

MEDIA AND FORMATION OF COMMON NATIONAL IDENTITY IN
POST-SOVIET UKRAINE

by

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Media and Formation of Common National Identity in
Post-Soviet Ukraine

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by

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DECLARATION FOR RESEARCH PAPER

I declare that this research is my own work and no part of it has been copied from any other previous work on the subject, except in such instances where acknowledgment has been duly made.

Signature:

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'R. Burianenko', written over a light blue rectangular background.

Date: October 9, 2015

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ABSTRACT

MEDIA AND FORMATION OF COMMON NATIONAL IDENTITY IN POST-SOVIET UKRAINE

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George Mason University, 2015

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Ukrainian conflict could be viewed as the complex economic, political and social crisis within the state. I am studying the presentation of Ukrainian national identity in media during the conflict period, from November 23, 2013 till nowadays. The purpose of the study is to examine the description by the Ukrainian media of the conflict and development of the national identity connotations of the conflict. This project aims to answer the following question: *'how do the Ukrainian media portray the current state crisis in relation to Ukrainian identity?'* The primary data for the analysis are articles and published speeches, discussions in mass media. Qualitative and quantitative data have been used for the analysis.

The research project comprises of one case study with the sample of two media sources.

The two samples have been used from two Ukrainian media sources: Ukraine Crisis Media Center and Pershyi Natsionalnyi TV channel (First National). Ukraine Crisis

Media Center refers to the newly emerged crisis center and operates as an independent press agency; a major media source during the conflict. Pershyi Natsionalnyi TV channel (First National) is the Ukrainian state-run television channel, which is covering over 97% of Ukrainian territory. Sociological polls conducted by the Razumkov Center in Kyiv and Kiev International Institute of Sociology have been used as secondary data.

Thus, Ukrainian identity has been described by the media based on the principle of “otherness” of the Ukrainian nation in relation to the Russian. Media present Ukrainian conflict in the framework of the cultural dimensions of the Ukrainian ethnicity. Media as an information sharing source should actively use public broadcasting and analytical discussions for the processes of formation of the common national identity among Ukrainians.

Keywords: Ukrainian crisis, identity, media, language.

INTRODUCTION

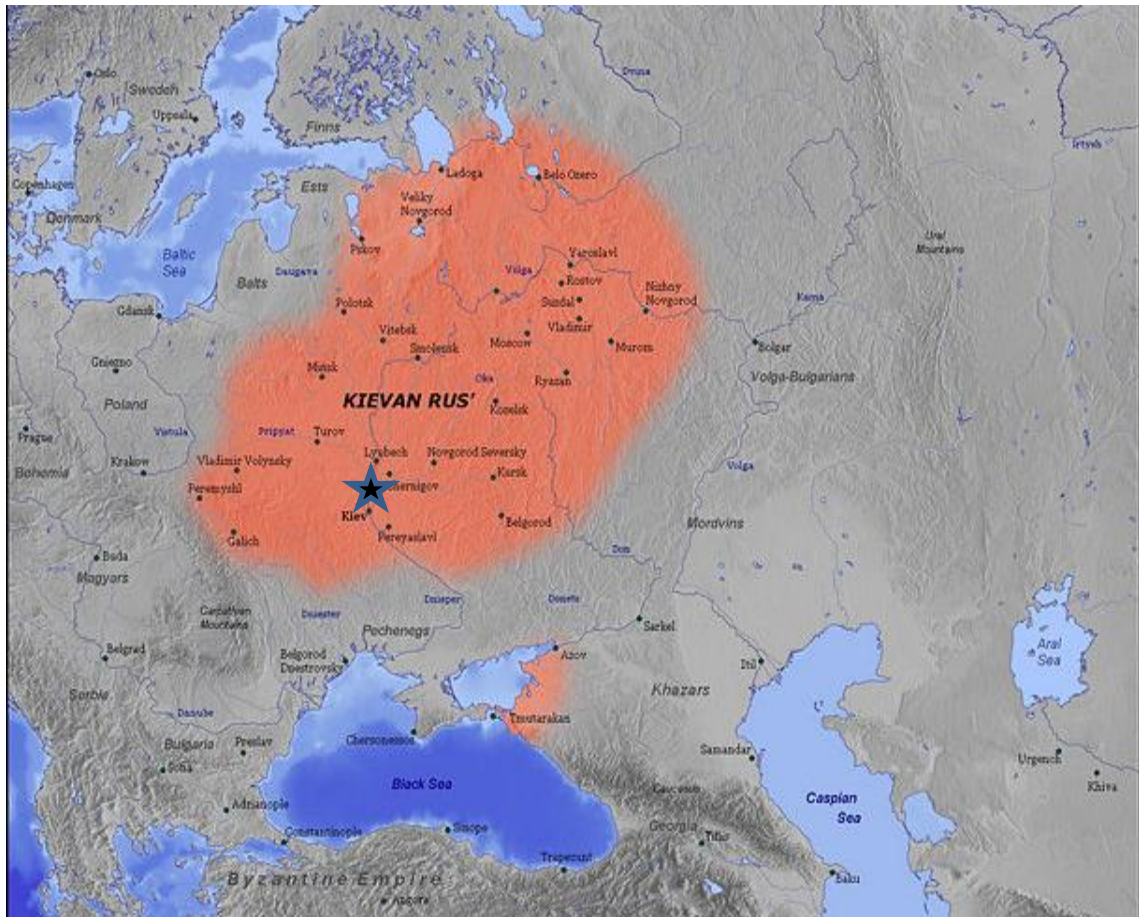


Figure 1: Kyivan Rus'
(Map retrieved from the New World Encyclopedia), ★ refers to Kiev.¹

¹ New World Encyclopedia http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Kievan_Rus'

Ukraine is the young post-soviet country with the rich history. Throughout many historical conflicts in the Central Europe, Ukraine has been strongly affected due to central geographical location. The national identity and religious attitudes of the Ukrainian population have been transformed throughout centuries. The city Kyiv, which is the capital of modern Ukraine, was the center of Kyivan Rus' (10th – mid 13th centuries). Kyivan Rus' refers to the first Eastern Slavic state during the 10th and 11th centuries which was the most powerful and the largest state in Europe. It considers the earliest predecessor of modern Ukraine, Russia, and Belorussia. In 988 Volodymyr the Great introduced the Orthodox Christianity to the folks of Kyivan Rus'. After several internal internecine quarrels, Mongol invasions - the Kyivan Rus' was weakened and incorporated into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; which would later become the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The cultural and religious legacy of Kyivan Rus' had been the essence for Ukrainian nationalism for many centuries. Ukrainian nationalistic movements played a crucial role in the beginning of 17th century for further development of the history, when Catholicism and Polish system of governance were tried to be enforced on Ukrainian population. As a new Ukrainian state the Cossack Hetmanate was established during the mid-17th century, after the uprising against Polish reign on Ukrainian land. The Hetmanate survived autonomous for over 100 years. Ukrainian territory was a topic of controversy regarding the balance of power between Muscovy and her western neighbors. Most Ukrainian territory was absorbed by the Russian Empire in the latter part of the 18th century. After the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917, Ukraine received short-term independence and then the status of national-territorial

autonomy within Russia (1917-1920). However, in 1921, the Soviet regime was established on the Ukrainian territory and Ukraine got the name: the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. Ukrainian population survived two artificially forced famines in 1921-1922 and 1932-1933. These famines, according to international law, are considered as the crime against humanity, in which over than 8 million people lost their lives. The other tragic historical event, which took more than 8 million Ukrainian lives, was World War II. Nevertheless, in 1991 the independence was granted to Ukraine after the dissolution of USSR. In this day and age, the Ukraine is the post-colonial, post-totalitarian country which is on its way transforming to a democracy.

Thus, according to the brief historical overview, I can say that national identity of Ukrainian society was formed and transformed accordingly to the ruling power. Since Ukraine has numerous neighboring countries, and because of their political influences on the Ukrainian territory, many cultural and symbolic elements were adopted from the Polish, Austrian, Hungarian, Russian, Lithuanian cultures. In the very south of Ukraine some elements of the Turkish culture were adopted as well. Nowadays, the ethnic groups of Ukraine: Ukrainian 77.8%, Russian 17.3%, Belarusian 0.6%, Moldovan 0.5%, Crimean Tatar 0.5%, Bulgarian 0.4%, Hungarian 0.3%, Romanian 0.3%, Polish 0.3%, Jewish 0.2%, other 1.8% (2015, CIA The World Factbook, People and Society: Ukraine). Religious identity was established in the framework of Christianity; however, different forms of it were adopted by the Ukrainian culture. The major influence on the religious identity of the Ukrainian nation was made by Orthodox Christianity and

Catholicism. An example of the significant impact of Catholicism on the Ukrainian culture could be the formation of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church.

Ukrainian neighboring countries are: the Russian Federation from the east, and countries of the EU zone from the west. From international political and economic perspective Ukraine plays a crucial role in Mediterranean security zone. Ukraine has access to the Black Sea and plays a strategic role for the Russian Federation because of the geographical location. The “Mecca” for Russian Orthodox world is Kiev Pechersk Lavra, which locates on the right-bank of the Dnipro River in Kyiv; Ukrainian capital. Therefore, Pechersk, Podol regions of Kyiv are the cradles of the beginning of Russian Orthodox Christianity during the Kyivan Rus’ era. Therefore, Kyiv is strategic point for the Russian Federation; it is a city that represents the roots and ancient history of the Russian Orthodox Christianity. It also plays a crucial role for the Russian culture, history. Today, many Russian sociologists, historians and political scientists are saying that it is very hard to imagine the organism without a heart and Kyiv is a heart for the Russian culture, religion and history. Thus, Ukraine is not only the economic, political and geopolitical interest to Russia but cultural one as well. Russian sociologists and anthropologists see losing Kyiv as a threat for the losing a sense among Russian citizens of the Russian national identity and development of the disbelief among society in political system and the government; the ideals that were created by the Russian system, starting from the Russian Empire, of honor, dignity, patience and the spirit of invincibility of the Russian nation would be weakened and questioned, on their opinions, if the total separation of Ukraine from Russia happens.

For these reasons, Ukraine is a strategic point for geopolitics and peace building, and deserves quite a lot of attention nowadays; especially, when the issue of a lack of the common national identity within the Ukrainian state causing so many problems and provoke the violence within a state. The media play a crucial role in the current Ukrainian crisis, it has been using actively by the Ukrainian and Russian governments as a tool for social construction, from November 23, 2013 until now, in order to affect the social consciousness of the state's citizens and win over people's minds and hearts. Social construction theory refers to how society defines group identity and how it privileges certain social groups.

Another important theory to explore in this research is the grievance and greed theory. Grievance refers to the main idea of the people rebellion because of the issue of identity, social class, religion, ethnic issues, self-determination, etc. Greed refers to the main idea of the people rebellion because of the economic issues, benefits, material means. Therefore, the question of grievance and greed arises. We should see grievance as Ukrainian people's wish to get rid of Post-Soviet myth, Russian control of the country, injustice of the political system on a structural level and become closer to the European culture and life. Nevertheless, soon after the Ukrainian citizens' protests in November 2013, the core of the protests was the dissatisfaction with the governmental policies regarding the future development course of the country (people were in favor of the Ukraine's accession to the EU, and were against of the Ukraine's accession to Eurasian Customs Union), economic eccentricities (greed) started to take place.

The current crisis in Ukraine started from November 23, 2013 when former President of the country announced that Ukraine would not join the European Union anytime in the nearest future, but instead, the country would join the Eurasian Custom Union. People's dissatisfaction started to rise and protests covered the streets of the main cities throughout the country; starting in the capital, Kyiv. The regime was overthrown and many changes came to Ukraine, as well as difficulties such as conflict in the eastern region of Ukraine.

It should be noted, that the first wave of big changes came in 2004 to Ukraine, when the Orange Revolution happened. Ukrainian citizens protested against the unfairness of the presidential election results, they demanded the revision of the election results (i.e. a reelection). When the reelection commenced, Viktor Yuschenko was elected as the President of Ukraine. In 2007, the Ukrainization program was launched, which was focusing on the strengthening of the Ukrainian national identity, by giving a lot of attention to the Ukrainian language, history, literature, symbolic systems, customs and traditions. It was the first attempt of the governmental policy to eradicate the Soviet spirit in people's minds and hearts. The media played a crucial role: national TV channels were switched to the Ukrainian classical language; historical events from the Ukrainian history were shown as an advertisement on the national TV channels; a lot of attention was dedicated to the traditional Ukrainian clothes in the modern connotation; newspapers started to write a lot about the national heroes, poets, Ukrainian traditions, cultural events, Ukrainian Autocephaly Church was created, etc.

Therefore, Ukrainization policy made the Ukrainian language popular and fancy among the young generation; the new generation of people who were born in Independent Ukraine, starting from the 1991. The older generation, who was brought up in the Soviet period were a little bit skeptical and not very open to such a big change. Furthermore, various exchange programs between Ukrainian and Western universities, during that time, were offered to Ukrainian students, the visa processes became easier to the Ukrainians and for foreigners to enter Ukraine. Therefore, slowly but surely Ukrainian citizens, in big cities mostly, started to adopt European lifestyle and were hoping that very soon Ukraine would become a part of European Union. Officially governmental representatives, from 2007 to 2013, were saying to Ukrainian people that the process of accession to the European Union had begun and it would be only a matter of time. So, when the former President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich announced the change of plan and potential accession to the Eurasian Custom Union, the mass dissatisfaction arose and the Second Revolution, Euromaidan, happened. It should be noted that the Orange Revolution was a peaceful protest, however, during the Euromaidan, many people lost their lives.

This thesis aims to explore how media describe Ukrainian national identity during the conflict period. Furthermore, the research examines how media present conflict and emergence of new identities in the framework of John's Burton theory of basic human needs and Gurr's theory of relative deprivation. The case study as an example of media coverage has been based on the analysis of two Ukrainian media sources, which are the Ukraine Crisis Media Center and First National TV Channel (Pershyi Natsionalnyi TV

channel, UT-1). Both samples are the cases of the specific and extensive coverage of the events in Ukraine that begun on the 23rd of November in 2013 till present. The research attempts to address how the media present national identity during the conflict period, and explores how the media could be used in the healing processes in post-conflict areas.

The main task of the media is to inform people. The main role of the journalists as part of the media system is to inform the audience, and a receiver is responsible what assumptions and opinions he or she would make about certain events. However, the research attempts to demonstrate that media coverage brings a psychological connotation and can be helpful for the healing processes of the nation, which is suffering from the chosen trauma. Ukraine could be viewed as a post-colonial country in the transformative stage to democracy.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of the study is to review the description by the media of the conflict and development of the national identity connotations of the conflict. This research aims to generate new knowledge of how Ukrainian media sources describe the conflict period in relation to the Ukrainian identity, while analyzing it in the framework of John's Burton theory of basic human needs and Gurr's theory of relative deprivation. I am studying the representation of common national identity in the media during the conflict period from November 23, 2013 until now. To analyze these areas a case study uses the two Ukrainian media sources: Ukraine Crisis Media Center and First National Channel (Pershyi Natsionalnyi TV channel, UT-1). The Ukraine Crisis Media Center is a new independent press agency in Ukraine, which was founded on March 2, 2014. Journalists

from all over the world gathered and started working with this agency. It is the main source of information during the crisis period in Ukraine, the focus of the media source is conflict events during Ukrainian Crisis. Pershyi Natsionalnyi TV channel (UT-1, First National) is the Ukrainian state-run television channel. It is the only channel in Ukraine, which is covering over 97% of Ukrainian territory. These media sources have been chosen because of their focus on the Ukrainian crisis coverage and impacts of the cultural dimensions of the Ukrainian identity, in the framework of the basic human needs theory and relative deprivation.

In order to attain the main objective, this research aims to answer the following research question: *'how do the Ukrainian media portray the current state crisis in relation to Ukrainian identity?'*

Assumptions of Study

Overall, I believe that this research project will show:

- *How do the media cover national identity and conflict during the crisis?*
- *Do the media as an information sharing source help to unite the nation and bring the awareness among people about the common past and future through the historical discourse and cultural programs?*

In conclusion, I would like to say that Ukraine today deserves a lot of scholars' attention. Nevertheless, Ukraine has not just the economic issues, which provoked the conflict and violence, but absence of common national identity among nation and as a result of that disputes among different ethnic groups within the country. Economic issues could be resolved through negotiation, however ethnic issues require deeper approach.

Media as an educating source could help to unite the nation and bring the awareness among people about the common past through the historical discourse, and about the common future. Thus, contemporary conflict in Ukraine, which could be defined as intra-state dispute with the international connotation, plays a very important role for peace and stability in Europe. However, crises and domestic conflicts in globalized interconnected world are a threat to peace in neighboring countries. Dissatisfaction, spirit of protests and rebellion against the government during the economic crisis could also spread to the neighboring countries. For these reasons, the Ukrainian social, economic and political crisis is of great importance for conflict analysis and resolution field.

Ukrainian identity could be viewed in the framework of ethnicity, nationalism, culture, emergence of new social groups during the conflict period, and history. Therefore, identity is socially constructed phenomenon which plays a crucial role in the further historical, economic, social, political development processes of the state. Culture and its customs, traditions, language, religious beliefs and practices play a fundamental role for the identity dynamics. Kevin Avruch (2013) suggested that constructions of collective identity demand many arts of memory: remembering and forgetting - however, above all the interpretation plays an essential role. Furthermore, language as a verbal symbolism represents the nation and strengthens the national identity of the country. Thus, Ukrainian identity has been viewed, in this paper, in the framework of the aforementioned concepts.

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

Identity

Social identity is knowledge about belonging to the social group, feeling of sameness among the in-group, and differences with members of out-groups; existence of out-groups and accordingly comparison between in-group 'us' and out-group 'them' strengthen group identity (Korostelina, 2014). Black (2003), Wetherell (1996), Celia Cook-Huffman (2009) and others define identities as complex, historically bound, socially constructed phenomenon. Conflicts transform the national identity and provoke the emergence of new identities. Celia Huffman (2009), Brubaker and Cooper (2000), Deutsch (1973), Josselson (1987), Northrup (1988), Tajfel (1978), Weigert (1986) and others discussed that identities obtain significance, meaning, and value within specific contexts and cultures, and help people understand who they are as individuals, as social individuals of particular roles, and as members of specific groups. Identity stands in conflict analysis and resolution field as a crucial concept for understanding and analyzing social conflict. Individuals have a sense of self and need for self-expression, and how they want to represent themselves to public. In other words saying, identity stands as a face of the particular individual or social group. Fulfillment of the individual's needs or social group's needs, one of the key steps of the resolution and crisis management in identity conflict case.

According to Korostelina (2014) social identity theory should be viewed from categorization, subjective belief structures, self-enhancement perspective. Therefore, categorization refers to the creation of social category as an element of the self-concept. In other words, we categorize the world in particular categories, social categories are formed in regards how we categorize the world. We put the world in particular social categories, and social groups prescribe particular norms. Subjective belief structures refer to the social identity, which describes and prescribes attributes of people as group members. Self-enhancement phenomenon refers to the social identity as an evaluative model. (Korostelina 2014)

John Turner, social psychologists, in 1985 developed the theory of social categorization, which could be described in terms of personal and social identity, accordingly self-categorization and group processes. Self-categorization refers to the how we categorize ourselves in terms of interpersonal relations; and group processes refer to how we categorize ourselves in terms of relations between group members.

It should be noted that identity could be perceived as an umbrella concept, with many sections that build an identity structure for an individual, social group, nation. Identity could be created via social identity interaction and comparison between one groups to another (Korostelina, 2014).

Identity could be presented as the function and result of choices, also identity could be changed during the lifetime of an individual; and identity is socially determined, unfixed (Korostelina 2014). A person could be born with one religious identity and later

can choose to change the identity to another one. Representatives of different social groups create very often social boundaries, by implementation of the idea of 'being us' and 'being them'. Every one of us has his or her own identity and accession to the particular social group creates the dilemma of security and personal freedom. We are receiving the protection and support of the group to which we belong, by giving up personal freedom and by paying with our loyalty to the group. The more we need protection, the more personal freedom we would give up. People view the world through the lenses of the group, which they represent. It should be noted that identity impacts attitudes and perceptions of the individuals. Nevertheless, human beings are the social individuals, and communications, environment, education, historical background, feeling of kinship, ideologies and custom which are followed by the group affect the perception, worldview, use of specific language. (Korostelina 2014)

We choose belonging to the certain identity group, because it allows us to lose the feeling of uncertainty, it brings strengthening of social status, personal safety, group support and protection, good possibilities for personal growth. Very often for individuals it is critical to see the boundaries and understand who they are not, in order to understand who they are. (Korostelina 2014)

One of the major factors that contribute to the salience of identity is relative deprivation that could be explained in regards of comparison yourself within the in-group in relation to the other members from out-groups; relative deprivation could be temporal, when an individual has a feeling that he or she has less possibilities now than before

certain events, earlier (Korostelina 2014). Relative deprivation could be connected with expectations as well, it could be described as unmet expectations and frustration as an aftermath of the certain events (Korostelina 2014). People as social individuals behave as members of the groups, and define themselves 'who I am as a representative of the particular group'. According to Korostelina (2014) social identities center on boundaries, which separating us from them. Boundaries emerge based on stories, historical events what we did to them, and what they did to us. Furthermore, meta contrast (Korostelina 2014) should be mentioned, which refers to the social phenomenon when people see the difference between out-groups more than differences within in-groups. Thus, social boundary (Korostelina 2014) refers to the fact how we define ourselves in relation to others, where favorable comparison could be applied. Social boundaries really define the relationship between the people among society and affect the further development of the country history.

Furthermore, the concept of the prototype should be discussed. Nevertheless, prototype plays a decisive role for the collectivistic, post-collectivistic countries, such as Ukraine. Prototype (Korostelina 2014) refers to an image of the specified social group and represents the most important ideas of the group to the community, public. Usually prototype becomes a leader. Sometimes leaders not only represent the identity, but they are shaping the identity as well.

Ethnic identity

It is an identity of a group which members claims to have the same ancestry or common kinship (Korostelina 2014). Written languages, ethnic-national history, national

costumes, flags, etc. are the symbols of ethnic identity. The concept ethnicity refers to the commonalities of culture and of a territorial homeland, which is perceived by members as acquiring from common ancestry (Korostelina, 2014, retrieved from notes). Anthony Smith has defined an ethnic group as “a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of a common culture, a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity.” (Hutchinson and Smith 1996, 6)

All ethnic groups within the state have to enjoy the full right of citizens, and have to be treated in the same manner and fairly by the system. The more people share the language, history, common glory – the more people become united. The essence of ethnic identity is the idea of kinship. People so strongly believe in ethnic identity of each one group. Very often ethnic groups have a shared memory, which passing from generation to generation, and goes back to pre-written history. Resolution to the lack of emotional security issue could be strong beliefs about the cultural sameness, and providing to the people feeling of protection and belonging. It demonstrates the effect of salient identity on the structure narratives, which influence the values system and structure of consciousness. According to Korostelina (2007) salient identities refers to the perception of the world via a ‘tunnel consciousness’, in other words saying, people perceive the representatives of other groups through the narrow perspective of ethnic, religious, national identities; a non-salient identity is connected to the multidimensional approach, perceptions of positive and negative sides of people, etc. Salient ethnic identity led towards the significance of interdependence among the members of the group.

Korostelina (2007, pg. 85-87) discussed the following forms of identity: cultural identity, reflected identity, mobilized identity.

- Cultural identity – characteristic of the lifestyle of the group, national cuisine, clothes, a typical day routine, folk music and dancing, traditions and customs, national holidays and specific ways of the celebration, or mourning. People put everything on culture.
- Reflective identity – reflective understanding of the group's past, present and predictions for the future. The strong appreciation of the values and beliefs of the group, clear understanding and good knowledge of their roots, the role of the group in society. Therefore, this form of identity demonstrates the deep reflection of the meaning of the identity, what unite people and what separate one group from another.
- Mobilized identity – refers to the distinction and categorization of the groups, 'us' and 'them', with the strong belief that out-group values and perspective should be shaped accordingly to the in-group perspective. Contradictions and competition emerge. The main in-group goal is to increase power, status and influence of the in-group.

Dimensions of Culture, Geert Hofstede.²

In 1980, the Dutch management researcher Geert Hofstede identified four dimensions of culture: individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity, power

²The Hofstede's center <http://geert-hofstede.com/>

distance, uncertainty avoidance (Fred E. Jandt, 2013; An introduction to Intercultural Communication: identities in global community, ch.7). It should be mentioned that long-term/short-term orientation to life, indulgence/restraint cultural dimensions have been developed and studied later as the expansion of Hofstede's model.

- *The Power Distance* deals with inequalities in society (Hofstede 1997).

Hofstede defines power distance as the extent to which less powerful members of institutions, systems and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally. Power distance is learned early in family and passing from generation to generation. In high power distance cultures, children are expected to be obedient to their parents, being treated more or less as equals; people are expected to show the respect to those who are of higher rank and status (Fred E. Jandt, 2013; An introduction to Intercultural Communication: identities in global community, ch.7, pg. 182). Mitigated speech is used in the high power distance cultures, it is indirect speech, the communication between individuals of perceived high power distance (Bradac, 1993). A lot of respect should be shown in the language to the senior people and higher rank representatives. Very often misunderstandings emerge, because of the gap in communications. Power distance refers to the power, prestige, and wealth are distributed within the culture. Normally cultures with the high power distance score have power concentrated in the hands of few.

Thus, this dimension refers to the fact that all individuals in societies are not equal, it expresses the attitude of the culture towards these inequalities among society.

- Individualism/Collectivism represents the interdependence among the representatives of society. It refers to the definition and people vision of self in relation to others, do they see themselves as representative of own personality 'I' or do they see themselves as representatives of the social group 'We'. In individualistic cultures people are expected to look after themselves and their closest relatives, family representatives. In collectivistic societies people have a strong feeling of the belonging to the in-group, they take care of others, loyalty is very important.
- Masculinity/Femininity relates to the presence of competition within the society, assertiveness or nurturing. The countries with the high score (Masculine) on this cultural dimension indicate the society which will be driven by competition, success, achievements, where the belief exists that winning is everything. This value system starts in kindergarten and continues throughout organizational behavior. The low score (Feminine) on this dimension lead towards the dominant values within the society – carrying for other and quality of life. Standing out of the crowd in feminine society is not expected.

Thus, the key point of this cultural dimension is what motivates people: wanting to be the best (Masculine) or liking what you do (Feminine).

- Uncertainty Avoidance reflects the culture tolerance regarding the unknown, ambiguity, attitude towards risk and change. This dimension refers to the following attitude of society regarding the unknown future: ‘should we try to control the future or just let it happen?’ The ambiguity brings the anxiety. Therefore, every culture deals with the anxiety in its own ways. The higher a score on this dimension the more people try to avoid an unknown and feel threatened by ambiguity.
- Long-term orientation/Short-term orientation to life. This cultural dimension represents cultures which are long-term oriented with a focus on the status and ordering relationship. Furthermore, this dimension represents the short-term oriented cultures, which are concentrated on the value system and tradition, social relations. Moreover, this dimension represents that not everything could be explained. Normative oriented societies want to explain as much as possible. Pragmatic oriented societies do not have a strong desire to explain everything, these societies have beliefs that it is impossible to understand and explain the all complexity of life; and the main goal for those societies to live cheerfully and virtuously the life.
- Indulgence/Restraint refers to the socialization process of human beings. Through socialization processes an individual becomes personality. This dimension could explain people’s ability to control their impulses and desires according to the process of socialization, the way they grew up.

Indulgence stands for relatively weak control, and restraint stands for relatively strong control.

Common National Identity

Citizenship represents loyalty of an individual to the state. National identity consists of numerous dimensions: territorial, ethnic, ecological, social, and political. Parameters such as religious attitudes, values and feelings among nation regarding survival, prosperity, equality, freedom, justice, development play a crucial role for the national identity. National identity gives the concept of understanding of national interests, priorities, goals, etc. (Korostelina, 2014). Every ethnic community has a dream to become a nation and to have its own state. National identity could be shaped and transformed, strengthen during the conflict. The nation is a strong community that shares a historical past, shared presence and goes toward future (Korostelina, 2014). According to Morgenthau's ideas, interests and ends are constructed from a set of life experiences and national history; the construction of national interest is a continuing practice "that links history with moral purpose" (2012 Bleddyn E. Bowen). The rational standards for Morgenthau for wars between states are protection of self-security and power, when the real threat exists.

According to Kelman four factors influence the loyalty of individuals to the nation, which are following: emotional attachment to the homeland; goal – to help the country; sense of identity, self-esteem through national identification; a normative involvement, which emerges when individuals internalize the norms of the nations

(Korostelina, 2014). Emotional attachment to the homeland has been characterized as a feeling of the individuals regarding the belonging to the particular land where many generations of the certain family have been settled and have been brought up. The land brings symbolic meaning of the strong feeling of belonging to the particular kinship, value and custom traditions. Sense of identity refers to the individual characteristic of the personality, whom a person considers herself or himself accordingly to the value system, beliefs, worldview, and so on. Self-esteem through national identification refers to the self-esteem of the individual through the lenses of national identification; sometimes individuals could overestimate themselves as a result of the effect of the chosen glory of the nation, and sometimes individuals could underestimate themselves as a result of the effect of the chosen trauma of the nation. A normative involvement refers to the following of the norms, customs, and traditions which are common within certain large social group, nation.

Language as a crucial element of national identity should be mentioned. Language is a set of symbols shared by a community to communicate meaning and experience (Fred E. Jandt, 2013). Jacob Grimm in 1846, well known writer and forerunner in historical linguistic, said: “a nation is the totality of people who speak the same language” (Fred E. Jandt, 2013, pg. 133). The languages are dynamic and ever-changing phenomenon. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis argues that the reality for a culture is discoverable in its language. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, also known as the Whorfian thesis, was developed in 1930s. Benjamine L. Whorf (1897-1941) studied ancient Hebraic, Aztec, Mayan cultures; in 1930s he went to study the Hopi’s Uto-Aztecan

language in the U.S Southwest. After Benjamin's L. Whorf thesis scientists have divided the hypothesis into the linguistic determinist interpretation and the linguistic relativity interpretation (Fred E. Jandt, 2013, pg. 137). The linguistic determinism suggests that language structure controls people's thoughts and cultural norms. In other words, each of us lives in that part of the world's reality that our language permits us to know. The practical philosophy theory suggests that the reality which builds person's life, it is just the known substance that our consciousness allows us to know due to the practical experience. For instance, for some people who never experienced the taste of the avocado, avocado does not exist in their minds, reality, and life. The same with language, every language has its own structure, grammar, phonetics, therefore these dimension affects peoples' perception of the certain historical and life events. Language brings the influence to the public opinion, formation of the certain value system, beliefs, and cultural attitude towards the conflict and the role of the nation in it. Thus, the worldview of the each person, to large extend, could be explained as predetermined by the language of the culture. Therefore, the differences among cultures regarding the worldview begin from the differences between languages. Therefore, Sapir-Whorf hypothesis suggested that reality for culture is discoverable in its language.

According to the linguistic relativity view linguistic characteristics and cultural norms influence each other. The linguistic relativity hypothesis is following: culture is controlled by and controls language. Therefore, language provides conceptual categories which bring influence how speakers' perceptions are encoded and stored (Fred E. Jandt, 2013, pg.138). Czech proverb is saying *'learn a new language and get a new soul'*.

Thus, language brings feeling to the individuals of common belonging to the same social group. Language refers to the basis for national integration. Common language helps to form a common national identity and unite society, it is breaking down also the barriers of communication and understanding between the members of the certain social groups.

Therefore, the collective national identity should be discussed. Collective national identity is the shared sense of belonging to a group (Korostelina, 2014, retrieved from the notes). I believe the concept of the common national identity goes beyond the definition of collective national identity and refers to the broad spectrum of the social, political and economic common consciousness of the citizens of the country. Collective identity refers to the identity of the group, nation, as a whole united organism.

Emile Durkheim, the founder of French sociology, in 1893 in his book 'Division of Labor in Society' suggested and developed the concept of collective conscience. Durkheim's definition of the collective conscience refers to the commonality of shared beliefs, values and moral sentiments. Emile Durkheim viewed the concept of collective conscience in the framework of the relationship between the self-identity and identity of the group. The philosopher argued that the collective conscience is realized in the individual level, and the individual is a product of the society with the individual unique characteristics. Durkheim describes the correlation between individual and collective consciousness as following 'two consciousnesses exist within us: the one comprises only states that are personal to each one of us, characteristic of us as individuals, whilst the other comprises states that are common to the whole of society'. The notion of the collective consciousness could be viewed in the framework of the modern democratic

model of the country and the multiculturalism concept. Therefore, Emile's Durkheim collective conscience theory could be referred to the idea of the formation common national identity based on the principle of the collective memory, freedom of expression for each individual, shared belief of the belonging to one cultural group. Media could spread the awareness of the collective conscience to the society with the help of cultural programs which would bring the common value to each and every one of the state's citizens. Thus, the collective conscience would operate as a unifying force within the society, which is built on the shared beliefs, moral sentiments, ideas, and respect of the rights of each individual. According to the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights, Article 1: 'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.'

Anthony Smith, British ethnographer, has suggested that the task of mass media and education system of the country – to ensure and strengthen common public mass culture (Smith 1991). Anthony Smith has defined nation and national identity as following:

- *Nation is a named and self-defined human community whose members cultivate shared myths, memories, symbols, values, and traditions, reside in and identify with a historic homeland, create and disseminate a distinctive public culture, and observe shared customs and common laws.*

- *National identity is a continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths, and traditions that compose the distinctive*

heritage of nations, and the identification of individuals with that pattern and heritage (2008 Anthony Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations*, pg19.).

Furthermore, Anthony Smith characterizes the nation as human community in the notion of collective cultural identity as a set of social and cultural resources, therefore Anthony Smith argued that the nation could be described as an “‘imagined, willed, and felt community’”. Therefore, based on the concepts of the nation, national and cultural identity the idea for the process of formation of common national identity could be adopted. Anthony Smith suggested that common economic prospects, common economy, play a crucial role for collective identity. Furthermore, all members of society have to have common legal rights and duties. Thus, common economic prospects and common ideology could strongly unite the people of the country under the notion of common national identity, where individual’s rights and identities will be respected and protected by the federal law. Furthermore, the rule of law and justice affect the common national identity, specifically the unification process of the nation, feeling among citizens of belonging to the same kinship and government’s protection of the individual rights. According to Thomas Carrothers *“the rule of law can be defined as a system in which the laws are public knowledge, are clear in meaning, and apply equally to everyone. They enshrine and uphold the political and civil liberties that have gained status as universal human rights over the last half-century.”*

Collective national identity could be viewed in the framework of social psychology and sociology. In social psychology Palletta and Jasper (2001) developed the question of collective identity and social movements. They raised the question ‘Are

collective identities imposed on groups or invented by them?’ and they defined the collective identity as an individual’s cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution (2001 Francesca Polletta and James Jasper, *Collective Identity and Social Movements*). They argue that collective identity may first be constructed by the outsiders, who will be able to enforce it, but it depends on some acceptance by those to whom it applied. They believe that collective identity brings a positive feeling to the group. Therefore, by answering the rhetorical question which was raised by Polletta and Jasper whether the collective identities are created by the outsiders or by the members of the group, I believe the answer could be found in the Anthony’s Smith definition of the nation, which refer to the self-defined human community whose members cultivate shared myths, memories, symbols, values, and traditions, reside in and identify with a historic homeland, create and disseminate a distinctive public culture, and observe shared customs and common laws. The cultivation of the cultural norms, beliefs of the member that could help to construct the collective national identity. In other words saying, common ideas, beliefs and goals for all members of the group could be formed with the initiative and will of formation of the members of the group. The will of formation of the common national identity could be strengthened with the presence of the awareness of importance of the common ideas of development and growth of the country. The awareness could be spread to the masses with the help of media.

In sociology Alberto Melucci discovered the concept of ‘Collective identity’, which he developed in his work ‘The process of collective identity’. Melucci viewed the collective identity as ‘constructing’ an action system. He defines collective identity as an

interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level) and concerned with the orientations of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the action takes place. He stresses the role of language for the cultural dimension of the members of collective identity. The process of formation of the common national identity, which could be initiated and promoted by the members of the group, let us say the citizens of the country, could be viewed as the type of the social movement during the transformation period of the country. The ideas of the common national identity and conscience could be taken from the dimensions of the collective national identity notion and implemented to the reality with the help of media and educational system. It leads towards the identity management phenomenon and implementing the newly emerged identities during the crisis period in the country.

Social identity and conflict

Social Identity Theory was developed by Henri Tajfel (1981) and others (Tajfel and Turner 1979). A theory tries to understand social behavior by exploring how people use social categories to gain an understanding of the world around them (Oakes 2002). Social identity plays a crucial role for understanding the social life of individuals and social groups. Social identity has been described by scholars as a socially constructed phenomenon. Social identity represents the border formation and it is defined as the contrast between “them” and “us”. In globalized, interconnected world identities are correlated and affect each other. Therefore ethnic, national, social identities have a strong correlation between each other. Social identity represents knowledge about membership, feeling of belonging to certain social group and security, support feeling. Social identity

also brings the emotional involvement and loyalty, beliefs about sameness of in-group and differences with out-groups.

According to Denial Rothbart and Karina Korostelina (2006 Identity, Morality and Threat, pg. 51) the following dynamics of the conflict could be viewed:

- The prolongation of social conflicts refers to the value-commitments of protagonists group.
- In protracted conflicts, axiological differences have a unifying effect on members of the in-group, replacing fears and uncertainties caused by hostilities.
- Axiological differences promote a mythic ordering of episodes based on dualities of scared/profane, good/evil, and virtuous/vicious.
- During periods of crisis, a core axiology has a tendency to dominate the national, religious, ethnic identities.
- An identity refers to the justice functions cognitively as a second-order instrument for understanding and responding to perceived threats.

Therefore, through the peacebuilding processes the collective consciousness of the in-group could be transformed to the perception of 'others' positively.

Basic Human Needs Theory

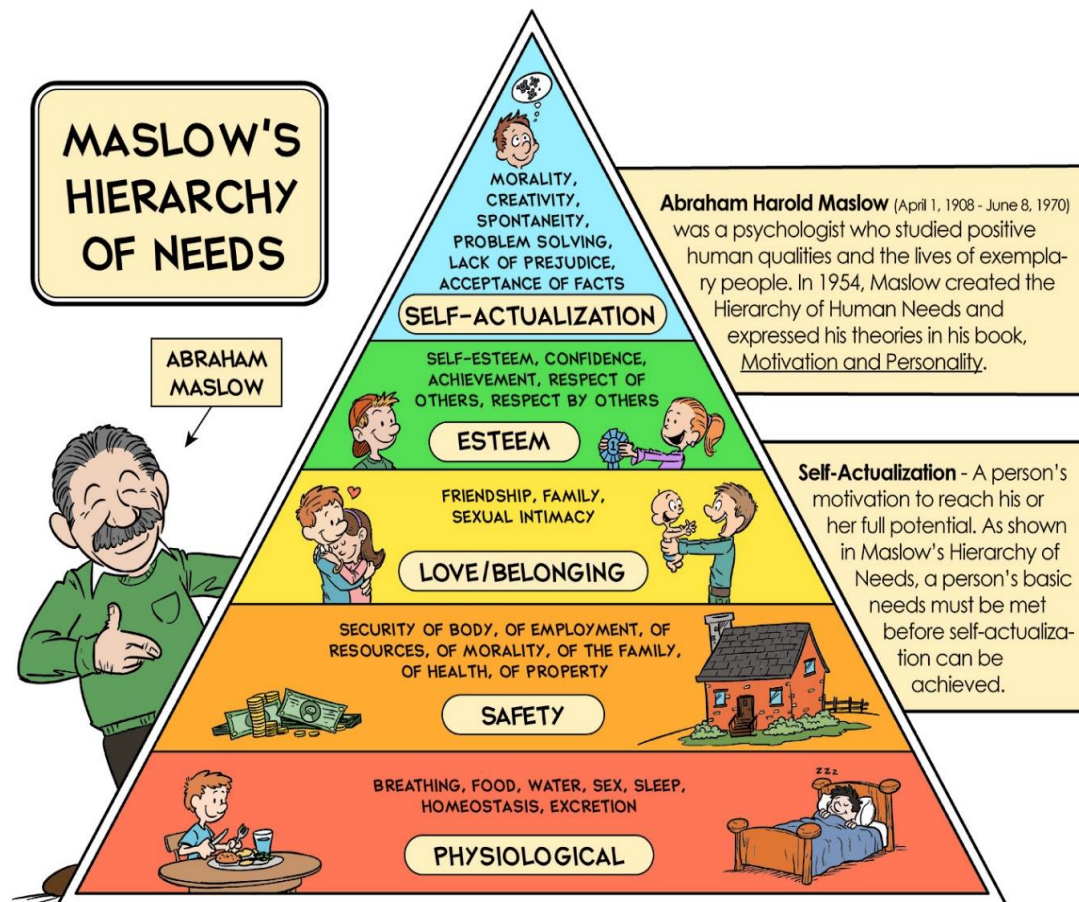


Figure 2: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs
(Graphic provided by: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs)³

³ Solomon Management Consultants <http://www.solomon-mc.com/philosophy-and-psychology-of-branding/>

Rubenstein (2001) stated that over time identity needs became a central theorizing point: when the state system fails to meet identity needs, ethno-national struggles emerge. These basic human needs are universal and immutable, people will do anything to satisfy them (Burton 1990, Sandole 2001). According to John Burton each person has needs for stability, health and well-being. These needs are universal human needs, and they are a number of essentials to survive. According to psychologist Abraham Maslow and the conflict scholar John Burton, these essentials go beyond just food, water, and shelter. They include both physical and non-physical elements needed for human growth and development, as well as all those things humans are innately driven to attain (August 2003, Sandra Marker Unmet Human Needs). According to John Burton theory unmet human needs leads to aggression: extreme poverty, loss of childhood, chronic hunger, denial of basic education could be a precondition for aggression. Burton argues that one of the primary cause of protracted conflict is people's drive to meet their unmet needs on the individual, group and societal levels. According to Burton, basic human needs cannot be traded or bargained, such as need for food, security, self-determination, etc. The need for security would be more accurately named as the need in the absence of danger. Individual assigns no dangerous objects, ideas, relationships. Need for recognition brings the need of self-determination and feeling of importance. The human needs approach is focusing on problem-solving model, such as problem-solving workshop or analytical problem-solving process. Burton mentioned that needs are goal-oriented; survival, stability and development are essential. As it was aforementioned in order that society

functions harmoniously, individuals' needs should be satisfied and fulfilled. Relative deprivation has been viewed as the tension between individual's actual state, and what individual feels that he or she would be able to achieve; as Ted Gurr explained it "perceived discrepancy between value expectations and value capabilities" (Retrieved from class notes, Rothbart 2014). Therefore, the intensity of relative deprivation potentially determines collective violence and exists in strong correlation with the basic human need theory. Gurr looks at relative deprivation through psychological framework. He came up with the conclusion that frustration-aggression is the primary source of the human capacity for violence. The prolonged feeling of frustration gives the bigger chances that aggression occurs. According to Ted Gurr, deprivation happens when person's value expectations exceed person's value capabilities. Values include welfare, security, self-determination, etc. Furthermore, economic well-being, ability to participate in government and interpersonal values influence relative deprivation. Thus, sometimes our ambitions exceed our abilities, or we misperceive the possibilities then it leads to irritation and frustration. However, I should mention that not all frustration leads to anger. The deprivation is subjective and varies upon a person's perception, needs, and knowledge. Relative deprivation is a subjective, a person's assessment. Social and political violence, such as protests and revolutions are collective objective manifestations. Gurr mentioned that relative deprivation is a frustration that leads to aggression. Thus, Ted Gurr views conflict in relative deprivation prospective with deep psychological pre-context. Relative deprivation is tension (struggle, contradiction, and clash) between value expectations and value capabilities. Conflict is generated as a result of infringement of

the basic needs of individuals, and in this sense the basic needs has the higher significance than normal needs. Burton's theory of human needs could be better understood with the help of Abraham Maslow Needs pyramid. Maslow distributed needs in increasing order, explaining such a construction that a person cannot feel the need of high-level needs till the more primitive needs are not satisfied. To sum up, I should say that John Burton focusing on the nature of human needs and causes that lead to dissatisfaction and aggression. However, Ted Gurr focuses, in his analysis of human nature and the nature of conflict, more on nurture of aggression which he explains with using of relative deprivation concept and viewing the frustration and dissatisfaction of individuals from psychological prospective.

Protracted social conflict as an aftermath of frozen conflict, differences and unmet human needs could emerge among society. Edward Azar (1986), Burton and others developed the basic needs explanation of protracted social conflicts. Cook-Huffman in her essay 'The role of identity in conflict' (pg. 22, 2009) stated that protracted social conflicts result from the denial of basic needs that are fundamentally connected to issues of identity, including the ability to develop a collective identity, to have that identity recognized by others, and to have fair, equal access to the systems and structures that support, define the conditions that allow for the achievement and building of identity (Azar 1986, Azar and Burton 1986, Miall 1999, Northrup 1988). Azar focused on intercommunal dynamics, which suggest that denial of human needs could be a source of the conflict. According to Korostelina (2014) Azar's third variable of the explanation of protracted social conflict phenomenon refers to incompetent, parochial, fragile, and

authoritarian governments that fail to satisfy basic human needs, it brings the possibility of the protests and conflict development. Therefore, these kinds of fragile state system governance bring the impact of international system, including economic dependency, political, military linkages, on weak, developing states, which are in the stage of transformative process towards democracy.

Four C Model

The Four C Model provides a basis for the systemic analysis of conflict dynamics that include economic, political, social and psychological factors (Korostelina 2007, *Social Identity and Conflict*, pg. 147-154). The Four C Model of the dynamics of protracted conflict has been proposed by Karina Korostelina (2007), which could be viewed through the four following stages: comparison, competition, confrontation, counteraction.

Comparison

Social groups which are peacefully coexisted for centuries, while holding multiple identities start to apply favorable comparison, each group has the stereotypes about another group, jokes, relative deprivation, etc. We and they perception start to emerge and favorable intergroup comparison appears. People could perceive themselves as members of the certain categorical groups or memberships, and have accordingly descriptive or collective identities. These identities could have different forms such as cultural, reflective, mobilized, etc. Therefore, in interactive communities people have multiple identities which are characterized by different forms, types and levels of salience (Korostelina 2007).

It should be pointed out that even in peaceful environments in-group members have some anecdotes, irony, prejudices, and stereotypes regarding the out-group members of the communities. Some negative perception dynamics exist even among peaceful cooperative communities (Korostelina 2007). Inequality and history of the conflictual relationship can reshape the unfavorable images (Korostelina 2007). Nevertheless, common identities, intermarriages and culture of peaceful coexistence help to maintain stability and balance within the identity system (Korostelina 2007).

Competition

Competition stage of the Four C Model refers to the instrumental conflicts of interests among counterpoised interactive communities. Therefore, conflicts of interests often arise between two or more groups that share or have intention to share power, resources (Korostelina 2007). Conflict could emerge because of the questions regarding the use or control of the land, water, information, access to property or resources, sharing of power or political influence (Korostelina 2007). Usually these kinds of conflicts emerge among social groups which have been coexisted on the same territory and have different statuses in the society system, minority and majority, advantaged and disadvantaged (Korostelina 2007). It should be mentioned that minority groups and groups with low status have more salient identities, prejudices against out-groups (Korostelina 2007). In competitive situations or perceived, experienced conflict with out-group, a threat will strengthen this negative evaluation, and influence the attribution of such stereotypes as aggressiveness, anger, antagonism (Korostelina 2007).

Confrontation

Conflicts of interest would lead towards the polarization of the society and increase of the importance of one social category. That one category best describes adversary groups, or was used in previous conflict situations, is more obvious or useful for people. (Korostelina 2007) Often leaders of the group fighting over power and resources use social identity to mobilize group members for struggle. Therefore, leaders and elite present their economic, political interests as in-group ones (Korostelina 2007). Social identity is used as a tool to increase group loyalty and readiness to fight for these “group interests”. The leaders employ collective traumas and glories (Volkan 1997). Collective glories refer to the collective historical victories, achievements, developments, etc. Collective traumas refers to the collective suffering, difficulties, collective memory regarding the tragic events, crime against humanity, which all communities experienced within the state, during the certain period of time. Therefore, several factors can play an important role in the process of reshaping social identity:

- States categorize their people into ethnic, regional, or religious groups (Korostelina 2007). The politics and ideologies of the states toward these groups influence the content and meaning of these identities, and impact conflict among them (Korostelina 2007).
- Leaders and elites play an important role in the process of identity formation, transforming cultural and realized identities into mobilized ones; invoke social movements (Korostelina 2007).

- International community evaluates situations in the framework of ‘ethnic conflict’, ‘indigenous rights’, ‘the right for self-determination’ (Korostelina 2007).
- Media, as well as social media, e-books, etc. creates the ideas of belonging, confrontation, reshape the meaning of membership in groups and inter-groups boundaries, and mobilizes support and loyalty toward them (Korostelina 2007).

Thus, only one identity prevails and replaces the entire complex system of multiple identities. Such an identity could be described as the dominant identity and leads towards the perception of the world ‘positive - we’, ‘negative – they’. The bigger the perceived difference between the characteristics of the in-group and the out-group, the bigger the disposition to hostility (Oakes 1987, Turner 1994). Fighting with the out-group becomes the main way and condition of the in-group survival (Korostelina 2007).

Counteraction

When the society has become divided into antagonistic groups, social identities become cause of confrontation among groups. Groups compete not just for material advantage, but also for the defense of their security, values, beliefs, worldview that has been seen as the basis for the in-group identity. Behavioral dynamics can vary from peaceful negotiation to violent conflict. In situations when the power and status relations are unstable, unclear, or consider illegitimate will provoke defensive or aggressive in-group actions (Korostelina 2007). Violence becomes interconnected with the changes in people’s perceptions of the morality, and understanding of the moral concepts. A

collective axiology should be mentioned, the collective axiology includes three components: mythic narratives, sacred icons, teleomorphic models. Mythic narratives refer to the perceptions of 'they' by the in-group members through shocking images, anecdotes, evidence of violence that can generate fear, panic, etc. The negative images are constructed through narratives and icons that present a threat from 'them'. A teleomorphic model is constructed in a form leading to the perception of fair, good 'us' and evil 'them'. Therefore, a constructed "we – they" duality produces a normative dichotomy, a boundary-crossing perceptions refer to what is "true", and what is "ought to be true" (Korostelina 2007). Violence and hostility affect the strengthening of collective axiology and the transformation of social identities (Korostelina 2007).

According to Korostelina (2007 Social identity and conflict, pg. 212) six main trends of identity management can be defined:

1. An increase in identity awareness, including knowledge about the role of identity as a source of tolerance;
2. An increase in group esteem and positive in-group image through the revival of in-group identity;
3. Actualization of the cultural form of identity through the support of cultural identity;
4. Reduction of the salience of categorization and transformation of dominant identity;
5. Formation of common identity.

Now I would like to look at reflective processes and their importance to identity of the nation. Scott Hughes in his article “Complexity, Conflict Resolution, and How the Mind Works” (2003) explored the concept of complexity and how the human mind works. The perception of the world has been changing from generation to generation, however, the development and progress in science changed the way how people perceive and reflect on certain things, crisis. We often question our beliefs regarding the nature of reality. We should pay attention on cognitive resolution of the conflict, emotional resolution and behavioral one. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) studied how the human mind works from cognitive psychology and linguistics perspective. The understanding how our mind works and our perception of the conflict, role of the conflict, what it shows and brings, emotional and behavioral response lead to the resolution stage of the conflict. Nevertheless, in order to cure the disease the symptoms should be studied and the diagnosis should be made before the beginning of any kind of treatment. There are different types of conflict such as interpersonal, between small social groups, large social groups, etc. Nevertheless, the roots of the conflict take place from the single thought. Albert Einstein once said “We cannot solve problems by using the same kind of thinking we used when we created them”. A correlation between conflict and change has been discussed in Christopher’s Mitchell (2005) article ‘Conflict Social Change and Conflict Resolution: An Enquiry’. Critical theory gives an interesting and thoughtful perspective of the explanation and interpretation of the world and conflict. The idea of learning as a change process shows the complexity of transformation and raise the ethical dilemma.

Conflict resolution and complexity of understanding how human mind perceives conflict, social change as an aftermath of conflict, and critical conflict resolution theory play an essential role in understanding, explanation and interpretation of the conflict dynamics and resolution of it. Scott Hughes in his article “Complexity, Conflict Resolution, and How the Mind Works” (2003) discusses the principles of objectivism, reductionism, determinism, and linearity. Newton, Descartes, Bacon, and Kant changed the perception and interpretation of the world. Objectivism refers to the nature of reality, and arose from the Descartes interpretation of the mind-body dualism. How we measure objectivity and how we can tell that certain argument is objective or subjective, etc. Objectivism rejects the idea that reality is determined by the personal opinion or social norms. Reductionism breaks things down in their parts in order to explore and understand them better. The complicated systems must be broken in many separate pieces in order to be understood. For instance, an issue of common national identity and the root causes of the clashes between social groups within one nation is such a complex issue and in order to define the main root cause of the clash this issue should be viewed from separate different perspectives (history, economic policies, traditions, religion, language policies, etc.)

Media significance & theoretical concepts

The media play a tremendous role in the modern globalized world. Knowledge is power and media have become a ‘basic human need’ for the audience as practically the food. Many would say that the media feed its audience with ready delicious dish which refers to the ‘juicy’ information. New media, such as blogs, social networks, role of the

entertainment have become a very important tool in representing the news. It should be mentioned that 3 main factors make news: conflict, timeliness, proximity. In recent decades, news have been represented by the media as an event. Information has become a crucial element of the marketing strategy for the promotion of new information to the public. Therefore, we can say that the role of media has become a very important marketing dimension, which is responsible for information, entertainment, education, advertisement, building cross-cultural awareness between societies. Many would call media a 'watch dog' of democracy, which provides access to the broad spectrum of the information and each person can build his or her opinion about certain issue and become a critical thinker. To sum up, I would like to say that today's media makes the world an interconnected well-informed 'global village', where speed of information spread plays a significant role.

Framing

According to Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss, and Ghanem (1991) frame could be defined as a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and collaboration. In other words saying, framing is patterns of interpretation through which people identify and classify the information (Pullicino, 2015 retrieved from the class notes). Therefore, we can say that framing refers how information is presented to the audience affects the decisions people make about how to perceive that information. Frames give structure and opportunity to organize the broad spectrum of information in a certain way. Framing is in many ways related to agenda setting theory. Both of them

focus on how media draw the public's attention to specific topics – setting the agenda. However, framing takes a step further and creates a frame in which the information is presented. Nevertheless, framing in daily conversations in a certain way is inevitable, we all bring our own personal past experiences, frames, and the way of the world perception to the conversations. Media framing plays a crucial role in representing the events, facts and perception of them by the audience. Play with words, selection and use the strong ones, drama and the role of language bring a powerful tool for creation of a certain frame through which this information will be presented and perceived by the public.

According to Media and Conflict: Framing issues, making policy, shaping opinion (Eytan Gilboa, 2002) there are two basic concepts of reconciliation: national reconciliation and reencounter reconciliation. The peace approach at national and regional levels is an effective tool to finish hostilities. The nonlinear approach could be used which refers to healing the dynamics of both encounter and reencounter. The healing component is responsible for reconstructing personal and social lives of the people. The reencounter component could be viewed in the framework of reconciliation approach with what has already been known from a polarized perspective. Reencounter requires transformation from confrontation to cooperation (Eytan Gilboa, 2002).

Furthermore, it should be mentioned that Kempf&Gutierrez (2001) suggested that media could contribute to peace culture in the following ways: de-escalation oriented coverage, strengthening of civil society, and demolition of stereotypes (2002 Eytan Gilboa Media and Conflict: Framing issues, making policy, shaping opinion, pg. 298).

- De-escalation oriented coverage has the main task to promote cooperation among the parties by focusing on cooperative actions and values. Therefore, common interests' cooperation benefits play a crucial role. It highlights positive emotions and respect among former enemies.
- Civil society diversity of interests, institutions, identities, voices play a crucial role in the multidimensional reporting. New technologies for networking and knowledge production play an important role.
- Overcoming stereotypes and prejudices. Stereotypes and prejudices about former antagonistic groups could be transformed into new dimensions of tolerance, respect and cooperation.

It should be noted that the media has to dedicate a lot of intention to the post-conflict situations and peacebuilding processes. Nevertheless, Gutierrez, Hertog and Rush (1994) argue that the more the conflict escalates towards violence, the more coverage it gets. Therefore, the conflict culture could be strengthened by the pro-escalation coverage by the media. Moreover, the democratization process plays an essential role in the long-lasting peace and peace culture – political pluralism, freedom of expression, multidimensional media channels: radio, press, television, and social media. The media could serve educational, informational and cultural purposes. Educational purposes of the media could bring awareness among civil society regarding the peacebuilding culture of the democracy, systematic developments, sustainable peace, and evolution.

Schemata theory

Individuals have schemata for everything, very often these schemas are built based on the previous experiences. Schemata should be viewed as theories about reality. Therefore, our schemata is our knowledge, information that we perceived. Schemata theories could be changed due to the effect of the information and the way of the representation of that information. (Pulicino, 2015) Therefore, media framing and individuals' schemata are interlinked, the way in which information will be perceived by the individual and how schemata theory will be built depend on the way, quality and type of the information that would be presented by the media. Robert Entman says media frames perform 4 functions: define problems; diagnose the causes; make moral judgments; suggest remedies (1993 Entman – 2010 , Werner J. Severin, James W. Tankard Jr., Communication Theories, 5th edition, pg. 279).

It should be mentioned that media frames could be built by the Multinational Corporations, politicians, journalists, etc. Furthermore, according to Goffman theory framing could be viewed from natural and social contexts. The difference between them is functional, however both of them help individuals to interpret the perceived data. Natural frameworks refer to identification of events as physical occurrences, social frameworks refer to identification of events as social occurrences. Social frameworks are built on natural frameworks⁴. Therefore, simplifications, representations, interpretations and perceptions of the reality, all refer to a framing. Journalists who represent the news

⁴ Ervin Goffman (1986 Frame Analysis, An essay on the organization of Experience, Northeastern University Press, Boston). <http://is.muni.cz/el/1423/podzim2013/SOC571E/um/E.Goffman-FrameAnalysis.pdf>

are also a product of the environment and part of the society, who have their own frames, and through which they would be representing the events. In other words, the same events could be represented differently due to cultural differences, different localities of the reporting events, and different perception of the reality. Also, framing could be used on purpose in order to get certain results, to build certain opinions among publics, very often media coverage plays the role of the effective tool for the governments in order to build the necessary public opinion during the conflict, crisis periods among citizens. The media and use of framing could exacerbate as well as help to resolve the conflict. Different framing, different ultimate goals of the media coverage bring different consequences. Society in a conflict zone and societies, which countries are involved to the conflict, are sensitive and public opinion regarding certain aspects could be built easier by using media framing, strong words, showing episodes of drama, human suffering, emphasizing the threats, etc. Conflict outcomes could be destructive when it leaves ruined relationship among parties, devastation, trauma, etc.; conflict outcomes could be constructive when it brings developments, evolution as an outcomes. Media play a vital role in facilitating the process of societal conflict management in democratic societies. Media have been viewed as a tool of conflict management. Media can help to resolve the conflict between two ethnicities in the same country, for instance, by stressing the commonalities between these two ethnicities, their common history and glory, interconnections, common traditions and culture, etc. Media could educate people regarding the great past of these two ethnicities and promising future, if they would be living in peace, and showing the facts, for instance, economic figures, which would prove

that peace and stability are essential for the development of the state and prosperity of the future generations.

Thus, the media play a role as an important source of the latest information, a vital source of entertainment and education to the public. Media are a powerful tool in creating a good or bad image, in destroying relationship between certain parties or building relationship, trust and forgiveness between them. Media framing plays a crucial role in the conflict analysis and resolution field. Media in the 21st century almost has become a basic human need for people. Nevertheless, people have a strong need in the information, awareness of the situation, especially when the country is in a stage of the strong economic and political crisis, stagnation, total corruption, and societal apathy. Therefore, media have a significant influence on our attitudes, interests, and opinions. Media with the use of different languages, tones, contexts, and marketing strategies create the values for society and shape the identities. Persuasion of the public, according to the need of the ultimate result of the ruling political party, regime could be done with the help of media as well. Selections of specific topics, language, tone, events on a certain time create the roots for the creation of the specific public opinion which will eventually grow among society and will shape the public attitudes, behavior, identities. The language could be viewed as the instrument of the expression, certain mindset and culture. Thus, language plays a tremendous role in the formation of common national identity. Nevertheless, the national language is a spoken attribute, symbol of the nation. Language of the media represents the nation and national culture.

Conclusion

John Burton and Ted Gurr argue that many protracted violent conflicts are generated by reactions of a social group who believes that their needs have been denied or that they are deprived in relation to the standing of a 'high-power' group. The human needs are universal, and they do not change among societies. However, Gurr's approach is focusing on self-perception of the individuals. According to John Burton each person has needs for stability, health and well-being. These needs are universal. Human needs are a number of essentials to survive. According to psychologist Abraham Maslow and the conflict scholar John Burton, these essentials go beyond just food, water, and shelter. They include both: physical and non-physical elements needed for human growth and development, as well as all those things humans are innately driven to attain (August 2003, Sandra Marker Unmet Human Needs). According to John Burton theory unmet human needs leads to aggression.

Furthermore, this chapter explores identity concepts, the Four C Model as a basis for the systemic analysis of conflict dynamics that includes economic, political, social and psychological factors; the chapter also looks at Geert's Hofstede dimensions of culture: individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity, power distance, uncertainty avoidance; and media significance.

It should be mentioned that Anthony Smith, British ethnographer, has suggested that the task of mass media and education system of the country – to ensure and strengthen a common public mass culture (Smith 1991). Moreover, Anthony Smith suggested that common economic prospects, common economy, play a vital role for

collective identity. Furthermore, all members of society have to have common legal rights and duties. Therefore, common economic prospects, economic stability and common ideology could strongly unite the people of the country under the notion of common national identity, where individual's rights and identities will be respected and protected by the federal law.

It should be mentioned that Vamik Volkan (2006) defines symbols as reservoirs of chosen traumas or chosen glories, and Ukrainian language and culture could be seen in this framework.

CHAPTER 2: THE CASE OF UKRAINE

In order to build an understanding about the Ukrainian identity, concepts of social, ethnic, national identities should be taken into consideration; and historical, cultural transformation should be counted. Therefore, Ukrainian identity could be viewed in the framework of an umbrella concept. Throughout many centuries, the Ukrainian identity has been changed and shaped. Political regimes, different historical periods have brought its own connotations and transformations to the Ukrainian identity, and have been adding further sections of umbrella and reconstructing the old ones.

National identity is dynamic and changing phenomenon that always in the process of development (Kuzio 2001). Kuzio (2001) has discussed that after states become independent from territorially based empires and embark upon nation- and state-building, a new national identity will inevitably force its ruling elites to debate who is the 'other' in regards to the self-identification of the national identity. Therefore, Kuzio (2001) defines the Ukrainian national identity based upon the principle of the 'otherness' which refer to the principle of the self-identification of the Ukrainian nation, which is different and other from the self-identification of the Russian nation. Taras Kuzio (2001) argues in his article "identity and nation building in Ukraine" that this principle strengthens the Ukrainian identity. Kulyk (2014) talks about the evolution of Ukrainian identity during the current crisis starting from the November 2013, he looks at the

Euromaidan protests and subsequent military conflict in Eastern part of Ukraine, as democratic maturity of Ukrainians and alienation from Russia. Kulyk (2014) views the regional development policies as a factor of influence on the Ukrainian national identity. Also, Kulyk (2014) explores the influence of the media on transformation processes of the Ukrainian national identity during the crisis period. He suggests that Ukrainian media should provide analytical discussions on television on topics regarding the contemporary crisis in Ukraine. Kulyk (2014) has suggested that information should not be only presented by the media, but also explained and discussed from a different perspective in an analytical way, what is going and why. Kulyk (2014) views the media as the unifier of the Ukrainian society and he has specified that media should have social responsibility regarding the conflict coverage, and media can help people to overcome social boundaries among Ukrainian society. Kulyk (2014) also suggested development of public broadcasting in Ukraine, which could be launched and promoted by the governmental channels and then could create standards, norms and set an example of the broadcasting for commercial channels. Furthermore, it has been widely discussed by the Ukrainian political scientists and researchers during the crisis that Ukrainian media rhetoric should be changed from the low-quality “copy – paste” tactic from the Russian media sources to high-quality objective information, which would represent the cultural national interests of Ukraine. Nevertheless, for many years Russian media has been practicing strategic principles of broadcasting and media coverage in Post-Soviet countries and Post-Soviet ideologies have been actively shared by the media throughout these years since 1991. The other problem among Ukrainian journalists is lack of knowledge the foreign languages

and then use of the information from the Russian media sources, or Russian translation of information from British, American or German media sources, etc. Nevertheless, Russian translation of the information from aforementioned sources brings framing and certain angles of the representation, which are in the interest to Russian foreign policies. Therefore, the issue of the sources of information for the Ukrainian media has been addressed and slow improvements have been going. Media Crisis Center as an independent media source has been created, Ukrainian media system has been developing slowly and focus of coverage nowadays is on the national Ukrainian identity with emphasizing of the cultural and ethnic elements of the Ukrainian identity and cultural national interest of the state.

Karina Korostelina (2012) in her research paper 'Mapping national identity narratives in Ukraine' stated that based upon analysis of 43 interviews with Ukrainian political and intellectual elites five different narratives could be revealed in Ukraine: dual identity (Russian and Ukrainian cultures), being pro-Soviet, a fight for Ukrainian identity, a recognition of Ukrainian identity, multicultural-civic concept. Ukraine demonstrates a case of conflicts around national identity, which have been last for the 24 years since Ukraine achieved independence in 1991 (Korostelina, 2012). Ukraine represents the complex social structure, where struggle regarding Ukrainian identity has been continuing for many years. It should be mentioned that Ukraine and Russia for many centuries have been in the same Slavic world, which roots took place from the Kyivan Rus'.

Dimensions of Culture, Geert Hofstede.

Ukrainian culture and identity could be viewed and described from the G.H. Hofstede's dimensions of culture.

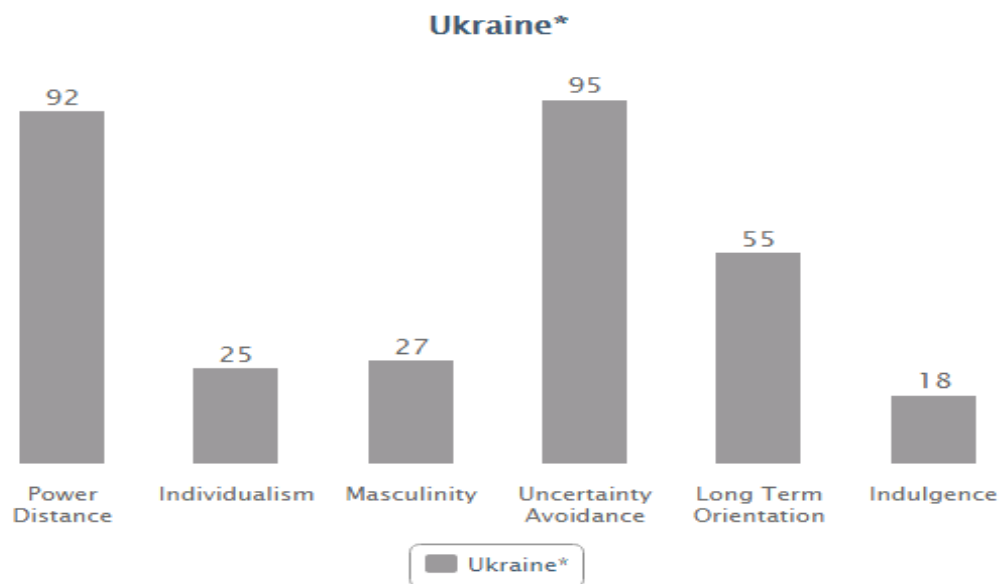


Figure 3: Dimensions of Culture, Ukraine.
(Graphic provided by: the Hofstede's center)⁵

⁵ The Hofstede's center, dimension of culture: Ukraine, <http://geert-hofstede.com/ukraine.html>

Based on this chart the following analysis of Ukrainian culture could be made:

- *The Power Distance*

Ukraine has a high score on the first dimension, which is 92. This dimension shows that all individuals in society are not equal. Ukraine as a post-soviet country has been developed as a very centralized country. Status symbols play a crucial role within the society. The status roles are reflected in all areas of social behavior interaction. The approach in the organizations and institutions should be top-down and provide clear definition and specification for every task. Thus, Ukraine demonstrates an example of the hierarchical society.

- *Individualism/Collectivism*

Ukraine is a post-soviet country and represents the post-collectivistic culture, where interests of the group prevail upon the individualistic interests. From the language narrative and structure of language could be defined that very often Ukrainians say ‘we went with friends, we visited certain events, etc.’; ‘My friend and I would sound rarely’. Relationship is very important, trust should be built before the commencement of the political negotiation or business deals, etc. The implicit communication style is not very common and very often would bring unsuccessful results of the negotiations. For many centuries the Ukrainian society had been collectivistic, it could be explained because of the historical belonging to the Soviet Union and Russian Empire, which were representatives of

strong collectivistic culture. For many years in Ukraine - the past, history had been very important, the past supposed to define present and future.

- *Feminine/Masculine*

Ukraine's score on this cultural dimension is 25, even though, the status symbol plays a crucial role within the society. For Ukrainian people are important to understand the personal achievements, capacities of the other person during the meeting. Modesty is expected among society and highly valued, this tradition and perception are coming from the Soviet era. People are expected to talk modestly about themselves. Teachers, professors, researchers and scientists live on a very modest financial means. The dominant supervising behavior could be accepted when it comes from the higher rank individuals, however it is not appreciated within the cohort.

- *Uncertainty Avoidance cultural dimension*

Ukraine has score 95, which is pretty high. Therefore, Ukrainian society feels very much threatened by the unknown, mysterious future and ambiguous situations. Ukrainians normally prefer to know what to expect, before the negotiation or meeting they would require the background information. Ukrainians interact with strangers in a distant and very formal manner. The formality is the representation of respect.

- Long-term orientation/short-term orientation to life.

Ukraine has a score 55, which refers to the belonging to short- term and long- term oriented cultural narratives. The score of 55 describes Ukrainian society as long-term oriented one as well as the society with the short-term oriented cultural dimensions. Long-term and short-term goals, ideas, projects, etc., are common among society.

- Indulgence/Restraint

Ukrainian culture has a low score on this dimension, the score is 18. Thus, societies with the low scores have a strong tendency towards pessimistic attitudes towards life and strong ability to cynicism. This fact could be explained as the result of the chosen trauma, post-colonial and post-totalitarian environment.

Ukraine as a post-colonial country could be an example of the co-existence type of intergroup interrelations and identity attachment to it. For many centuries different ethnic groups successfully coexisted on Ukrainian land. Nowadays, we can see the emergence of many social conflicts among Ukrainian citizens, this phenomenon could be explained as an absence of common national identity in Ukraine and transformation period in the state. Transformation period is time for big changes and launch of new systems. Crisis in Ukraine today shows the particular examples of the pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian supporters among Ukrainian citizens, and how their views and opinions are different from each other. Media bring impact towards the creation of lenses, focusing on one particular issue and ignoring another, by bringing the significance to the matter.

Ukrainian contemporary crisis should be viewed as an intra-state conflict with the complex issues of the social structure and struggle for many years regarding the common Ukrainian national identity. This crisis includes the two main root causes: dissatisfaction of the basic human needs and presence among society of relative deprivation. Therefore, an example of relative deprivation when expectations of people were not met and frustration came as aftermath could be the First Revolution in Kyiv, Orange Revolution in 2004. Ukrainian people expected a big change in economic, political, social sectors after the revolution, and it did not happen. The unmet expectations and dissatisfaction among nation have been hidden for many years. The new wave of dissatisfaction and disappointment came when the former President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovych announced about the intention of the accession to Eurasian Custom Union, instead of the accession to European Union. Therefore, Ukrainian conflict could be viewed from the relative deprivation perspective and dissatisfaction of the basic human needs of the population. Low standards of living and economic crisis brought to the country a high level of dissatisfaction of the governmental policies among people. In other words saying, the contemporary Ukrainian crisis demonstrates the long-term system's failure of the satisfaction basic human needs regarding the security, material means, identity needs and occurrence of relative deprivation. Period of Post-Soviet Ukraine should be viewed. According to the several sociological researches, which were held by the Kiev International Institute of Sociology people dissatisfaction of Ukraine's authorities has been growing gradually, starting from the early 90s. According to EUROSTAT last report on June 16, 2015 numbers of Ukrainian asylum applicants have raised

significantly, more than 5 times in comparison to 2014; the main countries of destination are: Germany, Hungary, France, and Sweden. The first big wave of migration from Ukraine to European countries happened in 90s, when the life standards were very low. The level of unmet basic human needs has been raising through 24 years among the Ukrainian population. Weak regional economic policies and strong centralized economic policy in Kyiv have been practicing for 24 years, now it is slowly changing and regional structures have been developing in some parts of Ukraine. For many years in Ukraine as a post-colonial, post-collectivistic country prototype has played a significant role until today. Presidents of the independent Ukraine during 24 years have been shaping the Ukrainian identity, each ruling party has had its own vision regarding the further development of the country and Ukrainian identity. Current crisis in Ukraine and polarization among society could be viewed from the perspective of functioning of categories. Meta contrast (Korostelina 2014) among Ukrainian citizens due to the contemporary conflict is rising, and people see a difference between groups more than differences within groups, pro-Ukrainian, pro-Russian supporters.

Ukrainian – Russian relations could be viewed as an example of the social boundaries. The relationship has been described from Ukrainian governmental perspective as an oppressive attitude from the imperial power towards a single neighboring country. The relationship has been described from Russian governmental perspective as supportive and responsible for the development of the neighboring post-soviet country.



Figure 4: Ukraine
(Map provided by CIA the World Factbook: Ukraine) ⁶

The system in post-soviet Ukraine failed to provide stability, economic security, coherent regional development and equal opportunities for all ethnic groups, who reside on Ukrainian territory, and representatives of different language social groups. John Burton developed further Maslow's theory of basic human needs and added the need of self-expression for the individual and for the social group as well. Question of the freedom of self-expression and realization in regards the identity plays a crucial role for the long lasting peace. Nevertheless, identity based disputes require deep approach of the

⁶CIA The World Factbook: Ukraine <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/up.html>

resolution. Escalatory conflict dynamic could be viewed in regards to the Ukrainian current crisis and demonstrate the intergroup development of enemy images between pro-Ukrainian, pro-Russian supporters; and Ukrainian, Russian media coverage of the conflict, polarization of the Ukrainian society on Central – Western pro-Ukrainian part, Eastern - pro-Russian, separatist part.

Now, I would like to look at Four C Model (comparison, competition, confrontation, counteraction) as a basis for the systemic analysis of conflict dynamics that include economic, political, social and psychological factors (Korostelina 2007).

Comparison

Major ethnic groups who reside in Ukraine are Ukrainian and Russian representatives. For centuries they have coexisted peacefully between each other. Nevertheless, since the time when Soviet Union collapsed and independence was granted to Ukraine the governmental system in Independent Ukraine all these years has been weak and brought many dissatisfactions among nation: unmet economic security needs and the emergence of relative deprivation, discrimination feelings among representatives of the different ethnic groups. Since 1991 it has been 5 different presidents, and ruling party of the systems has been changed accordingly. Each government, every time, has had stronger or weaker connotation and support of the Russian language, culture and history or Ukrainian one. The history books, media coverage of certain cultural events, educational programs at schools have been changed accordingly. Therefore, each time of change when pro-Russian or pro-Ukrainian support and strengthening of the cultures have been happening each group has a feeling of relative deprivation. The recent example

could be the official language question and policy towards Russian and Ukrainian languages within the country. According to Korostelina's research nationalities paper 'Mapping national identity narratives in Ukraine' (2012) language is dividing factor in Ukraine: 50% of the population is bilingual, but 50% speak only Ukrainian or Russian, with a preponderance of Russian speakers; nevertheless, over the last 20 years the use of Russian language in education has decreased from 50% to 20%.

Jokes and stereotypes between Ukrainian, Russian ethnic groups, mostly based on the geographical location of the regions, started to strengthen during the past 10 years. Western part of Ukraine has been represented as picturesque, beautiful Carpathian region, hard-working people, and family oriented traditions. Eastern part of Ukraine has been represented as working mining region. These beliefs exist among society for many years, however, started to strengthen during the last 10 years. The current crisis and violent conflict in the eastern region of Ukraine created the strong division on 'us' and 'them'. 'Them' refers to the representatives of eastern Ukrainian region and 'us' to other citizens of the rest of Ukraine. On First National Channel (UT-1) during the news prime time, media coverage is focusing on the Ukrainian army losses and victories; however, the losses of Ukrainian civilians from the eastern region normally have not been mentioned or mentioned very briefly. This strategy of conflict coverage refers to the further creation of social boundaries. The eastern region of Ukraine has a strong influence of Russian media coverage of the Ukrainian conflict, and cultural values, stories, prototypes are related to Soviet times and Russian Empire legacy with the focus on the past strength of the USSR, Russian Empire. Central and western parts of Ukraine have a strong influence

of the Ukrainian national media coverage with a focus on Ukrainian ethnic identity, relations to the European family, with the focus on the future as the independent developed democratic state. Nevertheless, despite the stereotypical perceptions between western, central and eastern regions, economic deprivation and strong centralized economic policy in Kyiv, the Ukrainian communities peacefully coexisted before the revolution, the second Maidan, Euromaidan, in 2013. In pre-conflict Ukraine, central and western parts of Ukraine were portrayed as successful progressive regions in comparison to working the mining region in the east, closer to Russia. However, the rhetoric about eastern region was changed every time when the main party at the government had changed. Nevertheless, the image and perception of the region, as working mining region with land full of natural resources and factories, have been existed among society for many years. The social comparison has brought results of prejudice that reflected special attitudes towards the eastern region, and especially now during the current conflict, special attitudes towards the rebellion eastern region and its representatives.

Competition

As previously discussed in introduction, the ethnic groups of Ukraine are following: Ukrainian 77.8%, Russian 17.3%, Belarusian 0.6%, Moldovan 0.5%, Crimean Tatar 0.5%, Bulgarian 0.4%, Hungarian 0.3%, Romanian 0.3%, Polish 0.3%, Jewish 0.2%, other 1.8% (2015, CIA The World Factbook, People and Society: Ukraine). Therefore, the majority are the Ukrainian and Russian ethnic groups. From November 2013, when the contemporary crisis started the dispute regarding access to the resources in the Eastern region of Ukraine, control of the land in the Central and Western parts of

country, access and influence on the information sources and so on, started to emerge among political representatives, strong business enterprises. Aggressiveness and antagonistic stereotypes started to strengthen among the social groups during the crisis period in Ukraine.

Furthermore, it should be mentioned that successfully and more or less good economic incomes could be possessed in the central region of Ukraine in pre-conflict Ukraine. Nowadays, the economic situation is much better and more or less stable in Kyiv and Kyiv region in comparison to other regions of the country. Eastern and south-eastern parts of Ukraine have felt the economic deprivation for more than 10 years. Conflict of interests have been existed for many years, starting from the 1991, among the social groups in regards of the security from economic stability perspective in different regions of the country. Therefore, the competition for power and control of the economic system, which has been concentrated in Kyiv, has been existed for many years within the country.

Confrontation

Conflict of interest which has been existed among Ukrainian society for many years eventually has led towards the polarization of the communities, unequal distribution of resources and economic goods, strong centralized policy of the governments for many years has led to the current crisis. The role of the leaders and prototypes plays a crucial role for the Ukrainian society, it could be explained that Ukraine stands as an example of the post-collectivistic country. Each President and the ruling party during the period of Independent Ukraine presented their economic and political interests as an in-group ones.

Collective trauma of the Ukrainian nation, as post-colonial country, has been employed actively by the Ukrainian Presidents as a tool for the unification of the nation, and a tool for achieving certain public support, economic goals. Protests, demonstrations with the support of political leaders have been developed within the country starting from the November 2013, cultural identities of ethnic groups of the countries have been strengthened as an aftermath. Two mobilized identities have emerged, such as pro-Ukrainian social group and pro-Russian social group. The division between two factions: the pro-Ukrainian, pro-western cultural affiliation; and pro-Russian, pro-eastern cultural affiliation. It has brought deep contradictions pro- and anti- Ukrainian, Russian factions and their supporters. Therefore, Ukrainian crisis stands nowadays as an aftermath, of the weak and unsustainable, from an economic perspective, governmental policies for many years. Social categorization process during the crisis where only one social identity started to prevail in the state refers to the fact that the Ukrainian ethnic identity became dominant one today. The differences and stereotypes regarding differences of the eastern region and pro-Russian supporters started to increase. The perception of the world among Ukrainian society has established as “positive – we” and “negative – them”. Thus, the fighting with the rebellion region of the Eastern Ukraine becomes the main goal and condition of the Ukrainian ethnic identity survival.

Counteraction

After the society has become divided into antagonistic groups, social identities become a cause of confrontation among groups competing not just for material advantage, but also for the defense of their security, beliefs, values which serve as a basis

for the in-group identity. Pro-Ukrainian affiliation refers to the European values, and Ukrainian ethnic traditions; pro-Russian affiliation refers to the Soviet, Russian Empire values and traditions. The culture of fear, detestation, and hate began to dominate in intergroup perceptions. Beliefs and myths among Ukrainian society started to emerge regarding the violent, cruel nature of the representatives of the eastern pro-Russian region and vice versa. The violent form of conflict in the eastern part of Ukraine has existed already for more than 1 year. Devaluation methods started to be applied by the social groups, cruel myths started to be created and shared among people by word of mouth, people started to share scary myths with media from both sides of the conflict. The actions of structural violence have led to economic, educational decline and growing poverty among Ukrainian citizens started to take place. According to the National Bank of Ukraine reports for the 2015 - economic decline with a comparison of other years reaches a significant level. According to UNDP relative poverty rate in Ukraine is 24.3% and Ukrainian GDP growth rate is 0.2%.

Korostelina (2014) discussed factors which play an important role in the process of reshaping social identity which are following: states categorize their people into ethnic, regional or religious groups; elites and leaders play an essential role in the process of identity formation, transformation and social movements. Thus, it should be mentioned that the Ukrainian nation started to go through these processes.

Reflective process and its importance to the transformation of the Ukrainian identity should be discussed. The idea of determinism argues that every effect has a cause. For instance, the current Ukrainian crisis is an aftermath of the post-soviet system,

unsuccessful fragile governmental policies of transition towards the formation of economically independent sovereign state. A linearity is explained as a direct and linear relationship between inputs and outputs. Poor governmental policies regarding the formation of common national identity in Ukraine brought poor consequences and many disputes between social groups within the country.

Psychological trauma and people emotions are the most complicated issues to deal with in the peacebuilding process. Changes can lead towards conflicts. The change provides uncertainty and discomfort for people very often. Changes within such complex structures as nation, country could provide many conflicts on different levels.

Now, I would like to explore the ethical dilemma and learning processes. Perin Cohen and others (2005) in an article “AIR model: a teaching tool for cultivating reflective ethical inquiry” examine the awareness of ethical issues, investigation of those issue and responding towards those issues. The example could be setting the new education system in Ukraine. Development of the learning process and providing of the progress require effective agencies and institutions mechanism that would be able to provide and support the efficiency of educational development. International organizations and educational establishments such as American English Center in Ukraine, IREX, FLEX in 90s changed the dynamic and the way of development of the educational system, it brought cultural exchange, new approach toward learning process, etc. Therefore, institutions play role as a guarantor of the application of the certain policies. Referring to the reflective practice, it should be mentioned, that the more we look at some issues the more it seems not to be there. For instance the deeper we look

towards the cause of the problem of current crisis on Ukraine the harder to identify the real cause of the problem. There are so many different issues at all levels of the state's structure to come up, and it is very hard to identify the primarily one. Reflection opens so many different angles of the problem that we never thought about it before the reflective practice. Formal learning in Ukraine raises so many questions, today, students have to do a lot of informal learning in order to get good results and achieve certain goals.

Inefficiency of educational institutions in Ukraine has brought so many problems, the main one is lack of really well educated qualified specialists. When we are talking about ethics, it refers to morality - right and wrong. An ethical dilemma is always a hot topic in people's life. It is hesitation, what I shall do, would it be right, etc. Ethical dilemma plays an important role in conflict resolution field. Nevertheless, let us look at current situation in Ukraine, there is a violence in eastern part of the country but how it could be stopped, can it be stopped by using force or negotiation, should international community intervene or not and how media should present the conflict, and so on. In other words, it could be said that the ethical dilemma refers to the question 'is this the right thing to do?'.

Theories of change refers to deterministic ideas by doing the action a, you would get b. For instance, if Ukrainian government would create new working places for people and more or less stable economic prospects, dissatisfaction among population would starting to decline and conflict dynamic would start to be replaced by the peace dynamics of human behavior. Theories of change are a part of the peacebuilding process that could lead the country towards positive transformations. By taking current crisis in Ukraine as an example, it should be mentioned that following change theories could be implemented

toward settlement the peace and changes for good: the individual change theories – it is essential to change the individuals' attitude toward the current situation and decrease the level of hostility between citizens of different regions of Ukraine, this change could be done with help of media and termination of the social categorization policies of the population of Ukraine; the reduction of violence theory – ceasefire in the eastern region; the withdrawal of war – anti-war campaign should be launched; the root cause theory could be applied as well– try to find out the real root cause of the dispute and to eliminate it; the healthy relationship and connection theory – forgiveness, trust building processes between victims and offenders, disputed parties, such as eastern region of Ukraine and other parts of the country.

It is important to stress that conflict starts from the single thought and way of thinking, perception of the certain thing. In order to change it towards positive and productive one, educational process and bringing the awareness through media source to the population regarding the common past and future could help that. Knowledge is power, and education, spread of information through media sources can change the way of further development of the country and history. Ukraine is a good example of the different policies and educational systems implementation, it was a Soviet country and accordingly the education system was Soviet one, after independence was granted the educational system was changed slightly, in 2007 the educational system was changed more intensively, the Ukrainization campaign was launched. After couple of years when the regime changed the new educational policies was launched, on this time, pro-Russian, modern post-soviet system, historical books were rewritten, language policy was

changed, Ukrainization campaign was stopped, etc. Countries in transition towards democracy suffer from the fragile governmental policies.

Now, I would like to look at cultural, reflective and mobilized forms of the Ukrainian identity.

Cultural Identity

- This identity has been strongly reflected in the Western region of Ukraine, in a cultural capital - Lviv, and its region. People deeply cherish the customs, traditions, belonging to Greco-Catholic religious identity. Overall, in whole Ukraine cultural identity more or less well developed and differs a little one from another in regards to the geographical locations and neighboring countries cultural influences, presence of certain ethnic groups in the region and their local traditions.

Reflective Identity

- Reflective identity started to develop among Ukrainian society in 90s and reached the good promotion by the media. During the current crisis and violent conflict in the East of Ukraine, cultural programs on the national channels and newspapers have developed the idea of the reflective identity and tried to define what the Ukrainian ethnic identity is.

Mobilized Identity

- This identity started actively to develop with the beginning of violent conflict in the eastern part of Ukraine. Two mobilized ethnic identities

emerged during the crisis which are: pro-Ukrainian with value and knowledge of Ukrainian, European culture; and pro-Russian with value and knowledge of the Russian Empire, Soviet culture. The competition and confrontation of the groups have been developing gradually and could be observed from the posts on the social media channels (facebook, vk, twitter, youtube, etc.) of the activists, leaders of each group. These two mobilized identities have been created during the crisis period and have been strengthened by the media coverage from both sides, Ukrainian and Russian. Media information confrontations between Ukrainian national and Russian national channels regarding the representation of events in the Eastern part of Ukraine started to take place during the conflict period in Ukraine.

National Identity

Ukraine nowadays represents the ethno-cultural national identity, which is the identity that constructs itself as a belief that the state community shares, or has as its core, common ethnic ancestry (Korostelina 2014). During the Soviet era, Ukrainian Soviet Republic had a civic national identity, which constructs itself as a belief that the nation shares a common destiny as equal citizens.

Today, Ukraine is in the transformative stage of the national identity. Crisis is reshaping the national Ukrainian identity. Ethnical approach and common root narrative are strengthening. National narrative to invent the strongly united nation identifies its

presence within the Ukrainian state. Nationalism has been strengthening within the country. Nationalism involves multiple claims by different social groups regarding what identifies the rights of specific groups therein; it reshapes the national identity or invents the new one; the nation-building process consists conflicts of interests between different groups regarding the identity and the vision of the nation development processes.

Furthermore, during the current crisis Ukrainian national identity is transforming and the concept narrative of the definition and representation of the newly emerged Ukrainian identity is based on the denial principal, which truly defines what Ukrainian nation is based on the denial that Ukrainians are not Russians. The common national identity of Ukraine has been in the stagnation stage for many decades. Nowadays, the process of transformation and changes has been developing within the state.

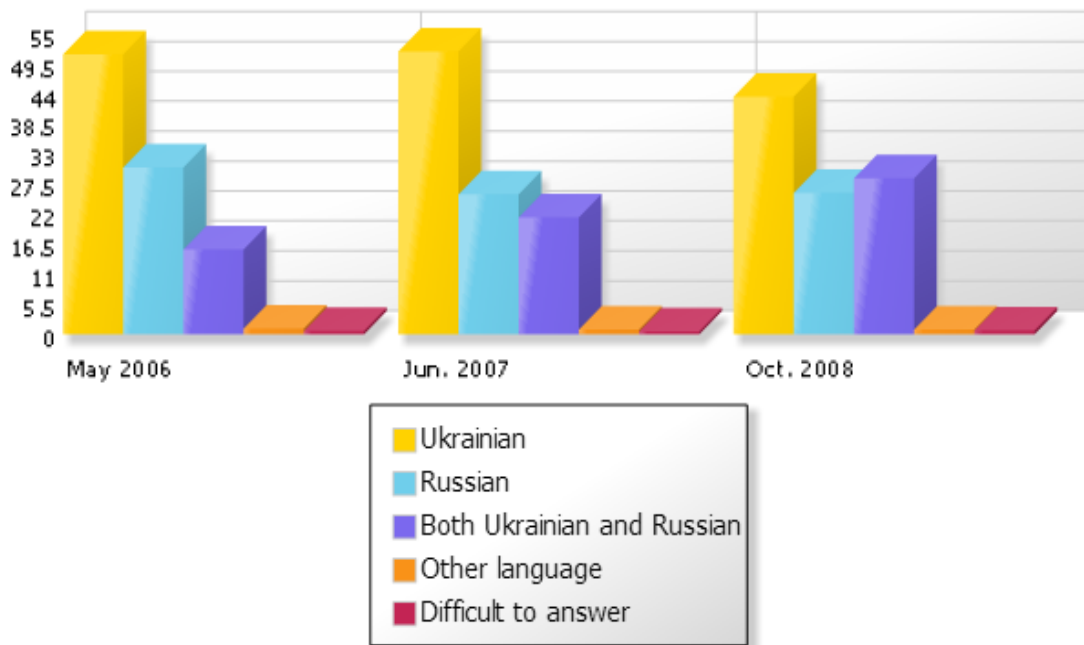
Language and national identity

The sociological poll ‘Which language do you consider mother tongue?’ was conducted by the Razumkov Center and most of the people responded that they find the Ukrainian language as their mother tongue.

(please view the next page)

Table 1: Which language do you consider mother tongue?

	May 2006	Jun. 2007	Oct. 2008
Ukrainian	51.4	52.0	43.7
Russian	30.7	25.7	26.0
Both Ukrainian and Russian	15.6	21.5	28.7
Other language	1.1	0.9	0.9
Difficult to answer	0.6	0.5	0.7



*Figure 5: Which language do you consider mother tongue?
(The chart retrieved from the Razumkov Center website)⁷*

⁷ Sociological Poll, Razumkov Center http://www.razumkov.org.ua/eng/poll.php?poll_id=290

Therefore, according to the linguistic determinism the language structure controls people's thoughts and cultural norms; the linguistic relativity hypothesis suggests that culture is controlled by and controls language. The assumption could be made, that most of the Ukrainian society cherish the Ukrainian cultural traditions, which were formed mainly after the Orange Revolution, and during the Ukrainization policies.

Another sociological poll '*ATTITUDE TO THE STATUS OF THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE IN UKRAINE*'⁸ was conducted by the Kiev International Institute of Sociology, from December 14 to December 24, 2015. It is the All-Ukrainian poll of public opinion. 2013 respondents were interviewed, in age 18 and older.
(please view the next page)

⁸ Sociological Poll, KIIS <http://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=eng&cat=reports&id=517&page=1&t=10>

Attitude to the status of the Russian language of Ukraine
In your opinion, what should be the public policy concerning Russian language in Ukraine

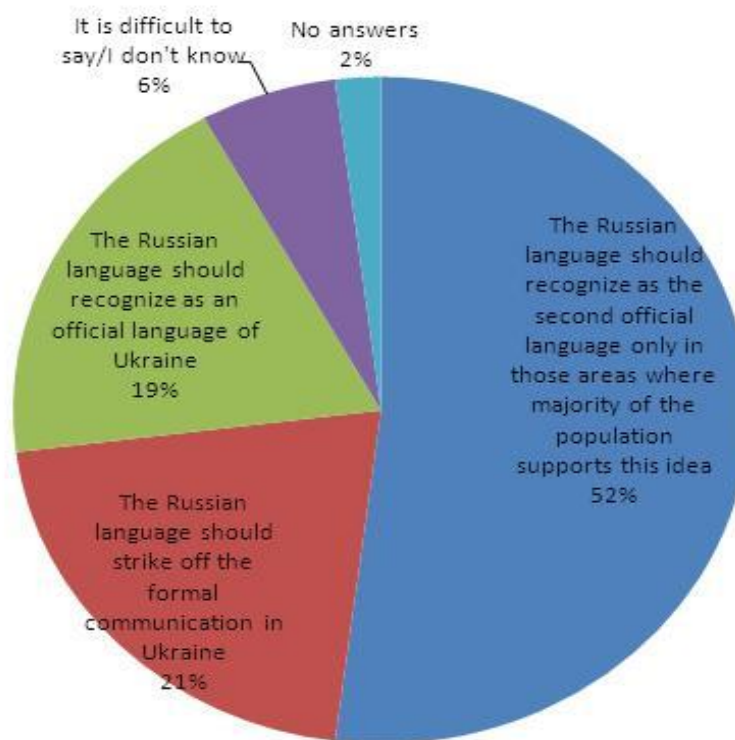


Figure 6: Attitude to the status of the Russian language

Table 2: In your opinion, what should be the public policy concerning the Russian language in Ukraine? (%)

Variants of answers	Western	Central	Southern	Eastern (with Donbass)
It should struck off the Russian language from official communication in Ukraine	42	24	13	3
The Russian language should recognize as an official language only in those areas where majority people support this idea	44	57	43	61
The Russian language should recognize as the second official language	6	8	37	31
It is difficult to say/I don't know	7	8	6	5
No answer	1	3	1	0

Table 3: What, in your opinion, should be a national policy on the teaching of Russian in UKRAINIAN schools? (%)

Variants of answers	Ukraine in general	Western	Central	Southern	Eastern (with Donbass)
The Russian language should have the same quantity of academic hours as the Ukrainian language.	30	5	14	46	62
The Russian language should be taught in a less quantity of academic hours than the Ukrainian language.	27	16	33	34	21
The Russian language shouldn't have more academic hours than the other foreign languages.	36	71	44	16	10
It is difficult to say/I don't know	6	7	9	4	6
No answer	1	1	0	0	1

Table 4: Please imagine that it is going referendum on granting Russian language the status of the second official language in Ukraine. You can vote for, against or abstain - not to participate in the voting. What is your choice? (%)

Variants of answers	Western	Central	Southern	Eastern (with Donbass)
Vote for	5	13	56	66
Vote against	81	67	29	10
Not to participate in the voting	7	8	9	12
No answers	7	12	6	12

Table 5: In your opinion, what should be the public policy concerning the Russian language in Ukraine? (%)

The population of the Southern and Eastern regions which would have voted for the Russian language as the second official language in a hypothetical referendum, N = 565	
The Russian language should recognize as the second official language in Ukraine	51
The Russian language should recognize as an official language only in those areas where majority people support this idea	46
It is difficult to say/I don't know	3

According to the aforementioned sociological poll regarding the Ukrainian citizens' attitude towards the status of the Russian language today, the following conclusions could be made: the opinions among the population depend on the region of

the respondents. Southern and eastern part of Ukraine, which have been historically binding to Russia and Russian culture, accordingly the majority of respondents showed the favor towards the Russian language. Western part of Ukraine with the cultural capital Lviv is in favor towards the Ukrainian language and culture as well as Central part of Ukraine with Kyiv as the capital city. Thus, development of national common identity and unifying ideas by emphasizing human rights and equality of every citizen, independent of his or her religion, ethnicity, or language – are the key factors of peacebuilding and wellbeing of society. Common language brings the feeling of common belonging to the same social group and sharing the common goals, ideas for the nation. Therefore, the question of the official language in Ukraine plays a crucial role. Nevertheless, according to the previous discussion, language is not just the way of expression through signals and sounds, it is also the way of thinking. Structure of the sentences influence the perceptions and accordingly the world view. Therefore, the Czech Proverb *'learn a new language and get a new soul'* brings an essential meaning in the explanation of the language role to the national identity. For these reasons, it should be noted that common language plays a crucial role for the countries in transition to democracy. Common language strengthen cultural values of the nation.

Nation's trust to Ukrainian Media

According to the Razumkov center sociological poll, which was conducted in 25-29 April 2014, where 2012 respondents were surveyed in all regions of the country except Crimea, the 61.5% of the respondents trust Ukrainian media.

According to the Kiev International Institute of Sociology report on the following research subject ‘THE MEDIA AND TRUST TO UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN MEDIA’ (Liana Novikova, 29.10.2014) could show the importance of the media to the society.⁹ Therefore, from October 9 to October 19, 2014 the Kiev International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) poll of public opinions among all Ukrainians. 2040 respondents were interviewed in age 18 and older, from 110 localities of all Ukrainian territory including Kiev and Kiev region. The Autonomous Republic of Crimea and Lugansk region were not included.

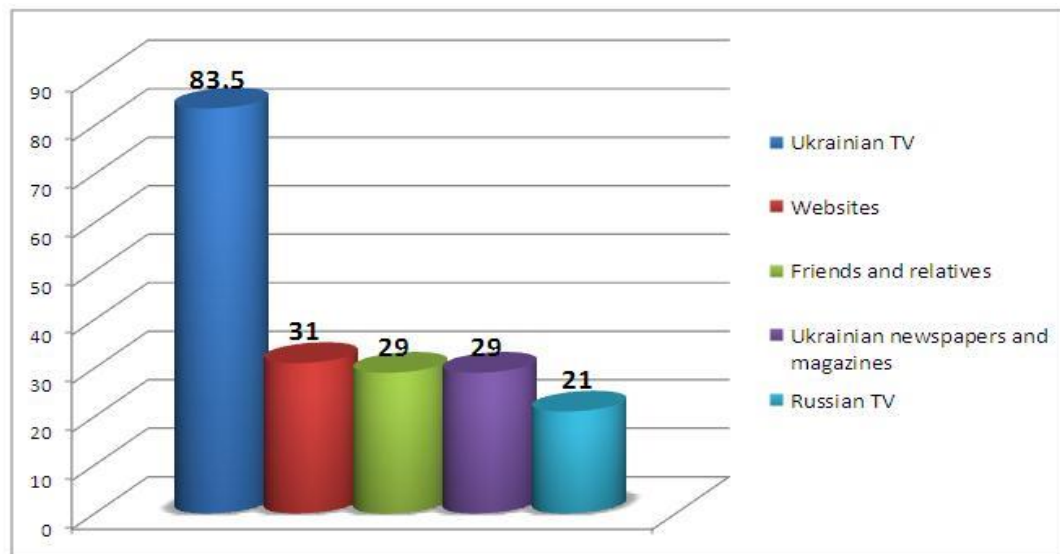


Figure 7: Whence Ukrainians learn more news about the situation in Ukraine (%)

⁹ THE MEDIA AND TRUST TO UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN MEDIA
<http://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=eng&cat=reports&id=425&page=4>

According to this chart and sociological poll 83.5% of the population see Ukrainian TV as the reliable source of the news. Therefore, the significance of the Ukrainian TV reaches quite a high level. According to the influence on transformation the Ukrainian identity and formation of the new identities during the crisis play a tremendous role. These dynamics of the development new culture during the crisis lead towards the social construction and the conflict media coverage. As it was aforementioned, media is setting the agenda to the audience what to think about; and such a high percentage of the population rely on the Ukrainian TV as the source of news identify the importance of the media contribution to the processes of transformation of the country and nation, such as de-communization, desovietization, decentralization, development of the rural areas in the country. Common social, political, economic interests and goals would contribute to the formation of common Ukrainian identity among the nation.

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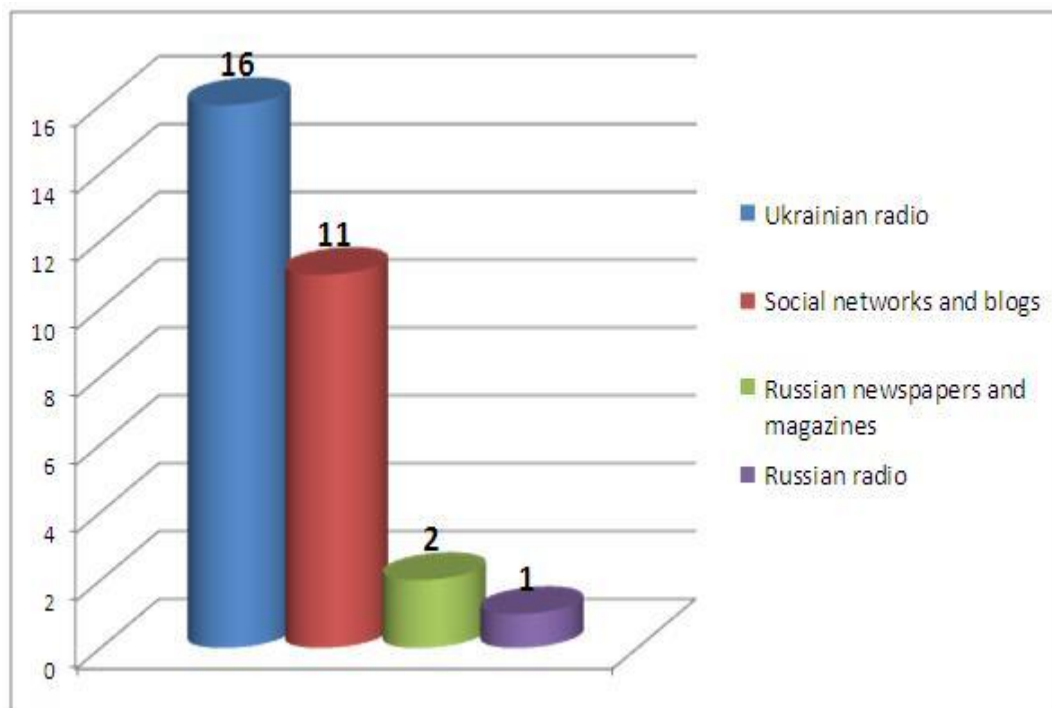


Figure 8: Whence Ukrainians least learn news about the situation in Ukraine (%)

The following question was asked “How do you find out news about the situation in Ukraine? Please, specify three main sources”. Therefore, 83.5% of the Ukrainian citizens mentioned the Ukrainian TV as the main source of the news; 31% of the population indicated the Internet websites; 29% of the population mentioned the ‘word of mouth’, relatives and acquaintances as the source of information; 21% of the citizens named the Russian TV; 29% referred to the Ukrainian newspapers and magazines; 16% - Ukrainian radio; 11% - social networks; 2% - Russian newspapers and magazines; and the 1% of the Ukrainian population referred to the Russian radio. Therefore, according to the statistical

data 83.5% of the population see Ukrainian TV as the reliable source of the news. Thus, the impact of media and Ukrainian television specifically on the Ukrainian population plays a tremendous role in reshaping the Ukrainian national identity, especially during the crisis period. Nevertheless, the population during the conflict is vulnerable and sensitive to the received information from the news, cultural programs. The aforementioned cases of the impact of the media on public opinion in the conflict zones, are proving this argument.

Table 6: Do you trust or don't trust to Ukrainian TV in general? (By regions with Donbass):

Answer options	West	Center	South	East (with Donbass)	Ukraine in general
Trust completely	26.3	27.8	21.7	10.1	22.0
Trust only partially	68.5	62.7	56.4	48.8	59.5
Don't trust at all	3.3	4.4	18.4	34.7	14.2
I don't know/It is difficult to say	1.9	5.1	3.5	6.4	4.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Table 7: Do you trust or don't trust to Ukrainian TV in general? (By regions without Donbass):

Answer options	West	Center	South	East (without Donbass)	Donbass
Trust completely	26.3	27.8	21.7	17.2	7.2
Trust only partially	68.5	62.7	56.4	45.5	50.2
Don't trust at all	3.3	4.4	18.4	35.1	34.5
I don't know/It is difficult to say	1.9	5.1	3.5	2.2	8.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

22 % of Ukrainians completely trust the Ukrainian TV, 59,5% - trust only partially, 14% – do not trust at all (4,5% - undecided). Therefore, the level of the "public trust" to the media varies between regions and play a significant role in relation to the formation of new identities during the conflict.

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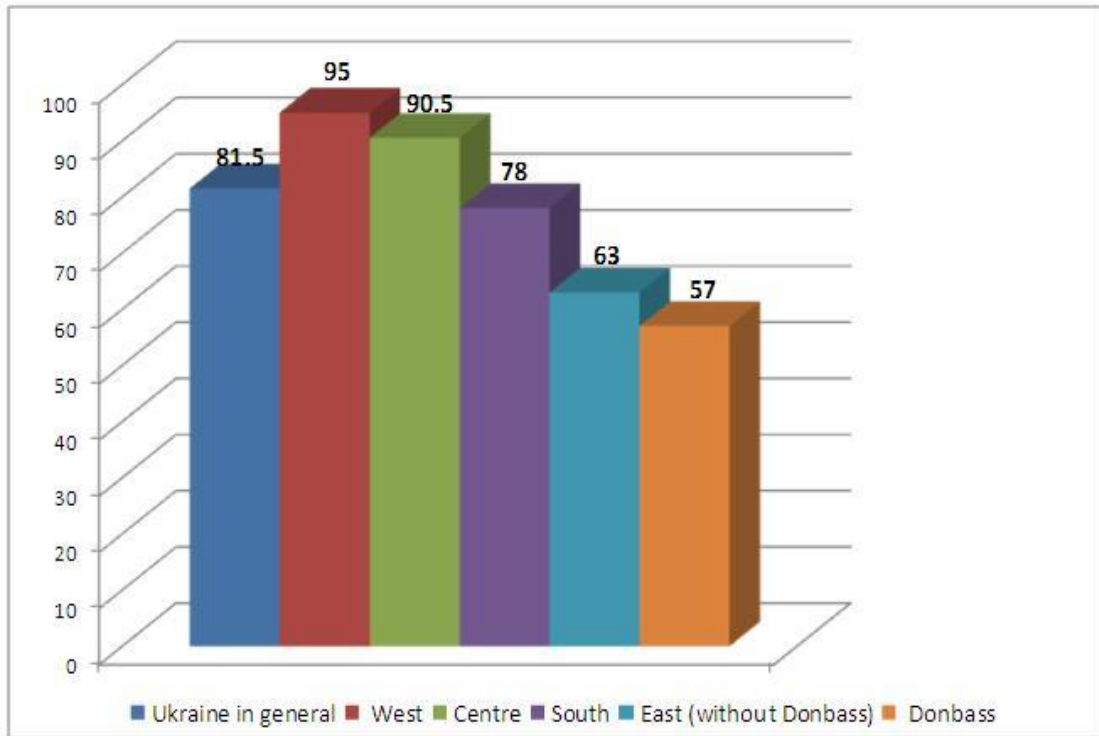


Figure 9: Trust in the Ukrainian TV (by region, %).

The level of the Ukrainian people's trust in the Ukrainian TV is quite high, Ukraine in general without segmentation on the regions reaches the level of trust for 81.5%. Accordingly, statistical data prove the importance and significance of the media, especially television, the viewing of conflict analysis and resolution perspective.

Media and Ukrainian conflict

The examples in world history could be taken into account in regards to the importance of media coverage of conflict zones, and contribution of the media to conflict analysis and resolution field. According to *Media and Conflict: Framing issues, Making policy, Shaping opinion* (Eytan Gilboa, 2002) ‘the best way to understand the role of news media in politics is to view the competition over the news media as part of larger contest among political antagonists for political control’ (Wolfsfeld, 1997, p. 3). Based on the Political Contest Model (Wolfsfeld, 1997) the political process in the country more probably will have the influence on the media than the media on the political process. Control of the media, at least partially, is likely to produce political influence. Therefore, media can describe to the great extends political success as well as failures, help to set the public agenda, serves as an independent advocate for victims and mobilize the third parties into a conflict (Eytan Gilboa, 2002, pg. 218). According to Wolsfeld (1997) the level at which authorities control the political environment stands in a one of the crucial variables which determine the position of the media news in political conflicts. In the case when the authorities dominate the political environment, it is a difficult task for the media to play an independent role. Wolfsfeld’s model studies the competition between the antagonist groups in regards to structural and cultural dimensions. The structural dimension represents the extent of mutual dependence between the antagonists and the media in order to determine the power and the role of each player in the conflict. The cultural dimension look at media’s framing of the conflict based on the norms, beliefs, lifestyle in the society (Eytan Gilboa, 2002, pg. 218). According to the Wolfsfeld (1997) losing the initiative in a conflict

weakens the political control over news coverage of the conflict, and those who have control over information have control over the conflict. During political conflicts, governments often employ censorship in the form of denying access, issuing accreditation to journalists, expelling them or shutting down the press agencies (Eytan Gilboa, 2002, pg. 219). Media coverage during the conflict period could provoke the third party intervention, by representing the situation in a way that a state really needs the support and protection from the third party. Wolfsfeld (1997) argues that the news media have the most independent role when they act as ‘advocates of the underdog by amplifying the claims of challenges against the authorities’. In situations when the media focus on the injustice of the system and tragedies of innocent victims, in media coverage of the conflict, the pretext of the media message is ‘something must be done’ (Wolfsfeld, 1997, pg. 70).¹⁰ According to the Wolfsfeld’s model there are three factors that study the independence of the news media in conflict coverage:

1. Use of exclusively official sources for the information;
2. Appearance of the non-official stories and frames in the coverage of the conflict;
3. Frustration or anger of the authorities due to the coverage they are receiving.

Ukrainian crisis has been examined as a sample based on the aforementioned components.

¹⁰ Wolfsfeld, G (1997) *Media and Political Conflict: News from the Middle East*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Parties of the Conflict

In Ukrainian conflict, the major parties are: the Ukrainian government, which has the support of international community, and Eastern Ukrainian self-proclaimed authorities with the Russian Federation support. The parties affect the development of social categorization among Ukrainian nation.

International Community and Ukrainian conflict

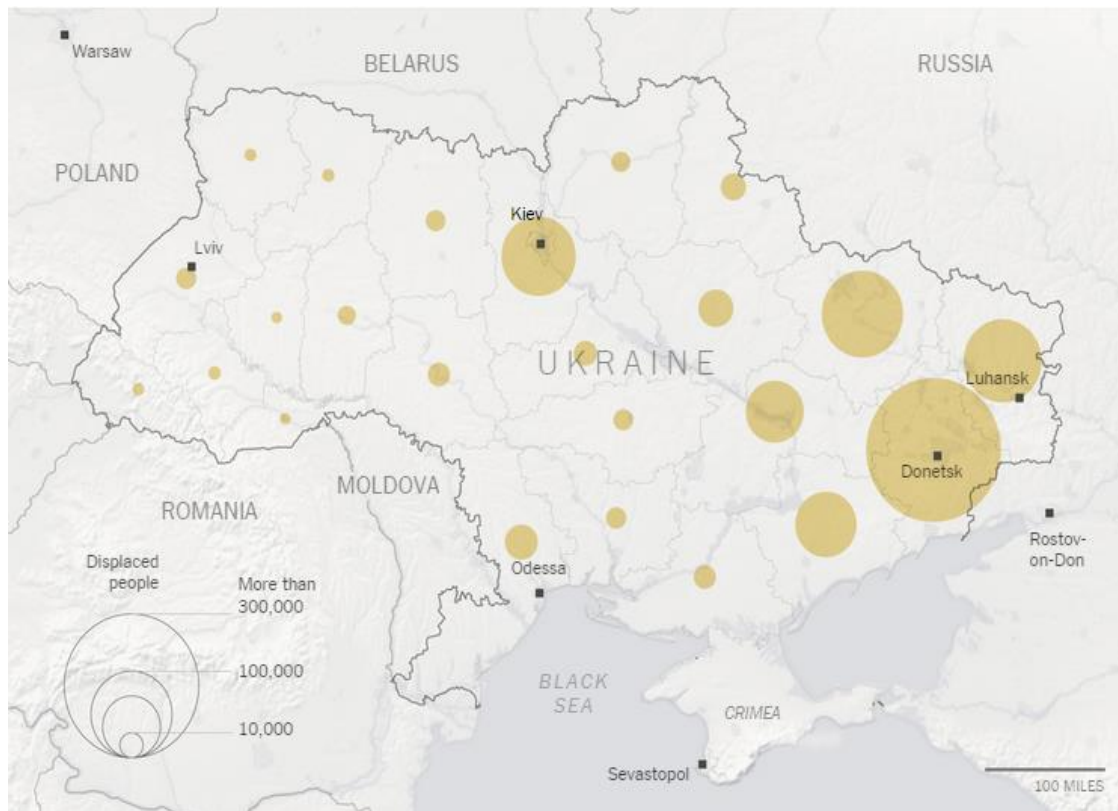
According to the OSCE report for media and the general public, 50 ceasefire violations at and around Donetsk airport had been observed in July, 2015. Ukrainian ceasefire agreement was adopted in February, 2015 between Ukrainian government, Eastern Ukrainian rebels, in witness of the Russian Federation and the International community.

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*Figure 10: Crisis in Ukraine, Eastern region.
(Map retrieved from the New York Times, Ukraine Crisis in Maps)*

Nevertheless, fighting and clashes still continue in some areas including Donetsk, Horlivka and Mariupol. Therefore, according to the Ukraine's Ministry of Social Policy report there are nearly one million people have fled their homes and have registered as internally displaced persons because of the active stage of violence in the eastern region of Ukraine.



*Figure 11: Displaced people, Ukraine.
(Map retrieved from the New York Times, Ukraine Crisis in Maps)*

The official claim of each side of the conflict, represented by media (data retrieved from Ukrainian crisis, New York Times):

- *Ukrainian government* demands the surrender of the rebels in the Eastern part of Ukraine, Russian military withdrawal from the country. President Petro O. Poroshenko has stated in the press release that he would consider

some measure of decentralized power in the regions of Ukraine, but he would not accept separatism.

- *The rebels* have a demand for the withdrawal of the Ukrainian army from the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, independence from Ukraine and Russian annexation.
- *The Russian Federation* – President Vladimir V. Putin suggested a ceasefire for both sides in the conflict. He proposed that Luhansk and Donetsk regions would remain part of Ukraine, but with the condition of political autonomy.

Public Opinion

According to Kiev International Institute of Sociology, research which was held in May 2015, ‘What integration direction should Ukraine choose: Referendum concerning joining the Custom Union, the European Union, NATO’. (The charts retrieved from the KIIS web site.)

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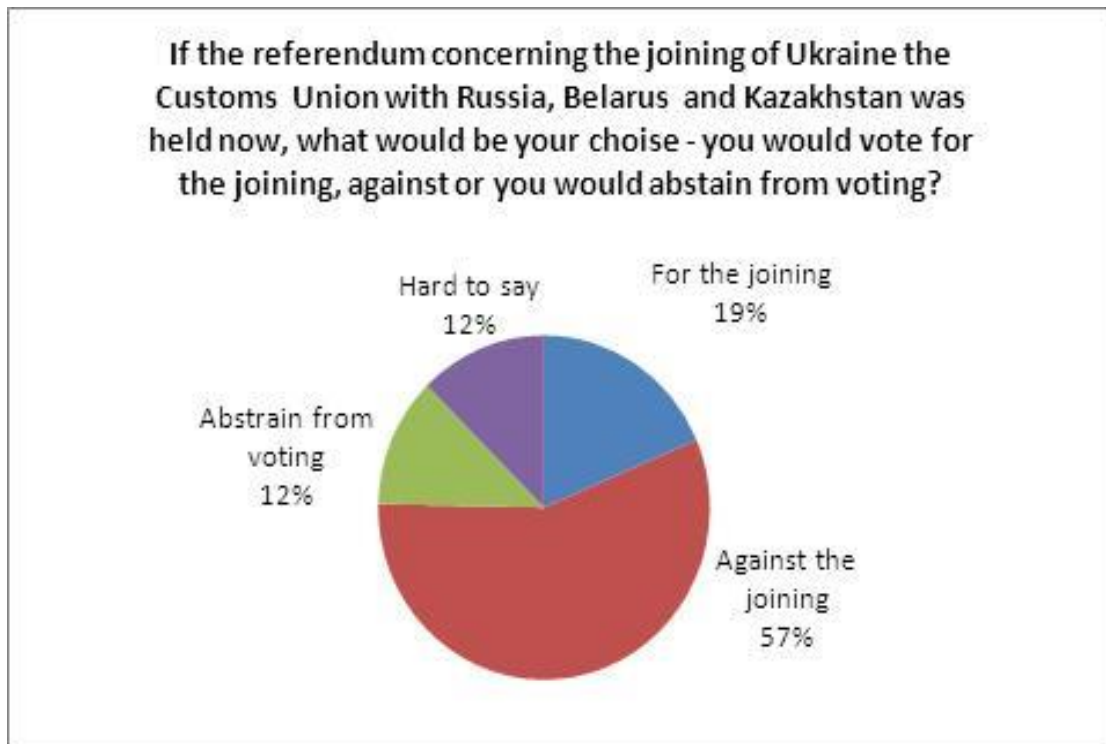


Figure 12: What integration direction should Ukraine choose: referendum concerning joining the Custom Union, the European Union, NATO?

Imagine, please, that now is being held referendum on question the joining of Ukraine the European Union. You can vote for the joining the EU, against or abstain from voting. What will be your choise?

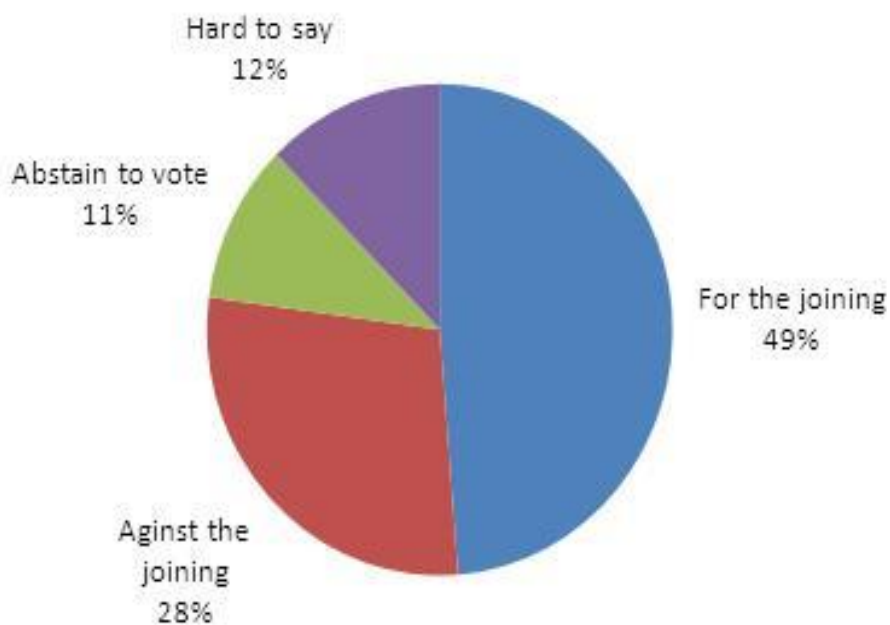


Figure 13: Accession to the EU

Imagine, please, that now is being held the referendum on question Ukraine's accession to NATO, what will be your choice?

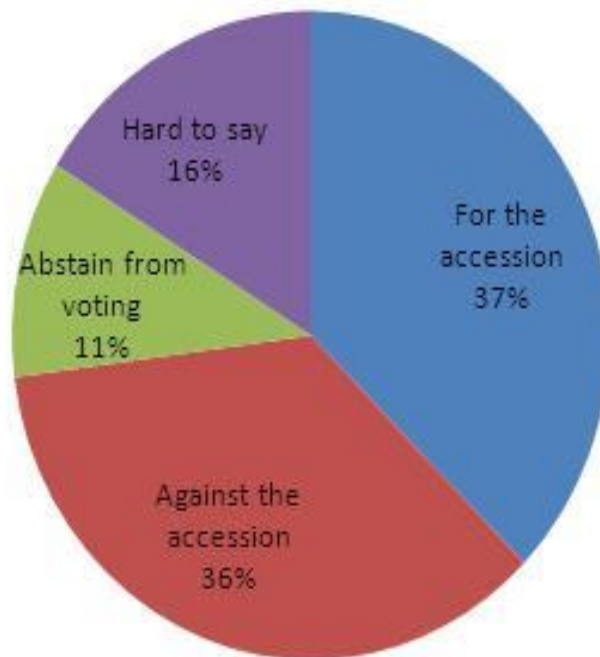


Figure 14: Accession to NATO

According to the charts, the assumption could be made that most of the Ukrainian population would vote for the EU accession. According to the poll the public opinion regarding Ukraine's accession to NATO differs from region to region of the state: 60% of Ukrainian population in the Western part of Ukraine are ready to vote for NATO; in the Central part of Ukraine – 42%; in the Southern part of the country - 46% would vote

against and 28% would vote positive regarding the accession to NATO; in the East of Ukraine - 55% would vote against this idea, 15% – would vote for.

Mass Media

According to the previously mentioned, the statistical data of the population trust in the media coverage in Ukraine reaches 83.5% of the population who views Ukrainian TV as the reliable source of news (KIIS data). Therefore, Ukrainian TV news coverage plays a crucial role in the formation and shaping public opinion, transforming the Ukrainian national identity to the new dimensions during the crisis period.

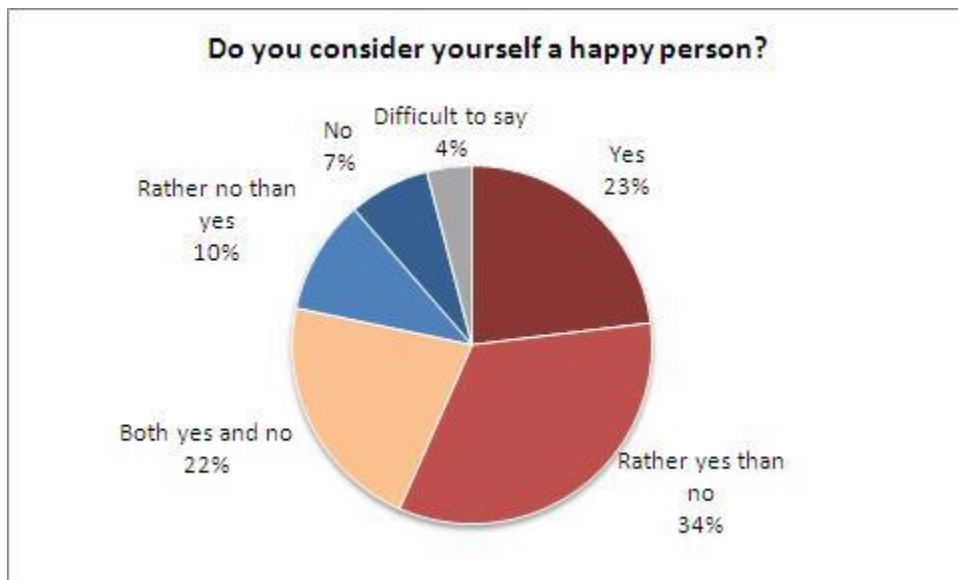
Framing of the Conflict

In Ukraine due to the variety of sources of information, which are in the public disposal, the contradicting versions of the crisis, clashes between Ukrainian government and rebels in Eastern Ukrainian region emerge as well as different interpretations by the Ukrainian media news channel the events of the conflict.

The Dynamics of Conflict Resolution and the Role of Media

The development of the crisis within Ukraine could be characterized with the many civilian casualties. It has been so far in Ukraine failed attempts of the ceasefire and the end of the conflict by diplomatic means, which are supported by numerous negotiations. On national TV Ukrainian channels the negotiations and attempts to bring a peace to the country have been broadcasting regularly. This media tactic helps the population to keep optimistic and cheerful. According to research conducted by the Kiev International Institute of Sociology in May 19 to May 29, 2015. This all Ukrainians poll shows that 57% of residents of Ukraine feel themselves happy. The method of interview, which has

been used, is following: 2022 respondents at the age of 18 years and older living in 108 regions of Ukraine (except for Crimea) were surveyed. Lugansk and Donetsk required deeper approach, and the surveys were conducted in the areas controlled by Ukraine. In Donetsk region in the areas, which are controlled by the Donetsk the survey has been conducted as well.



*Figure 15: Ukrainians & feeling of happiness
(The chart retrieved from the KIIS website, self-happiness research.)¹¹*

¹¹The KIIS website, self-happiness research
<http://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=eng&cat=reports&id=536&page=1>

With the help of media a hope for the better future and fast resolution of the conflict could be presented to the society. It helps to maintain the settled dynamics of the national identity and keep social behavior in the optimistic mood.

Media Crisis Center had emerged during the Euromaidan, second revolution, in the beginning of the Ukrainian crisis, which started in 2013. The journalists from all over the world have been gathered together in order to examine and report on the events of the Ukrainian crisis and record the human rights violation. This media source stands as a critical evaluator, neutral third party, which examines both sides' deeds of the Ukrainian conflict. The coverage of the conflict could influence policy makers, governmental representatives, by applying pressure for conflict resolution and peacebuilding in the state. International community provides the attempt to encourage both parties of the conflict to peaceful political settlement of the crisis. Therefore, the conflict settlement by peaceful means could be arranged with the media coverage of the crisis.

Framing concept in the media should be mentioned. For instance, a debate could be a prime example of the framing. There are many debates regarding the following question: 'do the media bring good or bad impact to the Ukrainian identity?' Let us say that a good public speaker, who believes that media bring a good impact to the society and formation of the common national identity, will use data, statistics, facts that represent the good side of the media, freedom of thoughts, wide spectrum of the information, educational dimension of the media, active participation in conversation regarding the state policy, etc. Therefore, this public speaker will use all possible facts and tactics of the persuasion to make audience to believe in the good effects of the media

for the states in transition stage to democracy. In other words saying, this public speaker creates a frame in which certain information is presented and more likely will be perceived by the audience. Another public speaker, who has to defend the idea that media bring the bad impact to the society and do not strengthen the Ukrainian identity will use arguments and tactics which will help to convince the audience that media bring harmful and false information to the society, by doing that the public speaker will be avoiding the good effects that media bring to the public attention, therefore the other frame of the representing the information will be created.

Thus, in this case we can say that the media is no longer just saying to the public what to think about, but actually what to think by using frames. Therefore, framing has been used actively by the media coverage especially in the conflict zones, good examples could be Ukrainian crisis. During the crisis, the media coverage has used framing actively, for instance reporting the events with the focus on Ukrainian ethnic identity. Prime time of the news coverage is focusing on the events in the eastern part of Ukraine, where violence is going on with the focus on the representation of the developments of the events within the framework of the official governmental perspective on the conflict. For comparison, Russian national channels could be mentioned and should be noted that the framing of the news coverage on the Russian channels has been conducted within the framework of the Russian official governmental perspective of the conflict in the eastern part of Ukraine. Therefore, media confrontations and representing the same events from different angles leads towards the social categorization and viewing the situation from 'ours' and 'their' perspective. The same time by using framing media can unify the

society and help in formation of the common national identity by emphasizing common goals in the social, political, economic sectors which could be a win-win solution for all representatives of the different social groups, ranks, classes, etc. Analytical discussions with thoughtful arguments and explanations of the development of conflict events in the Eastern region play a crucial role for the unifying process of the Ukrainian national identity. In this case media would play a role of educator and unifier of the society and would play a multi-dimensional role of the development and change of the nation as well as a state.

Moreover, it should be mentioned that frames could be defined by those who in power and then picked up, transmitted by the media sources. This example is a quite common during the conflict coverage period. A good example of it could be following: nowadays on Russian media sources much of the news regarding Ukraine is framed in terms of the national security threat to the Russian Federation. Furthermore, the use of language, cartoons, pictures, music, episodes of showing certain events are powerful tools in building the frame of perception by the public of certain information.

The Media as Peacemakers

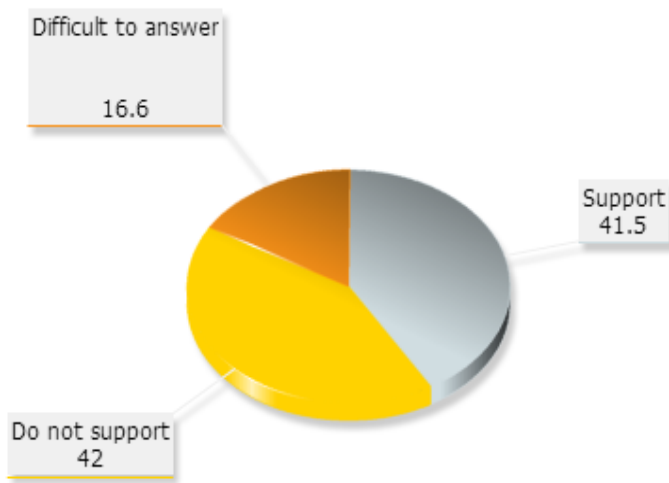
The Ukrainian conflict is complex and multi-dimensional one, the element of the cultural conflict is present as well. The conflict is embedded in the preservation of the Ukrainian national identity. The essentialism of language, symbolic systems are present in the current Ukrainian conflict. Media can help to transform the conflict to the stage where peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations could be implemented. Conflicts are usually could be transformed due to the change of the people's perception, antagonistic

attitudes among each other towards the positive one. Therefore, this could be achieved with the help of cultural TV programs, which would focus on peaceful reconciliation of the conflict, and would focus on the common achievements and prosperous future of the social groups in the state, if they would be united. Nevertheless, mistaken interpretations of the media by some events of the conflict could bring the further escalation of the conflict. Media should not enforce the polarization of the social groups, social categorization. Instead should concentrate on the potential beneficial developments of the country in the case of peace. Historical discourses during the advertisement time on the prime time on national TV channels could be a useful source for the bringing the peaceful spirit among the masses. Nevertheless, it could provoke the emergence of a dilemma to force the media to make a choice between the professional coverage of the events, and peacemaking dimensions in the conflict coverage. However, during the conflict time all parties should be involved in order to settle peace and bring the conflict reconciliation to the society.

The news coverage, especially during the conflict, and presenting of information to the vulnerable population is very delicate and responsible task that journalists deal with. Journalist have to make a decision, what is relevant, what is in a moral sense, what should be presented to the public. Objectivity and good quality reporting of the news, which makes country's history play a crucial role. Media could help to establish the shared reality within the country, especially during the conflict period. People need to hear the information, news about the development of the conflict, they need to have a feeling of the importance and that they have not been forgotten by the international

community. It could be referred to the satisfaction basic human needs theory, suggested by John Burton. Selectivity in the process of perception of the events plays a tremendous role.

According to Martin Löffelholz and David Weaver (Global Journalism research, pg. 74. 2008) two psychological factors could affect news decisions: the socio-psychological concept of social validation of judgments through social interaction and the cognitive-psychological concept of stabilizing existing attitudes and cognitions. These both phenomena describe the patterns of human behavior. Regarding the first category, journalists have to make decisions what are good, bad, relevant, what should be presented to the public. Therefore, perceptual decisions stand as an important factor in the further development of social behavior among the society. Accordingly, factual and evaluative decisions have to be performed by the journalists. Social crisis in Ukraine is one of the problems with which Ukrainian citizens have to cope. Corruption is one of the biggest problems. Sociological poll has been conducted by the Razumkov Center in May, 2015. The sample consisted of 2,007 respondents aged 18 and over in all the regions of Ukraine except Crimea and the occupied areas of Donetsk and Luhansk. Therefore, according to this poll 41.5% respondents gave the positive answer to the question *‘Would you support the imposition of the death penalty for officials who are guilty of corruption?’* (please view the next page)



*Figure 16: Corruption & Public Opinion
(The Chart retrieved from the Razumkov Center website ¹²)*

Thus, the number of respondents is 41.5% who would support the death penalty for officials who are guilty of corruption, identifies that society is vulnerable and very tired of the corruption. This could be a first warning that Ukrainian society can easily accept and support radical measures, which could lead to the escalation of the conflict and strengthening of the conflict within the state. Economic deprivation and social crisis are in a quite high level among Ukrainian society. Ukrainian media draw the attention of the population on the corruption problems in the country.

¹² Razumkov Center, Sociological poll, Corruption & Death Penalty
http://razumkov.org.ua/eng/journal.php/poll.php?poll_id=1040

The Role of Language and Persuasion

Media provide the transmission of the message from the source to receiver. It performs the mass communication. Mass media refer to the press, television, radio and internet. In average per year a person spends 1600 hours on television. Television has a big power of persuasion in the public opinion, interests and needs. One of the main principles of marketing is targeting the audience and persuade, make people to believe that their life with a particular product or in a particular way will be much happier. Psychology and tactic of very well structured reasoning help to gain the interest of the audience. In case with the television influence and public opinion during the crisis period in the country, political marketing and psychology of persuasion take place. Slogans, pictures, songs, ideologies, cultural attributes, theories, myth are helping to gain the attention of the audience and refer to the methods of persuasion. Every society as well as the market has its own specific needs which are crucial for the target social group. Realization of the new ideas of the country development as a well-functioned political organism, status of language as a key element of the national identity, economic dimension – all these factors play an essential role for Ukraine. Language and the structure of the sentence, use of particular words play a tremendous role in the future formation of public opinions regarding the particular issues, and impact on consciousness. Advertisements on television influence the unconscious level of the potential customers by showing often the same pictures, logos, emblems, and when the person will see the product on the shelves of the supermarket and she or he automatically will recognize it and more probably will buy it. Nevertheless, the logo of the product, color

and shape of the box, cover of the product has been encoded to person's mind through the TV advertisements, simple and nice pictures, and light music. Therefore, the media coverage of the conflict use the marketing methods which inform the audience about the new events, and persuade in the certain fact or the way of the events occurrence. Nevertheless, media just send the message to the audience and receiver, listener, has to make his or her personal opinion about the certain events. Policies of the liberalization, privatization of the air waves, television channels, how many languages are chosen for the broadcast, how the airtime is apportioned, how the access is arranged play a key role in the formation of public opinion (Panos Institute, 1993; Article 19, Index on Censorship, 1995).

Also it should be mentioned that when we are talking about cases like Ukrainian crisis, law and human rights protection stand as a necessary background for any discussions in regards to the question of the formation of common national identity among Ukrainian society. When we are talking about common national identity and how media can help to build it within the nation, it is important to pay attention on protection of the rights of minority groups, equal opportunities among representatives of minority and majority groups, presence of rule of law, equal representation of their rights by the media, justice, and so on. Therefore, law plays a crucial role in resolving such a complex conflict as the crisis in Ukraine, in the young country which is in a transitional way to democracy. Firstly, it should be mentioned the importance of the establishment the rule of law in Ukraine. Nevertheless, nowadays there are a crisis and chaotic dynamics, massive corruption, violation of human rights in the state. It should be mentioned that

rule of law stands as a conflict resolver and peacebuilding tool. Eric Brahm (2005) in his essay 'Rule of Law' developed the idea of importance of the rule of law in peacebuilding and conflict resolution processes. I believe that fairness and equality are very needed by the Ukrainian society. Now, Ukraine does not have a common national identity, common social idea, and feeling of unity. This is the result of 23 years governmental policies on federal level regarding the different attitudes towards the different communities, unequal distribution of goods, use of natural resources, status of the regions, regional policies regarding the language, economic development of the regions, social status, etc. Enforcement of the law and regulations could set the common standard and ethical representation in equally respected ways of every region (Eastern, Southern, Western, and Central) in the country.

Media play a crucial role in building public opinion and winning people's hearts and minds. In order to stop the violence and bring the ceasefire and set the ground for peace negotiation, possibility of building the forgiveness bridges and unity, the social justice and restorative justice should be applied. The current conflict in Ukraine is exercising in an active form for more than a year by now, during this period there are a lot of atrocities and crimes have been committed within the country. Therefore, justice should be set and the perpetrators should be responsible for their acts. Victims should have a chance to tell their stories and feel important; nevertheless, victims need to know that they are protected by law, and their offenders will be found and prosecuted. For long-lasting peace and prosperity, citizens of the country need to feel that they are treated equally by the law, feel safety and protection. Therefore, natural resources should be

extracted, equally distributed and exploited in development processes in all regions of the country. Social justice should also protect and provide equal opportunities for employment, self-expression and self-realization for all citizens of the state. Furthermore, protection of human rights, children's rights should be strictly followed. Violation of human rights starting from the basic human needs: shelter, food, security and go further by referring to John's Burton theory of the importance of self-determination, self-expression and feeling of importance, should be fulfilled. These basic human rights constantly are violated in Ukraine and pensioners in some regions of the country are dying from hunger. Job opportunities and social packages for pensioners, handicapped people, and orphans should be strictly protected by the law.

The differences and misunderstandings between communities, minority groups, for instance in South region of Ukraine between Ukrainian majority, Jewish, Russian, Tatars minority groups could be settled through small claims court. Small claims court allows people to feel important, to tell their stories, and often represent their interest by themselves, to be lawyers and actors in the court room.

Culture plays a crucial role in the legal framework, in Ukraine culture and law are strongly bound together. Therefore, legal pluralism should be mentioned in terms of future development processes of the country and set of the civil law based on Ukrainian culture, and EU rules and regulations. Ukraine is in a process to EU accession, therefore the standards, laws and regulations should be changed accordingly in order to have legitimacy to join the European Union. Coexistence of the laws is represented by the legal pluralism, in this case coexistence between domestic Ukrainian laws and EU laws.

Media and education bring a deep-rooted basis for the peaceful coexistence of the social groups or long-term protracted conflicts. Therefore, this Ukrainian crisis needs social healing methods, shifts of trauma frame to healing notion of the nation, of course trials and truth commissions are important in order to bring justice and restore the fairness, and order in the country. The country needs national reconciliation through finding and telling the truth with the help of media, building a forgiveness between social groups of the country, setting the justice, and bringing long-lasting peace. Therefore, development of national common identity and unifying ideas by emphasizing human rights and equality of every citizen, independent of his or her religion, ethnicity, or language – are the key factors of peacebuilding and wellbeing of society. Development of new educational system and informative role of the mass media are essential for creating a common national identity and sense of unity among Ukrainian citizens.

Thus, the law plays a significant role in settling the peace and building the common national identity among nations, in young countries like Ukraine. The peace discourse plays a crucial role for the formation of common national identity among Ukrainian citizens as well, the common idea of unity with multicultural characteristics. Therefore, the process of reconciliation requires the sensitivity towards new institutions, new identities, etc. The active violence in the eastern part of Ukraine has not been stopped yet, however every conflict has the beginning and the end, it cannot last forever; the question of time only arises. Media can help to strengthen the common national idea among Ukrainian society by changing rhetoric and the war language to peace one. The media could play a role of mediator between groups which are in the stage of

confrontation. Reconciliation process should be opened for different perspectives and guide parties to reach a win-win solution of the conflict resolution. The society and media should be depolarized, the cultural program and the development process can unite different social groups, if the awareness of unity exists. The building bridges and networks could be reached with the help of researchers and journalists. They could research, analyze and propose, discuss with audience new roles of common interests. In order to reach the peacebuilding process, ceasefire and peacemaking process should be successfully implemented.

Conclusion

Ukrainian identity could be understood from the multidimensional approach of the ethnic, national identity and the need of formation of the common national identity which would meet the need of the citizens of the state and will provide the common ideas and goals regarding the further development of the country, by bringing values to each individuals. The chapter discovers Ukrainian identity by giving the explanations of the theories within the framework of Ukrainian identity. In discussion of ‘our culture’ a distinction has to be made between ‘us’ (the ‘Self’) which is contrasted to the ‘Other’ (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). The relationship between the ‘Self’ and ‘Other’ is fluid, particularly in postcolonial settings such as the former USSR (Penrose, 1995: 402).

Furthermore, Ukrainian identity has been presented in the media by the principle of ‘otherness’ self-identification of the Ukrainian nation with specification of the difference from the self-identification of the Russian nation. Also, language as a crucial

element of national identity should be mentioned, and the chapter discovers the importance of the Ukrainian language for the national identity.

According to the sociological poll held by KIIS “The Media and Trust to Ukrainian and Russian Media”, where 2040 respondents were interviewed. The 83.5% of the population see Ukrainian TV as the reliable source of the news. Therefore, significance of the Ukrainian TV reaches quite a high level and deserves a lot of attention when the description of the crisis by the media has been viewing in relation to the Ukrainian identity.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The research project consists of one case study with the sample of two media sources to demonstrate the broad spectrum of the media's contribution to the transformation process in the state in the framework of Ukrainian identity during the crisis period. Some people would say that focus on limited number of samples could restrict the scope of the research information. However, I believe that analysis of the two important media sources for the crisis period in Ukraine could bring valuable information into the analysis of the media's role in regards to the national identity during the crisis period in Ukraine. I think that Crisis Media Center and First National TV Channel (Pershiy Nacionalniy/UT-1) allows to look in depth at the conflict situation from the sociological perspective of the media message. Crisis Media Center is focusing on the speeches of officials and governmental policies, and events which happened during the current conflict in Ukraine. First National Channel (UT-1) is focusing on the programs, debates and discussions regarding the change within Ukrainian society in the transformation period to democracy. UT-1 TV channel is focusing on the cultural heritage, religion in Ukraine, question of national language. I believe, these two media sources give a good insight of the current crisis situation in Ukraine in the cultural and policy making framework. Within these two samples the research analyzes the

presentation of Ukrainian identity in the media during the conflict period, starting from the November 2013.

The current conflict in Ukraine is an echo of the existed differences and contradictions within the society under the centralized political power in Kyiv throughout 24 years. Dissatisfactions and disagreements with the governmental policies have been existed among society for many years. After the 1991, when the Soviet Union collapsed, Ukraine came into the path of transformation to democracy. Regional policies were really weak, corruption was strong and centralized power in Kyiv existed. The dissatisfaction among the nation took the shape of waves, sometimes those waves were bigger sometimes they were smaller. The first big wave of people's dissatisfaction of the governmental policies came in 2004 when the Orange Revolution, first Maidan, in Kyiv happened. The second huge wave of dissatisfaction, Euromaidan, came to the state in 2013.

The contemporary crisis in Ukraine brought the polarization of the nation on pro-Ukrainian supporters and pro-Russian supporters. For this reason, events in November 2013 created two large identity groups. The very important question for the nation began to arise: the question of national language. Therefore, this research project aims to analyze how Ukrainian identity has been shaped during the crisis period, starting from November 23, 2013 and how media develop connotations of national identity and describe conflict. The analysis of media sources in the conflict analysis and resolution theoretical framework would give the possibility to view the current conflict in Ukraine

in regards the transformation of Ukrainian identity and the formation of the common national identity.

Furthermore, language plays a key role in the representation of the news and social identity. The use of words, structure of the sentences and type of language in the media could create and describe the different representation and connotation of the conflict events. Population of the country, which has conflict within the borders, is vulnerable and new identities could emerge easily. Therefore, language of the discussions and framing in media sources have been analyzed in this research paper in the framework of theoretical concepts of the national identity.

An analysis of the two samples of the media sources with different influence on the Ukrainian identity brings the opportunity to look at the root of the conflict in the framework of conflict analysis and resolution. Moreover, language has an implicit role and the strong impact on identity. The two cases have been viewed in the framework of John's Burton (1991) basic human needs theory in relation to self-expression, economic, personal security, and Gurr's (1970) theory of relative deprivation and understanding "why men rebel". This research analyzes data in the framework of social identity concept, social categorization theory; explores the chosen trauma in the framework of the further development of Ukrainian national identity.

This thesis looks also at the cultural dimensions and the governmental policies in the framework of media presentation of the conflict in regards to the Ukrainian identity. Furthermore, language stands as a part of culture and it represents the way of thinking of the certain social group, mentality. The importance of the symbolic system has to be

mentioned as well. Vamik Volkan (2006) defines symbols as reservoirs of chosen traumas or chosen glories.

This research project uses the flexible design of the data gathering. Qualitative and quantitative data have been used for the analysis. This project uses the analysis of media through the case study. The primary data for the analysis are articles and published speeches in mass media. Sociological polls conducted by the Razumkov Center in Kyiv and Kiev International Institute of Sociology, could be viewed as the secondary sources of information, and have been used for the analysis and answering the research question. Therefore, case study should be tied with general statistical data that have been gathered from the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS), Razumkov Center in Kyiv.

The case study consists of two samples: First National channel (UT-1), Ukraine Crisis Media Center. First National channel's (UT-1) programs during the crisis period have been viewed in this project, the focus has been on cultural programs which viewing transformational processes within the state in relation to the Ukrainian identity. Three programs with the informative discussions from this channel have been described and analyzed in this project, which are following: 'Light' (Svitlo) with the topic of discussion 'De-communization'; 'War and Peace' (Viyna i Myr) with the topics of discussion 'De-communization in a Ukrainian way'; 'Is Ukraine ready for the decentralization?' 'Faith, Hope, Love' (Vira, Nadia, Lubov) - 'Will youth return to the Ukrainian villages?'.

1. Program LIGHT – 'De-communization'.

The focus of discussion is set upon the communist ideas which had been enforcing to the Ukrainian society for many decades, so the question arises nowadays

how to set free the Ukrainian society from those soviet ideas and ideologies. The key question of the discussion ‘why de-communization process has been started now?’.

During the discussion it has been emphasized that it is crucial that the de-communization as the process would unify the Ukrainian nation and would help the formation of common national identity. De-communization, desovietization processes play an essential role in the formation common national identity in the post-revolutionary period of the big changes in the state.

2. Program WAR AND PEACE – ‘De-communization in a Ukrainian way’.

The key issue of the discussion agenda is a formation of common consciousness of the Ukrainian nation during the crisis, starting now.

Thus, these two aforementioned discussions have been explored in this research paper in the framework of theoretical concepts such as cultural and mobilized identities, collective conscience, chosen trauma, myth narratives and symbolism of the collective axiology, common national identity with the focus on common economic goals of the country development. The analysis in the framework of aforementioned theoretical concepts helps to view the de-communization process in relation to Ukrainian identity and what changes it could bring to the state. It should be noted, that analysis has been made within the media description of the de-communization process in the notion of Ukrainian national identity.

3. Program WAR AND PEACE – ‘Is Ukraine ready for the decentralization?’.

The discussion is set upon the transformation process for Ukraine which represents post-colonial, post-totalitarian state. The main conclusion of the discussion:

the victory of the war in the eastern part of Ukraine would be conversion, transformation of the Ukrainian society. Therefore the main task for the Ukrainian nation nowadays is to come out from this crisis transformed in cultural and social way. Thus, the changes have to be done in the following sectors: institutional system; infrastructure; macroeconomic stability; primary, higher education and training; health; goods market efficiency; labor market efficiency; financial market; technological developments; local business support and development; innovations and science developments.

Thus, this discussion has been analyzed in the framework of basic human needs theory with a focus on the importance of economic dimensions for the national identity, regional development as the unifying factor of the nation has been viewed as well in this research. The analysis in the framework of basic human needs theory gives the opportunity to examine at root causes of the emerged social crisis.

4. Program FAITH, HOPE, LOVE – ‘Will youth return to the Ukrainian villages?’.

The discussion explores the process of decentralization and how the rural areas could be changed and developed. The discussion forms around the program of the development of rural areas and how decentralization can change the Ukrainian villages and attract young generation to go back to the villages, live and work there.

Thus, this discussion has been analyzed in the framework of Gurr’s relative deprivation theory, Burton’s basic human needs theory, and social categorization theory. This analysis gives opportunity to look at development of social categorization, economic deprivation, relative deprivation as an aftermath of the unequal development of the state

and influence on the state development of centralized power, economic system in the capital.

Ukraine Crisis Media Center has two major projects: “Euromaidan” and “Crimea”. Infographic of the development of Ukrainian crisis has been viewed in the paper. Furthermore, from the “Crimea” section of the media source the discussion regarding the changes in the educational system during the period of temporary difficulties has been viewed as well. Therefore, these data have been viewed in the framework of the concept of reshaping of the identity, mobilized identity and social categorization. This analysis gives an opportunity to look at the transformation in the state at social level and description of it by the media.

To sum up I should say that the collected information has been viewed according to the theoretical concepts in relation to identity and media. The case study with the two samples, which have been aforementioned, has been used for the analysis. The results have been yielded and formed accordingly to the research question, which is: *how do the Ukrainian media portray the current state crisis in relation to Ukrainian identity?*. The summary of the analysis has been reflected in the yielded results summary tables in “The Research Findings” chapter. The conclusion of the research findings has been reflected in the ‘concluding remarks’ section of the last chapter.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS

Today, many Ukrainian historians, scholars and politicians discussing the process, which has been launched recently in Ukraine, de-communization of the nation. They are discussing the complex issue of the presence of a totalitarian system for 70 years within the Ukrainian state. The big question which many Ukrainian scholars are trying to answer is how to eradicate the presence of the Soviet spirit within the nation, what to do with the nostalgia for the Soviet period, how the way of thinking of Ukrainians could be changed and become more European oriented. The discussions on national television channels are constantly going and the examples could be programs on First National TV Channel:

- ‘Light’, topic of discussion - ‘De-communization’;
- ‘War and Peace’, topics of discussion – ‘De-communization in a Ukrainian way’; ‘Is Ukraine ready for decentralization?’.
- ‘Faith, Hope, Love’ – ‘Will youth return to the villages?’

First TV National Channel (UT-1)

De-communization

Description of the discussions

The first program, which I would like to look at for the analysis refers to the topic of discussion ‘De-communization’ from the program ‘Light’ on the First National Channel (UT-1). The discussion is set upon the communist ideas and how to set free the

society from them. The moderator of the program 'Light' started the discussion with the words that Ukraine has been for more than 70 years under the rule and influence of the communist party and finally the process of the de-communization has been started. There are 7 participants in this discussion. There are communist symbols and small statues of communist leaders and thinkers, therefore the statue of Lenin, Karl Marx and the books such as Communist Manifesto are present on the table of discussion. All 7 participants are men, no women at the discussion table. The participants are representatives of the different ethnic groups of the Ukrainian society, such as representative of the Greco-Catholic Ukrainian community, Jewish community, Muslims in Ukraine, representative of the Ukrainian Autocephaly Church. The key question has been asked by the moderator 'why de-communization process has been started now?'. The short historical discourse on the screens, overview of the major historical events which have brought the crucial impact to the development of Ukrainian identity. The historical overview focuses on the Soviet symbolic in the background scene. The participants specified that the mechanism of the de-communization has not been written, accordingly it is difficult to implement the process of the de-communization in Ukraine. 'Changing names of the cities, streets, historical documents, destroying actions regarding the statues, symbols of the totalitarian past require the systematic actions, communities control' – the crucial point of the discussion in the historical overview of the program. However, discussion goes further and discovers the issue regarding the separation of the art monuments from the communist symbols. It has been viewed and presented to the audience as the complex process and complicated dynamics. Changing the name of the streets – is the task for

local communities, however, the change of the city name is the task for the Government representatives discussion. The de-communization process is viewed in the program as the essential element for understanding and clarification who from the Ukrainian heroes and leaders were loyal to Ukraine and who committed actions to destroy the Ukrainian culture. De-communization process has to bring the unification process to the nation but not the opposite effect. Therefore, de-communization should bring the contribution to the formation of common national identity in Ukraine, by providing collective goals, ideas for all representatives of the Ukrainian citizens. This process should bring progress but not regress.

The question of ideology has been addressed during the discussion, it was mentioned during the discussion that if ideology is the word which addressed against people and the state, then this ideology has to be abolished. The package of the de-communization consists of 4 laws¹³:

1. On the legal status and honoring the memory of fighters for Ukraine's Independence in the twentieth century.
2. On perpetuation of Victory over Nazism in World War II of 1939-1945.
3. On access to archives of repressive agencies of totalitarian communist regime of 1917-1991.
4. On the condemnation of the communist and national socialist regimes, and prohibition of propaganda of their symbols.

¹³Summary of Ukraine's four new decommunization bills
<http://euromaidanpress.com/2015/04/10/summary-of-ukraines-four-new-decommunization-bills/>

Thus, many myths among society and in the media sources regarding these laws occurred.

The question ‘who’s was the idea and initiative regarding this package of laws?’ was opened for the discussion during the on air time. Therefore, participants discussed that idea was incepted from the times when the independence to Ukraine was granted. It is not the EU’s demand as many myths are saying. These laws have been predicted by the coalition agreement of political forces. It is crucial now to recognize the fighters of Ukrainian independence on the state level. Nowadays, Ukrainian society after the second Maidan, Euromaidan, and current tensions on the eastern part of the country viewed as a ready for the tremendous change and transformations. Michael Chernyaov, the pastor of the Ukrainian Union of Evangelical Christians-Baptists has said during the discussion: *‘Symbols could express the collectivist unconscious, historical unconscious and perhaps partly conscious historical memory. History influences the public opinion and societal attitudes through these symbols, images. Symbols bring the strong influences on the psychological level to the society.’* The process of the change of the system and transformation has been started in Ukraine after the Orange Revolution, and nowadays after the second Maidan, Euromaidan, the society is ready for big changes. De-communization, desovietization are essential for the strengthening the Ukrainian identity. It was noted by speakers that the communist regime killed millions of people, the crime against humanity was present as well in the form of mass starvation of Ukrainian nation in 1932-1933 years. During the discussion it was mentioned as well that the communist regime basically turned Ukraine into the concentration camp. Furthermore, the social

crisis among Ukrainian society during the discussion has been also discussed. It was specified that deficit of the spirituality, good education and manners are present among Ukrainian nation, today. During discussion communism was viewed as a specific religion with own leaders, holidays, laws, customs and beliefs.

Another program on First National Channel which focusses on the de-communization is 'War and Peace' and the topic of discussion 'de-communization in a Ukrainian way'. Historical writers and representative of the Ukrainian military have been discussed the de-communization phenomenon in the Ukrainian way. It was discussed that the transformation and change start inside and then appear outside among the nation and implemented into future development of the history; resolution of the problem starts from the recognition and awareness of the problem existence. It was mentioned during the discussion that Karl Chapka once said: 'common consciousness of the nation exists on symbolic and mythological basis'. The key issue of the discussion is a formation of common consciousness of the Ukrainian nation starting from now, during the crisis, which would be free from the communist ideas, views on life. The conclusion on which speakers agreed upon that the nation could be united with the help of new programs in education and the media reporting. Nevertheless, the change of the world perception and transformation of the nation consciousness from the Soviet one, which was built and strengthen for 70 years now would be extremely difficult to get rid of and it is a time consuming process. In order to reach the real changes among society few vintages would be needed. However, slowly but surely the new processes of the new democratic system have to be launched and followed.

Analysis of the discussions

Thus, de-communization process has been officially started on April 9, 2015 when the Ukrainian Parliament passed aforementioned four laws, a package of bills on de-communization of the Ukrainian nation. These laws bring changes to the educational system, information system. Therefore, the aim of these laws is to enhance Ukrainian national identity. These changes very much affect the further development of the social groups' categorization and unification process. Nevertheless, changing the whole informational and educational system is a complex and time consuming process. Based on the aforementioned discussions regarding the de-communization process, the assumption could be made that Ukrainian media are focusing on the Ukrainian national identity with the attempts to bring the multi-cultural welcoming attitude to the informational system. The side effect of the de-communization process and strengthening the Ukrainian national identity could be the emergence of the new strongly nationalistic communities. Many would ask the question why during the revolutionary changes to light the prosperous future of the country, the ultra-right nationalistic movements started to appear and gain high level of support among youth. The explanation and answer to this question, I believe, could be found in John's Burton theory dissatisfaction of basic human needs in regards of self-expression, education, economic deprivation. According to Gurr 'Why men rebel?' and relative deprivation theory – fulfillment of the need to self-expression plays a crucial role. Furthermore, the society during the crisis and conflict in the state is vulnerable. Feeling of fear, instability, unknown in the tomorrow, economic deprivation, high level of unemployment make people vulnerable and easy to believe in

the flaming nationalistic ideas, which are promising security and stability. Very right nationalistic groups provide the idea and strong feeling of belonging to the same kinship, family, protection, stability. From the psychological perspective, society which suffer from the chosen trauma as post-colonial, post-totalitarian are vulnerable, especially during the conflict period, fear and uncertainty can lead to the strengthening very right nationalistic movements. Therefore, media and education programs can help to guide the process of transformation of the country with the use of framing and focus on positive things, hope for the good future and stability.

Since November 2013, when the crisis period started in Ukraine, news on the main television channels, including First National Channel (UT-1), begins their prime time from the positive information. For instance, the winning of Ukrainian representatives at some sport competitions, celebrations of the Ukrainian cultural holiday, launch of the innovative programs to the educational system, etc. This tactic helps to bring the hope and positive attitude among Ukrainian nation towards the peaceful and good future of the country. Before the November 2013, prime time news was started constantly on Ukrainian television from some tragic or negative events. The same with the news placement in the newspapers, on the cover page of the newspapers nowadays is the balance of the good and bad news. The use of language has been changed as well, the more positive and optimistic rhetoric has been using nowadays in the media coverage. Furthermore, a lot of attention to the news and cultural programs has been dedicated towards the symbolic meaning of the monuments, development of the events, changes in the structural system of the country, and so on.

Thus, based upon the theoretical concepts, which have been discussed in the first chapter of this research paper the following analysis could be made:

Cultural Identity

Discussions regarding de-communization process in Ukraine could be viewed from the cultural identity perspective. Therefore, cultural identity has been actively developing on the national level through the whole country when the de-communization, desovietization processes have started in the country. The characteristic of Ukrainian national cuisine, clothes, folk music and dancing, traditions and customs and so on started to play a crucial role in all regions in the country, and media start to focus on Ukrainian cultural programs during the conflict period. The cultural identity used to be only strongly reflected in the western region of Ukraine, in a cultural capital - Lviv, and its region. Nowadays, Ukrainian cultural identity has been developing and promoting by the media in all regions of the country.

Thus, after the de-communization process has been launched the dynamics of media coverage of the news in Ukraine have been changed as well, which affect the further transformation of the Ukrainian national identity. As was previously discussed, the level of trust to Ukrainian TV and media among Ukrainian people is pretty high and with the media focus on the cultural identity the national identity as a whole has been shaping as well.

Mobilized Identity

Furthermore, the discussion of the cultural changes in the country and de-communicization processes could be viewed from the mobilized identity perspective. The mobilized identity, as it was previously discussed, refers to the distinction and categorization of the groups, 'us' and 'them', with the strong belief that outgroup values and perspective should be shaped accordingly to the in-group perspective. This identity has started actively to develop with the beginning of the conflict in the eastern part of Ukraine. Two mobilized ethnic identity emerged during the crisis which are pro-Ukrainian with value and knowledge of Ukrainian, European culture; and pro-Russian with value and knowledge of Russian Empire, Soviet culture. The competition and confrontation of the groups have been developing gradually and after the launch of the de-communicization program between pro-Ukrainian social group and pro-Russian social group. These two mobilized identities have been developed during the crisis period and have been strengthened by the media coverage from both sides Ukrainian and Russian.

Chosen traumas and Ukrainian identity

During discussion the importance of the chosen trauma effect on the Ukrainian identity has been mentioned by the speakers. The Ukraine has been viewed as post-colonial, post-totalitarian country. Ukrainian language and culture have been preserved and developed throughout all the years when Ukraine was the part of other countries. Furthermore, ideologies and Russian national ideas have been strengthened and developed on Ukrainian territory many years and Ukrainian media before the contemporary crisis happened in Ukraine used actively information from the Russian

sources. Therefore, effect of the chosen trauma has been present among society for many years. However, discussions like aforementioned ones regarding the cultural structural changes, with analytical connotation bring the high level of the importance to the subject matter.

Myth narrative and symbolism of the collective axiology.

Myth narratives and symbolism have a strong influence on the Ukrainian national identity, and this phenomenon and importance of the myths and symbolism of the Ukrainian society have been discussed by the participants during the aforementioned cultural discussions. Soviet ideologies, importance of the symbols and prototypes have been existed among Ukrainian society for many years, and these ideas and ideologies form the worldview, perception and so on. Therefore, cultural structural changes such as de-communization package of bills bring the change to the dynamic of the further development of the Ukrainian identity from the perspective of the collective axiology and formation of the common national identity, where common ideas, beliefs and goals among nation would be present.

Formation of common national identity and essence of the common economic goals of the state development.

The discussions could be considered within the framework of the Anthony's Smith ideas about the national identity. He suggested that the task of mass media and education system of the country – to ensure and strengthen common mass public culture (Smith 1991). It should be mentioned, that Anthony Smith has defined nation and national identity as following:

The nation is a named and self-defined human community whose members cultivate shared myths, memories, symbols, values, and traditions, reside in and identify with a historic homeland, create and disseminate a distinctive public culture, and observe shared customs and common laws.

Therefore, according to the Smith's definition of the nation, the myth narratives and symbols play a crucial role for the strong united nation. Thus, the discussions regarding the de-communization on the Ukrainian National Channel suggested that myth and symbolism should be built and developed, presented by the media of the Ukrainian cultural, national perspective. Moreover, Anthony Smith suggested that common economic prospects, common economy, play a crucial role for collective identity.

Common economic goals stand as the unifying element to the communities. Economic stability brings security to the people and change of attitudes among them. Therefore, the importance of the de-communization process to the Ukrainian national identity could be viewed also from the perspective of the regional economic development and its influence on the transformation of the collective conscience and common national goals, ideas, ideologies. This leads towards the next important cultural change, decentralization, in the country which has been adopted during the crisis period in Ukraine and actively presented by the media as a decisive change for the national identity.

Decentralization

Description of the discussion

Program 'War and Peace' on the First National Channel with the topic of discussion 'Is Ukraine ready for the decentralization?' explores the essential questions of

the transformations and changes in Ukraine. Tetyana Kohanovska, Deputy Head of Information Center Maidan Monitoring, is a speaker and the guest of the program. She mentioned that Ukraine nowadays is in the process of the post-totalitarian and post-colonial transformation. She also mentioned that war is definitely is horrific phenomenon, nevertheless war gives the window for opportunities and changes, and transformation for better have to be obtained with the cooperation between government and society, citizens of Ukraine can change the future of their country. Furthermore, she mentioned that the war is a challenge for society which could lead for good transformation, and rebirth of the nation. It was specified during the discussion that many European countries such as Poland had gone through process of development of the country, transforming to the democratic model for many decades. The process, through which Ukraine is going right now, many European countries have gone through many decades ago. Therefore, it is time consuming, complex, complicated process of the change of the governmental system at all levels. The discussion between moderators of the program and the guest was concluded with the words that the victory of the war in eastern part of Ukraine would be conversion, transformation among the Ukrainian society. The main task for the Ukrainian nation nowadays is to come out from this crisis transformed in cultural and social way. Nevertheless, the human resources and human capital are essential for the successful development processes and prosperous future of the country.

Thus, during the discussion it was mentioned that the changes have to be done in the following sectors: institutional system; infrastructure; macroeconomic stability;

primary, higher education and training; health; goods market efficiency; labor market efficiency; financial market; technological developments; local business support and development; innovations and science developments. Ukrainian market has low prices with the comparison to European one, cheap labor and natural resources. The quality of education has to be improved and technology innovations have to be started. Investments into the research and development sector, development of the higher education play a crucial role. Above all the regional development of the country should be implemented. Nevertheless, real changes and developments for 24 years have been going only in Kyiv, and Kyiv region. Therefore, regional advances should be implemented.

Analysis of the discussion

According to the World Bank Group¹⁴ *decentralization* is the transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from the central government to intermediate and local governments, organizations and/or the private sector. The concept of decentralization should be viewed as a complex and multidimensional one. Decentralization process plays a crucial role in the developing countries, countries on the way to democracy. Decentralization process can bring to country the change in the political, economic and social development activities of the country. Decentralization can help to change the bureaucratic procedures and can increase the regional development of the country. The process could change the governmental system and institutional structure which would give the opportunity to diverse ethnic, political, religious and

¹⁴ The World Bank Group, decentralization
<http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/decentralization/what.htm#1>

cultural groups in decision making. However, decentralization could be also not efficient and time consuming process. Legal wants and needs of the regional communities should be addressed.

Therefore, decentralization and aforementioned discussion “Is Ukraine ready for decentralization?” could be viewed in the framework of Basic Human Needs Theory with the focus on the importance of economic dimension for the national identity, and regional development as the unifying factor for the nation.

The Basic Human Needs Theory

According to John’s Burton basic human needs theory each person has needs for stability, self-development, economic security and wellbeing. According to psychologist Abraham Maslow and the conflict scholar John Burton, these essentials go beyond just food, water, and shelter. They include both physical and non-physical elements needed for human growth and development, as well as all those things humans are innately driven to attain (August 2003, Sandra Marker Unmet Human Needs). Therefore, it should be mentioned that throughout many years centralized power has been strong, regional development has been very slow and weak, accordingly economic insecurity and feeling of deprivation have been growing among people in most of the regions of Ukraine. According to John Burton theory unmet human needs leads to aggression: extreme poverty, loss of childhood, which has been present for many years in rural areas and regions of Ukraine. As it was aforementioned in order that society functions harmoniously, individuals’ needs should be satisfied and fulfilled. Therefore, decentralization process is a good step for development of the country and bringing the

positive influence of the formation of common national identity based upon the common goal of economic security and stability among people.

Furthermore, it should be mentioned that the intensity of relative deprivation potentially determines collective violence and exists in strong correlation with the basic human need theory. Gurr looks at relative deprivation through psychological framework. He came up with the conclusion that frustration-aggression is the primary source of the human capacity for violence. The prolonged feeling of frustration gives the bigger chances that aggression occurs. The prolonged feeling of frustration and economic deprivation in the Ukrainian regions has been discussed during the program as well. Economic well-being and ability to participate in government and interpersonal values influence relative deprivation. Social and political violence, such as protests and revolutions are collective objective manifestations. Gurr mentioned that relative deprivation is a frustration that leads to aggression; therefore Ukrainian crisis which started in November 2013 could be an example of it. Thus, Ted Gurr views conflict in relative deprivation prospective with deep psychological pre-context. Relative deprivation is tension (struggle, contradiction, and clash) between value expectations and value capabilities. Burton's theory of human needs could be better understood with the framework of Abraham Maslow Needs pyramid. Maslow distributed needs in increasing order, explaining such a construction that a person cannot feel the need of high-level of needs until the more primitive needs are not satisfied. Therefore, basic human needs regarding the proper life condition for the population in all regions of Ukraine, economical means should be satisfied by providing employment opportunities. Then,

personal development and self-expression needs should be satisfied as well. To sum up, I should say that Ukrainian crisis and critical conditions of the regional economic sector should be viewed by the principles of John's Burton theory and the issue of poor development of the regions should be addressed. The decentralization program is an example of governmental policies to improve the situation in economic regional sector of the country development. Thus, the transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from the central government to intermediate and local governments, organizations could enforce the process of the economic development of the country which accordingly will shape the national Ukrainian identity by giving the common national goal for the Ukrainian citizens – their economic security, opportunities of self-development and self-realization. Therefore, this regional development process and institution building would bring the common national idea of change which could be presented by the media via analytical cultural programs, and bring awareness to the people regarding changes by exploring the questions, what is going, why, and so on.

Development of the rural areas in Ukraine

Description of the discussion

Independent Ukraine for many decades is facing the problem with the regressing processes of the rural areas. Nowadays, from 45 million of the Ukrainian citizens, 30% of the population lives in the rural areas and most of them people who are older than 60 (according to the UT-1 channel research data). Young people seek to escape from the villages and to build their lives in the cities. The program on the UT-1, First National Channel 'Vira, Nadiya, Lubov/ Faith, Hope, Love' with the topic of discussion 'Will

youth return to the villages?’, explores the concept of decentralization and how the rural areas could be changed and developed. Nowadays, rural areas in Ukraine are undeveloped, empty areas. The discussion forms around the program of the development of rural areas and how decentralization can change the Ukrainian villages. During the discussion it was mentioned that in 2007 when Viktor Yushenko was the President of Ukraine, the state program of the support and development of the Ukrainian villages till 2015 was launched. The dynamic of discussion regarding the villages has been changing: the discussion was formed regarding the revival of the Ukrainian villages, then rescue of the Ukrainian villages, nowadays the discussion is formed regarding the creation of new Ukrainian villages according to the European standards. Ukraine is rich of natural agricultural resources and has fruitful land. Despite the fact of the richness of agricultural resources, agricultural sector of the Ukrainian economy is poorly developed and Ukrainian villages are empty; infrastructure in rural areas is falling apart, no lights on the streets, many villages still do not have paved roads or Internet connection. Therefore, governmental system of the village support is so weak, and in order to have some future youth have to flee from the areas where they were born, and find better lives in the urban areas of the state. The representatives of the agricultural development sector, journalists and political scientist use the figures from sociological polls which have been conducted by the Ukrainian research sociological groups in the all regions of Ukraine except Crimea. 2200 respondents were asked questions regarding the rural areas problems, and most of the respondents, youth especially, said that villages do not offer decent financial remunerative jobs, there are no infrastructure and any conveniences for life in the rural

areas. Moreover, rural areas do not have developed technological system. Systematic development of the rural areas should be addressed and the challenge with the pollution of landscapes should be resolved.

Analysis of the discussion

During the discussion “Will youth return to the Ukrainian villages?” the issue of a strong centralized system, power and concentration of the Ukraine’s economic resources in Kyiv has been raised during the discussion. It has been mentioned during discussion that concentration of the material means and active development of Kyiv, and poor development of other regions of the country, especially rural area have brought to country the development of social categorization and strengthening the prejudices, stereotypes regarding people from the periphery, especially rural areas. This, stereotypes emerged because of the poor conditions of life standards in the villages, poor infrastructure, etc. As aftermath of this centralized governmental policies the economic deprivation, dissatisfaction of the fulfillment of basic human needs regarding economic security and self-development have been growing throughout the years. Accordingly, this factor has been shaping the Ukrainian national identity, dissatisfaction and aggressiveness among the rural population have been growing as well and the centralized policy with poor development of the rural areas stands as separating factor for the nation. Nevertheless, with the system which has been existed in Ukraine for many vintages, young people have to leave the places where they were born and go to urban areas in order to have some future, and have some self-development opportunities. However, there are many prejudices in urban areas regarding the rural population and villages as a

whole, these people have been struggling in order to build their lives in the cities, in Kyiv especially. The dissatisfaction with the system is growing accordingly, relative deprivation as well. In the same time rural areas are becoming “ghost towns”, empty areas.

Thus, this problem should be addressed and during the discussion it was mentioned that the self-development, employment opportunities for youth should be provided in rural areas and infrastructure should be renovated. The strong centralized policy, concentration money and power in Kyiv has developed the social categorization on: developed social groups and regions, and underdeveloped social groups and regions. Accordingly, it should be changed in order to build common idea, goal and collective conscience among the Ukrainian nation.

Conclusion

Thus, I choose the aforementioned topics of the discussion and programs to look at because I believe, the processes of de-communization and decentralization will affect and transform Ukrainian identity, lifestyle and consciousness. Economic deprivation and dissatisfaction basic human needs are present among the Ukrainian society, fear and uncertainty in the future make the society vulnerable. The crisis, which has begun in November 2013 has brought many changes and transformations to the country, and some of these changes are the programs such as de-communization of the Ukrainian nation, decentralization and development of the rural areas. It should be mentioned that cities and villages are in a strong correlation in Ukraine, with the development of rural areas the good changes and progress will occur in cities as well, and the economic policies of

satisfaction demand of the customers and supply of the produces will be in balance and will reach the smooth dynamic of development, cohesion and market growth. The state should be viewed as a single organism, and if villages will be in 'healthy' condition – the cities will be 'strong' and 'healthy' as well. Accordingly, the aforementioned transformation process such as de-communization and decentralization will affect the Ukrainian national identity management process and the formation of common national identity among Ukrainian citizens within the state. Nowadays, Ukraine has a strong crisis and conflict in the eastern part, however the ceasefire should be reached in the eastern part of Ukraine as soon as possible and peacebuilding processes should be launched. These processes are crucial to the formation of common national identity among Ukrainian citizens. Therefore, de-communization, decentralization processes could be part of the peacebuilding process as well.

The Ukraine Crisis Media Center

Description

Ukraine Crisis Media Center has 2 major projects: EUROMAIDAN, CRIMEA. According to Ukraine Crisis Media Center, on April 2014 Ukrainian government launched the anti-terrorist operation in the eastern part of the country. It was supposed to be short-term operation, however the conflict has last for more than a year. Ukraine Crisis Media Center Infographic:

(please view the next page)

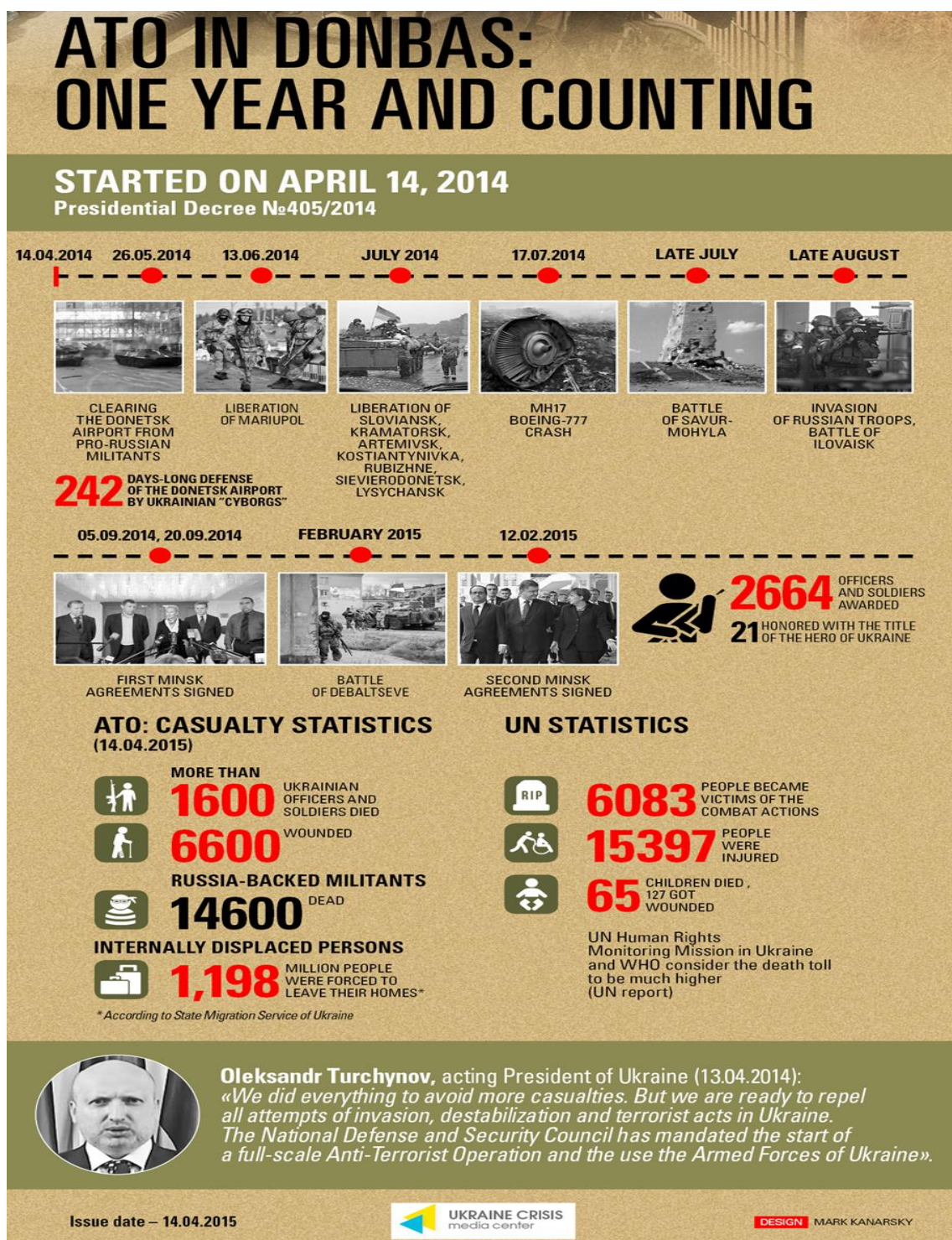


Figure 17: ATO operation in Ukraine

The infographic¹⁵ of Ukraine Crisis Media Center describes well the development of the conflict on Ukrainian territory. I would like to look at one of the discussion at the section of projects on Ukraine Crisis Media Center in regards to Crimea. The topic of the discussion is an education on the mainland Ukraine and the Crimean peninsula. The discussion takes place between two education specialists, one Crimean student and the journalists. It should be noted that most of the Ukrainian population believes and hopes that soon Crimea will be returned to Ukraine, according to the sociological poll, which were held by the Kiev International Institute of Sociology and published by the Ukraine Crisis Media Center.

(please view the next page)

¹⁵ ATO operation in Ukraine <http://uacrisis.org/22817-ato-in-donbas-one-year-and-counting>



Figure 18: Top Quotes, Ukraine Crisis Media Center.

I choose the program regarding the Crimean issues, because I believe that the illegal annexation of the Crimea by the Russian Federation have changed many lives and shaped the Ukrainian identity, furthermore it could provoke the emergence of the new identities. Isolation of social groups from each other would change the identities forever, active development of social categorization and salience among society would be present. The discussion on the topic of education at the time of temporary difficulties starts from the description by the specialists of changes in the educational system. Ukraine has been offering to the children from the Crimean peninsula distance form of learning in primary, secondary and high schools in the mainland Ukraine. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian and

¹⁶ Top Quotes, Ukraine Crisis Media Center <http://uacrisis.org/28033-petro-poroshenko-11>

Russian educational systems are different from each other. According to the words of the Ukrainian educational specialist, Russian Certificate of the graduation for the high school in Crimea will not be accepted and recognized by any advanced educational establishments anywhere in the world except Russia. Therefore, in order to have a chance to apply to Ukrainian university on the mainland Ukraine, the Crimean high school graduates have to have Ukrainian Certificate of the graduation from the high school. It has been determined during the discussion that Ukraine has been doing everything to help Crimean students to pursue the university degree on the mainland Ukraine. The specialists in the Ukrainian language, literature and history as well as subjects such as Ukrainian language, literature and Ukrainian history are in the crisis condition nowadays in Crimea, under the Russian occupation. Nevertheless, these subjects have not been required anymore by the educational system. The basic human needs in access of education should be fulfilled. Different education, language and ideology will form different identities, as it was discussed in the previous chapter.

Youth from Crimea has been facing quite a challenge with the employment, finding the place to live in the mainland Ukraine after the graduation from the universities. Therefore, sometimes they do not have other choice than return to Crimea, as the Crimean student who fled from the peninsula, has said. Nevertheless, during the study process students have opportunity to live in the universities' dormitory, after the graduation they have to leave their rooms, Crimean students who transferred from the Crimean universities to the Ukrainian mainland universities and live at the dormitories

are not considered as internally displaced persons and do not receive the support from the government, it was mentioned by the Crimean student during the discussion.

Analysis of the discussion

These transformational processes especially in the educational systems could plant the seed which eventually will grow and will change the dynamic of state development forever. Education system is very sensitive and delicate element of the social structure which prepares the human resources and very much responsible for the further progress of the country and the historical development of the country.

There are three major events have happened in the Post-Soviet Ukraine, which affect further development of the social, political and economic dimensions of the state.

1. Orange Revolution – November 2004.
2. Euromaidan – November Ukrainian Revolution of 2013.
3. Ukrainian territory of the Crimean peninsula was illegally annexed by the Russian Federation in March 2014.

During the Presidency of Viktor Yushenko 2005-2010 the process of formation common Ukrainian national identity was started. The Ukrainization program was launched, which was focusing on the strengthening of the Ukrainian national identity, by giving a lot of attention to the Ukrainian language, history, literature, symbolic systems, customs and traditions. Program of the development of Ukrainian villages was launched as well. Then those programs were frozen and stopped for 4 years and after the revolution in November 2013, they were resumed again.

The annexation of the Crimean peninsula by the Russian Federation changed lives of many Ukrainian citizens. Social, political, economic relationship between mainland Ukraine and the Crimean peninsula has been changed. Nowadays, when Ukraine is in the stage of the transformation process to democracy, the Ukraine Crisis Media Center was created during the Ukrainian Revolution of 2013 in order to cover the news and major cultural events for the Ukrainian nation as an independent, impartial media source.

Thus, the aforementioned data from the Ukraine Crisis Media source could be viewed in the framework of basic human needs theory and relative deprivation. The fulfillment of the right on education should be followed and self-development, employment opportunities should be provided for people from Crimea in mainland Ukraine. As it was mentioned during the discussion, students who have Crimean registration after the graduation from Ukrainian universities in mainland Ukraine cannot find work, have problem with registration and do not have property in Kyiv, or other regions of mainland Ukraine in order to change their registration. Furthermore, according to the aforementioned information Ukrainian students who are from Crimea, but study at Ukrainian universities in mainland Ukraine, and who live at universities' dormitories are not considered as internally displaced persons. Therefore, it brings the development of deprivation among youth, dissatisfaction and feeling of unmet expectations. Then, it could lead towards the social categorization and development of confrontation among society. Thus, media could play an important role in this situation by explaining the difficulties which Ukrainian students from Crimea are facing in mainland Ukraine in

order to change and improve the system of de-centralization, de-communization, and process of formation of common national identity.

Recommendation

Nowadays, Ukraine has a strong crisis and a conflict in eastern part of the state. Nevertheless, every conflict has its beginning and its end, therefore when a ceasefire would be reached and peacebuilding process would be launched the new culture and new types of media coverage would emerge that would shape the Ukrainian identity.

New Culture and types of coverage

A post-conflict society goes through the stages of new socialization process, which is focusing on the redirecting lifestyle in non-confrontational, depolarized way. For the successful implementation of the process people's awareness of the new situation is required. New identities, new institutions, new inter-social relationships, new types of media and media coverage. Therefore, the new post-conflict culture emerges. According to Eytan Gilboa (2002 Media and Conflict: Framing issues, making policy, shaping opinion) the following dimensions of change should be viewed:

New institutions: the decentralization process and de-communization will launch the capacity-building of the new institutions structure on a regional and national level in social, economic and political pillars. New political parties, tribunal regarding the crimes which were committed during the active phase of the conflict in the eastern part of Ukraine and the protests in Kyiv. The role of international observers and cooperation with the international institutions will generate the emergence of new institutions within

the country. Demobilization process and returning soldiers, rebels and re-socialization process from conflict military life to the peaceful non-violent social life.

New identities: since November 2013, pro-Ukrainian ethnic identity, pro-Russian ethnic identity have been strengthened; the social groups and minorities have been polarized on the Ukrainian territory. Therefore, when the ceasefire and peace would be reached society will have to live in the new environment, among new social groups. Firstly, demobilized soldiers might return to their communities and will have to adapt to the new reality. Demobilization and learning process are in strong correlation. Moreover, decentralization and de-communization process will provoke the emergence of new identity, hopefully, common national identity. Furthermore, decentralization process will bring new employment opportunities, new positions, and new social roles. Nevertheless, it is time-consuming, complicated process. Therefore, reconciliation implies reconstruction at the social and the personal level.

New relationship: New identities create new social roles and relationships among individuals. Conflict period brings the focus on the challenging zone and the enemies. Reconciliation process brings a multifaceted encounter not only with the past, and future but also with different changes in regards to the environment, space, age, nationality, class, ethnic and racial belonging, gender, religion.

A new culture: the reconciliation process refers to a change from conflict culture to peace culture. Probably, a few years after the peace treaties the conflict culture will survive among the Ukrainian nation, especially in the eastern part of Ukraine. Therefore, the main task of the media and education system to bring the awareness to the masses, to

educate people regarding the transformational period in the country and peacebuilding process.

New types of media and media coverage: in post-conflict situations the risk exists of conflict resumption. The media can serve as a prevention tool. Media could play the role of mediators, and represent the new journalism which would represent the peace discourse. The institutional change would play a key role. The main task of the peace discourse – to make depolarized and a cooperative environment. New type of coverage requires innovations within the existence channels, and emergence of new channels. The consensus should be built that would satisfy different interest groups.

Conclusion of the chapter

Thus, development programs, such as de-communization, decentralization and development of the rural areas demonstrate different dimensions of the peacemaking and development of the democratization processes that have been already started in Ukraine. These processes are facing many difficulties; nevertheless, slowly but surely they are moving forward towards the progress of democratic transformations.

Ukraine as post-Soviet, post-totalitarian country has been struggling with its way of formation common national identity. The First National Channel and the Ukraine Crisis Media Center are the samples of the Ukrainian media coverage of the cultural dimensions in regards to the Ukrainian identity. I believe, the programs which have been selected for the analysis represent the crucial dynamics of change and transformation the social, political and economic structures of the country. The process of de-communization, decentralization, development of the rural areas, changes in the

educational system bring the first steps of the long-term changes. The major events which happened during the crisis have changed the further progress of the country and country's history. The events should be specified such as Euromaidan, Crimea and violence in the Eastern part of Ukraine.

The conflict is a tragic event and has to be finished as soon as possible. Nevertheless, a conflict has been viewed by many Ukrainian politicians and scholars as the window of opportunity for transformation and rebirth of the country. Every tremendous change is painful, therefore in order to change the conflict rhetoric of the media coverage of the conflict, the current crisis in Ukraine could be represented by the media as the unifier and the step to the great transformations, changes in the country. According to Chris Hedges war gives meaning to the people and unify communities. Therefore, media can bring awareness and educate Ukrainian people regarding the common past and the future, develop the idea of brotherhood and belonging to the same Ukrainian identity. Nevertheless, the freedom of self-expression should be respected and protected by the federal law system, each representative of each ethnic group should feel himself or herself respected, protected, important to the state and their rights have to be guarded by the law.

CHAPTER 5: THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Case Study Summary

Table 8: First National Channel

Development Processes	Description by the media source in regards the Ukrainian identity
De-communicization	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Media present the importance for the Ukrainian society to set free from the communist ideologies.• De-communicization process has been presented by the media as unification of the Ukrainian citizens, and one of the steps towards the formation of common national identity in the state.• A package of bills on de-communicization of the Ukrainian nation brings changes to the educational system, information system. The discussions of the laws on national channels, promotion of these laws by the media bring awareness to the people regarding cultural dimensions of the structural changes, which are shaping the national identity attitudes among people.• During the crisis the use of language in the media have been changed. The focus on Ukrainian cultural elements has been practicing which strengthen the

	<p>Ukrainian cultural identity. Nowadays Ukrainian national clothes, cuisine, symbolic attributes such as Ukrainian flag, Ukrainian folk style of design, and so on.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presentation of the Ukrainian crisis by the media based upon the principle of “otherness”, difference of Ukrainian nation from Russian. It brings transformation to the Ukrainian national identity. On structural level education, information system have been changing accordingly to the definition of the Ukrainian nation based on the principle of “otherness”.
Decentralization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media portray the necessity of the development of the regional economic sector in order to reduce the development of social categorization among nation, prejudices, and stereotypes towards each other. • Portraying by the media the importance of the equal distribution among all regions of the state natural resources and goods. • Development of the work opportunities in the rural areas has been portrayed by the media as an essential element for bringing common goals, ideas to the Ukrainian citizens from all regions of the state.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • According to John Burton each person has needs for stability. It has been discussed in the media an unequal development of the regions that could be stopped by the decentralization process. Therefore, by transferring the responsibility, authority to local municipalities, and launch of the regional development the formation of common national ideas, goals could be reached. Institution building plays a crucial role in the implementation of the changes, and new structural policies.
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Table 9: Ukraine Crisis Media Center

Projects	Description by the media source in regards the Ukrainian identity
Euromaidan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media portray as a rebirth of the nation, opportunities of big structural changes.
Crimea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media portray as a tragic event (illegal annexation of the Crimean peninsula by the Russian Federation). Media focus on the fact that development processes in the country, building of the strong economy and united nation can help to get back the Crimean peninsula to Ukraine.

Thus, the conflict in Ukraine has been portrayed by the Ukrainian media as a window of opportunities for the Ukrainian society for the tremendous transformations and development processes of the country, rebirth of the nation.

Concluding remarks

The research has analyzed the presentation of Ukrainian identity in the media during the conflict period, starting from the November 2013. Therefore, this research has analyzed how Ukrainian identity has been shaped during the crisis period starting from November 23, 2013 and how media develop the connotations of national identity and describe conflict. The discussions have been viewed in the framework of theoretical concepts of the national identity.

Thus, the Ukrainian crisis has been presented by the media mainly as social and economic. One of the major problems which presented by the media as a major cause of the contemporary crisis is weak development policies in Ukraine for 23 years. The Ukrainian identity has been defined by the Ukrainian media based on the principle of cultural difference from the Russian identity, uniqueness (regarding the ability to preserve the Ukrainian culture and language in the totalitarian, colonial condition) and “otherness” of Ukrainian nation from Russian. Furthermore, Ukrainian media focus public attention on the economic development and economic security as the unifying factor to the nation, which would bring common goals, ideas to the representatives from all regions of the state. It should be mentioned, that according to Anthony’s Smith suggestions the common economic interest is one of the strong unifying factors for social groups. Nevertheless, uncertainty and insecurity in the future make society vulnerable and confrontation among society would be developing.

It should be mentioned also that Ukrainian media portray the current crisis in Ukraine as window for opportunities for Ukrainian nation and formation of new common Ukrainian identity with the focus on ethnic Ukrainian cultural dimensions of the Ukrainian identity and welcoming attitude towards other identities in the state. Thus, Ukrainian crisis has been portrayed by the Ukrainian media as a chance for the Ukrainian nation for the transformation, conversion, and rebirth of the nation. This research paper illustrates the role of the media in the transformation processes of the Ukrainian identity during the crisis period, starting from November 2013.

It has been widely discussed by the Ukrainian scholars that media as an information sharing source should actively use public broadcasting and analytical discussions for the processes of formation the common national identity among Ukrainians, by bringing the awareness to the Ukrainian people regarding the situation in the country. Media should have well developed social responsibility of the conflict coverage.

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