

## Gender and Revolution in Ukraine: Women's Participation in Euromaidan Protests of 2013–2014

Tamara Martsenyuk, European University of Viadrina and National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy\*

The recent events in central Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities, both triumphant and tragic, have become famous as a so-called “Euro Revolution,” better known as “Euromaidan.”<sup>1</sup> Protests by Ukrainian citizens against their government commenced in November 2013 (when President Yanukovich announced a decision to turn Ukraine away from the European Union) and continued for about three months (even after the Yanukovich regime had fallen). Unlike previous “revolutions,” the “Revolution on Granite” of 1989–1991 and “the Orange Revolution” of 2004, “the Euromaidan revolution” was marked by – as was visible in the media and public discourses – diverse women’s participation, through which women challenged traditional gender roles and reclaimed visibility, recognition, and respect as revolutionaries. Female volunteers at Euromaidan were helping protesters under threat of their own lives. The most well-known example is 21-year-old volunteer Olesya Zhukovska, who, after being struck in her neck by a metal bullet, Tweeted: “I am dying.”<sup>2</sup>

1 *Maidan Nezalezhnosti* was the main place of protest.

2 Peter Beaumont, “‘I am Dying,’ Young Volunteer Medic Tweets after Being Shot in Kiev,”

\*The author may be reached at: [tarakuta@gmail.com](mailto:tarakuta@gmail.com).

Olesya survived and became known in Ukraine and abroad because of her dangerous situation.

This and other cases of women's active participation (analyzed below) contributed to some changes in the public rhetoric of women's recognition. On November 21, 2014, in his speech commemorating the first anniversary of the Euromaidan protests,<sup>3</sup> President Petro Poroshenko thanked not only the men, but also the women who died during the protests,<sup>4</sup> as well as both male and female volunteers for their role in the events. This discourse of inclusivity and equal recognition of the men and women who participated in the protests encourages a broader analysis of women's involvement in the Euromaidan. I will show that Euromaidan was a space where gender roles were *reaffirmed* (expressing gender-based stereotypes) as well as *contested* (providing diverse 'scenarios' of women's participation and the possibility to choose their own role).

### 'Traditional' gender roles in the Euromaidan protests

*"A nation exists while there are males ready to fight for it"* – These are words from one of the self-made Ukrainian online posters about Euromaidan.<sup>5</sup> The citation illustrates the mainstream (media) perception of Euromaidan<sup>6</sup> – including barricades, Molotov cocktails, fights, fire, burning tires, and the death of heroes – where revolution is inseparable from the glorification of violence. The militarized discourse of threats to the nation and

the necessity to combat enemies assume that it is men who have been assigned the mission to resist all dangers and fight for the future of the nation.<sup>7</sup>

The role of women in such symbolic reconstruction of the nation is connected mainly with *reproduction*, while for men, their role is connected with *protection*.<sup>8</sup> In the nation-building process, in which Ukraine has been involved since the independence of 1991, there is a dilemma of reconciling gender identities with national identities.<sup>9</sup>

At Euromaidan, 'traditional' gender roles were reproduced by the self-defense groups, which were formed to defend the square at night and build and fortify barricades. Women, children and the elderly were discouraged from participating in the more tense moments.<sup>10</sup> It was "care about women": women, according to some feminist activists,<sup>11</sup> were not perceived as "responsible people" able to make decisions and choices on their own. According to the results of a survey conducted during the beginning of the protests (7–8 December 2013),<sup>12</sup>

7 Olena Petrenko, "Women and Men of the Euromaidan: Revitalizations of the Heroic National Narrative," 10<sup>th</sup> Annual Danyliw Research Seminar on Contemporary Ukraine, "Ukraine 2014: Maidan, War, Geopolitics" (University of Ottawa, Canada, October 30, 2014 – November 1, 2014), available at <[www.danyliwseminar.com/#!olena-petrenko/c4sv](http://www.danyliwseminar.com/#!olena-petrenko/c4sv)> (accessed November 2, 2014).

8 Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: SAGE Publications, 1997), and Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, eds., *Woman, Nation, State* (London: Macmillan, 1989).

9 Feminist scholars are debating the possibilities of reconciliation between feminism and nationalism: Jill Vickers, "Bringing Nations In: Some Methodological and Conceptual Issues in Connecting Feminisms with Nationhood and Nationalisms," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 8, no. 1 (2006): 84–109; Sylvia Walby, "Gender, Nations and States in a Global Era," *Nations and Nationalism* 6, no. 4 (2000): 523–40; and Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*.

10 Anastasiya Ryabchuk, "Right Revolution? Hopes and Perils of the Euromaidan Protests in Ukraine," *Debatte: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe* 22, no. 1 (2014): 127–34.

11 Anastasiia Melnychenko, "Why does Ukraine Need Female Squadron?" [in Ukrainian], Heinrich Boell Foundation webpage (March 25, 2014), available at <<http://ua.boell.org/uk/2014/03/25/navishcho-ukrayini-zhinocha-sotnya>>.

12 "Maidan 2013: Who is Standing, Why and for What?" [in Ukrainian], available at <<http://kiis.com.ua/?lang=ukr&-cat=reports&id=216&page=7>> (accessed September 21, 2014).

*The Guardian* (February 20, 2014), available at <[www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/20/i-am-dying-volunteer-tweet-shot-kiev-ukraine](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/20/i-am-dying-volunteer-tweet-shot-kiev-ukraine)>.

3 The speech in Ukrainian can be viewed here: <[www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ke4F06VhiP0](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ke4F06VhiP0)>.

4 Much fewer women than men were killed by snipers.

5 Martsenyuk's personal digital archive (collected mainly from Facebook since November 2014).

6 It is worth mentioning that from the beginning, protests were peaceful. On the night of November 30, 2013, at 4 a.m., armed Berkut special police units attacked and dispersed protesters from Maidan Nezalezhnosti (the majority of whom were students). After that, the perception of protest tactics changed. In the main square of Kyiv, protests (called Euromaidan) lasted about 100 days. See more at <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline\\_of\\_the\\_Euromaidan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_the_Euromaidan)>.

women constituted almost half of all protesters (44 percent). Later, when Euromaidan became a paramilitary space (with hundreds or squadron divisions and barricades), the number of women who lived in the protest square decreased to only 12 percent, according to the results of a similar survey conducted at the beginning of February 2014.<sup>13</sup>

Maria Mayerchuk, a researcher of gender and queer issues, wrote in her blog: “Maidan has turned into a parade of masculinity and everyday misogyny.”<sup>14</sup> She explained her opinion with some examples: “It reached its apogee in the sandwich kitchens, in the jokes about women from the Maidan’s stage, in widespread ridicule and the rhetoric of ‘real Cossacks who do not stay at home like women’, and even in the appearance of such Maidan announcements as: *“Wanted: Young women to create a positive atmosphere for the Euro-maidan Cossacks.”* A clear example of patriarchal attitudes can also be seen from an announcement

<sup>13</sup> “From Maidan-Camp to Maidan-Sich: What Did Change?” [in Ukrainian], available at <<http://kiis.com.ua/?lang=ukr&cat=reports&id=226&page=6>> (accessed September 21, 2014).

<sup>14</sup> Mariya Mayerchuk, “Seizing the Logic/A World Without Women,” *Krytyka* (January 25, 2014), available at <<http://krytyka.com/ua/community/blogs/zakhoplennya-lohik-svit-bez-zhinok>>.

found in the kitchen at Maidan: *“Dear women, if you see garbage – clean it up, [the male] revolutionaries will be pleased.”* Such statements were heavily criticized by feminist activists at Euromaidan.

Women were among those who, first of all, provided so-called *reproductive labor*<sup>15</sup> for Maidan: cleaning, cooking or brining food, caring about clothes, etc. As Tatiana Zhurzhenko argues<sup>16</sup>, in the case of post-Soviet Ukraine, in general women get little recognition for the services they provide in the private sphere, which is generally associated with women, considered to be less prestigious, and is almost always unpaid, compared with ‘real’ work done in the public sphere. In the case of Maidan, woman received very little recognition for this type

<sup>15</sup> “Reproductive labor” is the concept “central to an analysis of gender inequality, including understanding the devaluation of cleaning, cooking, child care, and other ‘women’s work’ in the paid labor force”; see Mignon Duffy, “Doing the Dirty Work: Gender, Race, and Reproductive Labor in Historical Perspective,” *Gender & Society* 21, no. 3 (2007): 313.

<sup>16</sup> Tatiana Zhurzhenko, “Strong Women, Weak State: Family Politics and Nation Building in Post-Soviet Ukraine,” in *Post-Soviet Women Encountering Transition: Nation Building, Economic Survival, and Civic Activism*, eds. Kathleen Kuehnast and Carol Nechemias (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2004): 23–43.



of work in the private sphere (no medals or ‘hero’ status). Women and their achievements were also less visible in public discourse than those of men and their accomplishments. For example, in her essay, “Where are the Women of Ukraine?” devoted to International Women’s Day, Olesya Khromeychuk<sup>17</sup> criticizes the fact that “the news that Michelle Obama gave Ruslana Lyzhychko, a Ukrainian pop singer and the icon of the Maidan protests, the Women of Courage award received almost no publicity.”

Gendered rhetoric of the nation provides a vision of a nation as a family, where men have the status of heroes and women are the “mothers of the nation.”<sup>18</sup> Women serve as symbolic makers of the nation’s cultural identity.<sup>19</sup> They are seen as having a supportive and nurturing role, even if they also take risks during protest events.<sup>20</sup> The metaphors of nation-as-woman and woman-as-nation suggest how women (their bodies) become a battleground of national struggles.<sup>21</sup> For instance, a number of self-made online posters include images of women dressed in traditional (national) Ukrainian clothing (embroidered shirts and wreaths made with flowers and ribbons in the colors of the Ukrainian flag – blue and yellow). In some of the posters, the Ukrainian nation is portrayed via a victimized woman’s image as a suffering nation (with slogans such as “Russia, hands of Ukraine” or “Leave me alone, big country”<sup>22</sup>).

*Mothers or beautiful women (girls)* are two major gender-based roles for women in Ukrainian

society.<sup>23</sup> In recent years, top Ukrainian politicians have become known for sexist public speeches that discussed stereotypical women’s roles. Former Prime Minister Mykola Azarov surprised women’s rights and feminist activists in Ukraine by his sexist words: “Some say our government is too large; others that there are no women. There’s no one to look at during cabinet sessions: they’re all boring faces. With all respect to women, conducting reforms is not women’s business”.<sup>24</sup> A second example follows from former President Viktor Yanukovich, who implored an international audience at the World Economic Forum in Davos in 2011 to “Come to Ukraine to see our beautiful girls!” In advertising this summer’s Euro 2012 soccer championship and its slogan, “Switch on Ukraine,” he said, “In order to switch on Ukraine, it’s enough to see it by your own eyes, when the chestnut trees start to blossom, when it gets warmer and women in Ukrainian cities start undressing. To see such beauty is marvellous!”<sup>25</sup>

At Euromaidan, women *internalized* some gender-stereotypical ideals of femininity. The “beautiful women” of Maidan were also involved in a number of activities. Ukrainian women call themselves “*Muses of Revolution*.” They were making the space beautiful (painting barricades in bright colors), and performing ballet on the barricades. The so-called “Angel Squadron” [Angelska Sotnya] of Maidan tried to turn the paramilitary space of Euromaidan into an artistic one.

According to the literature on women, the state, and the national/ethnic process, women are “biological reproducers of members of collectivities.”<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, women could be discouraged

23 Oksana Kis, “Choosing without Choice: Dominant Models of Femininity in Contemporary Ukraine,” in *Gender Transitions in Russia and Eastern Europe*, eds. Madeline Hurd, Helen Carlback, and Sara Rastback (Stockholm: Gondolin, 2005), 105–36.

24 Luke Harding, “Ukrainian Women Berate ‘Neanderthal’ PM for Sexist Remarks,” *The Guardian* (March 24, 2010), available at <[www.theguardian.com/world/2010/mar/24/ukraine-mykola-azarov-women](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/mar/24/ukraine-mykola-azarov-women)>.

25 Tamara Martsenyuk, “Ukraine’s Other Half,” *Post-Soviet Post* (March 27, 2012), available at <<http://postsovietpost.stanford.edu/discussion/ukraines-other-half>>.

26 Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, eds., *Woman, Nation, State*, 8.

17 Olesya Khromeychuk, “Where Are the Women of Ukraine?” *Current Politics in Ukraine* (March 7, 2014), available at <<http://ukraineanalysis.wordpress.com/2014/03/07/where-are-the-women-of-ukraine>>.

18 Thembisa Waetjen, “The Limits of Gender Rhetoric for Nationalism: A Case Study from Southern Africa,” *Theory and Society* 30, no. 1 (2001): 121–52.

19 V. Spike Peterson, “Gendered Nationalism: Reproducing ‘Us’ versus ‘Them,’” in *The Women and War Reader*, ed. Lois Ann Lorentzen and Jennifer E. Turpin (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 41–49; and Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, eds., *Woman, Nation, State*.

20 Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, eds., *Woman, Nation, State*, 10.

21 V. Spike Peterson, “Gendered Nationalism,” 44.

22 Martsenyuk’s personal digital archive.

from having (sexual) relationships with men of other groups.<sup>27</sup> In the case of the Euromaidan protests, where the police was constantly attacking protesters, women internalized this vision of ‘belonging’ only to men from ‘their own’ Euromaidan group. For example, a young girl was seen standing with a self-made poster: “I will marry policeman who will come to people’s side.”<sup>28</sup> Moreover, a couple of women were seen holding self-made posters, addressing police: “Protect me.”

At the same time, because of mainly patriarchal views regarding the role of women in society as mothers and beautiful subjects, and a lack of women’s access to decision-making power in the top political circles of the public sphere,<sup>29</sup> it is difficult for Ukrainian women to fulfill alternative gender roles. But despite societal and stereotypical challenges, women engaged in alternatives to ‘traditional’ forms of participation at Euromaidan, including feminist forms,<sup>30</sup> which will be analyzed later.

### Women reclaiming equality and inclusivity

Bi-polar conceptions of gender power – men’s dominance over women – are not adequate and, moreover, may conceal the dynamics of nationalist movements.<sup>31</sup> Some women’s movements become affiliated with national projects and have positive outcomes.<sup>32</sup> Women actively participate in the process of modifying their roles.<sup>33</sup> As Jill Vickers concludes, “because contemporary femi-

nist analysis usually portrays national phenomena only as producing negative outcomes for women, it seemed useful to illustrate the diversity of women’s experiences with national phenomena.”<sup>34</sup>

At Euromaidan, women were actively participating in all forms of activities in the protest space. Besides cooking, cleaning, and entertaining, women were fighting on barricades, making negotiations and participating in peace-keeping, providing medical support, maintaining information support, participating in legislative work and logistics, and providing education for protesters and huge organizational support. In the

*At Euromaidan, women were actively participating in all forms of activities in the protest space.*

section of her article titled, “The Self-Organized Maidan,” Nadia Diuk writes: “As the Maidan drew more residents and visitors, its daily routine took on a self-organizing character. The adjacent Trade Unions Building and City Hall were taken over to provide kitchens, a press center, meeting rooms, sleeping space, and a medical-aid station. The novel form of spontaneous organization and the spirit of volunteerism that emerged helped to make the Maidan unique.”<sup>35</sup> Moreover, some female activists believed in the possibility of choosing their own input into Euromaidan. As Maria Berlinska, activist in the Olga Kobylanska Female Squadron, has noted: “We ourselves have chosen our roles according to the call of the soul, as it should be. I have personally gone from sandwiches to standing on the barricades and carrying dead bodies.”<sup>36</sup>

Women were building barricades together with men and constantly carrying scarce resources (used tires and firewood) on their own. Women such as a 76-year-old retiree from Ivano-Frankivsk Hanna Gogol were present at the protest space, and had an optimistic perception of the future of

27 Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, eds., *Woman, Nation, State*, 9.

28 Martsenyuk’s personal digital archive.

29 Tamara Martsenyuk, “Ukraine’s Other Half.”

30 Sarah D. Phillips, “The Women’s Squad in Ukraine’s Protests: Feminism, Nationalism, and Militarism on the Maidan,” *American Ethnologist* 41, no. 3 (2014): 414–26.

31 Thembisa Waetjen, “The Limits of Gender Rhetoric for Nationalism: A Case Study from Southern Africa,” *Theory and Society* 30, no. 1 (2001): 121–52.

32 Jill Vickers, “Bringing Nations In,” 84.

33 Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, eds., *Woman, Nation, State*.

34 Jill Vickers, “Bringing Nations In.”

35 Nadia Diuk, “Finding Ukraine,” *Journal of Democracy* 25, no. 3 (2014): 86.

36 Taken from an interview (in Ukrainian), in “Maidan: Women’s Business” (Ukrainian Women’s Fund, 2014), available at <<http://uwf.kiev.ua/publications>> (accessed December 13, 2014).



the protests. Such role models inspired people not to give up. They also demonstrated inclusivity in the protest space (where both women and men were present, as well as the young and the elderly).

One of the outstanding examples of women's inclusiveness in the Euromaidan protests was the creation of both military and non-military women's squadrons (or hundreds). The fashion magazine *Elle* published an article entitled "Women Stand at the Frontlines of the Euromaidan Protest in Kiev,"<sup>37</sup> where one could read and see pictures of fighting women: "In the increasingly violent Euromaidan protest between anti-government advocates and riot police, women are donning gas masks and padded vests to fight alongside men." There were formal<sup>38</sup> squadrons (the 39<sup>th</sup> Women's Squadron of Euromaidan Self-Defense),<sup>39</sup> female platoon [*Zhinocha Chota*] squadrons (the 16<sup>th</sup> Squadron of

'Maidan Self-Defence'), and informal or non-registered squadrons (the 1<sup>st</sup> Women's Squadron; the Women's Squadron of Zaporizhzhya;<sup>40</sup> the Sisterhood Squadron;<sup>41</sup> the Olga Kobylianska Female Squadron;<sup>42</sup> and others).<sup>43</sup>

The Olga Kobylianska Female Squadron<sup>44</sup> emerged during the Euromaidan events in late January 2014, as an initiative of feminists and activist women who were outraged with the sexist aspects of the revolution (as was evident in such speeches given during protests as "men go to the barricades and women stay inside and make sandwiches," and "women should smile so that revolutionaries are 40 City in the southern part of Ukraine.

41 Dnipropetrovsk, Eastern Ukraine; Facebook page, <[www.facebook.com/groups/sestrynska.sotnya/](http://www.facebook.com/groups/sestrynska.sotnya/)> (accessed September 21, 2014).

42 Facebook page, <[www.facebook.com/zhinocha.sotnya/](http://www.facebook.com/zhinocha.sotnya/)> (accessed September 21, 2014).

43 Female activists, members of squadrons, interviewed in: Olesya Khromeychuk, "Gender and Nationalism on the Maidan," in *Euromaidan*, ed. David R. Marples (Stuttgart: Ibdem Verlag; New York: Columbia University Press, forthcoming) and Sarah D. Phillips, "The Women's Squad in Ukraine's protests: Feminism, Nationalism, and Militarism on the Maidan," *American Ethnologist* 41, no. 3 (2014): 414–26.

44 The squadron was named after Olga Kobylianska (1863–1942), Ukrainian modernist writer and feminist.

37 Rebecca Moss, "Women Stand at the Frontlines of the Euromaidan Protest in Kiev," *Elle*, (February 21, 2014), available at <[www.elle.com/news/culture/womens-opposition-Euromaidan-protest-kyiv](http://www.elle.com/news/culture/womens-opposition-Euromaidan-protest-kyiv)>.

38 By "formal" I mean registered as an official part of the Euromaidan Self-Defense structure.

39 Facebook page, <[www.facebook.com/39sotnya](http://www.facebook.com/39sotnya)> (accessed September 21, 2014).

pleased"). The initiative aimed to provide visibility to all kinds of participation on the part of women at Euromaidan, and argues that women made the revolution alongside with men.<sup>45</sup> The group has a Facebook page with almost 3,200 followers.<sup>46</sup> Sarah Phillips, an American scholar of women's activism in Ukraine, calls the Olga Kobylanska Female Squadron a "creative response of feminists to this exclusion," stressing in the abstract to her article that: "their creative responses to the challenges of the protests have potentially paved the way for broadening the base of Ukrainian feminism, introducing women's rights principles to segments of the population previously reluctant to embrace feminism."<sup>47</sup>

Women made efforts to make their contributions to the Euromaidan more visible (especially compared with the Orange Revolution, where in memory politics "ordinary" women are almost absent as active "makers" of revolution<sup>48</sup>). To a large extent it became possible via the popularity of online social networks (particularly Facebook) and online media. Several scholars have examined the role and importance of social media in Euromaidan.<sup>49</sup> According to Tomasz Goban-Klas, "the media were an important component of the protest and without the media, especially the media 2.0, it would probably be shorter, perhaps quieter, and certainly not as revolutionary ended."<sup>50</sup>

45 Anna Dovgopool, "Ukraine: 'Women of Maidan – to Women of Crimea,'" Heinrich Böll Foundation webpage (March 14, 2014), available at <[www.boell.de/en/2014/03/17/ukraine-women-maidan-women-crimea](http://www.boell.de/en/2014/03/17/ukraine-women-maidan-women-crimea)>.

46 <[www.facebook.com/zhinocha.sotnya](http://www.facebook.com/zhinocha.sotnya)> (accessed November 25, 2014).

47 Sarah D. Phillips, "The Women's Squad in Ukraine's Protests," 414.

48 Only politician Yulia Tymoshenko and singer Ruslana are among the women mentioned in the Orange Revolution.

49 Tetyana Bohdanova, "Unexpected Revolution: The Role of Social Media in Ukraine's Euromaidan Uprising," *European View* (2014): 1–10; and Tomasz Goban-Klas, "Euromaidan – Symbiosis of Political Protest and Media," in *Open Europe: Cultural Dialogue across Borders*, ed. Wiesława Piatkowska-Stepaniak (Lodz: Opole, 2014), 169–78.

50 Tomasz Goban-Klas, "Euromaidan – Symbiosis of Political Protest and Media," in *Open Europe: Cultural Dialogue across Borders*, ed. Wiesława Piatkowska-Stepaniak (Lodz: Opole, 2014), 169.

There were personal and collective *feminist projects* on Euromaidan. For example, feminist journalist and human rights activist Olha Vesnianka initiated the project "women's voices" of Maidan. She recorded stories of different female activists and put them in her blog. Feminist blogger Maria Dmytrieva gave public lectures on the history of the women's movement in Ukraine and other countries in a so called "Open University"<sup>51</sup> of Euromaidan. Within this group feminist project was named the Facebook group "Half of Maidan: Women's Voice of Protest" [Polovyna Maidanu: Zhinochyy Holos Protestu].<sup>52</sup> All information connected with women during Euromaidan and after could be found and discussed in this Facebook group, which also underscored the importance of social media during the protests. Feminists also organized "Night of women's solidarity" in order to draw attention to women's important contributions to the protests, featured women marching through the Maidan playing rhythm instruments and chanting "Freedom, Equality, Women's Solidarity!"

And finally, there were many other grassroots Euromaidan projects and initiatives, where women were among leaders and participants: "Hospitals guard" [Varta v likarni],<sup>53</sup> "Safety transportation" or "Initiative E +,"<sup>54</sup> "Euromaidan SOS"

51 Started by the faculty and staff at the Kyiv School of Economics (which was co-founded by a consortium led by the Eurasia Foundation), Open Maidan University offered free lectures to the Ukrainian public; thinkers, business leaders, and academics delivered 100 lectures on such topics as how to reform the constitution, how legislation works, how economies function, and the power of free speech in society (Source: <[www.andreawenglowskyj.com/49n32e/2014/8/3/maidan-open-university](http://www.andreawenglowskyj.com/49n32e/2014/8/3/maidan-open-university)>). Facebook project page, <[www.facebook.com/vum.org.ua](http://www.facebook.com/vum.org.ua)> (accessed September 21, 2014).

52 Facebook group of about 500 members, <[www.facebook.com/groups/255422234633303/](http://www.facebook.com/groups/255422234633303/)> (accessed September 21, 2014).

53 Community to help the injured people of Euromaidan, Facebook group page, <[www.facebook.com/groups/599765216758120/](http://www.facebook.com/groups/599765216758120/)> (accessed September 21, 2014).

54 The volunteer group of activists started on January 21, 2014, during the turmoil of the Maidan Revolution. The main purpose of the group members was to assist sick and injured people at Maidan with getting medical care and secure shelter. More information is available at <<https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B6O9TKZFTPe5LWcwQngxM1NfQUE/>>

or “Euromaidan SOS Europe” and other hotlines, “AutoMaidan,”<sup>55</sup> mentioned above “Open Maidan University,” “Student center,” “Civic sector of Maidan,” “Єлюди – maidaners” (life stories about people from Maidan),<sup>56</sup> and others.

Unlike during the Orange Revolution, when women were predominantly the *helpers* of men in *doing the revolution*, at Euromaidan women emerged as *makers of the revolution*. Despite gendered stereotypical roles reproduced in the protest space, this space also provided an opportunity for women to reclaim equality and inclusivity.

---

[edit](#)> and on the Facebook page [www.facebook.com/helpEplus](http://www.facebook.com/helpEplus)> (accessed September 21, 2014).

<sup>55</sup> AutoMaidan is a movement within the Euromaidan that seeks the resignation of Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich. It is made up mainly of drivers who would protect the protest camps and blockade streets; <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/AutoMaidan>> (accessed September 21, 2014).

<sup>56</sup> Facebook project page, [www.facebook.com/maidaners](http://www.facebook.com/maidaners)> (accessed September 21, 2014).