

**PSYCHOLOGICAL PHENOMENON
ON UKRAINIAN MASS ACTIONS
DURING THE PRESIDENT ELECTION 2004**

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PSYCHOLOGICAL PHENOMENON ON UKRAINIAN MASS ACTIONS

- **Political context during president election 2004 in Ukraine;**
- **Social tension dynamic during last years;**
- **Protest potential dynamic;**
- **Diversity of protest behavior;**
- **Social tens on Maydan mass action;**
- **Power evaluation by citizens before and after orange revolution.**

Political context of president election - the main two candidates at 2nd tour:

Viktor

Yanukovich

Primer minister of Ukraine,
current power candidate

YA

Viktor

Yuschenko

opposite power candidate

YU

Political context of president election - the main topic about election company:

YA

- **Economical results**
- **Regional roots**
Donbus (miners industry)
is the native region

- **Problem with law:**
He was a prisoner

YU

- **National idea**
- **Family life**
5 children, American wife

- **Problem with health:**
He was poisoned

Political context of president election - mass political actions:

- **The main topic of media message and daily conversations is the falsification of voting results in the second election tour by current power. Opposite team ask people to take part at mass political action and go to Maydan Nesalezhnosity in Kiev to express their mind**
- **Mass political actions, named 'orange revolution' was started on 22 of November and unexpectedly gathers together more than 2 millions participation on the next day**
- **It was mass action with peaceful character and it determined the result of president election by Law way (circuit justices confirmed that falsification have took place)**
- **After last voting some mass political protest action was in the Donbus regions, they was reactive character**

PSYCHOLOGICAL PHENOMENON ON UKRAINIAN MASS ACTIONS

- Why so mass?
- Why so peaceful?

Мета – проаналізувати психологічну складову масової поведінки, спираючись на багаторічні моніторингові прикладні дослідження Інституту соціальної та політичної психології in

- **Social tens in Ukraine**
- **Protest potential of Ukrainians**

Social tension dynamic

- **Social tension as concept**
- **Measuring instrument**
- **Results of monitoring 2000-2004**

Social tension as concept (ST)

- ST is a response of a society (a community, a group) to the condition of its vital activity which are really a menace for social subjects' significant needs and purposes realization and even for their being, or are accepted at this angle. In the most general view ST is rightfully considered to be a *psychological state of a society which arises as a response to extreme influences*.
- The **ST STRUCTURE** includes:
 - **O** - subjects' general discontent with a current situation taking place in a society;
 - **O1** - a retrospective evaluation of the past state of a situation (or of that situation which preceded it);
 - **O2** - a predicational evaluation of the future state of a situation (or of that situation which has to change it);
 - **W** - is a content with results of an extraneous influence on a situation,
 - **V** - their discontent with the possibilities of their influence on a situation;
 - **i** - a level of a subject's internality causing a significance of his own influence on the situation for him;
 - **j** - a level of an extraneous influence on a situation attributed by a subject to these or those personified social forces.

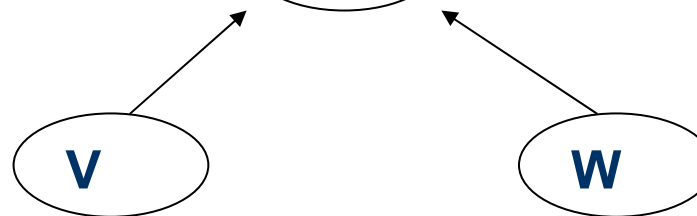
Model of Social tension

$$ST=O+(O1+O2)/2+iV+jW$$

Evaluation



Influence



Significance



Measuring instrument: ST- questionnaire

- An empiric verification of the model was made. For the purpose, in July, 2000 we investigated two groups of workers from coal mines in Donetsk region with the total number of 477 people.
- The first group included the workers from economically successful mines where, in the opinion of competent experts, ST was practically absent. The second group were the workers from mines with socially-economic situation, the collectives in which the experts a priori ascertained a certain level of ST, though, as it will be seen bellow, it was may be a little exceeded.
- The results of the investigation are given in the table.

Indexes of the ST model according to the results of the interrogation of workers from Donbus coal mines

Parameters of the model	Successful mines	Unsuccessful mines
<i>O</i> - a general evaluation of an actual situation (-2: +2)	0,13	- 1,07
<i>O1</i> - a retrospective evaluation of the past state of a situation (-2 : +2)	0,35	0,26
<i>O2</i> – a predictional evaluation of the future state of a situation (-2 : +2)	0,11	-0,54
<i>V</i> - a content with the possibilities of the own influence on a situation (-2 : +2)	-0,07	-1,24
<i>i</i> - a rate of a subject's internality (0 : 1)	0,57	0,40
<i>W</i> - a content with results of an extraneous influence on a situation (-2 : +2)	0,58	-0,80
<i>j</i> - a rate of an extraneous influence on a situation attributed to these or those social forces (0 : 1)	0,88	0,67
<i>ST</i> – an integral index of ST level (-8 : 8)	-0,48	2,51

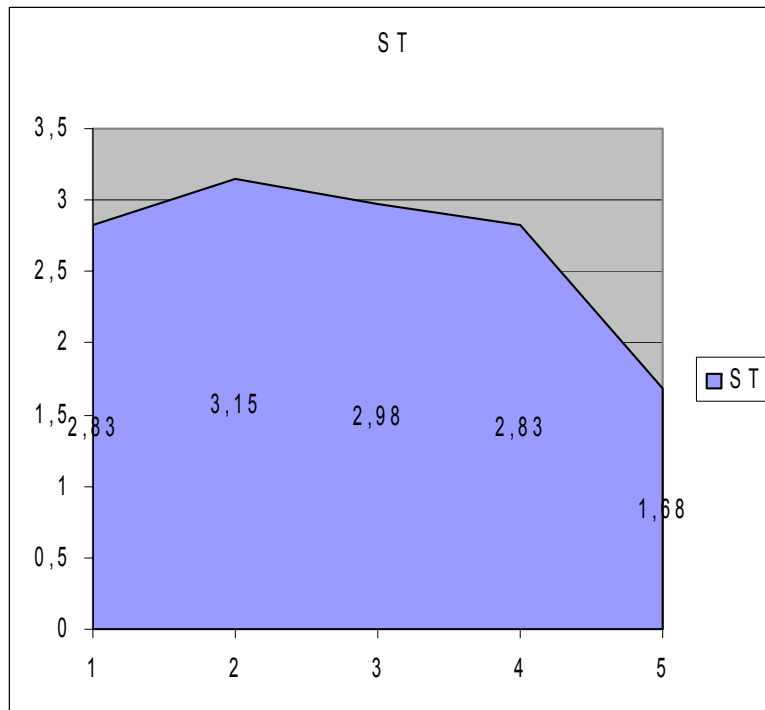
Social tension effect

ST can have a **mobilization** effect but it will be a mobilization not in the form of an excitement, an enthusiasm, but in the form of an **aggression**, directed to the destruction of real or virtual obstructs put on the way of blocked needs and purposes realization.

ST during last years 2000 - 2004

Parameters of the model	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
<i>O</i> - a general evaluation of an actual situation (-2: +2)	-0,80	- 0,70	-0,51	-0,41	-0,24 ↑
<i>O1</i> - a retrospective evaluation of the past state of a situation (-2 : +2)	0,73	0,75	0,67	0,49	0,33 ↓
<i>O2</i> – a predictional evaluation of the future state of a situation (-2 : +2)	-0,21	-0,19	-0,28	-0,24	0,41 ↑
<i>V</i> - a content with the possibilities of the own influence on a situation (-2 : +2)	-0,92	-0,86	-0,84	-0,88	-0,62 ↑
<i>i</i> - a rate of a subject's internality (0 : 1)	0,52	0,55	0,56	0,57	0,57 ↑
<i>W</i> - a content with results of an extraneous influence on a situation (-2 : +2)	-0,84	-1,04	-1,11	-1,07	-0,90
<i>j</i> - a rate of an extraneous influence on a situation attributed to these or those social forces (0 : 1)	0,63	0,85	0,85	0,84	0,88
ST – an integral index of ST level (-8 : 8)	2,83	3,15	2,98	2,83	1,68

St - tendency



- **N > 2000, representative for whole Ukraine (all 27 regions)**
- **Social tension has negative dynamic up 2000 to 2004**

Protest potential dynamic

- One of the most principal factors making for the expansion of protest states in a society and causing inhabitants' protest behaviour, is, of course, the raise of the social tension level as a result of an insufficient satisfaction of people's living needs.
- However, the direct dependence between a social tension and a manifestation of the protest behaviour is not always be traced. Sometimes the connection with them is mediated by a number of factors of the other origin, first of all, ideological and political.
- During the investigation the citizens' psychological readiness to mass protest actions was found out by means of specially chosen statements and a direct question of a correspondent matter which were included to the questionnaire

Respondents' estimation of the statements, reflecting different aspects of their attitude to the protest forms of behaviour

<i>Statements</i>	<i>The portion of the respondents who agreed with the matter of statements</i>		
	July 1999	October 2003	July 2004
As difficult you would live, the main thing is to save peace and composure in Ukraine	71	66	70
Not strikers are right but those people who go on working during strikes	25	29	28
There is no any reason in strikes, they just make an economic state worse, their results are used by politicians and businessmen	47	45	41
Nowadays mass protest manifestations are the only way to achieve the changes for the better life	38	34	33
The people driven to despair today has a moral right for any protest actions, without asking somebody for the allowance	58	54	50

Respondents' intentions as for their participation in protest actions
The division of the answers for the question: "If mass protest manifestations flare up in your region, will You personally take part in them?" (in %)

	July 1999	October 2003	July 2004
•Of course, I will	21	18	16
•Possibly, I will	23	21	21
•It is difficult to say	20	19	17
•Possibly, I will not	25	25	23
•In any case, I will not	11	17	23

Respondents' motivation of their possible participation in mass protest actions

<i>Motives</i>	<i>The portion of the respondents who mentioned these motives (in %)</i>		
	July 1999	October 2003	July 2004
Human laws violation	36	34	44
Impetuous increase in prices	37	43	41
Unextinguishing of wages (pensions, scholarships)	42	34	35
Increase in payments for accommodations and transport	34	35	33
Corruption in the governmental structures	27	29	28
Abuse of power from the side of local authorities	22	23	28
Cessation of the water-, heating- and energy supply	22	28	24
Enrichment of few people and pauperization of a majority	19	24	24
Falsification of results during the elections of The President of Ukraine	-	-	20
Increase in crime	16	21	19
Conducting of unfair, anti-national reforms	15	19	18
Inflation, devaluation of bank deposits	15	16	18
Signing off the job	15	15	15
The expenditure of a participation and the loss of The Ukrainian armed forces personnel in armed conflicts abroad	-	12	14
Displacement from the registration of the candidate for whom people are going to vote during the elections for the post of The President of Ukraine	-	-	8
The realization of the course for further rapprochement and Ukraine's entering to NATO	13	-	6
Freedom of speech oppression, journalists' persecution	-	6	6
Non-realization of economic reforms by the government	5	6	4

For the first time during the entire period of investigations (from 1999) among the factors which can cause the participation of the population in mass protest actions the motive of a universal, non-economic intention (human laws violation) was put to the first place.

- The number of respondents disposed to protest against the abuse of power from the side of local authorities noticeably increased. Of the same significance is the portion of the interviewed persons who are motivated for the protest by anticorruption states. By rather ideological, then purely economic motives those respondents are motivated who want to fight against “enrichment of few people and pauperization of a majority”, “unfair, anti-national reforms”, “increase in crime” etc., without any saying about antiwar (rather, “antipeacemaking”) protest intentions and motives directly connected with today’s presidential elections, their conducting and results.
- Thus, **it is possible to speak about the obvious enhancement of the tendency for politicization of the motives of Ukrainians’ protest behaviour which is observed during the last years.** This tendency are taking a particular actuality in the period of the electoral campaign and can play by far not a single-valued role.

Diversity of protest behavior

YA

YU

Social tens on Maydan mass action

Parameters of the model	2.12.2004	7.12.2004	2004
<i>O</i> - a general evaluation of an actual situation (-2: +2)	-0,14	- 0,63	-0,24 ↑
<i>O1</i> - a retrospective evaluation of the past state of a situation (-2 : +2)	-1,21	-0,94	0,33 ↓
<i>O2</i> – a predictional evaluation of the future state of a situation (-2 : +2)	1,45	1,22	0,41 ↑
<i>V</i> - a content with the possibilities of the own influence on a situation (-2 : +2)	0,50	0,44	-0,62 ↑
<i>i</i> - a rate of a subject's internality (0 : 1)	0,57	0,40	0,57 ↑
<i>W</i> - a content with results of an extraneous influence on a situation (-2 : +2)	-0,17 (Verh.Rada) -1,64 (Kuchma) 1,6 (Yuschenko)	-0,16 -1,64 1,36	-0,90
<i>j</i> - a rate of an extraneous influence on a situation attributed to these or those social forces (0 : 1)	0,69 (Verh.Rada) 0,40 (Kuchma) 0,87 (Yuschenko)	0,76 0,61 0,89	0,88
<i>ST</i> – an integral index of ST level (-8 : 8)	-2,35	1,06	1,68

Citizens' evaluation of power before and after the orange revolution

- Content with the possibility of the own influence on the situation, the internality rise, the belief, that the situation is going to be changed for the better one are the mane reasons of the ST decrease at Maydan
- Content with an extraneous influence on the situation made by Yuzchenko (1,6 with the maximal value of the scale 2) showed the rate of the people's support of the candidate, who got the majority of voices after the recurrent voting and became a president of Ukraine.

ST dynamics during the mass action

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Citizens' evaluation of power before and after the orange revolution.

- The evaluations of power before the revolution are characterized with the citizens' positive evaluations of separate actions of the power, while the power as a whole is evaluated negatively.
- The evaluations of the new power has changed their direction after the revolution: separate actions of the power are evaluated negatively, but the power as a whole – positively.
- This is a phenomenon of a manifestation of a trust to the power which established due to the will of the citizens at Maydan

Conclusion

- A peaceful character of the mass actions obtains an explanation due to a low level of a social tension at Maydan and a tendency towards its decrease in a society in December 2004 as a whole
- The lowest ST level was observed on the day when The Supreme Court made a decision about a recognition of falsifications, a recognition the tour as such which was not realized and holding of the recurrent voting of the second tour.
- Dynamic of ST and protest potential was the significant cause of psychological phenomena on Maydan: unexpected mass and peaceful character.
- Psychological content of the mass actions is a manifestation of a political nation's identity.

Thanks for your attention!

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