

SOCIAL TENSION BEFORE END DURING MASS POLITICAL ACTION

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SOCIAL TENSION BEFORE AND DURING MASS POLITICAL ACTIONS

- **Political context during president election 2004 in Ukraine;**
- **Social tension dynamics during last years;**
- **Protest potential dynamics;**
- **Diversity of protest behavior;**
- **Social tension on Maydan mass action;**
- **Citizens' evaluations of the power before and after orange revolution.**

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

Viktor

Yanukovich

Prime minister of Ukraine,
current power candidate

YA

Viktor

Yuschenko

candidate opposite the
current power

YU

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

YA

- **Economical results**
- **Regional roots**
Donbuss (mines 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 messages and daily conversations was the falsification of voting results in the second election round by current power. Opposite team calls people to take part at mass political actions and go to Maydan Nesalezhnosty in Kiev to express their mind**
- **Mass political actions, named 'orange revolution' was started at November, 22 and unexpectedly gathered together more than 2 billions participants on the next day**
- **It was mass action with peaceful character and it determined the result of president election by Law way (The Supreme Court confirmed that falsification have took place)**
- **After last voting some mass political protest actions were in the Donbuss region, they had reactive character**

PSYCHOLOGICAL PHENOMENON ON UKRAINIAN MASS ACTIONS

- Why so mass?
- Why so peaceful?

The purpose was – to analyse psychological aspect of mass behavior based on the many yeas applied monitoring investigations of the Institute of social and political psychology in

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

Social tension dynamics



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

Social tension as a concept (ST)

- ST is a response of a society (a community, a group) to the conditions of its vital activity which are real menace for social subjects' significant needs and purposes realization and even for their being, or are accepted as such ones. In the most general view ST is rightfully considered to be a *psychological state of a society which arises as a response to the extreme influences*.
- The **ST STRUCTURE** includes:
 - **O** - subjects' general discontent with a current situation taking place in a society;
 - **O1** - subjects' 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 discontent with the results of an extraneous influence on a situation,
 - **V** - subjects' discontent with the possibilities of their influence on a situation;
 - **i** - a level of a subject's internality causing a significance of his or her own influence on a situation;
 - **j** - a level of an extraneous influence on a situation attributed by a subject to these or those personified social forces.

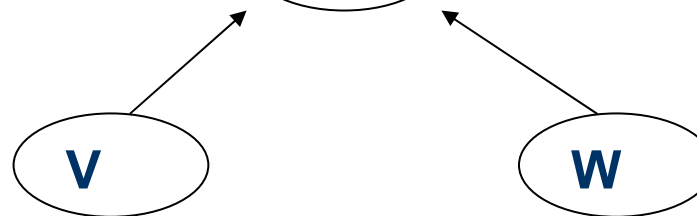
Model of Social tension

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

Evaluation



Influence



Significance



Measuring instrument: ST- questionnaire

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

Indexes of the ST model according to the results of the interrogation of workers from Donbuss 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 discontent with the possibilities of the subject's own influence on a situation (-2 : +2)	-0,07	-1,24
<i>i</i> - a level of a subject's internality (0 : 1)	0,57	0,40
<i>W</i> - a discontent with the results of an extraneous influence on a situation (-2 : +2)	0,58	-0,80
<i>j</i> - a level 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

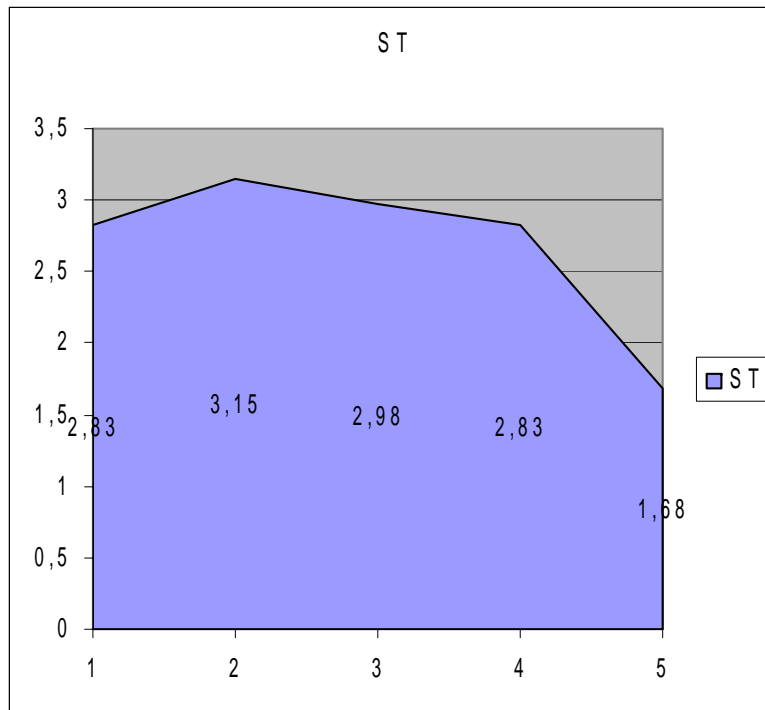
Social tension effect

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 which blocked needs and purposes realization.

ST in Ukraine during 2000 - 2004

Parameters of the model	2000	2001	2002	2003	October 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
<i>ST</i> – 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 dynamics from 2000 to 2004**

Protest potential dynamics

- One of the most principal factors making for the expansion of protest states in a society and causing inhabitants' protest behavior, 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 social tension and manifestation of a protest behavior is not always be traced. Sometimes the connection between them is mediated by a number of factors of the other origin, first of all, ideological and political character.
- 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' estimations of the statements, reflecting different aspects of their attitude to the protest forms of behavior

<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
People driven to despair today have 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 the results during the election 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 presidential elections 2004, 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 behavior 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.

Social tension on Maydan mass action

Parameters of the model	2.12.2004	7.12.2004	October '04
<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 subject's 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 (L.Kuchma) 1,6 (V.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 (L.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

ST dynamics during the mass action

- Satisfaction 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
- Satisfaction with an extraneous influence on the situation made by V.Yuzchenko (1.36 with the maximal value of the scale 2) showed the rate of the people's support of this candidate, who got the majority of voices after the recurrent voting and became a president of Ukraine.

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

- The evaluations of the 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 power have changed their direction after the revolution: separate actions of the power are evaluated negatively, but the power as a whole – positively.
- This was a phenomenon of a manifestation of a trust to the new power which established due to the will of the citizens at Maydan

MAIN RESULTS ST-MONITORING BEFORE END DURING MASS POLITICAL ACTION

- 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 election round as such which was not realized and holding of the recurrent voting of the second round.
- Dynamics 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 was a manifestation of a political nation's identity.

ST-MONITORING 2005

Parameters of the model	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
<i>O</i> - a general evaluation of an actual situation (-2: +2)	- 0.80	- 0.70	- 0.51	- 0.41	- 0.24	- 0.23
<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	0.40
<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	- 0.18
<i>V</i> - a content with the possibilities of the subject's own influence on a situation (-2 : +2)	- 0.92	- 0.86	- 0.84	- 0.88	- 0.62	- 0.71
<i>i</i> - a rate of a subject's internality (0:1)	0.52	0.55	0.56	0.57	0.57	0.60
<i>W</i> - a content with the results of an extraneous influence on a situation (- 2 : +2)	- 0.84	- 1.04	- 1.11	- 1.07	- 0.90	- 0.91
<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	0.82
<i>ST</i> – an integral index of ST level (-8 : 8)	2.83	3.15	2.98	2.83	1.68	2.11

RESULTS of ST-MONITORING IN NOVEMBER 2005

- For the first time during few last years the increasing of the ST level are observed. It caused by the changes of the separate parameters of ST model.
- In November 2005 the situation in a whole are evaluated by citizens as get worse.
- Also get worse the evaluation of the situation in the past - future aspect. Especially obvious are the decreasing of the citizens' hopes connecting with future which become pessimistic.
- Satisfaction both from the possibilities of own influence on a situation and with the results of extraneous influence decreased.

CONCLUSION

- The ST model which was used in our monitoring investigation is the adequate instrument for measurement of social tension level. It allows to differentiate the ST levels in different regions of a country and observe its dynamics. We think that model is suitable not only for Ukraine as a country that are transformed but for another ones because the social problems with the consequences of raising ST exist in each society.

Thanks for your attention!

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