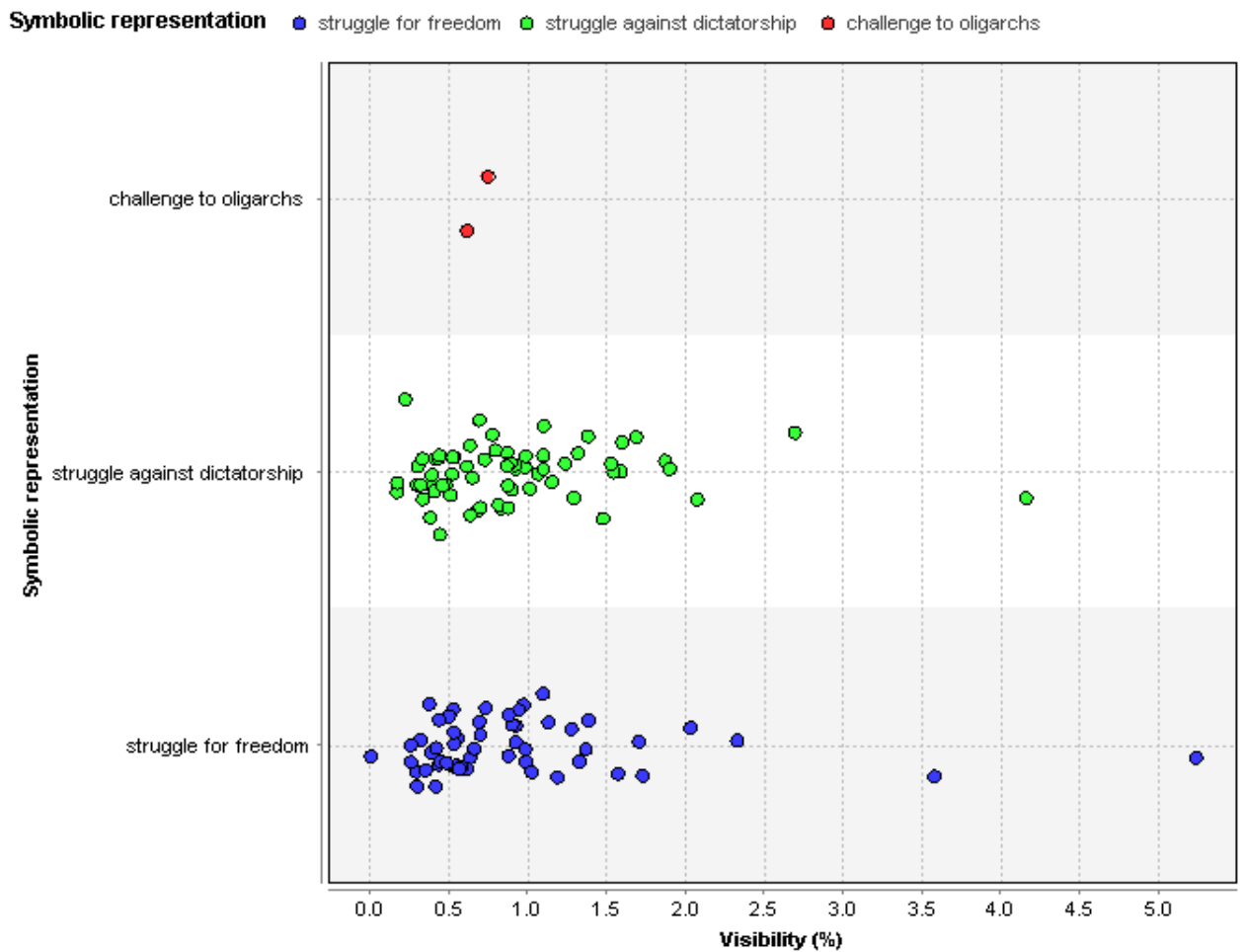


Figure 29. The distribution of symbols across symbolic representations in the Polish media.

*Note.* The graph shows on the x-Axis the visibility of symbols that are distributed across three major symbolic representations.

In the German press the defined symbolic representations include "struggle against dictatorship", "struggle for the change", "responsibiliy for crimes", "Klitschko fights for future", and "challenge to oligarchs". The biggest number of symbols is grouped around the symbolic representation "struggle against dictatorship". The second largest symbolic representation is "struggle for the change". Relatively the same number of symbols is grouped around "responsibility for crimes" and "Klitschko fights for future". The symbolic representation "challenge to oligarchs" is quite close to them in terms of its visibility.

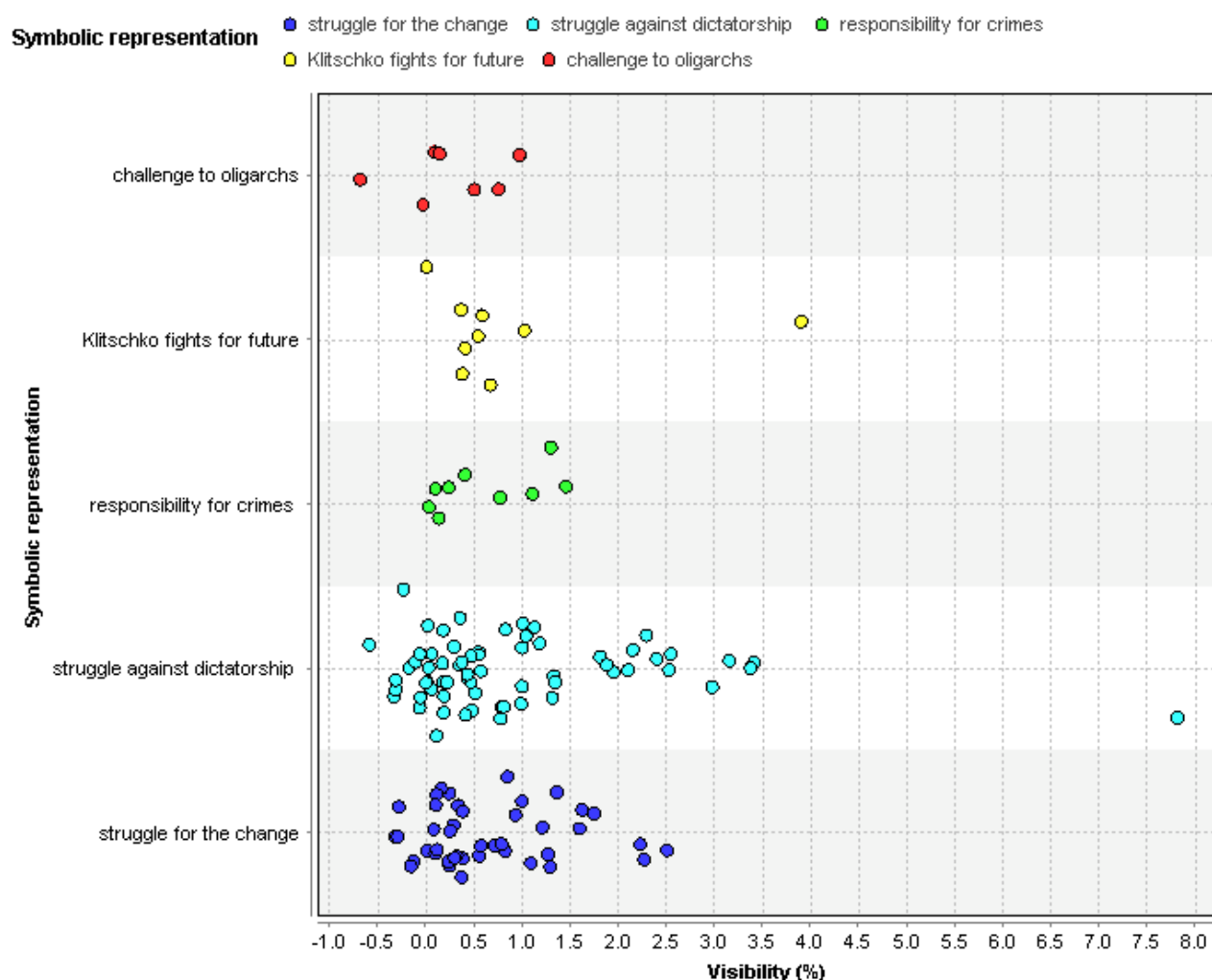


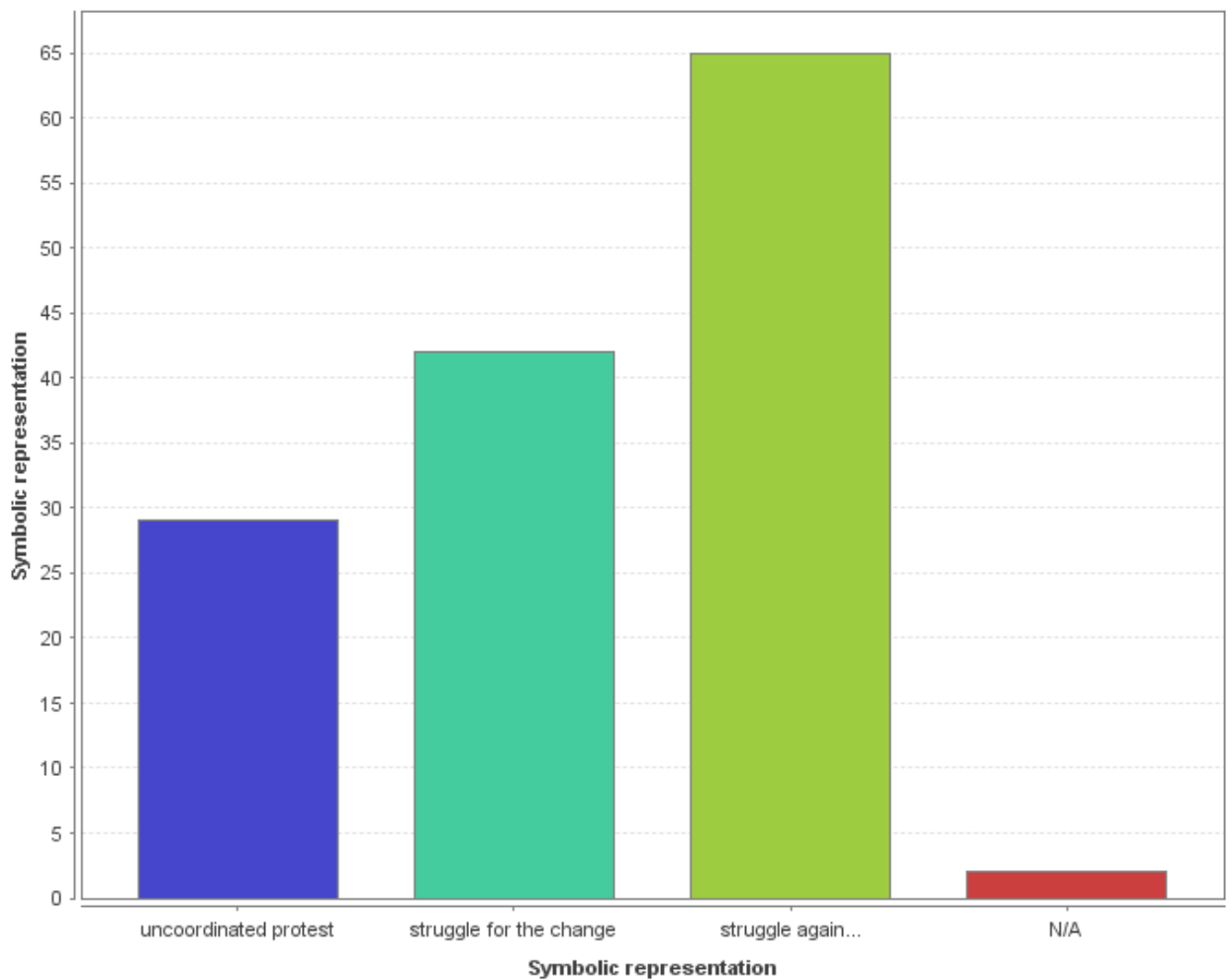
Figure 30. The distribution of symbols across symbolic representations in the German media.

*Note.* The graph shows on the x-Axis the visibility of symbols that are distributed across three major symbolic representations.

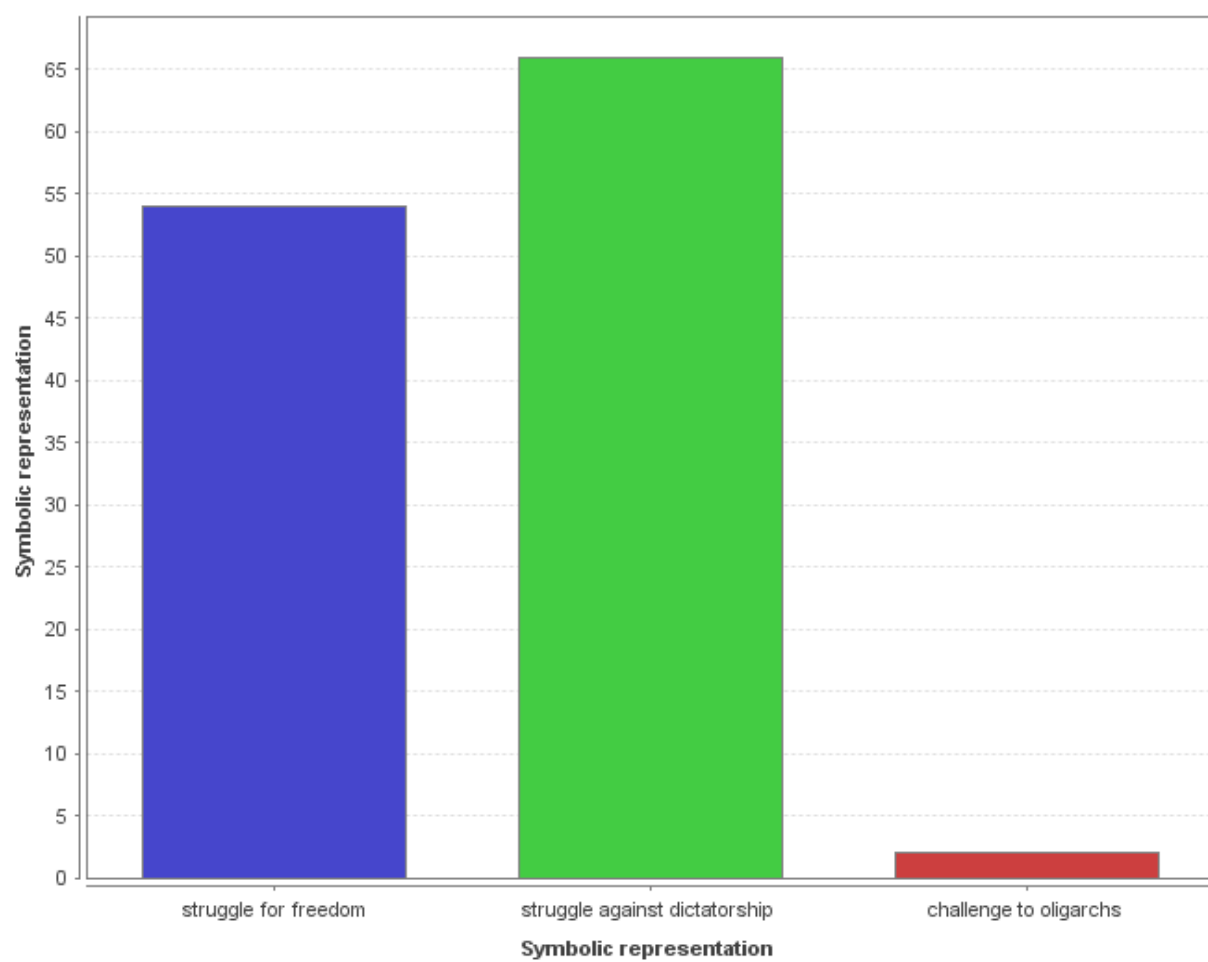
Therefore, I conclude that the most visible symbolic representation in all three national media outlets is the same. It is "struggle against dictatorship". The second largest is also common in the Ukrainian and German media - "struggle for change". In the Polish press the equivalent of this symbolic representation is "struggle for freedom". It is also the second largest in the media of this country.

The German press proposes wider variety of representations in addition to those which we find in the Ukrainian and Polish press. The German media find the universality of the Maidan life-

world in the moral and legal responsibility that has to be taken for any crimes against protesters. They also personalize the story of the protest covering the political activities of the boxer and politician Vitali Klitschko. He symbolizes the future of the country, inter alia its future political elites and reforms. He is the personalization of change for better that Maidan is fighting for. The Figures show more statistics of symbolic representations in the respective national media.



*Figure 31.* The statistics of the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world in the Ukrainian press.



*Figure 32.* The statistics of the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world in the Polish press.

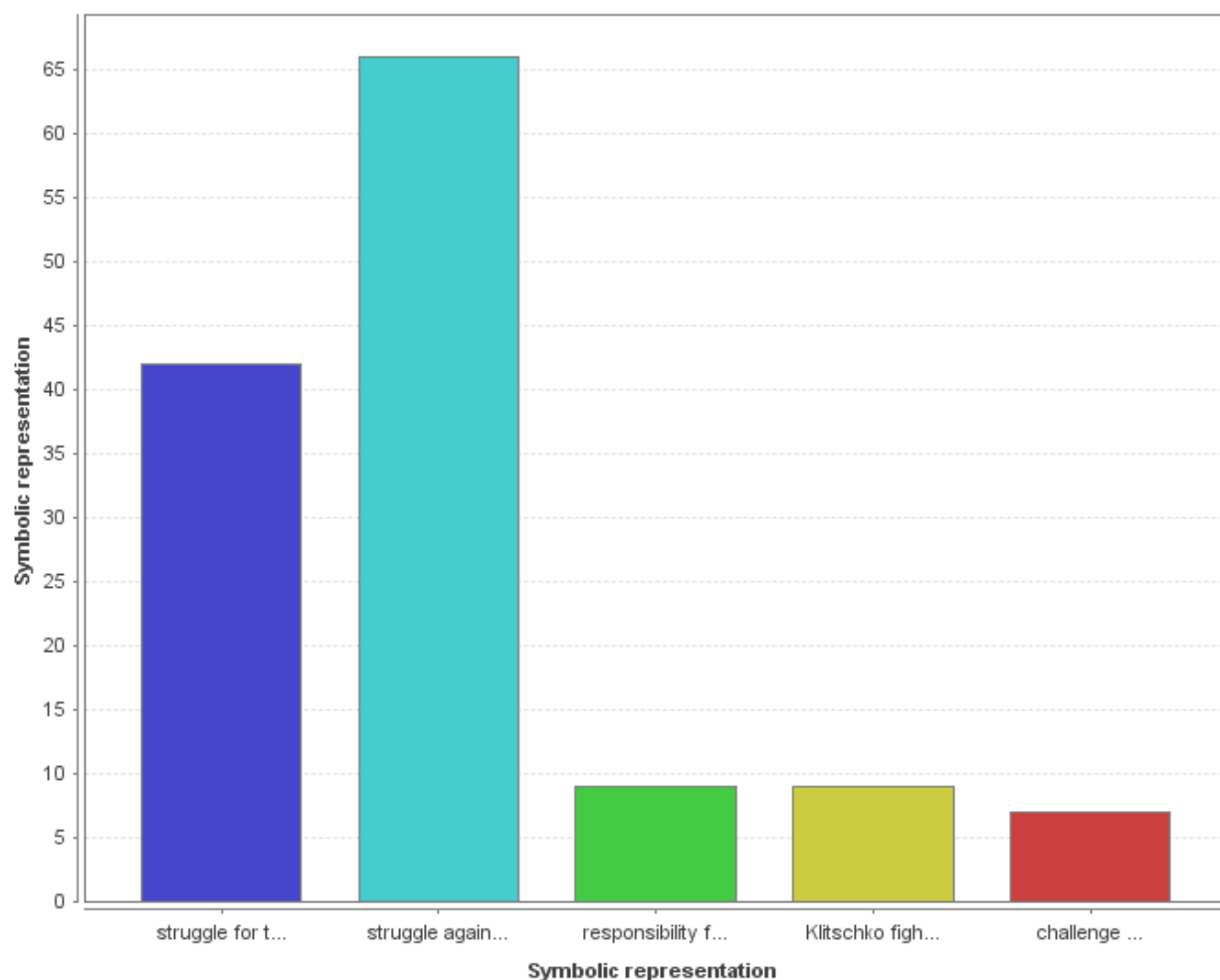


Figure 33. The statistics of the symbolic representations of the Maidan life-world in the German press.

The symbolic representation of struggle *against* common enemy is more important for the media from all three national media cultures that the symbolization of struggle *for* something better, for some values and changes. Although the latter is also a salient symbolic representation in the general picture of media symbolism.

The symbolic representation "uncoordinated protest that turns violent" in the Ukrainian press is so visible due to its extensive use by the tabloid *Segodnia*. It is marginal in the quality press.

The very fact that the most visible symbolic representation among all defined in the given research coincides for the Ukrainian, Polish, and German media proves the relevance and validity

of the very concept of symbol. There are obvious similarities of symbolic thinking of media across the Ukrainian, Polish, and German cultures.

The life-world is foremost the reflection of the feelings, images, memories that people have about the world in which they live. Symbols in this matter could play the role of reservoir of meanings, including the meanings of phenomena of consciousness. This is the advantage and strength of the symbol as an interpretative and explanatory vehicle for a human being. It is an open question whether symbols and symbolic representations as more complex symbolizations convey the meanings of external events, facts, processes, contexts in terms of their correspondence with the universal laws, or they could convey also the meanings of these external objects in the phenomenological stream of consciousness.

Looking at the examples of the defined symbolic representations in the media coverage of Maidan, it is necessary to pose the question if they bear the meanings of life-world as such. It is shown in the Chapters IV,V, VI on the Ukrainian, Polish, and German media that it is always possible to identify in the meanings of symbols such elements of life-world structures as areas of reach, time, province of practicable, compatibility between social and actual experience. So, we could claim that the symbolic representation "struggle for dictatorship" refers to the area of actual reach, it is indicative of social as well as biological temporality, it is within the province of practicable, and it means the incompatibility between the social and actual experience. Is it enough in order to argue that this particular complex of symbols represents the Maidan *life-world*? The only possible scientifically correct answer is that it depends on the interpreter of the symbolic representation whether he/she sees its referent as a phenomenon of consciousness rather than a thing, an event or a person from the external world.

Following the same path of analysis, we describe the second most visible symbolic representation in the Ukrainian and German media "struggle for the change" and the second most visible in the Polish one - "struggle for future" - as meanings, belonging to the areas of attainable

reach, with the temporality of social and world times outside the province of the practicable and compatible with social experience, as well as with actual. The same is valid for the symbolic representation "Klitschko fights for future". Its temporality has also the inner duration component as long as it is the personalization of the protest life-world.

The symbolic representation "challenge to oligarchs" is indicative of area of actual and attainable reach, it has the social and biological temporality, it is within the province of the practicable, and it is incompatible with the social experience. The oligarchs used to feel safe in Ukraine due to the safeguards that they received from power. The symbolic representation "responsibility for crimes" refers to the area of attainable reach, it has the biological and social temporality, it is within the province of the practicable.

Hence, the defined symbolic representations convey the meanings which give the ideas of the Maidan life-world, although the forthcoming phenomenological research is required to compare the media coverage of life-worlds with the actual participants' experience.

### **Comparison across media outlets**

The most visible symbols coincide partly in the tabloid and quality press. For example, the symbol-concept "barricade" is found among three most visible symbols in all six media. The symbol-concept "Berkut" is found among three most visible symbols in all Ukrainian and Polish media. As it was mentioned before, the German media did not use it as an important symbol for the representation of the Maidan life-world.

It is noteworthy that the shares of symbol-concepts in the general amount of symbols by their types is bigger in the quality publications. *Bild* and *Fakt* have 23 % of symbol-concepts each in their coverage of the Maidan life-world while quality weeklies have from 32 % (*Ukrainian Weekly*) to 45 % of symbol-concepts in their coverage. The only exception is the Ukrainian tabloid

where the symbol-concepts reach 33 %. There is no substantial difference between two tabloids (*Bild*, *Fakt*) and quality weeklies in shares of symbol-situations and symbol-processes. The share of symbol-situations ranges from 21 % in *Ukrainian Weekly* to 31 % in *Bild*. The exception is again the tabloid *Segodnia* with the share of just 6 % of symbol-situations. Symbol-processes occupy the marginal shares in all media under study. It ranges from 2 % in *Der Spiegel* to 9 % in *Ukrainian Weekly*.

Table 16

*The most visible symbols and types of symbols in media included in the sample*

	Tabloids			Quality weeklies		
	<i>Segodnia</i>	<i>Fakt</i>	<i>Bild</i>	<i>Ukrainian Weekly</i>	<i>Polityka</i>	<i>Der Spiegel</i>
Ten most visible symbols	Berkut, dispersal of Maidan, barricade, Grushevskogo, baton, shield, titushka, internal troops, stele	Flag of Ukraine, Berkut, barricade, blood, tent; "dead, wounded people lying on the ground"	Barricade, Klitschko, cobbles, fire, snap elections, tear gas, revolution, despot, baton, frost, sanctions, Berkut	Titushka, Berkut, barricade, civil activists, repression, revolution, provocation, Grushevskogo, dispersal of Maidan, self-defense	Barricade, Berkut, dispersal of Maidan, cocktail Molotov, Association Agreement, revolution, snap elections, self-defense	Civil war, sanctions, barricade, revolution, suppression of Maidan



The visibility of different types of symbols	symbol- products 48 %; symbol- concepts 33 %; symbol- situations 6 %; symbol- processes 6 %; symbol- slogans 6 %	symbol- products 41 %; symbol- concepts 23 %; symbol- situations 26 %; symbol- processes 5 %; symbol- slogans 5 %	symbol- products 37 %; symbol- concepts 23 %; symbol- situations 31 %; symbol- processes 3 %; symbol- slogans 4 %; symbolic action 2 %	symbol- products 34 %; symbol- concepts 32 %; symbol- situations 21 %; symbol- processes 9 %; symbol- slogans 4 %	symbol- products 35 %; symbol- concepts 34 %; symbol- situations 26 %; symbol- processes 5 %	symbol- products 27 %; symbol- concepts 45 %; symbol- situations 27 %; symbol- processes 2 %
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We can see from the Figure 34 the generalized temporal and spatial qualities of the Maidan symbolic representations in six media under study. The space of the Maidan life-world is heterogeneous in the Polish tabloid and German quality weekly. It becomes more heterogeneous in the symbolic representations by the Polish quality weekly, the German tabloid, and the Ukrainian tabloid. It is the most heterogeneous with seven coded symbol-products referring to different places in the Ukrainian quality weekly. It is also noteworthy that the higher heterogeneity of the space is accompanied either by the dominance of the cyclical mode of time (*Ukrainian Weekly*), or the absence of any salient trend in the temporal qualities of the symbolic representations (*Segodnia*). In all Polish and German media we could identify the linear mode of temporality as the dominant one along with either homogeneous space of Maidan (*Fakt*, *Der Spiegel*) or transitional from homogeneous to heterogeneous (*Polityka*, *Bild*). Overall, we see that media lean towards the

scientific qualities of homogeneous space. However, they represent any space as a place of being of people and things that they depict. The latter is a characteristic of myth.

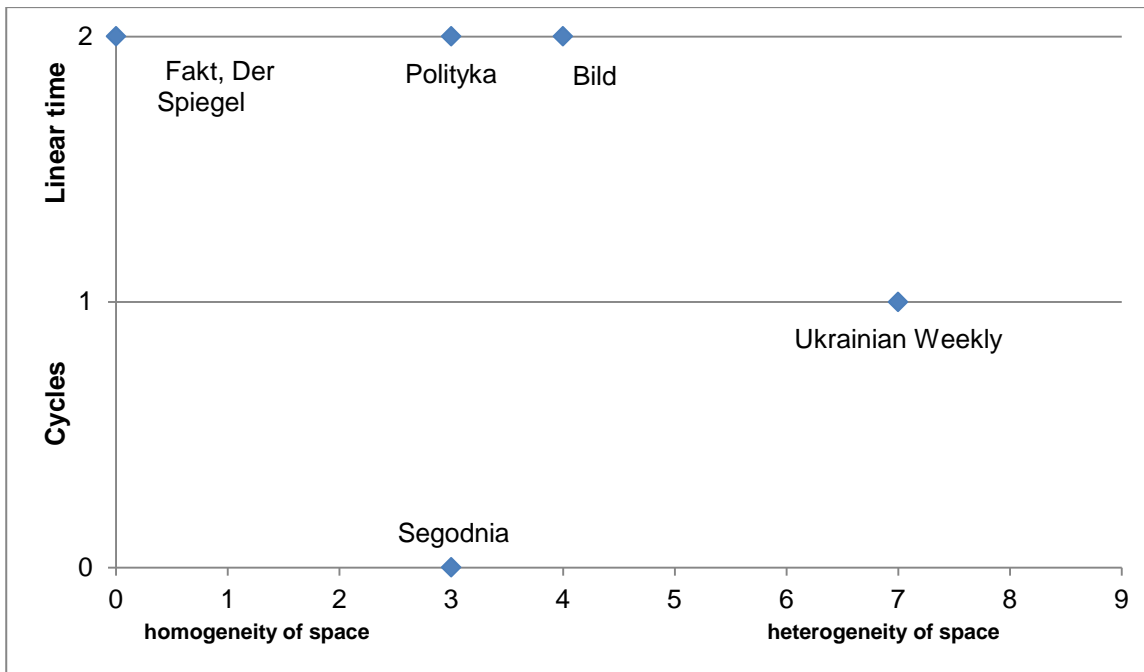


Figure 34. The homogeneity/heterogeneity of space and dominance of cycles/linear time in the symbolic representation of the Maidan life-world across media of Ukraine, Poland, and Germany.

*Notes.* For the purpose of the visualization of the homogeneity/heterogeneity of space, the scale of absolute numbers of symbolic places within the space of Maidan in each media Maidan coverage is introduced. The number of symbol-products in which a particular place is a signifier is counted for media under study (*Segodnia* - 3 places; *Ukrainian Weekly* - 7 places; *Fakt* - 0 places; *Polityka* - 3 places; *Bild* - 4 places; *Der Spiegel* - 0 places). The value of zero or one-two places is regarded as homogeneous space; the value of three up to six places is regarded as transitional space from homogeneity to heterogeneity; the value of seven up to ten places is regarded as heterogeneous space. The temporal qualities of symbolic representations are divided into three major categories: no dominant mode of temporality; the cyclical mode of temporality that corresponds with the value of 2 on the y-Axe; the linear mode of temporality that corresponds with the value of 3 on the y-Axe.

The numerality in symbolic representations could be defined in such symbols as symbol-concept "March of Millions", symbol-concept "Heavenly Hundred", symbol-product "crowd of many thousand", symbol-concept "sociology of protest". They all are rather the signs of things than operations or order. This is mythical and religious application of numerality. This numerality assigns the special value to particular numbers that do not meet the criteria of any scientific rigor. The estimates of number of participants in the March of Millions varied from few hundred thousand to million but there is no methodology to prove or deny this symbolic calculation. The Heavenly

Hundred comprises 98 victims, according to the list of families that received one time social benefits. The wording of "crowd of many thousand" is even less precise and rigorous. The sociology of protest, being based on the relatively the same findings and data, was interpreted differently by the Ukrainian tabloid and by the Ukrainian quality weekly. The similar data proved, according to *Segodnia*, that Maidan was not representative and was composed mostly of people from Western Ukraine. Meanwhile, according to *Ukrainian Weekly*, such data proved that Maidan was an all-Ukrainian national protest. Sociology of protest is the only numerality in the coded symbols that combines symbolization of things as well as operations being closer to science than to any other symbolic form.

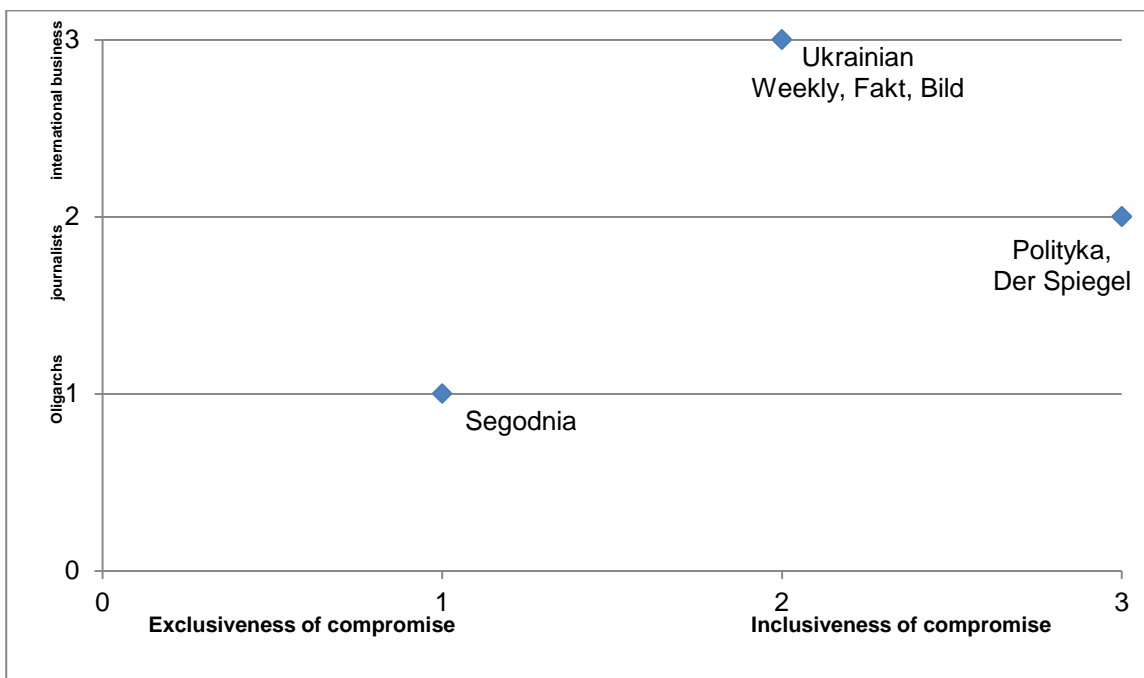
Table 17

*The symbols with the meanings of numerical relations and qualities*

<b>Symbols</b>	<b>Signs of things or signs of operations</b>	<b>Symbolic forms</b>	<b>Media</b>
March of Millions	Things	Myth	Ukrainian Weekly, Fakt
Heavenly Hundred	Things	Myth, religion	Segodnia, Ukrainian Weekly
crowd of many thousand	Things	Myth, religion	Ukrainian Weekly, Fakt, Bild
sociology of protest	Things and operations	Science	Segodnia, Ukrainian Weekly

I also use the example of the symbol-concept "compromise" to illustrate the possible differences in the meanings of the same symbols across tabloid and quality media. This symbols is one of the most notable examples. If we look at the models of media ownership and the meanings of compromise for the crisis solution, we could find the most inclusive connotation of the compromise in the media owned by journalists and other stakeholders. These are the cases of the Polish and German weeklies *Polityka* and *Der Spiegel*. The journalists of these publications wrote about the

necessity of reconciliation between power, opposition, protesters, and oligarchs. The media owned by international business, namely, *Ukrainian Weekly* and *Fakt*, excluded from their meanings of compromise oligarchs although their compromise is also quite inclusive, comprising power, opposition, and protesters. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian tabloid *Segodnia* owned by the oligarch Renat Akhmetov proposed the least inclusive meaning of compromise as an agreement that has to be reached between power and opposition. Protesters were depicted as rather passive observers and dependents. This illustrates that the variable of type of media (tabloid or quality publication), if supplemented by other variables (type of ownership), gives more opportunities to identify correlations.



*Figure 35.* The ownership models of media and variations in meanings of compromise concerning the actors that have to be involved in its reaching: the range from the exclusive to inclusive compromise across media.

*Notes.* The scale from 1 to 3 was introduced to measure the degree of inclusiveness of the connotations of compromise in the media. The value of 1 means the compromise between power and opposition; the value of 2 means the compromise between power, opposition, and protesters; the value of 3 means the compromise between power, opposition, protesters, and oligarchs; the 0 value means non-identified compromise. Three models of media are identified across outlets in the media sample: ownership by oligarch (the value 1), ownership by journalists and other stakeholders (the value 2); ownership by international business (the value 3); 0 value means non-identified ownership model.

To sum up, the comparison of tabloids and weeklies do not prove that there is a substantial and notable difference between them in terms of types of symbols and kinds of symbols they use; in terms of heterogeneity and homogeneity of space and cyclical/linear dichotomy of time. The tabloid *Fakt* and the quality weekly *Der Spiegel* have the same values for the spatial homogeneity of their symbolic representations, as well as the tabloid *Segodnia* and the quality weekly *Polityka* have the same qualities of spatiality. It has to be accepted that other variable, like the model of ownership, could explain more in terms of meanings of symbols than the variable of distinction between tabloid and quality press. In other words, I have no data that allow to claim that tabloids display more primitive, poor symbolic thinking than quality press or vice versa.

## Chapter VIII

### Conclusion

One of the tasks of the given research was to build up the model of symbol analysis and to connect it with the phenomenological meanings. In other words, it was attempted to operationalize the theory of symbolic forms and to reveal the connections between symbols, on the one hand, and experience, on the other. The critical case of the Ukrainian protest movement EuroMaidan was used to accomplish this task. It was important to answer the question if symbols could convey meanings of phenomena of consciousness as well as the universal meanings of events, things, processes in the external world and to show how it is possible to study symbols by means of quantitative and qualitative methods. One of the main predispositions was based on the idea that symbols tell us something about people's experience. Hence, I was supposed to study symbolizations of experience of events rather than symbolizations of events.

The study relies on empirical data from the media of three countries: Ukraine, the country where the protest took place; Poland, its neighboring and geographically, culturally close country; and Germany, more distant geographically and historically country from Ukraine. Therefore, three different national perspectives were compared.

The proposed model of symbols study in media, in particular, and in culture, in general, consists of such stages:

- coding of symbols, measurement of their visibility in the general amount of coded symbols;
- measurement of shares of different symbol types in this amount;
- generation of clouds of concepts that symbols express;
- interpretation of symbols in terms of phenomenological sociology (areas of reach, temporality, province of the practicable, compatibility between social and actual experience);
- qualitative analysis of spatiality, temporality, numerality, power structures in symbols;
- comparison of symbolizations of the same external objects and participants' experience in the different national cultures;

- definition and interpretation of dominant symbolic representations on the basis of coded symbols, clouds of concepts and findings of qualitative analysis that could be an equivalent of definition of narratives of main themes in the phenomenological descriptions of participants' experience;

- comparison of dominant symbolic representations across different national cultures and different cultural objects (media in my case);

- comparative qualitative analysis of spatiality, temporality, numerality, power relations in symbols across cultures.

Every particular symbol was coded and analyzed. The model of this analysis includes such stages: the identification of objects, signifier, subject, conception, concept in a symbol; interpretation of its denotation, connotation, and signification; identification of protest life-world structures in symbol's meanings; analysis of spatiality, temporality, numerality, and power relations in symbols that display such qualities, and interpretations of dominant complex symbolic representations on the basis of coded symbols. The operationalization of symbols for the purpose of content analysis of their visibility was worked out for each type of symbols separately and described in detail in the Chapter III on methodology.

Therefore, this is the model of semi-empirical research within the framework of philosophy of communication that was accomplished in this dissertation. This model of theory operationalization for the purpose of empirical media research is one of the main contributions to the theory. The combination of symbol theory, post-structuralism, and phenomenology provided the theoretical foundation for the analysis of symbol meanings across cultures. The symbol theories by Ernst Cassirer and Susanne Langer allows to define the internal structure of symbols (object, signifier, subject, conception, concept) that overlap with three types of meanings, namely, denotation, connotation, and signification. Every single coded symbol was divided into the above-mentioned five structural components and interpreted in terms of three types of meanings. Phenomenology is used to define representation as such and to move the focus from objects of the external world and their universal laws towards experience. Post-structuralism allows to add to the typical qualities of symbols - space, time, number, causality - power.

The research relies on the broad understanding of symbols proposed by the German philosopher Ernst Cassirer and developed by his followers, interpreters and authors of post-structural and

phenomenological symbol theories (Langer, 1954; Goodman, 1988; Bourdieu, 1991; Janz, 2001; Dreher, 2003). This broad understanding laid the foundation for a broad typology of symbols in which situations and processes could be seen as symbols along with tangible things, persons, slogans, events, places. The narrower understanding of symbols would leave the space mostly for such tangible things. Hence, I worked out such a typology of symbols: symbol-products, symbol-concepts, symbol-slogans, symbol-situations, symbol-processes, symbolic actions. This is a next contribution to the theory.

This typology allowed to show objects of the external world which media bring into their focus in their symbolic representations. The study found that symbols-products dominate over other types of symbols in all media outlets. The shares of symbol-concepts in the general amount of symbols is bigger in the quality publications. There is no substantial difference between two tabloids (Bild, Fakt) and three quality weeklies in shares of symbol-situations and symbol-processes. The share of symbol-situations ranges from 21 % in Ukrainian Weekly to 31 % in Bild. The exception is the tabloid Segodnia with much lower shares of symbol-concepts and symbol-situations. Symbol-processes play the marginal role in all media under study. It ranges from 2 % in Der Spiegel to 9 % in Ukrainian Weekly. Therefore, the journalism of processes is still rather an ideal than the reality of the contemporary European media. Instead, journalism of events and situations dominates. Media mostly pick up material objects in order to produce symbolizations of the experience of complex dramatic reality. It is also noteworthy that symbolic actions, namely orchestrated actions of protesters that were supposed to attract the media attention, received the marginal share and the lowest possible visibility in the sampled media. No symbolic actions were coded in the Polish media, just one - in the Ukrainian, and two - in the German. Therefore, the theory of social performance and symbolic actions appeared to be inappropriate to explain the symbolizations in the contemporary print media in three countries under study.

The empirical part of this media and communication research provides data that every reader could compare with own images, feelings, memories, notions of EuroMaidan if there are any of them. The empirical data of media research, on the one hand, and phenomena of consciousness, on the other, may coincide or not that is the most reliable and relevant way to test whether Couldry (2003) is right claiming that media have failed to report life-worlds, namely people's experience. The logical continuation of the



given research could be the phenomenological analysis of protesters' experience and its comparison with symbols in media.

I managed to identify the cross-national symbol that is common to all three countries - Ukraine, Poland, and Germany although its meanings could vary across cultures. This is the symbol-concept "barricade". It is the most visible symbol in the Polish and German press, and it is the third most visible symbol in the Ukrainian media. The other notable example is the symbol-concept "Berkut". It is the most visible in the Ukrainian media and is the second most visible in the Polish media. However, it does not belong to the highly visible symbols in the German media. The same is valid for the symbol-product "titushka" which is among most visible symbols in the Ukrainian and Polish outlets and is absent as such in the German media that did not single it out in the general stream of events and in the lived experiences of the participants. The very fact that the most visible symbol "barricade" coincided in the Polish and German media being the third most visible in the Ukrainian media could be a proof of the universality of symbolic thinking in culture. Universality and ideality that open up the venue for various connotations and significations are the key features of symbol as such. The connotations of the symbol-concept "barricade" varied across the media of three countries from the symbol of the EuroMaidan territory in the Ukrainian publications to the symbol of the border between two worlds - the world of freedom and the world of suppression - in the Polish press - to the symbol of deeply-rooted civil conflict in the German media.

Symbol is a much narrower interpretative device than, for example, frame. In other words, it conveys micro-meaning compared to frame that expresses dominant macro-meaning of the whole contexts and their interpretations. As a result, potentially, a developed and structured media text could contain numerous symbols. Consequently, their absolute number in any media sample could amount to hundreds and even thousands of symbols. In such samples the visibility of 4-5 % could be regarded quite high. The symbol "barricade" reached the visibility of 4,5 % in the Ukrainian press, 5 % - in the Polish and 8 % - in the German.

Every national media has found some tangible things in the external world that it frequently used in its descriptions of the protesters' lived experiences. In this matter, it is closer to arts and history. In the Ukrainian media these were batons and shields, both weapons were used by the police and protesters. In the

Polish media these included flag of Ukraine, cobbles, cocktail Molotov, and tents. For the German media these symbols-products were cobbles, fire, cocktail Molotov, and tear gas. Reporters from Poland and Germany focused more frequently on the same things at Maidan - cocktail Molotov and cobbles - than reporters from Ukraine. They were not found among the most visible symbols in the Ukrainian media. Therefore, thinking in symbols and with symbols is selective, and there are some universal focus (symbol-concept "barricade") with various political, social, and historical connotations as well as national peculiarities. The outspoken example of the latter was the symbol-product "blood" in the Polish media. Its high visibility could be traced from the symbolic forms of myth and religion. This symbol was not highly visible neither in the Ukrainian nor in the German press. Meanwhile, the Polish reporters and editors proposed various contexts of its mentions: "blood on streets of Kyiv", "Ukraine is bleeding", "protests cost human blood", etc. The other example of such nationally specific symbol is "Klitschko" in the German press. It is the case when the person, the famous Ukrainian boxer and politician Vitali Klitschko, becomes a highly visible symbol of the struggle for the change and better future for the whole country. Hence, these data on symbols and their visibility are the master finding of this study and answer to two sets of research questions, namely, questions on symbols that media used and on their visibility.

The most visible concepts identified in the Ukrainian media by means of cloud generation were violence, terror, delegitimation of power, civil society, dictatorship, self-defense, and solidarity; in the Polish media - the concepts of solidarity, violence, massacre, delegitimation of power, democracy, change, patriotism; in the German - the concepts of violence, self-defense, change, terror, conflict, responsibility. Violence was the most visible concept across all media and countries. I could distinguish the high visibility of concepts of terror, self-defense, change, delegitimation of power, solidarity, conflict, and dictatorship. There was only one concept among them that could be used to describe the protesters' experience beyond violence and suffering - solidarity. It appeared among them largely due to its high visibility in the Polish media. In addition, the experience beyond violence could be described with the help of the concept "change". Therefore, the studied media described protesters' experience predominantly through the concepts of violence, terror, delegitimation of power, conflict, omitting or reducing at the same time the visibility of positive experiences of self-direction, self-organization, civil solidarity, creativity, responsibility that EuroMaidan life-world had. Media in their coverage of the protest life-world were more open to meanings of

violence, suppression, insecurity. All these findings were necessary in order to identify the dominant symbolic representations. According to Cassirer (1923), objectification of world in a particular symbolic form leads to the liberation of human energy and spirit. Media tend to tell their stories of the protest life-world through symbols of suppression. This has a prevailing impact on general symbolic representations of protest life-world. This differentiates media from symbolic forms of myth, language, science, history, law, art. Violence disrupts space, time, and norms of causality. The disruption of space, time, and causality is the breach of universal laws that could be equated to the disruption of symbolism as such.

The dominant symbolic representations were also identified on the basis of findings of qualitative research. The qualitative analysis showed that the space of the EuroMaidan life-world was heterogeneous in the Polish tabloid and German quality weekly. It is rather heterogeneous in the symbolic representations by the Polish quality weekly, the German tabloid, and the Ukrainian tabloid. The higher heterogeneity of the space is accompanied either by the dominance of the cyclical mode of time (Ukrainian Weekly), or the absence of any observable trend in the temporality of the symbolic representations (Segodnia). In all Polish and German media we could identify the linear mode of temporality as the dominant one along with either homogeneous space of EuroMaidan (Fakt, Der Spiegel) or transitional from homogeneous to heterogeneous (Polityka, Bild). Overall, we see that media lean towards the scientific qualities of homogeneous space that is indicative of science as a symbolic form. However, they represent any space as a place of being of people and things that they depict. The latter is characteristic of myth as a symbolic form.

The numerality in symbolic representations is identified in the symbol-concept "March of Millions", the symbol-concept "Heavenly Hundred", the symbol-product "crowd of many thousands", the symbol-concept "sociology of protest". They all are rather the signs of things than operations or order. This is mythical and religious application of numerality, based on the idea of the special value added to particular numbers. Such numbers do not meet the criteria of any scientific validity. Therefore, the study of qualities and relations of symbols as well as of types of symbols reveals the mixed pictures: media could combine the qualities of art, history, myth, religion, and science without any overwhelming predominance of none of them. This is an open question whether we could speak of media as a full-fledged symbolic form themselves rather than combination of qualities of other forms, as if it borrows different qualities from different symbolic forms. More research and philosophical reflections are required to answer this question.

Power structures in symbols were exemplified by the symbol-concept "compromise". If we look at the models of media ownership and the meanings of compromise for the conflict resolution, we could find the most inclusive connotation of the compromise in the media owned by journalists and other stakeholders. These were the Polish and German weeklies *Polityka* and *Der Spiegel*. They wrote about the necessity of reconciliation between power, opposition, protesters, and oligarchs. The media owned by international business, namely, *Ukrainian Weekly* and *Fakt*, excluded from their meanings of compromise oligarchs, although their compromise is also quite inclusive, comprising power, opposition, and protesters. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian tabloid *Segodnia*, owned by the oligarch Renat Akhmetov, proposed the least inclusive meaning of compromise as an agreement that has to be reached between power and opposition. Protesters were depicted as passive observers. This illustrates that the variable of type of media (tabloid or quality publication), if supplemented by other variables (type of ownership), can help to identify specific patterns.

It was attempted to analyze for every country under study how the meanings of any symbol in media could be seen in the light of the subjective experience (life-world) of the EuroMaidan participants. Provinces of restorable, actual, and attainable reach; temporality (social time, biological time, world time, inner duration), province of the practicable, and the compatibility between social and actual experience were chosen for the purposes of the given research out of the structures of life-world formulated within the framework of the phenomenological sociology by Alfred Schutz. It is shown how it is possible to interpret every single symbol in terms of phenomenological sociology: what reach its meanings have, what temporality they display, whether they belong to the province of the practicable of the Ukrainian, Polish, German society or not; whether they convey meanings of incompatibility or, vice-verse, compatibility between social experience, as it is imagined by media, and actual experience of the society. The symbols with historical and futurist connotations normally belong to either the area of restorable reach or attainable reach. The examples of the former are the symbol-situation "Kruty battle", the symbol-product "Mikhailivsky cathedral", the symbol-concept "repression", the symbol-concept "revolution", the symbol-concept "Moscow's embrace", etc. Among examples of the latter are the symbol-concept "European values", the symbol-concept "new historical narrative", the symbol-process "return to the 2004 Constitution". Every symbol in media has the qualities of social temporality. Some symbols underline the biological vulnerability and finality of a person. In this matter, they have the qualities of biological temporality. The examples are

the symbol-product "construction helmet", the symbol-product "flak jacket", the symbol-product "rubber bullets", the symbol-product "frost", the symbol-product "coffin". Very few symbols in media convey the meanings with the qualities of inner temporality. The rare examples are the symbol-situation "deaths of protesters almost alive", the symbol-situation "prayer at Maidan".

Symbols related to violence have meanings of experience that is incompatible with the previous social life-world of the Ukrainian society, as well as of the Polish and German societies. Symbols with positive connotations of freedom, future, change of the country, commemoration of dead, direct democracy have the meanings of experiential compatibility with the social experience. This is how media create "the myth of foundational order" and "social center" (Couldry, 2003). Everything that deviates from the positive picture of the reality is symbolically represented as incompatible with the social experience, although, in fact, the Ukrainian society had already the social experience of violence in the previous historical periods. This is, basically, of the major findings and answers to the research questions on meanings of symbols in the context of protest life-world. Historically, such symbols as the symbol-product "blood" or the symbol-concept "despot" are, actually, compatible with the actual experience because they were the part of the preceding social experience. However, due to media symbolic representations they are intrinsically incompatible with this social experience. Media understanding of social experience excludes violence and founds the so-called "social center".

Finally, I arrived at the definition of the dominant symbolic representations in the media coverage of the Maidan life-world. This operation could be compared with the definition of narratives that are the themes of the descriptions of participants' experiences in phenomenological analysis. The biggest number of symbols in all three countries under study were grouped around the symbolic representation "struggle against dictatorship". In the Ukrainian media the symbolic representations "struggle against dictatorship", "struggle for the change", and "uncoordinated protest that turns violent" were defined on the basis of coded symbols, generated clouds of concepts and findings of qualitative analysis of symbolic spatiality, temporality, numerality. "Struggle for the change" grouped less symbols than "struggle against dictatorship" being the second largest symbolic representation, and "uncoordinated protest that turns violent" grouped the least number of symbols. It became visible due to its extensive use by the tabloid Segodnia.

In the Polish media the following three symbolic representations were defined: "struggle against dictatorship", "struggle for freedom", and "challenge to oligarchs". In the German press the symbolic representations "struggle against dictatorship", "struggle for the change", "responsibility for crimes", "Klitschko fights for future", and "challenge to oligarchs" were defined. The second largest symbolic representation was "struggle for the change". Relatively the same number of symbols were grouped around "responsibility for crimes" and "Klitschko fights for future". The German press proposed the wider range of representations in addition to those which we found in the Ukrainian and Polish press. The German media saw the universality of the EuroMaidan life-world in the moral and legal responsibility that had to be born for the crimes against protesters. They also personalized the protest covering the political activism of the boxer and politician Vitali Klitschko. He symbolized the future political elites of Ukraine.

The symbolic representation of struggle against common enemy was a bit more important for the media from all three national media cultures that the symbolization of struggle for some improvements, for some values and changes. Although the latter was also one of the dominant symbolic representations in the general picture of media symbolism.

The very fact that the most visible symbolic representation "struggle against dictatorship" among all defined in the given research coincided for the Ukrainian, Polish, and German media proved the relevance and validity of the very concept of symbol. There are obvious similarities of symbolic thinking of media across the Ukrainian, Polish, and German cultures. Although this conclusion is vulnerable to critique because it is always possible to assign this coincidence and similarity to the author's interpretative biases.

The life-world is the reflection of the feelings, images, memories that people have about the world in which they live. Symbols could play the role of reservoir of meanings, including the meanings of phenomena of consciousness, namely lived experience (life-world). It is an important question whether symbols and symbolic representations as more complex symbolizations bear only the meanings of external events, facts, processes, contexts, or they could convey also the meanings of these external objects in the phenomenological stream of consciousness. The overall conclusion is that it depends on the interpreter of a symbolic representation whether he/she sees its referent as a phenomenon of consciousness rather than a thing, an event or a person from the external world. The critical case of EuroMaidan allowed to test the

general model of symbols study that needs further developments and improvements on the basis of bigger number of critical cases and other theoretical frameworks, inter alia hermeneutics, existentialism. More extensive empirical base and wider theoretical background would allow to generalize as *within* the case, as *across* the cases. Moreover, the findings of this study require interpretations and explanations from a wide range of other fields: history, art, religion studies, anthropology, sociology, psychology.

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## Appendix A

### The Coded Verbal and Presentational Symbols in the Ukrainian press

<i>Symbolism</i>	
<i>Verbal</i>	<i>Presentational</i>

<p>Strike fighters, smoke grenades, shields, lustration, astrological forecast, siren, ambulance, explosion, national anthem, cocktail Molotov, Berkut, Grifon, titushka, injuries of Maidan activists, Automaidan, elite, civil activism, peaceful protesters, internal troops, rebellion, opposition leader is ignored and attacked by protesters; protesters demand a single leader; fighters attack empty parliament, barricade, foreigner at Maidan, compromise, amnesty, tire, night storm, Institutska street, "Glory to Ukraine - Glory to Heroes", volunteer, European values, self-defense of Maidan, splinters, buses of black-out windows, flack jacket, negative energy, positive energy, sandwich, hot tea, flag of Ukraine, European integration, cleansing, sonic grenade, baton, tear gas, Mychailovska square/Mychailovskyj cathedral, construction helmet, firewood, barrel, opposition calls people to move without goals, riot police beat people lying on the ground, Berkut hit a woman crying, Lenin's monument, New Year's tree on blood, storm of the presidential administration, crowd of many thousands, revolution. repressions, provocation, disappointment of people, balaclava, "Zeka get", "Butcher to prison", "Drop in ocean", Liadski Gates, presidential palace Mezhygiria, Bankova street, opposition lost elections in four constituencies, dignity, social trust, political prisoners, Antimaidan, assaults on Maidan activists, repressions against Automaidan activists, slow investigation of the assault on Tetiana Chornovol, artists distribute tea, art of Maidan, storm of the presidential administration, sociology of protest legitimation, March of Millions, titushkas attacked the Forum of Euromaidans, consolidation of opposition, flag of the EU, new generation, terror, state of emergency, Automaidan, Heavenly Hundred, self-organization, victory, rebellion of regions, return to the 2004 Constitution, anti-terrorist operation, deconstruction of oligarchy, thousand people are coming to the place of Heavenly</p>	<p>Fire, barricade, "embarrassed faces" of policemen, European values, injuries of Maidan activists, negotiations between power and opposition, flowers, tires, self-defense, fire.</p>
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Hundred's death; trolling of Maidan in social media, resetting of the country, Storm of the presidential administration, Berkut hits a woman; riot police beats people lying on the ground, opposition calls people to move without goals, assaults on Maidan activists, opposition lost elections in four constituencies, repressions against Automaidan activists, titushkas attacked Forum of Euromaidans, Kruty battle, Berkut beats a person with white flag lying on the ground, Berkut targets journalists in the Grushevskyj street, Berkut attacks the medical center in the Grushevskyj street, search of the journalist's apartment, negotiations between power and opposition, the Party of Regions' office is set on fire, members of parliament save protesters beaten by the police; leader of the Party of Regions' fraction Oleksandr Yefremov says that he is not ashamed of killed protesters; deaths of protesters almost alive; the gangs of titushkas are headed by policemen; protesters demanded public repentance from PR politician Nestor Shufrych, laws of the 16th January, black helmet, smoke, rubber bullets, buses with the detained protesters, tent, police snipers, first aid post.

## Appendix B

### The Coded Verbal and Presentational Symbols in the Polish press

<i>Symbolism</i>	
<i>Verbal</i>	<i>Presentational</i>

<p>"Don't shoot in own people", "The Power of Bandukovych Away!" ("Vladu Bandukovycha Get!"), "Gang Away!" ("Bandu Get!"), "Police with People!", Berkut targets journalists; Yanukovych invites opposition to negotiations in which he does not participate; Berkut brutally dispersed attacks on presidential administration; Ukraine is bleeding; cleaning of EuroMaidan; Yanukovych consults with Putin; people die in the streets; father holds the blue helmet of his son killed by a sniper; people with their cars bring medicine, water, food to Maidan; people come to the place where the history of their motherland changes; people ask to hold no negotiations with the criminal; Maidan is again full of people after killings; Polish minister of foreign affairs brought wounded protesters to Poland; dead bodies and blood but they dance; dead and wounded people lying on the ground, Lviv administration refuses to subordinate to Yanukovych's government; Polish reporter under bullets asks Berkut why it shoots in protesters; people are kidnapped from hospitals; prayer at Maidan, barricades are reinforced; opposition leader is ignored and attacked by protesters (2), six year old boy marches with toy saber; woman threatens police with her handbag; president did not address the nation; Ahmetov demands the crisis solution with people's involvement; Yuriy Verbytskyj found tortured and dead in forest; attacks on medical workers, journalists; people mock Yanukovych, people come "to defend children", beating of children, people threw away party emblems, release of Yulia Tymoshenko, snipers shot in hearts, heads, backs; Ukrainians get up in a new country; the EU responded to Maidan only when the bloodshed occurred; Party of Regions condemned Yanukovych; Maidan self-defense stopped the car with Tymoshenko and Yatsenyuk to warn against traffic rules' breach; war with own people, return to the 2004 Constitution; dispersal of Maidan, singing together; people decide destiny of their country in streets, resetting the country.</p>	<p>Barrel, stage, dead and wounded people lying on the ground, wounded people, faces of people, flag of Ukraine, balaclava, shield, self-defense, barricade, flag of the EU, church, sandwich, hot tea, national anthem, singing together, New Year's Tree, crowd of many thousands, protesters with flags of Ukraine, sniper, Automaidan activist Bulatov crucified, Polish reporter under bullets asks Berkut why it shoots in protesters, priests, assault Tetiana Chornovol.</p>
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## Appendix C

### The Coded Verbal and Presentational Symbols in the German press

<i>Symbolism</i>	
<i>Verbal</i>	<i>Presentational</i>



<p>Black-red flag, Right Sector, Civil Council of Maidan, cocktail Molotov, cobbles, water cannon, catapult, stage, shield, coffin, Tymoshenko's speech at Maidan, presidential residence Mezhygiria, burnt House of Trade-Unions, Klitschko, handshake between Yanukovych and Klitschko, fire, burnt tire, Hotel Ukraine, Michaylovsky Cathedral, blood, snipers, shots, tear gas, flak jacket, helm, grenade, frost, baton, masks, burnt police bus, laws of the 16th of January, rubber bullets, tee, sandwiches, flag of the EU, ambulance, tent, Lenin monument, partisans, revolution, civil activists, rebellion, despot, massacre, freedom, barricade, snap presidential elections, state bankruptcy, fascists, bandits, extremists, terrorists, repression, the second front, European values; Orange Revolution, oligarchy, Berkut, sanctions, reforms, self-defense, compromise, Berkut, sanctions, anti-terrorist operation, radicals, extremists, provocation, gathering of people, amnesty, Orange Revolution, civil war, bandits, oligarchy, "For freedom of Ukraine", "Klitschko, Klitschko, Klitschko!", "No sanctions, no peace", "Shame!", "We stay to stand"; Protesters make police flee; foreign politicians come to Maidan; police doesn't let Klitschko in the hospital to visit protesters; women talking to the riot police; Klitschko wears a flack jacket; police destroyed the medical point in Grushevsky; a man knelt in the street at night and read the Bible; police targets journalists; confession in front of police; opposition refused from the proposal of posts by Yanukovych; police tortured a naked person in frost; Maidan activist got shot in back; leader of Right Sector Dmitry Yarosh was received better by protesters than Klitschko; leader of Right Sector Dmitry Yarosh received more support at Maidan than Tymoshenko; president Yanukovych flees Ukraine; Ukraine issues warrant of arrest of Yanukovych; release of Tymoshenko; Tymoshenko in the wheel chair at Maidan delivered emotional speech; kneeling people at</p>	<p>Presidential residence Mezhygiria, armored car, catapult, stage, Tymoshenko's speech at Maidan, kneeling people at Maidan; barricade, shield, protesters with flag of Ukraine; faces of people, coffin, fire, burnt tire, civil activists, Hotel Ukraine, tire, Michaylovsky Cathedral, crowd singing national anthem; self-defense, baton, blood, flowers on pavement, police standing on the side of barricade, Maidan activist got shot in back; snipers shooting in unarmed people's arteries, hearts, heads, backs; fire, confession in front of police; protesters set on fire the Yanukovych's portrait; police tortured a naked person in frost; police drags a protester; police destroyed the medical center in Grushevskogo; Klichko is sprayed by protesters with the extinguisher; burnt police bus, provocation of the riot police; protesters wear pots, sieves, and cardboard boxes on heads in protest against the laws of the 16th of January; suppression of Maidan (night storm); Berkut; Femen activists pissed on Yanukovych's portraits; toppling down of Lenin monument.</p>
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Maidan; Party of Regions makes Yanukovich responsible for the country's predicament; Yanukovich makes a phone call Yatsenyuk; army declared that it won't interfere with power struggle; protesters suddenly took to stage and threatened to storm president's palace if he does not quit; suppression of Maidan; German foreign minister says: "It's the last chance for solution"; police standing on the side of barricade; Klitschko and Steinmeier discuss when they have to speak to Maidan representatives; the Polish minister says that if opposition doesn't support deal with Yanukovich, there will be the state of war and they all die; security service hunts down protesters; protesters met opposition leaders with whistle after deal with Yanukovich; protesters block Kyiv's airport; House of Trade-Union is set on fire; Klitschko is sprayed with the extinguisher in the face by protesters; Party's of Regions members quite it; scandalous adoption of the laws of the 16th of January; protesters burnt down the property of communists' leader Petro Simonenko and found two posh cars in his garage; Tymoshenko arrived at Maidan in the autocade of Mercedes and Lexus cars; Yanukovich flew to Sochi to meet Putin; pro-governmental Russian writer Alexander Prochanov was on tour to explain that Yanukovich is a traitor because he did not suppress Maidan; oligarchs Firtash and Achmetov keep silent amid protests; Achmetov made a statement calling to peaceful conflict resolution; young oligarch Kurchenko disappeared; rebellion of regions; history is written in Ukraine at fast pace; snipers shooting in unarmed people's arteries, hearts, heads, backs; protesters building barricades; Protesters wear pots, sieves, and cardboard boxes on heads in protest against the laws of the 16th of January; oligarchs fighting for saving their millions.

## Appendix D

*Three types of meanings of the coded symbols: Ukraine*

Symbol	Denotation	Connotation	Signification
Symbol-product "strike fighters"	Tools and agents of attack	Tools and agents of social insecurity and violence	The danger for the society
Symbol-product "smoke grenade"	Grenade that covers eyes, is used by police and protesters	The violent undeadly clashes	The dangerous development of protest
Symbol-product "ambulance"	There is need in ambulances	This is an abnormal situation when there is a need in ambulances at Maidan	The protest unfolds towards more violence
Symbol-product "siren"	The emergency is in progress	The emergency is not controlled	The dangerous development of protest
Symbol-product "explosion"	Protesters and/or police use explosive materials	There is large-scale violence	The dangerous development of protest
Symbol-product "national anthem"	People altogether sing national anthem	Singing of national anthem reinforces protest	National solidarity and rise of patriotism
Symbol-product "fire"	Something is set on fire, inter alia, tires	There is large-scale violence	The dangerous development of protest
Symbol-product "injuries of Maidan activists"	Maidan activists are brutally beaten by police.	Maidan activists are victims of the state	State violence against Maidan
Symbol-product "titushka"	An armed civil person that fights on side of police against Maidan activists	Gangs are hired and armed by the government to attack Maidan activists	Parallelism of state and criminals

Symbol-product "Grifon"	A special police unit in charge of civil order in court hearings	Governmental forces are the source of insecurity instead of order because they beat people even in a court	The defenders of challenged power
Symbol-product "Grushevskij street"	The location of the first violent clashes	The place of protest radicalization that led to the activists' detentions and arrests	Sacred place
Symbol-product "Automaidan"	The movement of car drivers in support of Maidan	The outstanding civil initiative whose activists were suppressed	Civil activism
Symbol-product "Cocktail Molotov"	Improvised incendiary weapon	Protesters use self-made weapons	Violence by protestors
Symbol-product "internal troops"	A special police unit composed of 18-20 year old conscripts	Government uses the force of young conscripts in dangerous clashes	The weak defenders of challenged power
Symbol-product "fighters with chains"	Unidentified radical protestors with chains and other heavy items attacked riot police	Radical, armed and dangerous protesters	Violence
Symbol-product "tire"	Tires as a shield between Maidan and police	Non-lethal self-defense	Self-defense
Symbol-product "Instytutaska street"	The location of the deadly clashes and killings	The place of Maidan culmination and killings of Heavenly Hundred	Sacred place
Symbol-product "splinter"	Activists and journalists get splinters caused by explosion of grenades	Self-defense and attacks of the riot police	Violence

Symbol-product "sandwich"	Volunteers prepare and distribute sandwiches	Self-organization and self- maintenance	Solidarity and inclusiveness
Symbol-product "flack jacket"	Police and activists wear flack jackets	Radicalization of Maidan	Security risks
Symbol-product "Michailovska square/ Michailovskyj cathedral"	After the dispersal of student Maidan protesters found shelter in the cathedral. At the night storm of Maidan the cathedral rang the bells	The solidarity of church with people	God's blessing
Symbol-product "barrel"	Protesters used barrels to warm up amid low temperature	Self-organization, comfort of the Maidan space	Solidarity and inclusiveness
Symbol-product "stele"	Stele is the most negative place at Maidan	Negativism is in the heart of Maidan	No future of the country with Maidan
Symbol-product "piano"	There was a number of pianos established at Maidan which everybody could play	Everybody could present his/her talents and give pleasure to others amid clashes and conflicts	Freedom of choice and creativity
Symbol-product "firewood"	Protesters organized supply and storage of firewood	Self-organization of people	Civil society
Symbol-product "hot tea"	Volunteers prepare and distribute hot tea at frost	The binary opposition hot tea/cold winter; hot tea of Maidan/cold response of power	Solidarity and inclusiveness
Symbol-product "construction helmet"	Protesters carry construction helmets	Self-defense	Danger

Symbol-product "Antimaidan"	The power organizes the antipode of Maidan	This protest is staged and hierarchical, top-down	Fake protest
Symbol-product "flag of Ukraine"	People carry and hold flags of Ukraine	People manifest their national identity and ideals	Ukraine's future
Symbol-product "sonic grenade"	Police uses sonic grenades	Police self-defense and attacks	Conflict
Symbol-product "Mariinka"	The park where the parliament is located became the place of violent deadly clashes of February 18	The place of first mass killings and injuries	Battlefield
Symbol-product "tear gas"	Riot police uses tear gas against protesters during clashes	Police self-defense and attack	Conflict
Symbol-product "tent"	Tents are placed at Maidan to shelter protesters	People stay at Maidan day and night	Long-standing protest
Symbol-product "police snipers"	The government engaged police snipers	Police snipers kill innocent people	Killings of unarmed protesters
Symbol-product "baton"	Police uses batons against protesters	Indiscriminate use of batons by the riot police	Violence
Symbol-product "crowd of many thousand"	Protests mobilize many thousand people	The large-scale grassroots movement	Representativeness
Symbol-product "New Year's Tree on blood"	The establishment of New Year's Tree was an excuse of the power for the dispersal of Maidan	The power lied and found ridiculous excuses for violence against Maidan	Delegitimation of power
Symbol-product "shield"	The instrument of self-defense	The violent clashes	The dangerous development of

			protest
Symbol-product "Lenin monument"	The monument to Lenin in Kyiv was demolished	The legacy of communism and post-communism is deconstructed	Decommunization
Symbol-product "radical"	Radicals provoked first clashes	Radicals are marginalized in protests	Exclusion of radicals
Symbol-product "House of Trade-Unions"	The headquarters of the protest is located in self-occupied House of Trade-Unions	One of the main locations of protest coordinators and volunteers	Center of self-organization
Symbol-product "Liadski Gates"	The Gates at Maidan where the poetry was read for public	Maidan comprises multiplicity of places where everybody could find the way to express own creativity	Creativity and freedom
Symbol-product "Bankova street"	The place of first serious violence and detentions of activists	Riot police allowed provocation which became a pretext for assault on innocent	State violence
Symbol-product "flag of the EU"	Participants of Forum of Euromaidans held the flag of the EU	Activists hold the flag of the EU along with the flag of Ukraine	European values, European integration
Symbol-product "presidential palace Mezhygiria"	The private residence of the president Yanukovich	Yanukovich had no right to appropriate this residence, its luxury indicates misuse of power	State capture by the president
Symbol-product "first aid post"	There is a number of first aid posts at different locations of Maidan	Maidan medicine workers managed to organize efficient first aid system	Health care of Maidan
Symbol-product "laws of the 16th January"	The Party of Regions passed the laws that curtailed rights and freedoms	These laws make protests illegal	Dictatorship

Symbol-product "smoke"	Smoke covers the heaven over Maidan	Violence and sharpening of clashes	Conflict
Symbol-product "balaclava"	Radical protesters wear balaclavas	Anonymity is better for radical protesters than publicity	Threat of repressions
Symbol-product "black helmets"	Riot police wears black helmets	Riot police is identified by black helmets	The power relies on brutal riot police rather than on any people's support
Symbol-product "rubber bullets"	Riot police shoots with rubber bullets	Activists and journalists get injured with rubber bullets	Protesters and journalists are targets
Symbol-product "buses with detained protesters"	Police packs detained protesters into special buses - autozaks	Police packs people into autozaks brutally, breaking their rights and with the disproportionate application of violence	Mass detentions of activists
Symbol-concept "sociology of protest"	Figures of percentage	Social basis and social support of protest	The relatively weak social basis and the support of minority
Symbol-concept "astrological forecast"	Astrologists forecast close peaceful outcome	The peaceful outcome of Maidan should keep current power in place	The unavoidable peaceful outcome of such protest without power change
Symbol-concept "Berkut"	A special police unit in charge of protests' dispersion and suppression	The riot police betraying own nation and reverting to brutality and violence	Defenders of delegitimized power and enemies of Maidan
Symbol-concept "people's power"	Maidan is the location of civil activism and participatory democracy	Maidan is the location of civil activism and participatory democracy	Direct democracy
Symbol-concept "elite"	Politicians in opposition and in power	Maidan contests legitimacy of both oppositional elites and governmental elites	Weakness of elites



Symbol-concept "peaceful protesters"	Maidan is predominantly a peaceful protest	Protest loses its clarity and understanding of goals	Aimlessness and meaninglessness of protest
Symbol-concept "foreigner at Maidan"	Foreigners used to come to eyewitness Maidan and take part in it	Involvement of foreigners in Maidan	Alien protest
Symbol-concept "barricade"	Demarcation of borders of own territory and its defense	Own territory	Borders of Maidan space
Symbol-concept "amnesty"	Amnesty proposed by power is a solution	Forgiveness of all activists	Reconciliation
Symbol-concept "compromise"	Power and opposition have no choice but compromise	Agreement between opposition and power	Reconciliation
Symbol-concept "European values"	Values of human rights and liberties, justice, power accountability	European values as the ideal of Maidan	Human dignity, democracy, socio-economic prosperity
Symbol-concept "volunteer"	Different people volunteer at Maidan	Volunteers as representatives of Maidan	Self-initiative, non-material motivation of protesters
Symbol-concept "self-defense of Maidan"	Units of self-defense coordinate security issues	Self-defense of people against state-enemy	Substitute of state
Symbol-concept "positive energy"	Maidan does not have almost no positive energy	There is a lot of negative energy at Maidan	Maidan has no good future
Symbol-concept "Orange Revolution"	The memories of Orange Revolution are again alive	Experience of Orange Revolution	Forecast of failure

Symbol-concept "negative energy"	Most of place at Maidan are full of negative energy	There is a lot of negative energy at Maidan	Maidan has no good future
Symbol-concept "paid participation"	There are offers of payments for participation in Maidan posted in Internet	There are offers of payments which Maidan declines as a provocation	Corrupt and politicized protest
Symbol-concept "dispersal of Maidan"	Maidan was physically dispersed on November 30, 2013 at night. Afterwards there was one more attempt on December 11, 2013 and a permanent danger of recurrence	Suppression of protest and reversal of European integration	Dictatorship
Symbol-concept "terror"	Killings of innocent people is apogee of terror	The country with such government has no future	Repressions against protesters, killings of innocent people
Symbol-concept "gathering of people" ("narodne viche")	The special meetings announced by opposition for discussing important issues. Hundred thousand people took part in them	People's decision-making and deliberations	Direct democracy
Symbol-concept "self-organization"	Maidan shows excellent self-organization even after the massive tragedy of killings	Protesters show strong will and high spirit amid chaos and death	Civil society
Symbol-concept "lustration"	Legal procedure	Resetting of power	Power of the best people in the society

Symbol-concept "European integration"	People took to streets to safeguard the political course towards Europe.	Integration into the better part of the world	Future
Symbol-concept "March of Millions"	On December 8, 2013 hundred of thousand people took to the city center of Kyiv for anti-governmental protest	The protest is representative and all-embracing	The whole country
Symbol-concept "provocation"	The first clashes were intentionally provoked	The directors of provocations are not identified but it is possible to guess	Anomaly of violence
Symbol-concept "civil activists"	Active participants and representatives of Maidan	Activism, responsibility, self- organization	Civil society
Symbol-concept "revolution"	Maidan revolution in progress	This is more than protest or rebellion	Way to the new life
Symbol-concept "repression"	The danger of repression is overwhelming protest	Nobody could predict at what cost people would defend their rights	Risks of protesters
Symbol-concept "sociology of protest legitimation"	Sociology does not prove the social stereotypes about Maidan that it relies only on students and people from the west of Ukraine	Protest relies on the new young generation, Russian-speaking Ukrainians, Kyiv's inhabitants	Representativeness
Symbol-concept "disappointment of people"	Orange Revolution ended up with disappointment of people	The warning of the possible disappointment of people if this revolution does not succeed	Need in success

Symbol-concept "new generation"	The generation of bloggers and activists that take active part in Maidan	The young generation that uses social media and longs for fast changes	Future of Ukraine
Symbol-concept "social trust"	Ukrainians discover the value and possibility of social trust	Protesters recreate the space of social trust	Social contract, trust
Symbol-concept "war with own people"	Power wages war with own people	Government commits both hidden and open violence against civil society	Government commits both hidden and open violence against civil society
Symbol-concept "dignity"	Maidan defends dignity of people	People align European choice and their rights with the value of dignity	Ethics and morality
Symbol-concept "political prisoners"	Civil activists arrested indiscriminately	There are politically motivated persecutions	Power assaults on rights and liberties of people
Symbol-concept "consolidation of opposition"	Opposition has to undergo consolidation to succeed	The opposition has no chances to win without the consolidation from inside	Disintegration of opposition
Symbol-concept "victims killed in the Grushevskij street"	Two protesters Sergiy Nigoyan and Mychailo Zhyzneviskyj were killed in the Grushevskij street	The Yanukovych's regime sanctions killings of protesters	Terror
Symbol-concept "terror"	Killings of innocent people is apogee of terror	The country with such government has no future	Repressions against protesters, killings of innocent people
Symbol-concept "Heavenly Hundred"	Around one hundred unarmed people were killed in Mariinka and Institutska street on February 18-20	People sacrificed their lives for better future of Ukraine	National heroism

Symbol-concept "victory"	Maidan gets just the first victory	The true victory will come with the total resetting of the whole system	
Symbol-concept "state of emergency"	The government could introduce the state of emergency	The government will use this state for repressions	Suppression of protest
Symbol-slogan "Zeka get"	People scream untranslatable slogan addressed to Yanukovych. He is called criminal that has to step down	People want Yanukovych to step down because of his criminal past and his use of violence against protesters	Delegitimation of power
Symbol-slogan "Drop in ocean"	The slogan that was spread in social media and on posters	Everybody's contribution to common cause is valuable	Harmony of individuality and collectivity
Symbol-slogan "Butcher to prison" ("Kata za graty")	People scream a slogan addressed to Yanukovych. His place is identified in a prison instead of power	People want Yanukovych to step down because of his criminal past and his use of violence against protesters	Delegitimation of power
Symbol-slogan "Glory to Ukraine - Glory to Heroes"	Protesters often used this slogan	The manifestation of the loyalty to Ukraine and normative reference to heroism in the name of Ukraine	Faith in Ukraine
Symbol-situation "opposition leader is ignored and attacked by protesters"	Events on January 19 when protesters sprayed opposition leader Klychko with extinguisher	Inability of opposition to control protest	Power vacuum
Symbol-situation "protesters demand a single leader"	Maidan hissed off opposition heads and cried "Leader!"	Maidan needed a single leader to move on	Weak and lost opposition

Symbol-situation "night storm"	Possibility of night assault on Maidan	Non-transparency and meanness of power	Suppression
Symbol-situation "fighters attack empty parliament"	Protesters tried to break through the police chain to the parliament that was on vacation	Protest loses its clarity and understanding of goals	Uncoordinated protest
Symbol-situation "storm of the presidential administration"	Masked people with chains attacked unarmed internal troops	Mixture of provocation and radical protests	Radicalization
Symbol-situation "Berkut hits a woman"	A policeman hit a woman that was crying	Brutality and indiscriminate application of violence by riot police	State violence
Symbol-situation "riot police beats people lying on the ground"	Policemen beat people lying on the ground and stepping on them	Brutality and indiscriminate application of violence by riot police	State violence
Symbol-situation "assaults on Maidan activists"	Activists all over Ukraine are attacked, beaten by unknown strangers	The terror against Maidan is growing	Violence
Symbol-situation "repressions against Automaidan activists"	Road police come up with allegations against Automaidan activists	Police forges the evidence against Automaidan activists	Lawlessness
Symbol-situation "opposition lost elections in four constituencies"	Opposition candidates lost snap elections to pro-governmental candidates	Opposition did not manage to use the potential of Maidan to overtake pro-governmental opponents	Weakness of opposition

Symbol-situation "opposition calls people to move without goals"	Opposition did not formulate any clear goals for people while calling them to go to the government building	Opposition sets no clear goals for protest	Weakness of opposition
Symbol-situation "artists distribute tea"	Maidan does not show any discrimination of social roles, inter alia, artists distribute tea	Artistic spirit is integrated in Maidan everyday life	Deconstruction of hierarchies and social status structures
Symbol-situation "titushkas attacked the Forum of Euromaidans"	Titushkas threw eggs at activists, stormed the church where they held meeting	Repressions, persecutions of activists by state-hired gangs	Repressions, persecutions of activists by state-hired gangs
Symbol-situation "search of the journalist's apartment"	The apartment of the journalist Oleksandr Michelson was searched by police	The repressions and intimidations are directed at journalists	Repressions are reinforced
Symbol-situation "disappearance of Bulatov"	Leader of Automaïdan Dmytro Bulatov disappeared without trace	Police does little to investigate his disappearance	Repressions against activists
Symbol-situation "naked person tortured by police"	Riot police stripped off and beat an activist in the Grishkevych street	Riot police tortures innocent people	Inhumanity
Symbol-situation "deaths of protesters almost alive"	People could observe alive clashes and violence and their aftermath due to video streams	Emotional involvement of the whole nation into violent clashes, sympathy with protesters	

Symbol-situation "Berkut targets journalists in the Grushevskyj street"	Berkut shot in the direction where journalists were based in the Grushevskyj street	Berkut intentionally tries to injure journalists	Violence against journalists
Symbol-situation "Berkut attacks medical center"	Berkut purged the makeshift medical center	Riot police attacks medical workers and helpless injured people	Violence without boundaries
Symbol-situation "women pick cobbles and bricks for the frontline"	Women pick and distribute cobbles and bricks to the frontline	Although it is dangerous women are also at the frontline	Gender equality in protest
Symbol-situation "old women carry hot tea to the frontline"	Old women carry hot tea to the frontline of clashes in the Grushevskyj street	Everybody contributes to protest in the most efficient way	Gender and age equality in protest
Symbol-situation "disappearance of Bulatov"	Leader of Automaidan Dmytro Bulatov disappeared without trace	Police does little to investigate his disappearance	Repressions against activists
Symbol-situation "Yanukovych flies to Sochi"	Yanukovych flies to Russia amid protest to meet its president Putin and to attend the opening of the Olympic Games	Yanukovych goes to Russia to get instructions	Colonial subordination
Symbol-situation "Kruty battle"	Kruty battle took place on January 16, 1918 between Kyiv's students of military school and Red army	The battle for free and independent Ukraine	Historical memory
Symbol-situation "negotiations between power and opposition"	Opposition and power meet but this does not bring any results	Any agreement between opposition and power won't have proper legitimacy for Maidan	Deficit of legitimacy



Symbol-situation "gangs of titushkas are headed by policemen"	Police officers coordinate and command over armed gangs	State uses proxies to commit brutal violence against protesters	Criminalization of state
Symbol-situation "the Party of Regions' office is set on fire"	Protesters purged and set on fire the office of Party of Regions on February 18	The situation is out of control and unpredictable	Violence and revenge of protesters
Symbol-situation "members of parliament save protesters beaten by the police"	Members of parliament having immunity save protesters from detentions	Only people with immunity are still able to help protesters amid clashes and violence	The loss of control over protest
Symbol-situation "protesters demanded public repentance from PR politician Nestor Shufrych"	PR politician Nestor Shufrych was stopped by protesters and required to repent in public	People lose any tolerance to representatives of the Party of Regions	Public outrage and despair
Symbol-situation "leader of the Party of Regions' fraction Oleksandr Yefremov says that he is not ashamed of killed protesters"	Oleksandr Yefremov says that he feels no shame for killings of protesters and policemen in streets	Party of Regions lost any trust, any legitimacy and any understanding of the real situation in the country	Cynicism and irresponsibility of power
Symbol-process "rebellion"	Events in the Grushevskij streets	Protest turns into rebellion	People's struggle
Symbol-process "blocking of roads"	Maidan and police block roads	Police blocks more roads and create more obstacles than Maidan	Demarcation of territories of control by Maidan and by police

Symbol-process "coming to the aid"	At nights of storm, clashes or when there was a higher probability of storm a lot of people joined Maidan to help its stationed protesters	Mobilization of the society	Solidarity and unity
Symbol-process "cleansing"	The operations of the riot police against Maidan	Suppression of peaceful protest	Dictatorship
Symbol-process "singing together"	Protesters sing together Ukrainian songs and anthem	Common inspiration, common emotions and goals	Solidarity and unity
Symbol-process "slow investigation of assault on journalist Tetiana Chornovol"	Police makes little progress in its investigation of the assault on the journalist	Police could do more and better to investigate this case	Inefficiency and rotten nature of law enforcement system, no rule of law
Symbol-process "art of Maidan"	Maidan hosts numerous creative initiatives	Art helps protesters to challenge the power	Equality and solidarity
Symbol-process "office plankton carries tires and sacks of snow"	Office workers join protests before and after work	People who were the least probable supporters of protest joined it	Solidarity
Symbol-process "anti-terrorist operation"	The anti-terrorist operation turns into the suppression of Maidan and the whole country	Suppression of all rights, repressions and terror	Dictatorship

Symbol-process "trolling of Maidan in social media"	There is a systematic spread of hatred and provocative messages against Maidan, its activists and journalists in social media	These messages are ordered and intentionally distributed by trolls	Psychological pressure on activists and journalists
Symbol-process "return to the 2004 Constitution"	Opposition and Maidan demand the return to the parliamentary- presidential republic	The return to the 2004 Constitution helps to solve the conflict and remove Yanukovich from power	The required concession of the power
Symbol-process "deconstruction of oligarchy"	In order to make the victory of Maidan sustainable oligarchy has to be deconstructed	Maidan will lose in the longer- run if oligarchs keep their power	Ultimate victory
Symbol-process "thousand people come to the place of death of Heavenly Hundred"	People come to lay down flowers and pay tribute to the Heavenly Hundred	People live though the common grief and sorrow	Commemoration of common heroes
Symbol-process "resetting of the country"	The country has to be reset	Reforms and deoligarchization are required to make the victory of Maidan sustainable	Future and hope
Symbol-process "rebellion of regions"	Protests spread all over the country	The whole country rises up	All-Ukrainian revolution
Symbolic action "holding mirror in front of policemen"	The activists organized the action "Oh, God, it's me?" by holding mirrors in front of policemen	Normative reference to morality and ethics	Delegitimation of power

## Appendix E

### *Three types of meanings of the coded symbols: Poland*

<b>Symbol</b>	<b>Denotation</b>	<b>Connotation</b>	<b>Signification</b>
Symbol-product "rubber bullets"	Police shoot with rubber bullets	Police commits violence against protesters	State violence
Symbol-product "sonic grenade"	Police uses sonic grenades	Police self-defense and attack	Conflict
Symbol-product "cobble"	Protesters throw cobbles at the police	Protests attack riot police	Eruption of violence
Symbol-product "cocktail Molotov"	Improvised incendiary weapon	Protesters use self-made weapons	Violence by protesters
Symbol-product "snipers of Yanukovich"	Police snipers shot at protesters at Maidan	Police snipers are identified with the president Yanukovich	Killings of people by power
Symbol-product "blood"	Maidan is bleeding	People are dying in the name of freedom	Massacre
Symbol-product "fire"	Fire is visible at main locations of Maidan		Large-scale violence
Symbol-product "coffins"	Coffins are placed nearby the stage at Maidan	Maidan moans its victims	Casualties and grief
Symbol-product "shots"	Shots are heard at Maidan	Maidan passed over the no return point	State violence
Symbol-product "titushka"	An armed civil person that fights on side of police against Maidan activists	Gangs are hired and armed by the government to attack Maidan activists	State-sanctioned violence by proxies
Symbol-product "Lenin monument"	Lenin monument was shaken by protesters	Maidan is ready to give up the remains of the communist past	Decommunization

Symbol-product "presidential residence Mezhygiria"	The private residence of the president Yanukovych with own zoo and many other attractions	Yanukovych fears more to lose Mezhygiria than the whole country	Corruption, power abuse, state capture by the president
Symbol-product "Instytutaska street"	Killings of protesters by snipers took place in the Intytutaska street	The place of deaths of the protesters and place of grief	Massacre
Symbol-product "House of Trade- Unions"	Headquarters of the protest is located in self-occupied House of Trade-Unions	One of the main locations of protest where Right Sector is stationed	Self-organization
Symbol-product "laws of the 16th of January"	The Party of Regions passed the laws that curtailed rights and freedoms	These laws make protests illegal	Suppression and terror
Symbol-product "frost"	People protest in frost	Frost does not stop protesters and does not prevent them from continuing their protest	Strong motivation and determination
Symbol-product "tire"	Tires as a shield between Maidan and police	Non-lethal self-defense	Self-defense
Symbol-product "burnt police bus"	Protesters set on fire police bus in the Grushevskij street	Protest loses its peaceful nature	Violent radicalized conflict
Symbol-product "baton"	Police uses batons against protesters	Indiscriminate use of batons by the riot police	Violence
Symbol-product "national anthem"	People sing altogether national anthem	People unanimously display their national and civil identity	Patriotism, solidarity
Symbol-product "Right Sector"	Ultra-right organization fighting against riot police	This organization has weapons but it does not use it for the moment. It is not so dangerous as it is meant to be by some Polish people	Nationalism without chauvinism and hatred

Symbol-product "Civil Council of Maidan"	Civil Council of Maidan is one of actors at Maidan	Civil Council of Maidan becomes a decision-maker	Direct democracy, self-organization, civil society
Symbol-product "Automaiddan"	Civil activists use their cars to organize distant protests and deliver aid to Maidan	Maidan unites various civil initiatives and types of protests	Civil society
Symbol-product "sandwich"	Volunteers prepare and distribute sandwiches	Everybody could get a sandwich visiting Maidan or staying there for longer	Self-organization and self- maintenance
Symbol-product "hot tea"	Everybody could get a glass of tea visiting Maidan or staying there for longer	Everybody could get hot tea visiting Maidan or staying there for longer	Self-organization and self- maintenance
Symbol-product "flag of Ukraine"	Protesters hold national flags, fold in them	People manifest their national identity and ideals	Patriotism, solidarity
Symbol-product "tent"	Tents are placed at Maidan to shelter protesters	People stay at Maidan day and night	Long-standing protest
Symbol-product "barrel"	People warm up around barrels	Maidan organizes basic services for people to help them survive frost	Hospitality and comfort
Symbol-product "tank"	Yanukovich could consider the options of army's involvement in the anti-terrorist operation	Threat of army deployment	Terror
Symbol-product "flag of the EU"	Ukrainian flags are mixed with the flags of the EU at Maidan	At the time when European are disappointed with Europe, Ukrainians stand for Europe	European identity of Maidan
Symbol-product "New Year's Tree"	The background for making photos	Remarkable location of Maidan	Part of Maidan space
Symbol-product "crowd of many thousands"	Crowds of many thousands gather at Maidan	Maidan is a real grassroots movement	Representativeness and large scale of Maidan

Symbol-product "Committee of Support for Ukraine"	Wroclaw helps Ukraine and creates the special committee	It is time to provide concrete material aid to Ukraine	Solidarity with Ukraine, compassion
Symbol-product "protesters with flags of Ukraine"	Many protesters carry the national flags, fold themselves in the flags	People manifest their national identity and ideals	Patriotism, solidarity
Symbol-product "smoke"	Smoke covers the heaven over Maidan	The violence and conflict are on rise	Threat of violence
Symbol-product "shield"	Tool of self-defense	The active use of shield	Violence
Symbol-product "faces of people"	Protesters smile, have kind, open faces	Maidan attracts open-minded, positive people, lots of them young and enlightened	Solidarity, motivation, unselfishness, positive energy
Symbol-product "construction helmet"	Protesters carry construction helmets	Weak safety protection against potentially strong power of riot police	Self-defense of protesters
Symbol-product "burnt police bus"	Protesters set on fire police bus in the Grushevskij street	Protest loses its peaceful nature	Radicalization of protest
Symbol-product "sack of snow"	Protesters use sack of snow to construct new barricades	Maidan's inventiveness in the barricade construction	Defense of own territory by peaceful means
Symbol-product "Instytutaska street"	Killings of protesters by snipers took place in the Intytutaska street	The place where the unarmed protesters were killed by snipers	Deaths of protesters
Symbol-concept "Berkut"	A special police unit in charge of protests' dispersion and suppression	Berkut brutally defends the government violating human rights	The defenders of challenged power and enemies of Maidan
Symbol-concept "civil war"	Power wages civil war against own people	Conflict in Ukraine has characteristics of civil war	Violent conflict between people and power
Symbol-concept "storm"	Maidan survived storms and expect a new one	Maidan exists under permanent threat of storm	Danger and violence

Symbol-concept "rebellion"	Protests in Kyiv amount to rebellion	Ukrainians rise up against corruption and for the European future of their country	Revolution
Symbol-concept "snap presidential and parliamentary elections"	Key claim of Maidan is snap presidential and parliamentary elections	This key claim is one of stumbling blocks towards compromise, Yanukovich does not accept it	The resetting of the whole power system
Symbol-concept "disintegration of the country"	Ukraine can disintegrate because some regions (Crimea, for instance) may break away, some regions may break away from Ukraine if it remains under Yanukovich's rule	Maidan is not supported by the whole country, and some regions would never accept Yanukovich still in power	Potentially breakaway regions
Symbol-concept "divided opposition"	The opposition is divided, Tymoshenko has own interests, Yatsenyuk, Tiagnybok, Klychko could not come to terms	Opposition does not control protest and does not have the common vision of main issues	Weakness of opposition
Symbol-concept "Orange Revolution"	Maidan differs from Orange Revolution with its radicalization and determination to pursue own goals even under threat of terror	Maidan differs from Orange Revolution with its radicalization and determination to pursue own goals even under threat of terror	New experience
Symbol-concept "compromise"	Conceivable compromise between opposition and power	Maidan won't accept compromise between opposition and power without meeting all its demands	Delegitimation of any compromising
Symbol-concept "political crisis"	Ukraine is in deep political and economic crisis	Ukraine faces many serious challenges	Search of crisis solutions



Symbol-concept "March of Millions"	On December 8, 2013 hundred of thousand people took to the city center of Kyiv for anti-governmental protest	The largest mass protest in Ukraine ever	Representativeness and large scale of protest
Symbol-concept "sanctions"	Visa bans and freeze of assets for Yanukovych and his accomplices	The EU and US could have imposed sanctions against Yanukovych much earlier	The delay with sanctions
Symbol-concept "parallels with Ceaușescu"	Relatives of killed protesters may wish to take revenge	Yanukovych may be executed as the Romanian dictator Ceaușescu	Fate of the dictator
Symbol-concept "state of emergency"	The government could introduce the state of emergency	The government will use this state for repressions	Terror
Symbol-concept "dismissal of Yanukovych"	Maidan demands dismissal of Yanukovych	Maidan does not have any alternative to the dismissal of Yanukovych	Delegitimation of the president
Symbol-concept "self-defense"	Protesters organize self-defense of Maidan	Defense of the territory of freedom	Civil society
Symbol-concept "barricade"	The protesters build up barricades to demarcate and protect Maidan	Defense of own territory	Self-defense of Maidan
Symbol-concept "freedom"	Freedom is a key value that helps to understand motives of protesters	Maidan fights for freedom of the Ukrainian people	Political and civil freedom
Symbol-concept "round table"	There is a probability that Maidan ends up with "round table"	In order to avoid violence, Maidan could have ended with the negotiations between power and opposition	Reconciliation

Symbol-concept "solidarity"	Maidan shows extraordinary solidarity of people	Self-organization of Maidan, general spirit of people show what solidarity means in practice	Practice of solidarity
Symbol-concept "church"	Priests are present at Maidan	Involvement of church in protests	Solidarity of church with people
Symbol-concept "struggle with totalitarianism"	Maidan is a case of struggle with totalitarianism	Maidan reminds of struggle against totalitarianism at the communist times	People struggle against suppression and in the name of freedom
Symbol-concept "self-organization"	Maidan organizes functioning of normal life	People maintain all basic services of Maidan even amid clashes	Civil society
Symbol-concept "Moscow's embrace"	Maidan wants to overcome dependence on Russia	European integration is needed to move away from Russia	True independence
Symbol-concept "Association Agreement"	Yanukovich revoked the signing of the Association Agreement that gave a push for Maidan	Association Agreement gave a start to the protest but later on it went far beyond this particular issue	European integration, European values
Symbol-concept "amnesty"	Yanukovich accepts amnesty for imprisoned protesters	The amnesty won't hush protests	Fake reconciliation
Symbol-concept "multi-vector politics"	Yanukovich decided to pursue multi-vector politics instead of the European integration	Ukrainian people did not accept the return to multi-vector politics	Strategic choice of the country's course
Symbol-concept "political crisis"	Ukraine is in deep political and economic crisis	Ukraine faces many serious challenges	Search of crisis solutions
Symbol-concept "European standards"	Protesters claim European standards for Ukraine	Ukrainian wish to set European standards in their country	Future
Symbol-concept "new historical narrative"	Maidan creates new historical narrative	New view of history could help to unite the country	Writing new history

Symbol-concept "anti-terrorist operation"	The anti-terrorist operation is in progress	State violence against own people	Dictatorship
Symbol-concept "truce"	Formally, the truce is proclaimed on January 19, 2014	The truce won't bring peace	Fragile and temporary appeasement
Symbol-concept "struggle with totalitarianism"	Maidan is a case of struggle with totalitarianism	Maidan reminds of struggle against totalitarianism at the communist times	People struggle against suppression and in the name of freedom
Symbol-concept "revolution"	The revolution is unfolding in Ukraine	Protesters demand changes that should reset the whole country	Change
Symbol-concept "provocation"	Protesters are afraid of provocations	The attempt to discredit the protest	Anomaly of violence
Symbol-slogan "Don't shoot in own people!"	Protesters explain the riot police that they are people of the country, not criminals	People try to persuade riot police to side with them	Attempt of direct dialogue with riot police
Symbol-slogan "The Power of Bandukovych Away!"	People create new words "Bandukovych" that is a synthesis of the name of president and the word "banda"	People think that criminals are in power and rule the country	Criminalization of power
Symbol-slogan "Gang Away!"	People call the power "gang" ("banda")	People think that criminals are in power and rule the country	Criminalization of current power
Symbol-slogan "Police with People!"	People try to communicate with riot police and explain that it has to stay with people rather than with the government	People try to persuade riot police to side with them	Delegitimation of power
Symbol-situation "beating of children"	Young people, students were beaten by Berkut on November 30, 2013 at Maidan	People took to streets because such young people were brutally beaten by the police	The threat to democracy and country

Symbol-situation "people mock Yanukovych"	Ukrainians mock Yanukovych in Internet	Yanukovych has lost the adequate understanding of the reality	Mistrust, disrespect of the president
Symbol-situation "Berkut attacks medical workers, journalists"	Berkut attacks medical workers, journalists	State sanctions violence without boundaries and limits	Lawlessness, insecurity
Symbol-situation "Berkut targets journalists"	Berkut intentionally hits journalists in the Grushevskij street	Journalists are the first victims of violence	Suppression of freedom of speech
Symbol-situation "Yanukovych invites opposition to negotiations in which he does not participate"	Yanukovych invites opposition to negotiations but he does now show willingness to talk	President Yanukovych imitates negotiations	Profanation of the idea of negotiations at round table
Symbol-situation "Ahmetov demands crisis solution with people's involvement"	The most influential oligarch demands from Yanukovych to take into account Maidan's claims	Even oligarchs understand that it is impossible to ignore Maidan	Impact of oligarchy
Symbol-situation "Berkut brutally dispersed attacks on presidential administration"	Riot police dispersed attacks on the presidential administration	Berkut was not right to respond so brutally to protests in Kyiv	Disproportionate deployment of power
Symbol-situation "Ukraine is bleeding"	Ukraine, literally, is bleeding	Compassion to Ukraine	Massacre
Symbol-situation "release of Tymoshenko"	Protesters do not claim release of opposition politician as their primary goal	Tymoshenko is not a politician that could become a single leader of Maidan	Weakness of opposition
Symbol-situation "cleaning of EuroMaidan"	People clean Maidan after the killings and shootings of February 18-20	People keep calm and well-disciplined even after the massacre against them	Solidarity after killings and deaths of protesters
Symbol-situation "Yanukovych did not address the nation"	Yanukovych did not deliver any speech to his nation at the critical time	Yanukovych fears Maidan	Weakness of the president

Symbol-situation "Yanukovych consults with Putin"	Yanukovych consults with Putin amid protests in Kyiv	Yanukovych takes decision only after getting guidelines from Moscow	Responsibility of Russia
Symbol-situation "people die in streets"	People are hit and killed in the streets of Kyiv	Protests in Kyiv reached the critical point after which Ukraine would never be the same again	Massacre
Symbol-situation "father holds the blue helmet of the son killed by sniper"	Father of 19 year old Ustym Golodnyuk holds UN blue helmet of his son which was shot by sniper	Human dimension of casualties	Tragedy
Symbol-situation "people with their cars bring medicine, water, food to Maidan"	People who have cars bring all necessities to Maidan after killings and shootings	Ordinary people supply Maidan with all necessities, the supply line is not broken even after killings of protesters	Solidarity after shootings and deaths of protesters
Symbol-situation "people come to the place where the history of their country changes"	People come to Maidan after the shootings and killings	Maidan decides the history of Ukraine	Making the history
Symbol-situation "people ask to hold no negotiations with the criminal"	People consider Yanukovych to be a criminal with whom no negotiations are possible	Negotiations won't solve the crises	Criminalization of power and distrust in the president Yanukovych
Symbol-situation "Maidan is again full of people after killings"	Thousands of people come to Maidan after killings and shootings	Nothing could stop Maidan	People's resistance and determination
Symbol-situation "Polish minister of foreign affairs brought wounded protesters to Poland"	Polish minister of foreign affairs on his way back to Ukraine brought wounded protesters for treatment in Poland	Poland has to help Ukraine at the critical moment of protest	Solidarity with Ukraine

Symbol-situation "dead bodies and blood but they dance"	Protesters dance even in the days of the toughest violence against them	Maidan is able to survive with high spirit everything, even deaths and violence	Polish solidarity with Ukraine
Symbol-situation "dead and wounded people lying on the ground"	Literally, dead and wounded people lying on the ground in the streets of Kyiv	Conflict escalation reached its highest point	Tragedy, casualties
Symbol-situation "Lviv administration refuses to subordinate to Yanukovich's government"	Lviv is the first region where the power rises up against the dictatorship	The power gets more and more delegitimized	Disintegration of the country
Symbol-situation "Automaïdan activist Bulatov crucified"	Maidan activists become victims of brutal violence	Maidan activists become victims of brutal violence	Brutal violence by state proxies
Symbol-situation "Polish reporter under bullets asks Berkut why it shoots in protesters"	Bartłomiej Maślankiewicz directly approached Berkut amid clashes	Reporter asked why Ukrainians kill Ukrainians	Accountability of violent power
Symbol-situation "people are kidnapped from hospitals"	Wounded activists are kidnapped from hospitals by police and unidentified people	Protesters are not protected from persecutions even at hospitals	Lawlessness and violence
Symbol-situation "prayer at Maidan"	Priests read prayer in front of the riot police	Priests try to reconcile protesters	Solidarity of church with people
Symbol-situation "barricades are reinforced"	Protesters rebuilt and improved barricades after the attempt of storm	Maidan decisively defends own territory	
Symbol-situation "assault on the journalist Tetiana Chornovol"	The investigative reporter Tetiana Chornovol was attacked after her revealing publications about high-ranking officials	Everybody who challenges power are under threat	Violence against journalists and activists

Symbol-situation "Yuriy Verbytskyj found tortured and dead in forest"	One of Maidan activists was kidnapped and found dead in the forest	Large-scale violence against Maidan activists take place in Ukraine	State violence, lawlessness, insecurity, repressions
Symbol-situation "Party of Regions condemned Yanukovych"	Party of Regions claims that Yanukovych is the main liable for crimes against Maidan	That is not enough for this party to expiate its guilt	Distancing from Yanukovych's crimes
Symbol-situation "snipers shot in hearts, heads, backs"	Snipers at Maidan targeted protesters in hearts, heads, backs	Protesters were killed by professionals	Massacre
Symbol-situation "woman threatens police with her handbag"	Lay people in Kyiv react negatively to riot police	Maidan is determined to go up to the end	Radical mood of protesters
Symbol-situation "six year old boy marches with toy saber"	Children play the warlike games	Radical mood of protesters	Conflict
Symbol-situation "people threw away party emblems"	Protesters deny the presence of party symbols	Protesters are critical of power as well as opposition	Transcendence over conventional politics
Symbol-situation "opposition leader is ignored and attacked by protesters"	Events on January 19 when protesters sprayed opposition leader Klychko with extinguisher	Opposition has no true control over protests and ability to prevent violence	Weakness of the opposition
Symbol-situation "Berkut attacks medical workers, journalists"	Berkut attacks medical workers, journalists	State sanctions violence without boundaries and limits	Lawlessness and insecurity
Symbol-situation "people get up in a new country"	After the events of February 18-20, 2014 Ukraine changed	Ukraine would never be the same after it survived bloodshed	Resetting the country

Symbol-situation "Maidan self-defense stopped the car with Tymoshenko and Yatsenyuk to warn against traffic rules' breach"	Maidan self-defense warned Tymoshenko and Yatsenyuk that the rules are the same for every citizen	Maidan fought for the accountable power	Rule of law for everybody in the future Ukraine
Symbol-situation "the EU responded to Maidan only when the bloodshed occurred"	Europe decided on sanctions against Yanukovich only after killings of February 18-20, 2014	Europe was slow and hesitant in its response to Maidan	Self-made victory
Symbol-situation "people come "to defend children"	People took to streets in response to the dispersal of Maidan on November 30, 2013	People protest for their rights rather than for politicians	Rebellion against violence and for future
Symbol-process "war with own people"	Yanukovich deploys well-armed police against legitimate protests	Violent conflict between people and power	Delegitimized and criminalized power
Symbol-process "return to the 2004 Constitution"	Opposition and Maidan demand the return to the parliamentary-presidential republic	The return to the 2004 Constitution is inevitable	The solution to the political crisis
Symbol-process "dispersal of Maidan"	Riot police tried to storm and disperse Maidan	The attempt to disperse Maidan failed completely	Victory of protest
Symbol-process "singing together"	People at Maidan sing together the national anthem	Maidan reinforces Ukrainian national identity	Solidarity
Symbol-process "resetting the country"	The main challenge for Ukraine is to build up a new system and integrate the country	Reforms and deoligarchization are required to make the victory of Maidan sustainable	The change of the whole country
Symbol-process "people decide destiny of their country in streets"	People with their radical violent protests have impact on power and opposition	History is done by people	Direct democracy



## Appendix F

*Three types of meanings of the coded symbols: Germany*

Symbol	Denotation	Connotation	Signification
Symbol-product "ambulance"	Ambulances are in the Kyiv's streets	Kyiv is almost dead, only ambulances are seen in its streets	Danger, uncertainty and bloodshed
Symbol-product "cocktail Molotov"	Protesters throw cocktails Molotov	Defensive measures that protests take won't protect them from the riot police	Violent clashes
Symbol-product "cobblestones"	Protesters throw cobblestones	Defensive measures that protests take won't protect them from the police	Self-defense of protesters
Symbol-product "burnt tire"	Protesters burn tires to defend themselves	Defensive measures that protesters take won't protect them from the riot police	Self-defense of protesters
Symbol-product "water cannon"	Police uses water cannons against protesters	Police is stronger than protesters due to its equipment	Violent clashes
Symbol-product "rubber bullets"	Police shoots at protesters	Police is stronger than protesters a priori because it shoots at them	State violence
Symbol-product "laws of the 16th of January"	Parliament passed these laws using the Russian templates	These laws provoked more tensions and violence	Suppression of rights to assembly
Symbol-product "armored car"	Police ride armored cars	Police is a priori in stronger position due to its equipment and weapons	State violence
Symbol-product "Civil Council of Maidan"	Civil Council of Maidan takes decisions on how to go on with protests	Protesters are decision-makers	Direct democracy

Symbol-product "Right Sector"	Right Sector demands a vice-prime-minister's post for his leader, its symbols are everywhere at Maidan	Radicals are coming to power in Ukraine	Nationalism and radical ideologies
Symbol-product "black-red flag"	Black-red flag of Right Sector is everywhere at Maidan	Right Sector is visible as an actor	Nationalists' involvement
Symbol-product "blood"	A lot of blood is shed at Maidan	There is a large-scale violence	Terror and violence
Symbol-product "catapult"	Protesters fight against police with the makeshift catapult	Protesters defend themselves and attack the police with medieval weapons	Self-defense
Symbol-product "shield"	Both police and protesters carry shields	Both sides are committing violence and need to defend	Self-defense
Symbol-product "stage"	Opposition leaders and activists deliver speeches and make announcements on stage	The center of the self-organized territory of Maidan	Direct democracy
Symbol-product "protesters with flags of Ukraine"	Protesters often carry flags of Ukraine	People manifest their national identity and ideals	Patriotism, solidarity
Symbol-product "faces of people"	Protesters smile or look determined and courageous	Maidan attracts open-minded, positive people, lots of them young and enlightened	Open-mindedness, positive energy, unselfishness
Symbol-product "coffin"	Funerals of killed protesters	Moaning of victims	Terror
Symbol-product "Tymoshenko's speech at Maidan"	Just-released opposition politician Yulia Tymoshenko delivered emotional speech at Maidan	Tymoshenko showed that she is ready to assume the responsibility for the country	Change of power
Symbol-product "presidential residence Mezhyhiria"	Protesters open the doors of Mezhyhiria to the world	Yanukovich had the luxurious lifestyle	State capture

Symbol-product "burnt House of Trade-Unions"	House of Trade-Union was set on fire by the police	Police attacks the heart of Maidan	Terror
Symbol-product "handshake between Klichko and Yanukovich"	Klichko shook the hand of Yanukovich after the killings of protesters	Maidan receives this gesture as treason	Illegitimate reconciliation
Symbol-product "Klitschko"	Boxer and opposition politician Klitschko leads protests	Despite fatigue Klichko behaves courageously under stress	New leadership
Symbol-product "fire"	There is strong frost in Kyiv	Violence is in progress	Danger
Symbol-product "Michaylovsky Cathedral"	One of protesters' destinations	Protesters could rely on church	Church's support for Maidan
Symbol-product "Hotel Ukraine"	There are dead protesters lying at the medical point located in the hotel; the hotel is at the crossfire	Snipers could shoot from the Hotel Ukraine	Murders of protesters
Symbol-product "flowers on pavement"	There are casualties at Maidan	People died for the Maidan cause	Fresh memories
Symbol-product "snipers"	Snipers shoot at protesters	Target police units are involved in the bloodshed	Massacre
Symbol-product "tear gas"	Police uses police gas against protesters	Tear gas becomes the usual element of protests in Kyiv	State violence
Symbol-product "fire"	Maidan is set on fire	Violent clashes take place at Maidan	Violence
Symbol-product "flak jacket"	Protesters wear flak jackets	Protesters expect the violence against them and suppression	Threat of violence
Symbol-product "helmet"	Protesters wear helmets	Protesters defend themselves	Radicalization of protest

Symbol-product "baton"	Both police and protesters use batons	Protesters use old-fashioned tools to defend themselves against disproportionate violence of police	Radicalization of protest, self-defense
Symbol-product "burnt police bus"	Protesters burnt the police bus	Protesters crossed the line between peace and violence	Radicalization of protest
Symbol-product "grenade"	Police uses grenades against protesters	Protesters run risk of injuries	State violence
Symbol-product "mask"	Protesters wear ski masks	Protesters hide their faces being concerned about possible persecutions	Radicalization of protest
Symbol-product "frost"	There is strong frost in Kyiv	Maidan survives strong frost that does not stop it anyway	Courage of protesters
Symbol-product "Lenin monument"	Protesters demolished the Lenin monument in Kyiv	Protesters are ready to more radical measures	Decommunization
Symbol-product "laws of the 16th of January"	The parliament passed the laws that curtail the political rights	Yanukovich chose the confrontation instead of reconciliation	Suppression
Symbol-product "tent"	Protesters fix tents in the city center and reside in them	Protesters are determined to fight for their rights	Self-organization of long-standing protest
Symbol-product "sandwich"	Everybody can get a sandwich free of charge at Maidan	The friendly atmosphere dominates at Maidan	Self-organization, solidarity
Symbol-product "tee"	Everybody can get tee free of charge at Maidan	The friendly atmosphere dominates at Maidan	Self-organization, solidarity
Symbol-product "national anthem"	Protesters often sing national anthem	People get united in their common actions	Patriotism, solidarity, national identity

Symbol-concept "civil war"	There was a risk of civil war in Ukraine	There are chances of Maidan growing into civil conflict because of existing numerous camp of Yanukovych's supporters, especially in the east and Crimea	Disintegration of the country and bloodshed
Symbol-concept "barricade"	Protesters build and keep barricades	There is a deeply-rooted confrontation in Ukraine	Conflict
Symbol-concept "fascists"	Opposition politician calls Yanukovych and his supporters "fascists"	There is a deeply-rooted confrontation in Ukraine	Delegitimation of power by opposition
Symbol-concept "bandits"	Opposition politician calls Yanukovych and his supporters "bandits"	There is a deeply-rooted confrontation in Ukraine	Delegitimation of power by opposition
Symbol-concept "extremists"	Prime-minister Azarov calls protesters "extremists"	There is a deeply-rooted confrontation in Ukraine	Stigmatization and condemnation of protesters
Symbol-concept "terrorists"	Prime-minister Azarov calls protesters "terrorists"	Prime-minister Azarov calls protesters "terrorists"	Stigmatization and condemnation of protesters
Symbol-concept "repression"	The laws of the 16th of January were passed to lay ground for repressions	Yanukovych's regime prepares to suppress Maidan	State suppression of protests
Symbol-concept "revolution"	Revolution took place in Ukraine	Rebellion of people against oligarchy and against Yanukovych for European future	Change of the country
Symbol-concept "second front"	There are active protests and seizures of administrations in regions	Regions rises up against Yanukovych	Delegitimation of power
Symbol-concept "disintegration of the country"	There is the probability of the country's divide	There are reasons for concerns of the loyalty of some regions to Maidan goals	Potentially breakaway regions

Symbol-concept "Orange Revolution"	After Orange Revolution the new power played by old rules	Negative experience has to teach	History repeats
Symbol-concept "compromise"	Compromise is needed to solve the conflict but Klichko does not accept it	The violence makes compromise impossible	Conflict settlement
Symbol-concept "European values"	Opposition politicians talk about European values	Better standards of life	Future of Ukraine
Symbol-concept "Berkut"	Riot police assaults on protesters; the commander of Berkut fled after shootings at Maidan	This riot police unit played key role in Maidan clashes	Defenders of regime
Symbol-concept "sanctions"	Klychko calls the EU to introduce sanctions	Opposition thinks that sanctions are the most efficient help that the West could give	Western influence
Symbol-concept "reforms"	Ukraine needs reforms	Ukraine has to be fundamentally changed	The resetting of the country
Symbol-concept "oligarchy"	Oligarchs try to save their influence and money	Oligarchs feel threatened by Maidan and decided to let Yanukovich to fall down	State capture by oligarchs
Symbol-concept "partisans of Kyiv"	Protesters could be compared with partisans	Protesters risk their security and lives	Civil confrontation
Symbol-concept "civilian activists"	Civil activists take responsibility for Maidan	Maidan is a bottom-up grassroots movement	Self-organization, civil society
Symbol-concept "freedom"	Protesters struggle against the despot for freedom	Maidan is the territory of freedom	Freedom
Symbol-concept "massacre"	The bloodshed is going on in the city center of Kyiv	Violence went beyond any imaginable boundaries	Casualties and murders of protesters

Symbol-concept "despot"	Yanukovych is despot and dictator	People struggle against despot	Dictatorship
Symbol-concept "snap presidential elections"	Protesters demand snap presidential elections	Protesters accept no alternative to fast snap presidential elections	Power change
Symbol-concept "rebellion"	Rebellion is in progress in Ukraine	Sweeping change of power	Revolution
Symbol-concept "state bankruptcy"	Ukraine is at the edge of state bankruptcy	Ukraine is facing serious challenges	Financial risks of revolution
Symbol-concept "anti-terrorist operation"	Yanukovych starts anti- terrorist operation against Maidan	Maidan is supposed to be dispersed and suppressed	Suppression of Maidan
Symbol-concept "radicals"	Radicals attacked the riot police	There are proponents of violent measures among protesters	Radicalization of protest
Symbol-concept "self-defense"	Some protesters get armed with batons, shields and helmets and organize special defensive groups	People have to defend themselves	State violence
Symbol-concept "compromise"	Compromise is needed to solve the conflict but Klitschko does not accept it	Compromise is needed to stop violence but Maidan is against it	Unreachable reconciliation
Symbol-concept "provocation"	Klitschko is afraid of provocations; police really provokes protesters	It is necessary to identify provocations of the police that instigate violence	Suppression, brutality of power
Symbol-concept "gathering of people"	On Saturdays and Sundays hundred thousand people come to Maidan	Protesters regularly gather at Maidan	Mobilization of society
Symbol-concept "amnesty"	The power is ready to provide amnesty in exchange of liberation of administrative buildings	Mistrust between power and its challengers	Reconciliation

Symbol-slogan "For freedom of Ukraine"	The slogan "For freedom of Ukraine" is written on a protester's baton	Protesters struggle for their freedom	Human rights, freedom, independence
Symbol-slogan "Klitschko, Klitschko, Klitschko!"	Protesters cry "Klitschko!" when he appears among them	Klitschko enjoys true support of protesters, he is a potential leader of the country	Legitimacy, people's support, leadership
Symbol-slogan "No sanctions, no peace"	Protesters argue that sanctions of the EU and US are urgently needed	Only sanctions could prevent Yanukovich from violence	Need in the aid of the West
Symbol-slogan "Shame!"	Protesters cry "Shame" in response to the power's decisions	The power with its decisions does not solve the crisis	Delegitimation of power
Symbol-slogan "We stay to stand!"	Protesters cry the slogan of their decision to stay at Maidan	Maidan is ready to go up to the end	Power of protest
Symbol-situation "Party's of Regions members quite it"	In the parliament and in regions functionaries quit the Party of Regions	The worst-case scenario for Yanukovich comes into being	The end of Yanukovich's regime
Symbol-situation "scandalous adoption of the laws of the 16th of January"	The parliament adopted these laws with hand vote and violations	The adoption of these laws worsened the conflict	Legal basis for suppression of Maidan
Symbol-situation "protesters burnt down the property of communists' leader Petro Simonenko and found two posh cars in his garage"	20 people attacked the property of the communists' leader Simonenko, burnt it down and found the posh cars of him and his wife Toyota Land Cruiser und ein Aston Martin Vantage	Maidan protested against luxurious style of life of the politicians	Richness of politicians
Symbol-situation "Tymoshenko arrived at Maidan in the autocade of Mercedes and Lexus cars"	Tymoshenko arrived at Maidan in the autocade of Mercedes and Lexus cars	Old opposition leader did not understand what Maidan fought for	Change of elites



Symbol-situation "Yanukovych flew to Sochi to meet Putin"	Yanukovych travelled to Sochi specially to meet the Russian president	Yanukovych consults with Putin what to do with Maidan	Dependence on Russia
Symbol-situation "suppression of Maidan"	Yanukovych is considered traitor by Russia because he did not dare the suppression of Maidan	Russia expects the suppression of Maidan	State violence
Symbol-situation "toppling down of Lenin monument"	Protesters demolished the Lenin monument in Kyiv	Protest can get more radical	De-communization
Symbol-situation "protesters make police flee"	During the night storm of Maidan protesters make police flee	Maidan is strong enough to struggle against the police	Victory of protest
Symbol-situation "foreign politicians come to Maidan"	Different foreign politicians visited Maidan	The West supports Maidan	International solidarity
Symbol-situation "police doesn't let Klitschko in the hospital to visit protesters"	Klitschko had to persuade long the police to let him in the hospital to visit injured protesters	Police behaves in the hospital as if it is prison	Assault on the rights of protesters and opposition
Symbol-situation "women talking to the riot police"	Women talking to the riot police	There are peaceful protesters	The hope of reconciliation
Symbol-situation "Klitschko wears a flak jacket"	Klitschko started wearing a flak jacket	Klitschko feels unsafe	Security risks of opposition leaders
Symbol-situation "police destroyed the medical point in Grushevskogo"	Riot police smashed the medical point in Grushevskogo	Riot police attacks medical workers	Terror
Symbol-situation "a man knelt in the street at night and read Bible"	The man read Bible in the street	People seek refuge and relief amid violence	Moral relief
Symbol-situation "confession in front of police"	Priest listening to the confession of a believer in front of the police chain	People seek moral refuge and relief amid violence	The possibility of forgiveness, expiation

Symbol-situation "opposition refused from the proposal of posts by Yanukovych"	Yatsenyuk refused from the post of prime-minister, Klitschko - from the post of vice-prime-minister	Yanukovych tries to bribe the opposition leaders	Integrity of opposition
Symbol-situation "a policeman drags a protester"	A policeman drags a protester	The riot police tortures and commit other crimes against own people	Terror
Symbol-situation "a protester got shot in a back"	A protester got shot in a back by the riot police and died	There are casualties at Maidan caused by the police	Terror
Symbol-situation "police tortured a naked person in frost"	Police beats and humiliates a naked activist in frost	Riot police tortures and commits other crimes against own people	Tortures of activists
Symbol-situation "police targets journalists"	Berkut shot in the direction where journalists were based in the Grushevsky street	Berkut intentionally tries to injure journalists	Violence against journalists
Symbol-situation "leader of the Right Sector Dmitry Yarosh received more support at Maidan than Tymoshenko"	Tymoshenko was not received so well, as it was expected	Maidan accepts no compromise with Yanukovych and supports Right Sector's radicalism	Power vacuum
Symbol-situation "president Yanukovych flees Ukraine"	President Yanukovych flees Ukraine although nobody knows his actual place of stay	Yanukovych may try to find shelter in Russia	Political and moral injustice
Symbol-situation "Ukraine issues a warrant of arrest of Yanukovych"	Ukrainian authorities are looking for Yanukovych to bring him to justice	Yanukovych may try to find shelter in Russia	Responsibility for crimes
Symbol-situation "release of Tymoshenko"	Yulia Tymoshenko is liberated from prison	The freed politician will change the power landscape and fight for the president's post	Political justice

Symbol-situation "Tymoshenko in the wheel chair at Maidan delivered emotional speech"	Tymoshenko in the wheel chair at Maidan delivered speech	Tymoshenko showed her renewed political ambitions	New leadership
Symbol-situation "kneeling people at Maidan"	People kneel at the places of mass murders of protesters	People pay tribute to victims	Commemoration of victims, sacredness
Symbol-situation "Party of Regions makes Yanukovych responsible for the country's predicament"	Party of Regions claims that Yanukovych is the main liable for crimes against Maidan	That is not enough for this party to expiate its guilt	Responsibility
Symbol-situation "Yanukovych makes a phone call to Yatsenyuk"	Yanukovych makes a phone call to Yatsenyuk	Last-minute negotiations between Yanukovych and opposition	Change of power
Symbol-situation "army declared that it won't interfere with power struggle"	Army officially states that it won't take part in political struggles	Army keeps away from violence against Maidan	Neutrality of army
Symbol-situation "crowd singing national anthem"	Crowd unanimously singing national anthem	National identity and mobilization of society	Patriotism, solidarity
Symbol-situation "protesters suddenly took to stage and threatened to storm the president's palace if he does not quit"	An unknown protester took suddenly to the stage	Maidan is ready to go up the end and topple down Yanukovych	Extreme radicalization of protest
Symbol-situation "German foreign minister says: 'It's the last chance for solution'"	German foreign minister says after meeting with Yanukovych to opposition that there is the last chance for peaceful settlement of the conflict	The only alternative to talks with Yanukovych is bloodshed	Full-fledged suppression, repressions and bloodshed
Symbol-situation "police standing on the side of barricade"	Some policemen manifest that they are on the side of Maidan	There are policemen that openly support protesters	Solidarity between police and protesters

Symbol-situation "Klitschko and Steinmeier discuss when they have to speak to Maidan representatives"	Steinmeier wanted first to reach agreement with Yanukovy, and then to explain it to Maidan; Klitschko insisted that it is necessary first to talk to Maidan representatives	Negotiators with Yanukovych have to consult with Maidan	Direct democracy
Symbol-situation "security service hunts down protesters"	Professional snipers kill protesters	Security service commits inhuman crimes	Massacre
Symbol-situation "the Polish minister says that if opposition doesn't support deal with Yanukovych, there will be the state of war and they all die"	Radoslaw Sikorski told to opposition that they all die if no agreement with Yanukovych is reached, namely, they would be killed	The only alternative to talks with Yanukovych is bloodshed	Full-fledged suppression, repressions and bloodshed
Symbol-situation "protesters met opposition leaders with whistle after deal with Yanukovych"	Protesters met Klichko and others with whistle for the compromise with Yanukovych	Maidan accepts no compromise with Yanukovych	Delegitimation of power
Symbol-situation "protesters block Kyiv's airport"	Protesters block Kyiv's airport to prevent the Yanukovych's and his officials' escape	Maidan is afraid that Yanukovych and his entourage would evade responsibility	Responsibility for crimes
Symbol-situation "House of Trade-Unions is set on fire"	House of Trade-Unions is set on fire amid violent clashes	It gets perilous at Maidan	Escalation of violence
Symbol-situation "Klitschko is sprayed with the extinguisher in the face by protesters"	Klitschko is attacked by protesters during his attempt to stop violence	Protest goes out of opposition's control	Radicalization of protest
Symbol-situation "young women asking Germany to help"	Young female protesters ask Germany to help	Attractive female protesters have to prove that the German help is really needed	Gender relations at Maidan

Symbol-situation "the pro-governmental Russian writer Alexander Prochanov was on tour to explain that Yanukovych is a traitor because he did not suppress Maidan"	Prochanov has the assignment to deliver the message that Yanukovych has to disperse Maidan	Russia expects the suppression of Maidan	Russian influence
Symbol-situation "oligarchs Firtash and Achmetov keep silent amid protests"	Oligarchs do not reveal their opinions about Maidan	Oligarchs think how to save their money and influence	Influence of oligarchs
Symbol-situation "Achmetov made a statement calling to peaceful conflict resolution"	Achmetov revealed his opinion	Oligarch Achmetov distances himself from Yanukovych	Influence of oligarchs
Symbol-situation "young oligarch Kurchenko disappeared"	Maidan made the young oligarch to flee Ukraine	Oligarchs feel insecure and unsafe after Maidan's victory	Loss of power by oligarchs
Symbol-process "oligarchs fighting for saving their milliards"	Oligarchs are anxious about their future in Ukraine	Oligarchs try to save their money obtained due to state capture	Influence of oligarchs
Symbol-process "history is written in Ukraine at fast pace"	Events in Ukraine unfold at extraordinary pace	It is the unique momentous in the history of Ukraine	Revolution
Symbol-process "snipers shooting in unarmed people's arteries, hearts, heads, backs"	Snipers at Maidan targeted protesters in hearts, heads, backs	Protesters were killed by professionals	Massacre
Symbol-process "rebellion of regions"	Protests spread all over the country	The west of the country and some regions in the center rise up	Revolution

Symbol-process "protesters building barricades"	Protesters build up barricades with sacks of snow, metal constructions, etc.	The demarcation of Maidan's territory	Self-defense
Symbolic action "protesters wear pots, sieves, and cardboard boxes on heads in protest against the laws of the 16th of January"	Protesters wear pots, sieves, and cardboard boxes on heads in protest against the laws of the 16th of January	Protesters mock the absurdity of the laws of the 16th of January	Delegitimation of suppression
Symbolic action "Femen activists pissed on the Yanukovych's portraits"	Femen activists pissed on the Yanukovych's portraits	Disdain of power	Delegitimation of power

## Appendix G

### Ukraine

Symbol	Symbolic representation	Visibility (%)
strike fighters	uncoordinated protest	0,3
smoke grenade	uncoordinated protest	0,8
siren	uncoordinated protest	0,3
ambulance	uncoordinated protest	0,5
explosion	uncoordinated protest	0,3
fire	uncoordinated protest	0,3
national anthem	struggle for the change	1,5
injuries of Maidan activists	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
Grifon	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
Automaidan	struggle for the change	0,5
Grushevskogo street	struggle against dictatorship	3
titushka	struggle against dictatorship	5
cocktail Molotov	struggle against dictatorship	1,6
internal troops	uncoordinated protest	2,5
fighters with chains	uncoordinated protest	0,3
Instytutska street	struggle against dictatorship	1,6
tire	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
buses with black-out windows	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
flack jacket	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
stele	uncoordinated protest	1
New Year's Tree	uncoordinated protest	0,3
flag of Ukraine	struggle for the change	1

baton	uncoordinated protest	2
tear gas	uncoordinated protest	1,6
sonic grenade	uncoordinated protest	1
construction helmet	struggle against dictatorship	1
barrel	struggle for the change	0,3
firewood	struggle for the change	0,3
Michailovska square/ Michailovsky cathedral	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
sandwich	struggle for the change	0,3
tea	struggle for the change	0,3
New Year's Tree on blood	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
radical	uncoordinated protest	0,3
crowd of many thousands	struggle for the change	0,3
splinters	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
balaclava	struggle against dictatorship	1
House of Trade Unions	struggle for the change	1
Lenin monument	struggle for the change	0,3
piano	struggle for the change	0,3
presidential palace Mezhygiria	struggle for the change	0,5
flag of the EU	struggle for the change	0,3
Liadski Gates	struggle for the change	0,5
Bankova street	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
shield	struggle against dictatorship	1
laws of the 16th of January	struggle against dictatorship	1
black helmet	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
smoke	struggle against dictatorship	0,5



rubber bullets	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
buses with the detained protesters	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
tent	struggle for the change	0,3
Mariinka	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
police snipers	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
first aid post	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
Antimaidan	struggle against dictatorship	1
lustration	struggle for the change	0,3
sociology of protest delegitimation	uncoordinated protest	0,3
astrological forecast	uncoordinated protest	0,3
people's power	uncoordinated protest	0,3
rebellion	uncoordinated protest	1
civil activists	struggle for the change	3,5
elite	uncoordinated protest	0,5
Berkut	struggle against dictatorship	5
peaceful protesters	struggle for the change	0,3
amnesty	uncoordinated protest	0,5
compromise	uncoordinated protest	1
foreigner at Maidan	N/A	0,3
barricade	struggle against dictatorship	4,5
European values	struggle for the change	0,5
volunteers	struggle for the change	0,3
negative energy	uncoordinated protest	0,3
positive energy	uncoordinated protest	0,3
cleansing	struggle against dictatorship	1
European integration	struggle for the change	1

Orange Revolution	struggle for the change	1,5
gathering of people	struggle for the change	1
Heavenly Hundred	struggle for the change	1
provocation	struggle against dictatorship	2
revolution	struggle for the change	2
repression	struggle against dictatorship	2,5
disappointment of society	struggle for the change	0,3
sociology of protest legitimization	struggle for the change	0,3
social trust	struggle for the change	0,3
consolidation of opposition	struggle for the change	0,3
self-defense	struggle against dictatorship	1,6
art of Maidan	struggle for the change	0,3
political prisoners	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
March of Millions	struggle for the change	0,3
dignity	struggle for the change	0,5
terror	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
victory	struggle against dictatorship	1
self-organization	struggle for the change	0,3
state of emergency	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"Butcher to prison!"	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
"Zeka get!"	struggle against dictatorship	1
"Glory to Ukraine!"	struggle for the change	0,5
"Drop in ocean"	struggle for the change	0,3
"opposition leader is ignored and attacked by protesters"	uncoordinated protest	0,3
"protesters demand a single leader"	uncoordinated protest	0,3
"fighters attack empty parliament"	uncoordinated protest	0,3

night storm	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
storm of the presidential administration	uncoordinated protest	0,5
"Berkut hits a woman"	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
"riot police beats people lying on the ground"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"opposition calls people to move without goals"	uncoordinated protest	0,3
assaults on Maidan activists	struggle against dictatorship	1
"opposition lost elections in four constituencies"	uncoordinated protest	1
repressions against Automaidan activists	struggle against dictatorship	1
"titushkas attacked Forum of Euromaidans"	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
Kruty Battle	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
search of the journalist's apartment	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
"Berkut beats a person with white flag lying on the ground"	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
"Berkut targets journalists in the Grushevskogo street"	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
"Berkut attacks the medical center in the Grushevskyj street"	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
"naked person tortured by police"	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
"women pick cobbles and bricks"	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
negotiations between power and opposition	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
disappearance of Bulatov	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
"Party of Regions' office is set on fire"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"members of parliament save protesters beaten by the police"	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
"leader of the Party of Regions' fraction Oleksandr Yefremov says that he is not ashamed of killed protesters"	struggle against dictatorship	0,3

deaths of protesters almost alive	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
"the gangs of titushkas are headed by policemen"	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
"protesters demanded public repentance from PR politician Nestor Shufrych"	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
blocking of road	N/A	0,3
coming to the aid	struggle for the change	0,5
singing together	struggle for the change	0,3
dispersal of Maidan	struggle against dictatorship	3,5
war with own people	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
return to the 2004 Constitution	struggle for the change	1
slow investigation of assault on journalist Tetiana Chornovol	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
"artists distribute tea"	struggle for the change	0,3
rebellion of regions	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
anti-terrorist operation	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
deconstruction of oligarchy	struggle for the change	0,3
thousand people are coming to the place of Heavenly Hundred's death	struggle for the change	0,3
trolling of Maidan in social media	struggle against dictatorship	0,3
resetting of the country	struggle for the change	0,3
holding mirror in front of policemen	struggle against dictatorship	0,3

## Appendix H

### Poland

Symbol	Symbolic representation	Visibility (%)
rubber bullets	struggle for freedom	1,3
sonic grenade	struggle for freedom	0,5
cobbles	struggle for freedom	1,7
cocktail Molotov	struggle for freedom	2
snipers of Yanukovich	struggle against dictatorship	1,7
blood	struggle against dictatorship	3
fire	struggle against dictatorship	1,3
shots	struggle against dictatorship	1
titushka	struggle against dictatorship	2
national anthem	struggle for freedom	1
Right Sector	struggle for freedom	1,3
Civil Council of Maidan	struggle for freedom	0,5
sandwich	struggle for freedom	1
hot tea	struggle for freedom	1
laws of the 16th of January	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
coffins	struggle for freedom	0,5
Committee of Support for Ukraine	struggle for freedom	0,5
balaclava	struggle against dictatorship	1
shield	struggle against dictatorship	1,3
flag of Ukraine	struggle for freedom	4
tent	struggle for freedom	2
barrel	struggle for freedom	1
tank	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
flag of the EU	struggle for freedom	1
New Year's Tree	struggle for freedom	0,5
crowd of many thousands	struggle for freedom	1
protesters with flags of Ukraine	struggle for freedom	0,5

smoke	struggle for freedom	1
faces of people	struggle for freedom	0,5
construction helmet	struggle for freedom	1
sack of snow	struggle for freedom	0,5
Automaïdan	struggle for freedom	0,5
burnt police bus	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
tear gas	struggle against dictatorship	1
baton	struggle against dictatorship	1,3
presidential residence Mezhygïria	struggle against dictatorship	1
frost	struggle for freedom	0,5
tire	struggle against dictatorship	1
Instytutska street	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
Lenin monument	struggle for freedom	0,5
House of Trade-Unions	struggle for freedom	0,5
Association Agreement	struggle for freedom	0,5
sanctions	struggle against dictatorship	1
storm	struggle against dictatorship	1,3
civil war	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
Berkut	struggle against dictatorship	4,5
March of Millions	struggle for freedom	0,5
parallels with Ceaușescu	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
state of emergency	struggle against dictatorship	1,3
dismissal of Yanukovych	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
self-defense	struggle against dictatorship	1,7
barricade	struggle for freedom	5
freedom	struggle for freedom	1,3
round table	struggle for freedom	1,7
solidarity	struggle for freedom	0,5
struggle with totalitarianism	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
anti-terrorist operation	struggle against dictatorship	1
truce	struggle for freedom	1

revolution	struggle against dictatorship	1,7
provocation	struggle against dictatorship	1
compromise	struggle for freedom	1
amnesty	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
Orange Revolution	struggle for freedom	1
country's disintegration	struggle against dictatorship	1
Moscow's embrace	struggle against dictatorship	1
snap elections	struggle against dictatorship	1,3
divided opposition	struggle for freedom	0,5
multi-vector politics	struggle for freedom	1
political crisis	struggle for freedom	0,5
European standards	struggle for freedom	0,5
rebellion	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
self-organization	struggle for freedom	0,5
church	struggle for freedom	0,5
"Don't shoot in own people"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"The Power of Bandukovych Away!"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"Gang Away!"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"Police with People!"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"Berkut targets journalists"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"Yanukovych invites opposition to negotiations in which he does not participate"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"Berkut brutally dispersed attacks on presidential administration"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"Ukraine is bleeding"	struggle against dictatorship	1
"cleaning of EuroMaidan"	struggle for freedom	0,5
"Yanukovych consults with Putin"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"people die in the streets"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"father holds the blue helmet of his son killed by a sniper"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"people with their cars bring medicine, water, food to Maidan"	struggle for freedom	0,5
"people come to the place where the history of their motherland changes"	struggle for freedom	0,5

"people ask to hold no negotiations with the criminal"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"Maidan is again full of people after killings"	struggle for freedom	0,5
"Polish minister of foreign affairs brought wounded protesters to Poland"	struggle for freedom	0,5
"dead bodies and blood but they dance"	struggle for freedom	0,5
"dead and wounded people lying on the ground"	struggle against dictatorship	1,7
"Lviv administration refuses to subordinate to Yanukovych's government"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"Automaidan activist Bulatov crucified"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"the Polish reporter under bullets asks Berkut why it shoots in protesters"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"people are kidnapped from hospitals"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
prayer at Maidan	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"barricades are reinforced"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"assault on the journalist Tetiana Chornovol"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"opposition leader is ignored and attacked by protesters"	struggle against dictatorship	1
"six year old boy marches with toy saber"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"woman threatens police with her handbag"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"president did not address the nation"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"Akhmetov demands the crisis solution with people's involvement"	challenge to oligarchs	0,5
"Yuriy Verbytskyj found tortured and dead in forest"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"attacks on medical workers, journalists"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"people mock Yanukovych"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"people come "to defend children"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
beating of children	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"people threw away party emblems"	struggle for freedom	0,5
release of Yulia Tymoshenko	struggle for freedom	0,5
"snipers shot in hearts, heads, backs"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"Ukrainians get up in a new country"	struggle for freedom	0,5
"the EU responded to Maidan only when the bloodshed occurred"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"Party of Regions condemned Yanukovych"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5



"Maidan self-defense stopped the car with Tymoshenko and Yatsenyuk to warn against traffic rules' breach"	challenge to oligarchs	0,5
singing together	struggle for freedom	0,5
dispersal of Maidan	struggle against dictatorship	2
war with own people	struggle against dictatorship	1
return to the 2004 Constitution	struggle for freedom	0,5
"people decide destiny of their country in streets"	struggle for freedom	0,5
"resetting the country"	struggle for freedom	0,5

## Appendix I

### Germany

Symbol	Symbolic representation	Visibility (%)
black-red flag	struggle for the change	0,2
Right Sector	struggle for the change	0,5
Civil Council of Maidan	struggle for the change	0,2
cocktail Molotov	struggle against dictatorship	2,5
cobbles	struggle against dictatorship	3,7
water cannon	struggle against dictatorship	1,5
catapult	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
stage	struggle for the change	1,7
shield	struggle against dictatorship	1,2
protesters with flag of Ukraine	struggle for the change	0,2
faces of people	struggle for the change	0,5
coffin	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
Tymoshenko's speech at Maidan	responsibility for crimes	0,7
presidential residence Mezhygiria	responsibility for crimes	0,5
burnt House of Trade-Unions	struggle against dictatorship	1,5
Klitschko	Klitschko fights for future	4
handshake between Yanukovich and Klitschko	Klitschko fights for future	0,7
fire	struggle against dictatorship	3
burnt tire	struggle against dictatorship	1,7
Hotel Ukraine	struggle against dictatorship	1,7
Michaylovsky Cathedral	struggle for the change	0,2
blood	struggle against dictatorship	0,7
flowers on pavement	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
snipers	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
shots	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
tear gas	struggle against dictatorship	2,5
flack jacket	struggle against dictatorship	0,2

helm	struggle against dictatorship	1,2
grenade	struggle against dictatorship	1,5
frost	struggle for the change	2
baton	struggle against dictatorship	2
masks	struggle for the change	0,5
burnt police bus	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
laws of the 16th of January	struggle against dictatorship	0,7
rubber bullets	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
tea	struggle for the change	0,2
sandwiches	struggle for the change	0,2
flag of the EU	struggle for the change	0,5
ambulance	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
tent	struggle for the change	0,7
national anthem	struggle for the change	0,2
Lenin monument	struggle for the change	0,5
armored car	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
partisans	struggle for the change	0,2
civil activists	struggle for the change	1
revolution	struggle for the change	3
rebellion	struggle for the change	0,5
despot	struggle against dictatorship	2
disintegration of the country	struggle for the change	1,2
massacre	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
freedom	struggle for the change	0,2
barricade	struggle against dictatorship	8
snap elections	struggle for the change	2,5
state bankruptcy	struggle for the change	0,5
European values	struggle for the change	0,5
self-defense	struggle for the change	1
compromise	struggle for the change	1
Berkut	struggle against dictatorship	2

sanctions	struggle against dictatorship	3
anti-terrorist operation	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
radicals	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
extremists	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
provocation	struggle against dictatorship	0,7
gathering of people	struggle for the change	1
amnesty	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
Orange Revolution	struggle for the change	1,2
civil war	struggle against dictatorship	1,2
bandits	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
oligarchy	challenge to oligarchs	0,2
fascists	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
terrorists	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
repression	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
the second front	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
reforms	struggle for the change	0,2
"For freedom of Ukraine"	struggle for the change	0,2
"Klitschko, Klitschko, Klitschko!"	Klitschko fights for future	0,2
"No sanctions, no peace"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
"Shame!"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
"We stay to stand"	struggle for the change	0,2
"protesters make police flee"	struggle for the change	0,2
"foreign politicians come to Maidan"	struggle for the change	0,7
"police doesn't let Klitschko in the hospital to visit protesters"	Klitschko fights for future	0,2
"women talking to the riot police"	struggle for the change	0,2
"Klitschko wears a flack jacket"	Klitschko fights for future	0,2
"police destroyed the medical point in Grushevskogo"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
"a man knelt in the street at night and read Bible"	struggle for the change	0,2
"police targets journalists"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
confession in front of police	struggle for the change	0,2

"opposition refused from the proposal of posts by Yanukovych"	Klitschko fights for future	0,2
"police tortured a naked person in frost"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
"a policeman drags a protester"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
"Maidan activist got shot in back"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
"leader of Right Sector Dmitry Yarosh was received better by protesters than Klitschko"	Klitschko fights for future	0,2
"leader of Right Sector Dmitry Yarosh received more support at Maidan than Tymoshenko"	struggle for the change	0,2
"president Yanukovych flees Ukraine"	responsibility for crimes	1
"Ukraine issues warrant of arrest of Yanukovych"	responsibility for crimes	0,2
release of Tymoshenko	responsibility for crimes	0,2
"Tymoshenko in the wheel chair at Maidan delivered emotional speech"	responsibility for crimes	0,2
kneeling people at Maidan	struggle for the change	0,2
"Party of Regions makes Yanukovych responsible for the country's predicament"	responsibility for crimes	0,2
"Yanukovych makes a phone call to Yatsenyuk"	responsibility for crimes	0,2
"army declared that it won't interfere with power struggle"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
"crowd singing national anthem"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"protesters suddenly took to stage and threatened to storm president's palace if he does not quit"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
suppression of Maidan	struggle against dictatorship	2,5
"German foreign minister says: 'It's the last chance for solution'"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"police standing on the side of barricade"	struggle for the change	0,2
"Klitschko and Steinmeier discuss when they have to speak to Maidan representatives"	Klitschko fights for future	0,2
"the Polish minister says that if opposition doesn't support deal with Yanukovych, there will be the state of war and they all die"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
"security service hunts down protesters"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
"protesters met opposition leaders with whistle after deal with Yanukovych"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
"protesters block Kyiv's airport"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
"House of Trade-Unions is set on fire"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2

"Klitschko is sprayed with the extinguisher in the face by protesters"	Klitschko fights for future	0,7
"toppling down of Lenin monument"	struggle for the change	0,2
"young women asking Germany to help"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
"Party's of Regions members quite it"	struggle for the change	0,2
"scandalous adoption of the laws of the 16th of January"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
"protesters burnt down the property of communists' leader Petro Simonenko and found two posh cars in his garage"	challenge to oligarchs	0,2
"Tymoshenko arrived at Maidan in the autocade of Mercedes and Lexus cars"	challenge to oligarchs	0,2
"Yanukovych flew to Sochi to meet Putin"	responsibility for crimes	0,2
suppression of Maidan	struggle against dictatorship	2,5
"pro-governmental Russian writer Alexander Prochanov was on tour to explain that Yanukovych is a traitor because he did not suppress Maidan"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
"oligarchs Firtash and Achmetov keep silent amid protests"	challenge to oligarchs	0,2
"Achmetov made a statement calling to peaceful conflict resolution"	challenge to oligarchs	0,2
"young oligarch Kurchenko disappeared"	challenge to oligarchs	0,2
rebellion of regions	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"history is written in Ukraine at fast pace"	struggle for the change	0,2
"snipers shooting in unarmed people's arteries, hearts, heads, backs"	struggle against dictatorship	0,5
"protesters building barricades"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
"oligarchs fighting for saving their millions"	challenge to oligarchs	0,2
"Protesters wear pots, sieves, and cardboard boxes on heads in protest against the laws of the 16th of January"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2
"Femen activists pissed on the Yanukovych's portraits"	struggle against dictatorship	0,2

