

Protests, concessions and repressions in Ukraine: monitoring results of 2013

Prepared by [Centre for Society Research](#)
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Summary

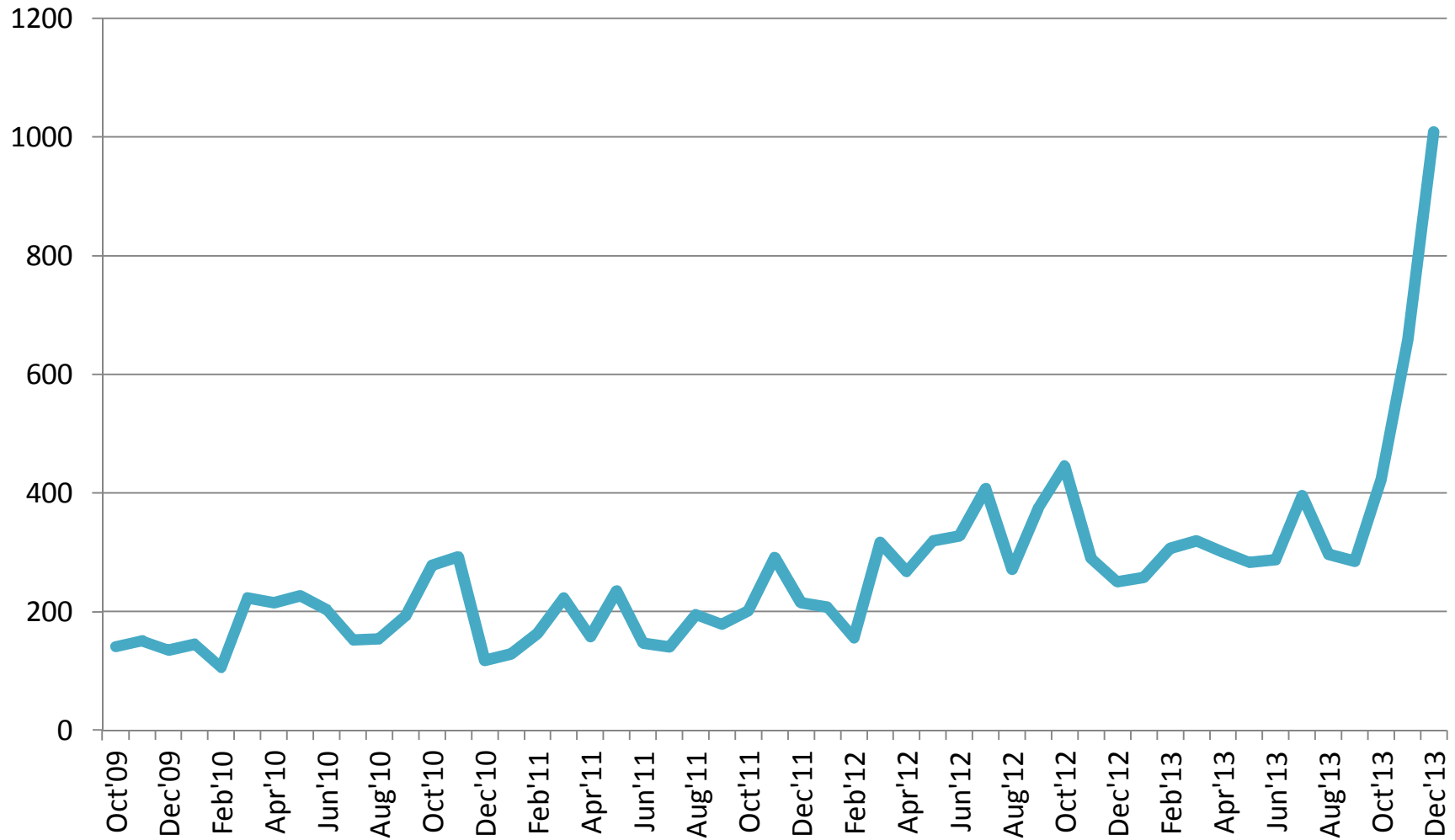
The report presents the new results of [systematic research of protests, repressions and concessions in Ukraine](#) based on the monitoring of more than 190 national, regional and activist web-media in 2013. The analyzed data include all (regardless of the issue and size) actual protest events that took place in Ukraine, their form, participants, targets, demands, location and time.

There is a special focus on the regional distribution of the protests, as well as on the socioeconomic (including labor) protests forgotten during Maidan. Socioeconomic protests continued to grow and, as in previous years, in virtually all regions of Ukraine they remained the most common type of protests that brought people to the streets.

THE NUMBER AND THE SIZE OF PROTESTS



The number of protests monthly October 2009 – December 2013



The reported number of protesters

	2010		2011		2012		2013	
<10	161	7%	227	10%	471	13%	516	11%
<100	510	22%	789	35%	1152	32%	1979	41%
<1000	397	17%	414	18%	460	13%	810	17%
<10000	136	6%	66	3%	94	3%	215	4%
<100000	17	1%	2	0%	4	0%	29	1%
>100000	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	5	0%
Unknown	1084	47%	779	34%	1455	40%	1268	26%
Total	2305	100%	2277	100%	3636	100%	4822	100%

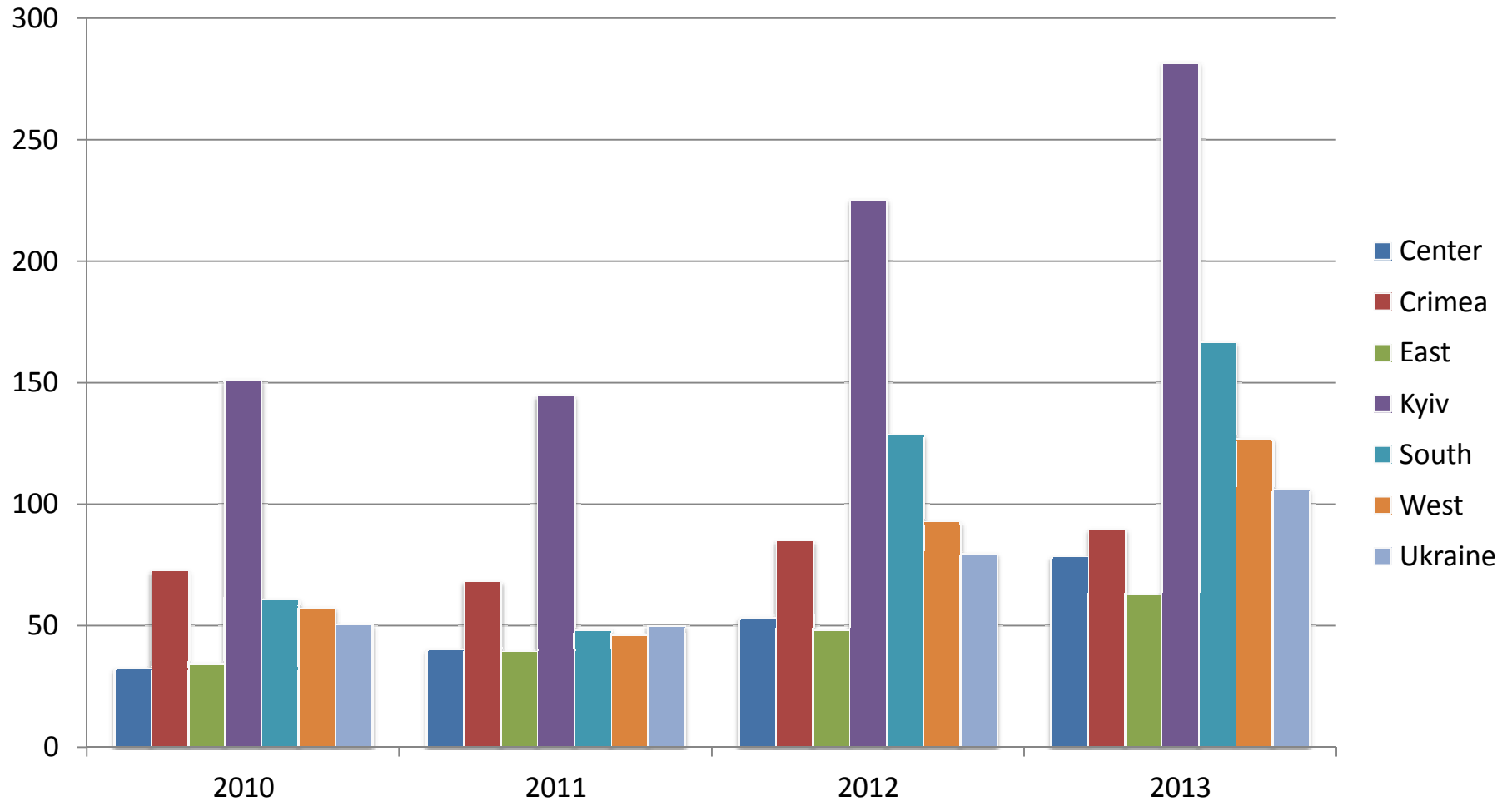
REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTS

Regional distribution of protests

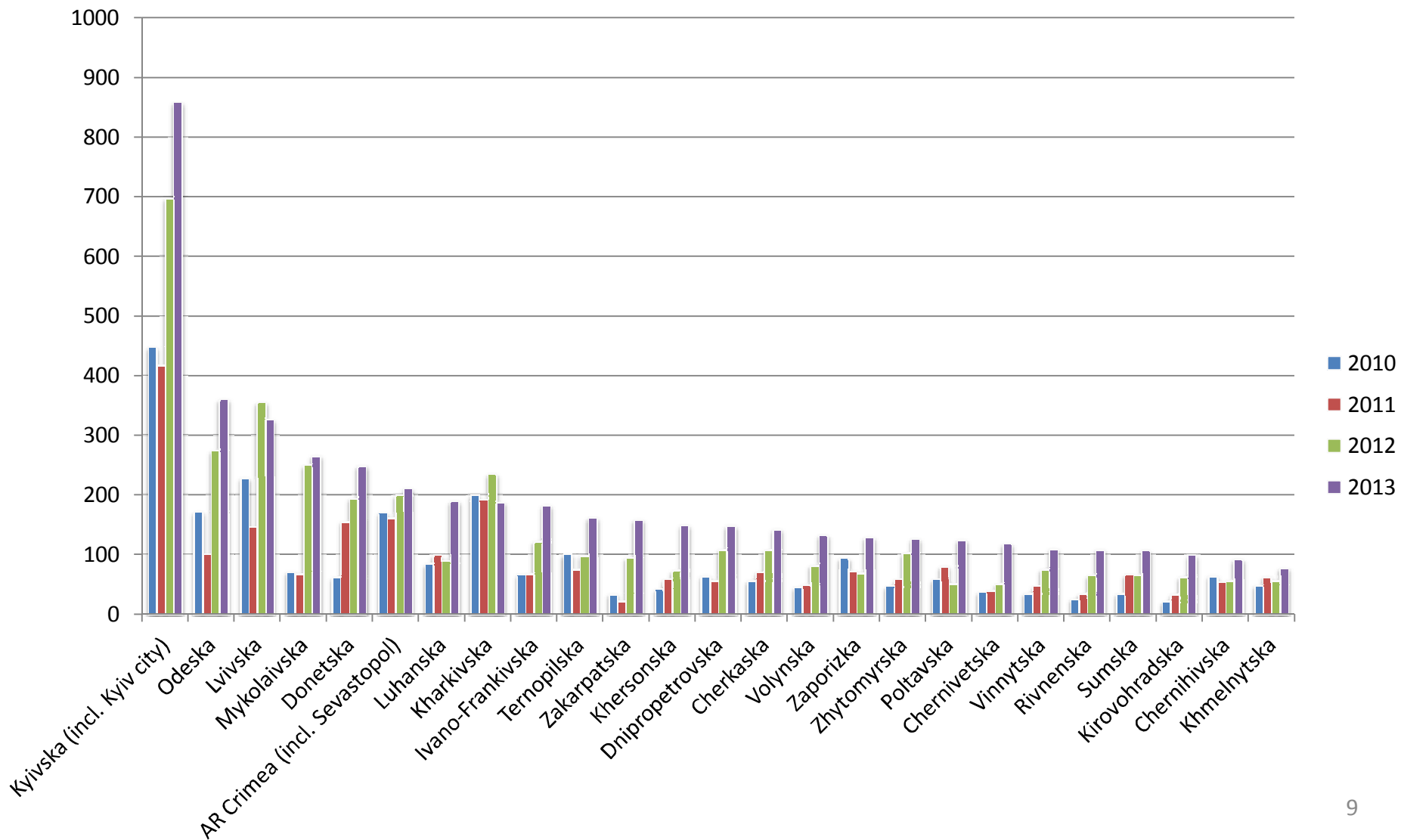
	2010		2011		2012		2013		2013 before Maidan (until 20.11)		2013 after Maidan (from 21.11)	
Centre	389	17%	480	21%	633	17%	929	19%	637	19%	292	21%
Crimea	170	7%	160	7%	199	5%	211	4%	161	5%	50	4%
East	503	22%	573	25%	696	19%	903	19%	683	20%	220	16%
Kyiv	422	18%	406	18%	638	18%	805	17%	582	17%	223	16%
South	284	12%	225	10%	597	16%	774	16%	621	18%	153	11%
West	534	23%	430	19%	867	24%	1187	25%	735	21%	452	33%
Total	2302*	100%	2274	100%	3630	100%	4809	100%	3419	100%	1390	100%

* The “nationwide” events (i.e., those that were impossible to locate in a particular settlement) are not included in the regional distribution

The number of protests per 1 million of de facto population in regions



The number of protests in the regions of Ukraine



THE PROTEST ISSUES FROM A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Protest issues

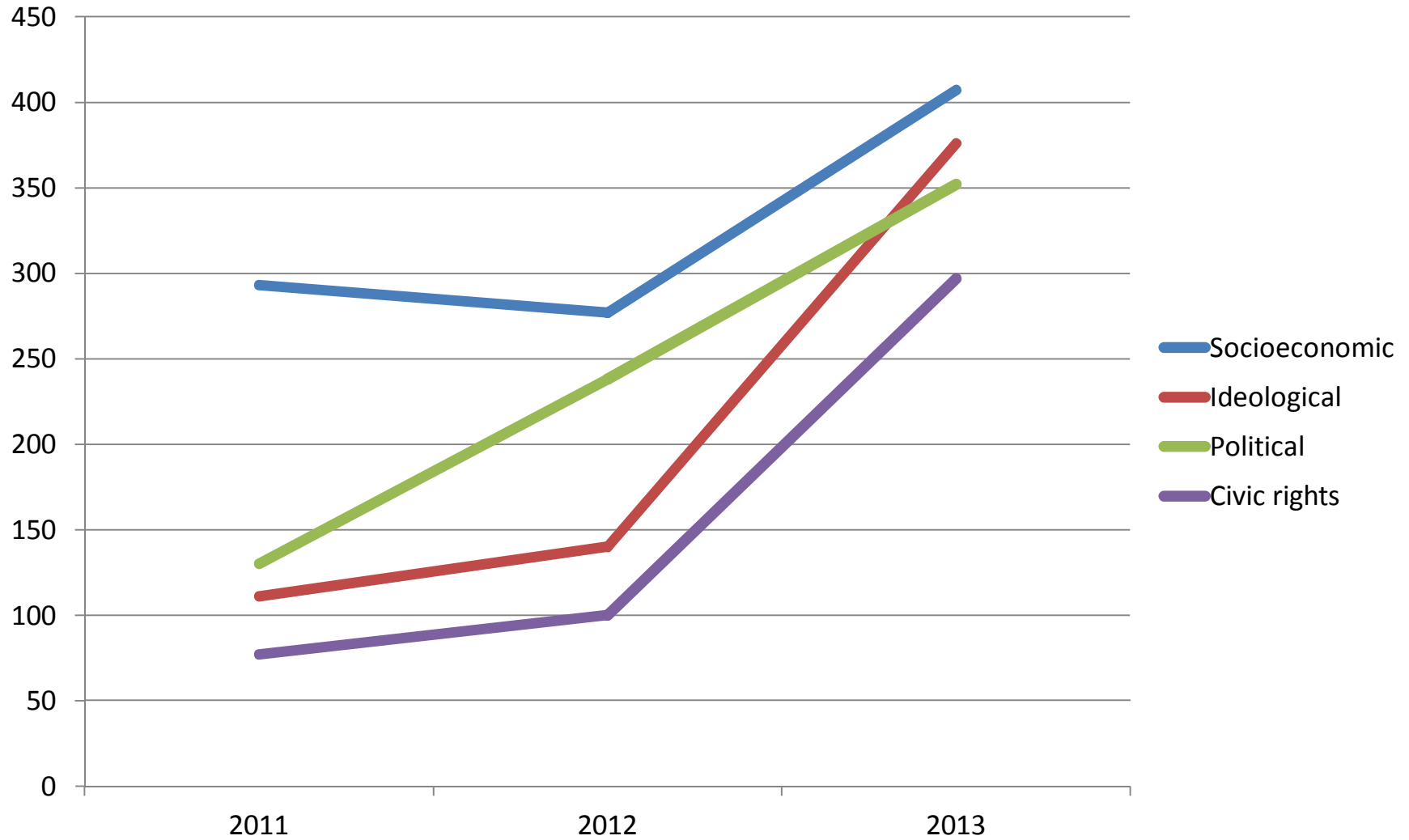
	2011		2012		2013		2013 before Maidan (until 20.11)		2013 after Maidan (from 21.11)	
Socioeconomic	1374	60%	1546	43%	2062	43%	1926	56%	136	10%
Ideological	558	25%	858	24%	1740	36%	871	25%	869	62%
Political	564	25%	1249	34%	1727	36%	924	27%	803	58%
Civic rights	391	17%	617	17%	1644	34%	926	27%	718	52%
	2277		3636		4822		3428		1394	

The number of participants in the protests by issues

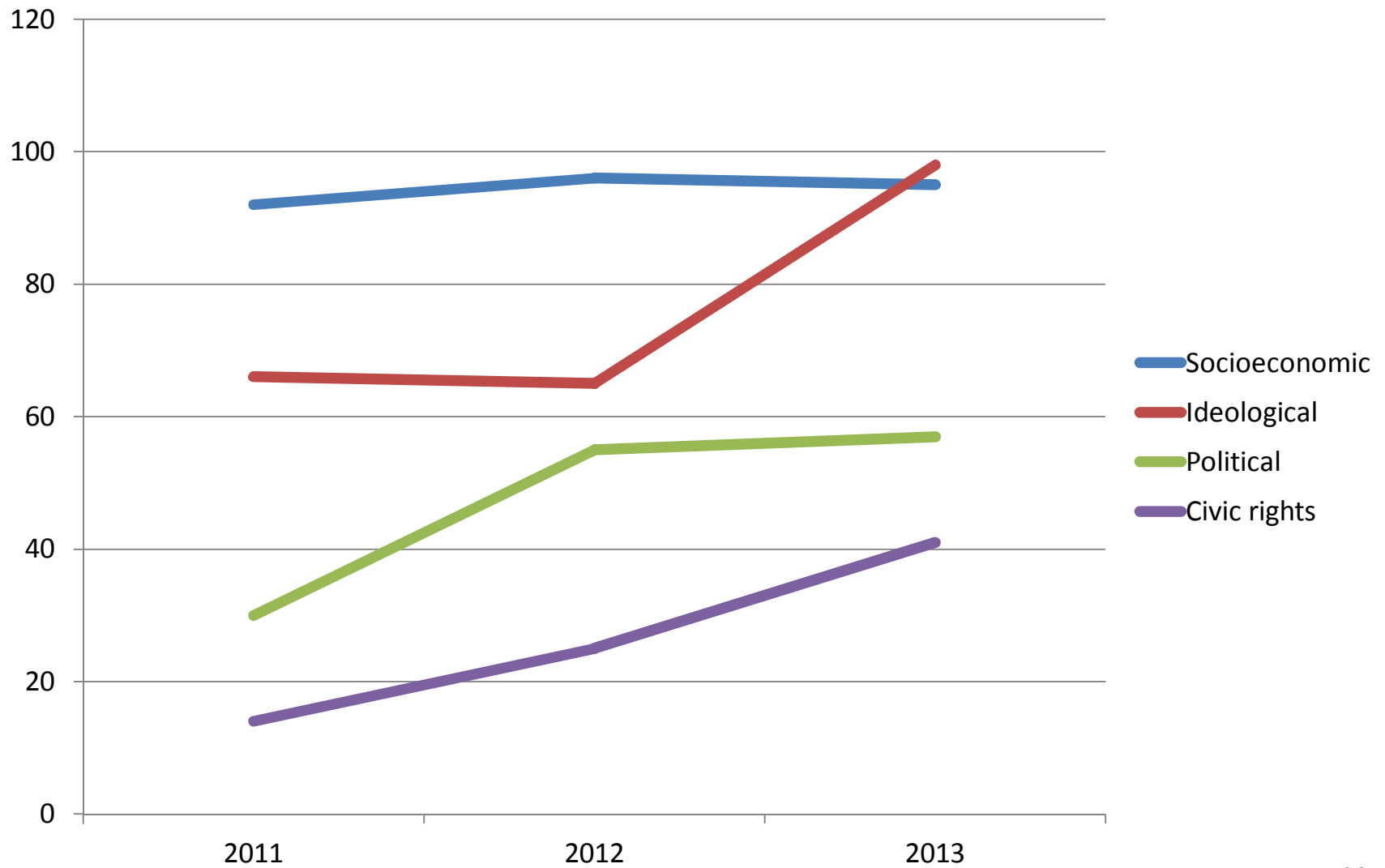
Size	Socioeconomic		Ideological		Political		Civic rights		All protests	
	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013
<10	10%	9%	12%	9%	14%	10%	17%	12%	13%	11%
<100	40%	49%	32%	32%	20%	34%	34%	42%	32%	41%
<1000	15%	16%	15%	21%	13%	20%	12%	17%	13%	17%
<10000	1%	2%	4%	9%	5%	10%	2%	7%	3%	5%
Unknown	34%	24%	37%	28%	48%	26%	37%	23%	40%	26%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	1546	2062	858	1740	1249	1727	617	1644	3636	4822



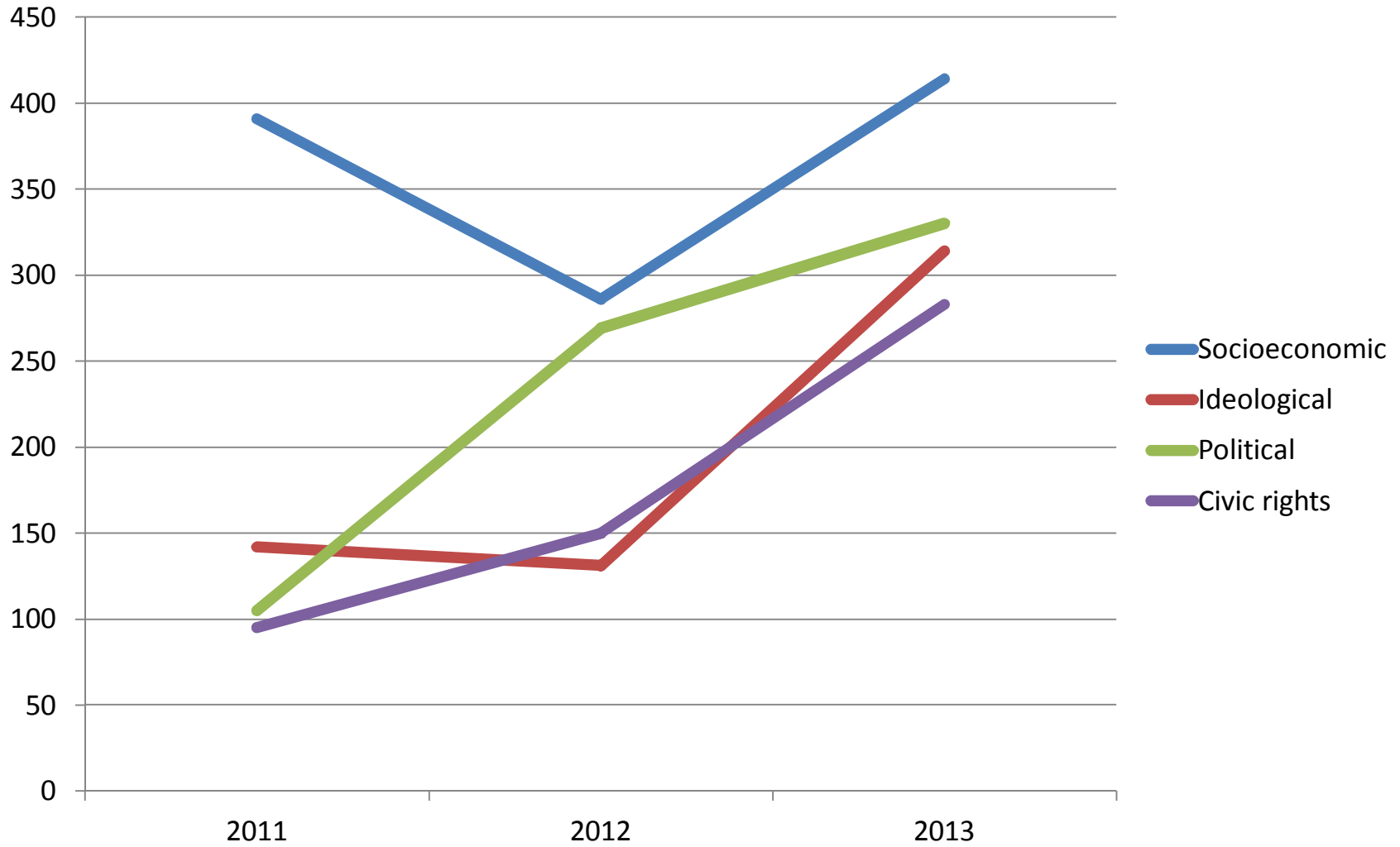
Protest issues in the regions: Center



Protest issues in the regions: Crimea

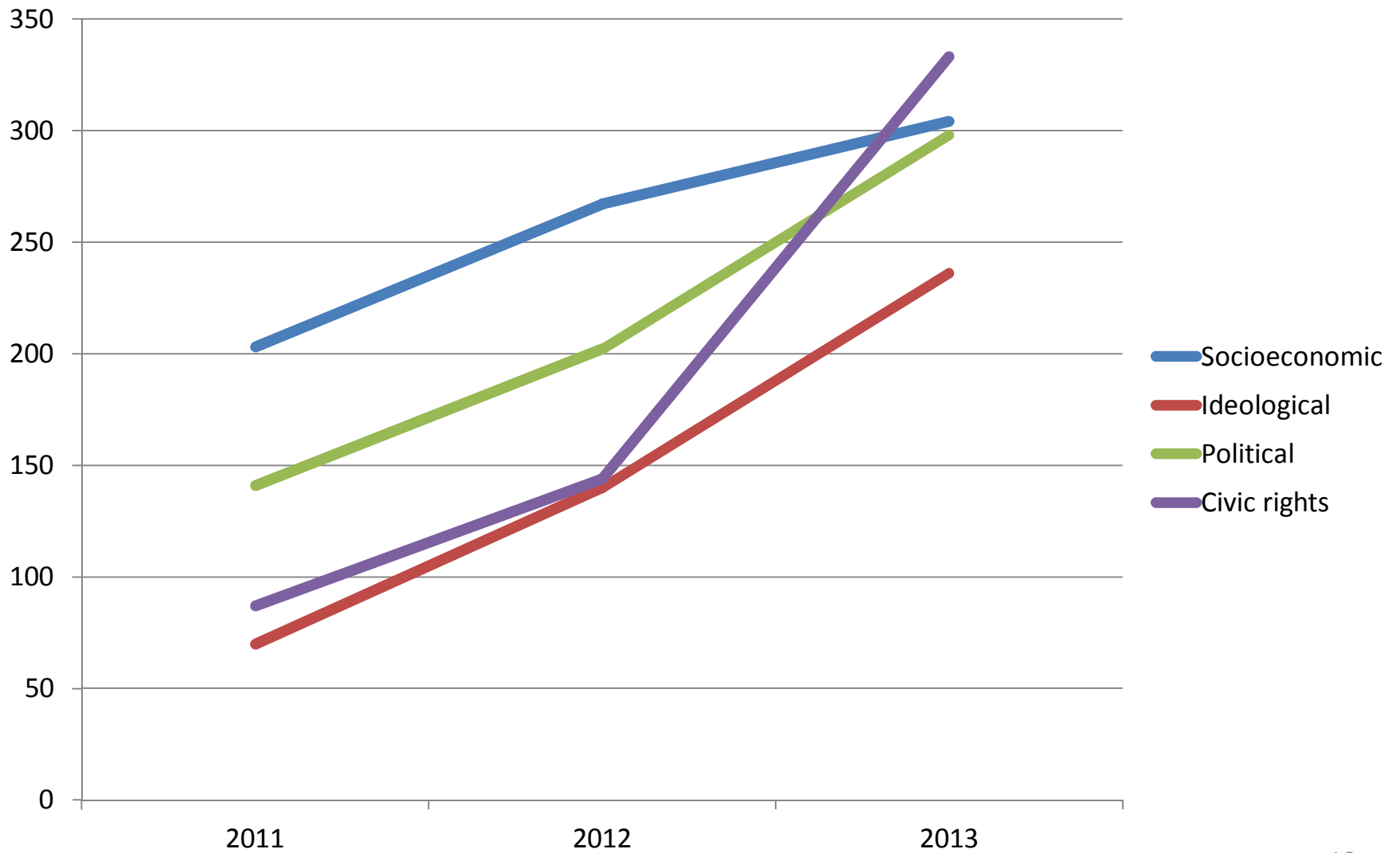


Protest issues in the regions: East



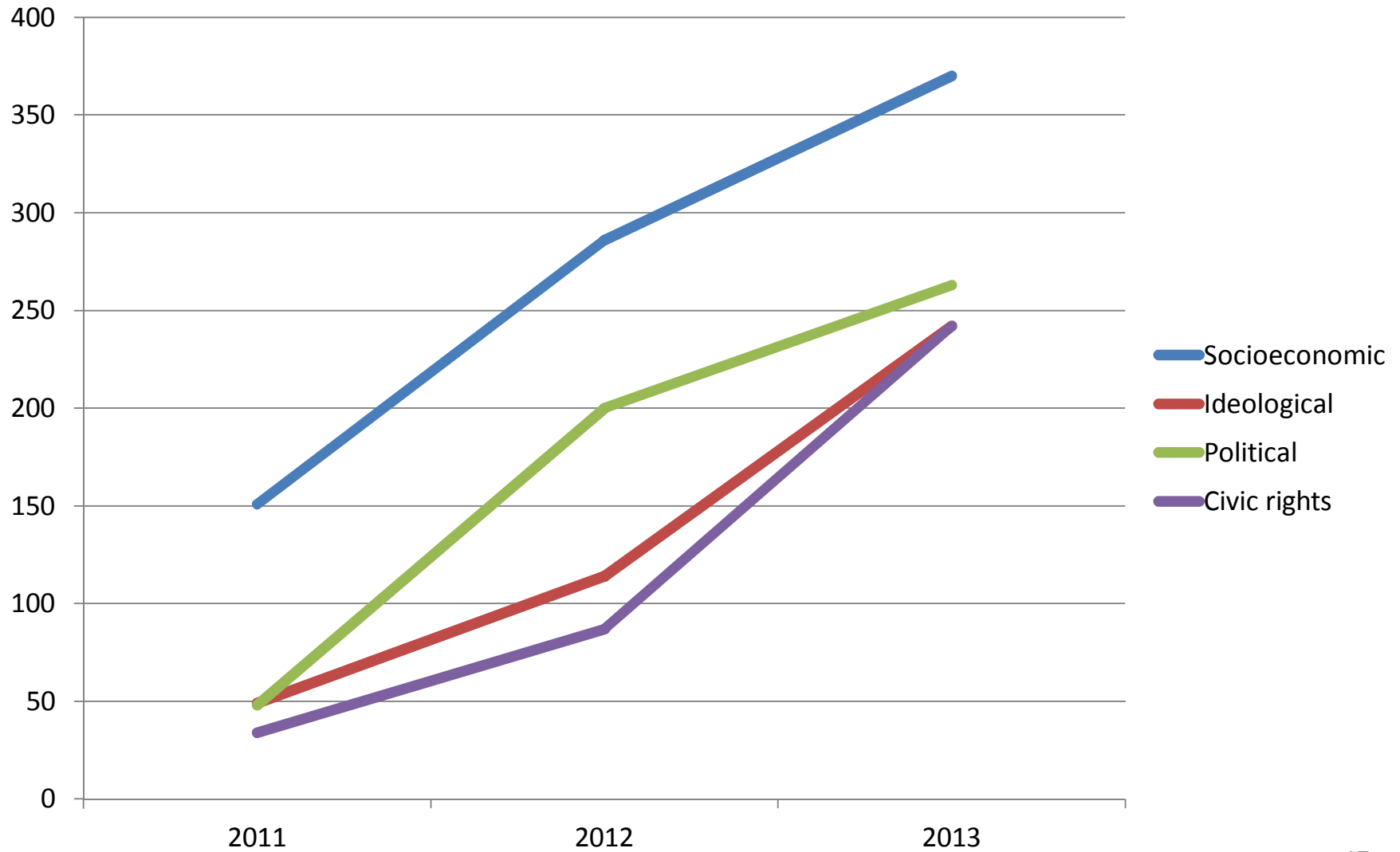


Protest issues in the regions: Kyiv



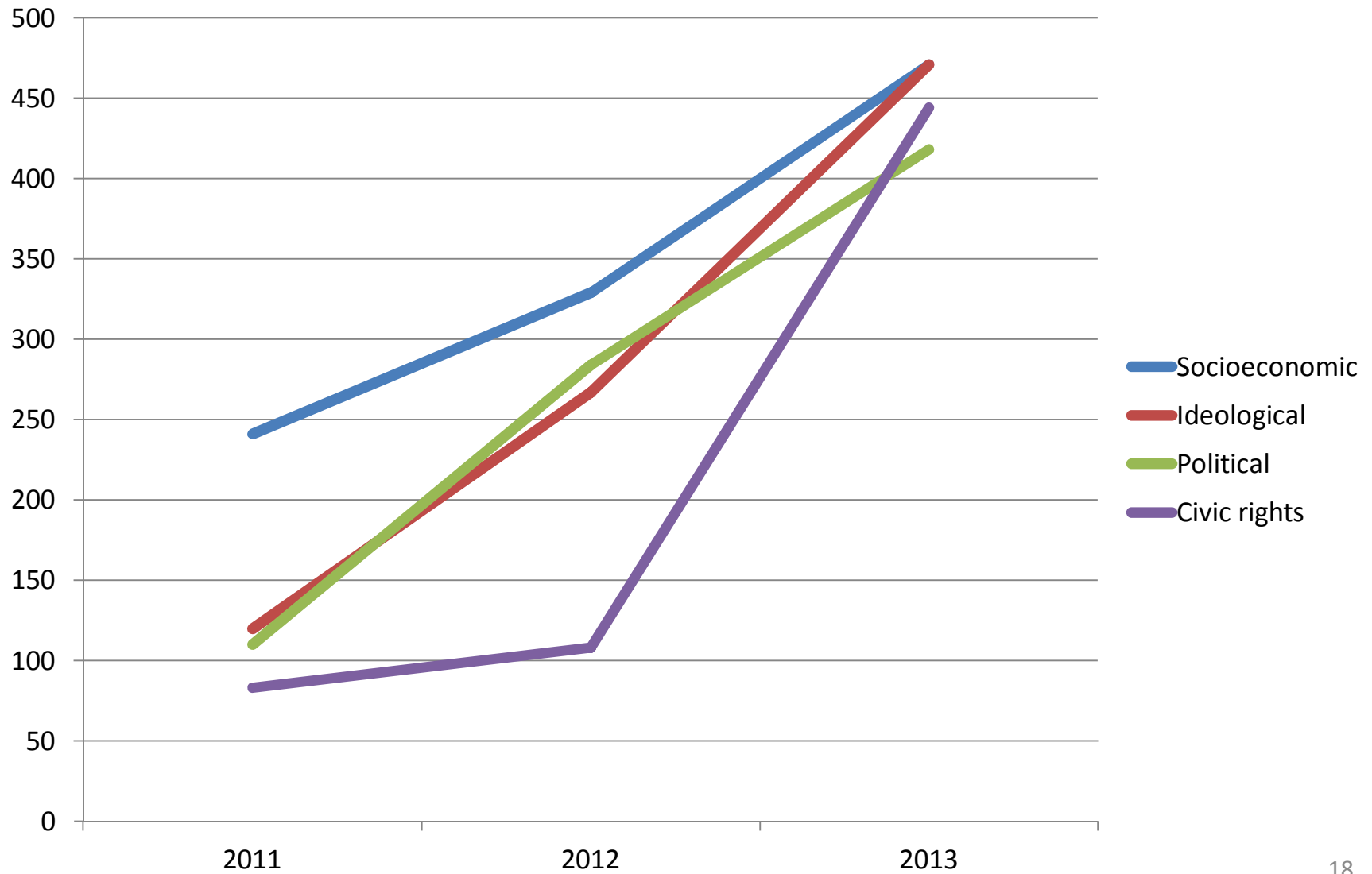


Protest issues in the regions: South





Protest issues in the regions: West



TOP-5 socioeconomic problems in 2013 most frequently raised by protests

Ukraine	Center	Crimea	East	Kyiv	South	West
Development projects	Public utilities	Development projects	Environment	Development projects	Development projects	Public utilities
Public utilities	Development projects	Land	Public utilities	Labor rights	Public utilities	Development projects
Environment	Environment	Public utilities	Unpaid wages	Unpaid wages	Small business rights	Environment
Wage arrears	Unpaid wages	Housing rights	Development projects	Public utilities	Unpaid wages	Land
Small business rights	Closing enterprises	Unpaid wages	Welfare	Financial fraud	Financial fraud	Insufficient funding

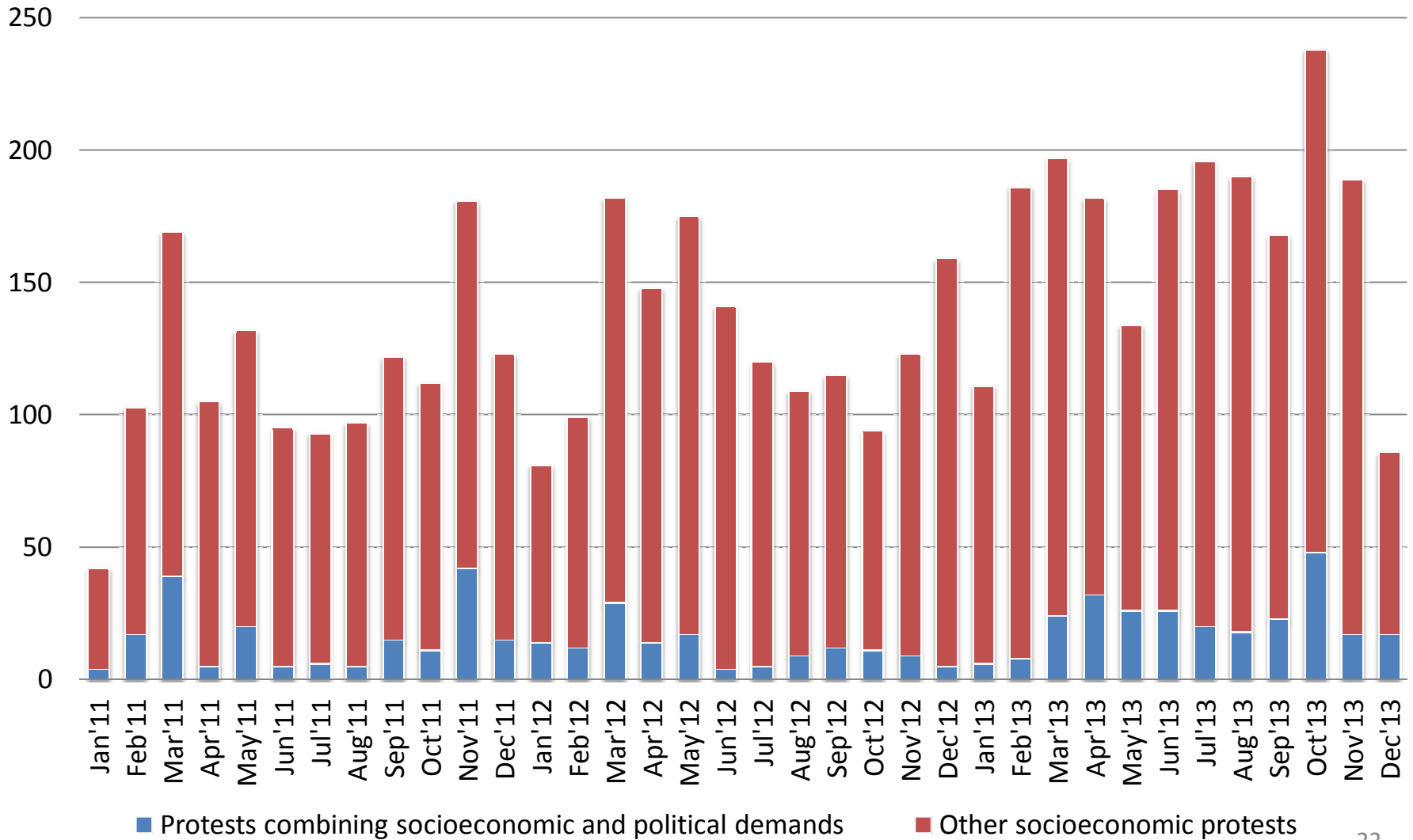
THE POLITICIZATION OF SOCIOECONOMIC PROTESTS

Combining protest issues

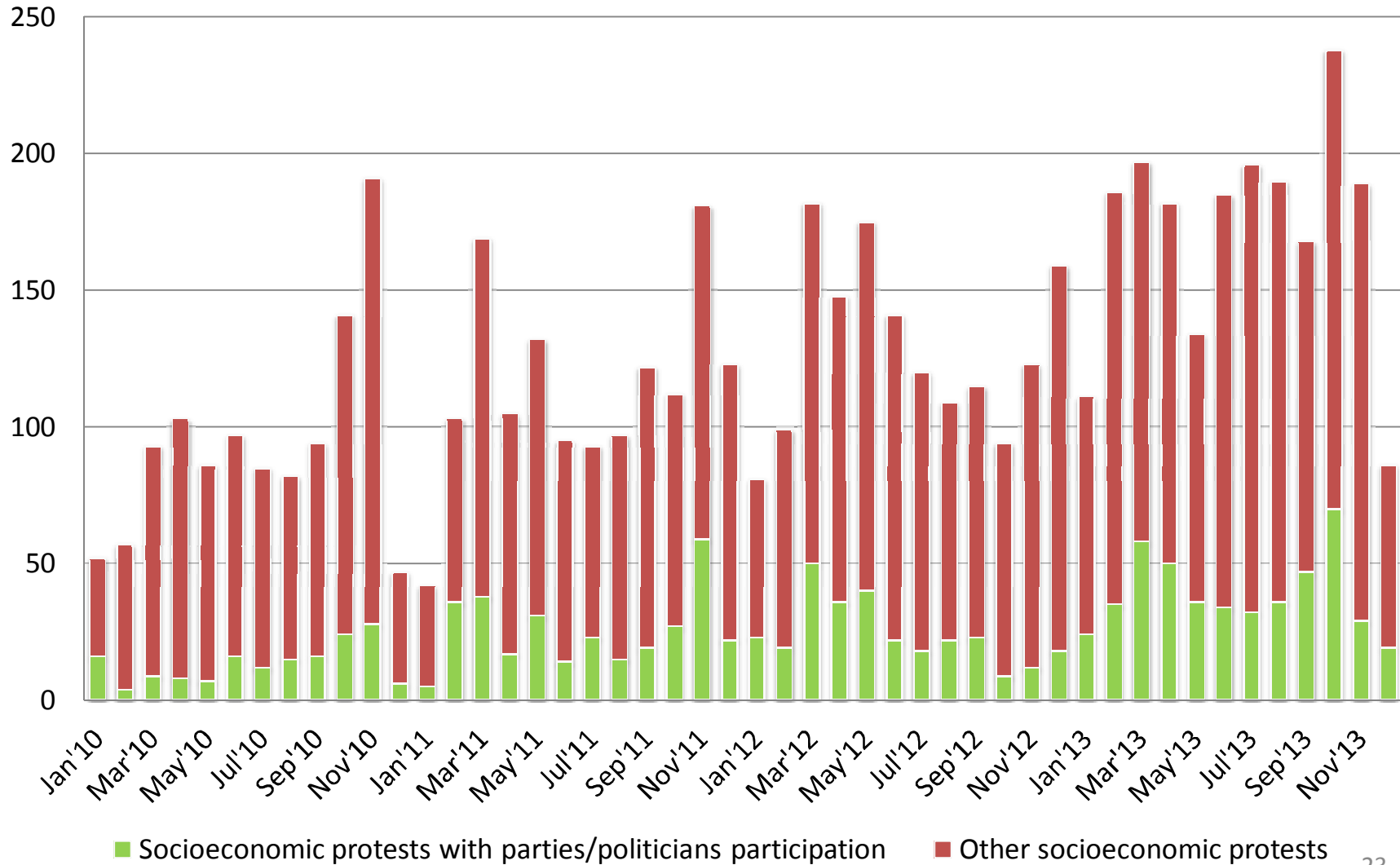
2012	Socioeconomic	Ideological	Political	Civic rights
Socioeconomic	83%*	8%	11%	17%
Ideological	4%	73%*	14%	6%
Political	9%	21%	66%*	28%
CivilRights	7%	4%	14%	55%*
N	1546	858	1249	617
2013	Socioeconomic	Ideological	Political	Civic rights
Socioeconomic	69%*	9%	15%	18%
Ideological	8%	39%*	49%	30%
Political	13%	48%	18%*	47%
Civic rights	15%	28%	44%	32%*
N	2062	1740	1727	1644

*Not combined with any other issue type

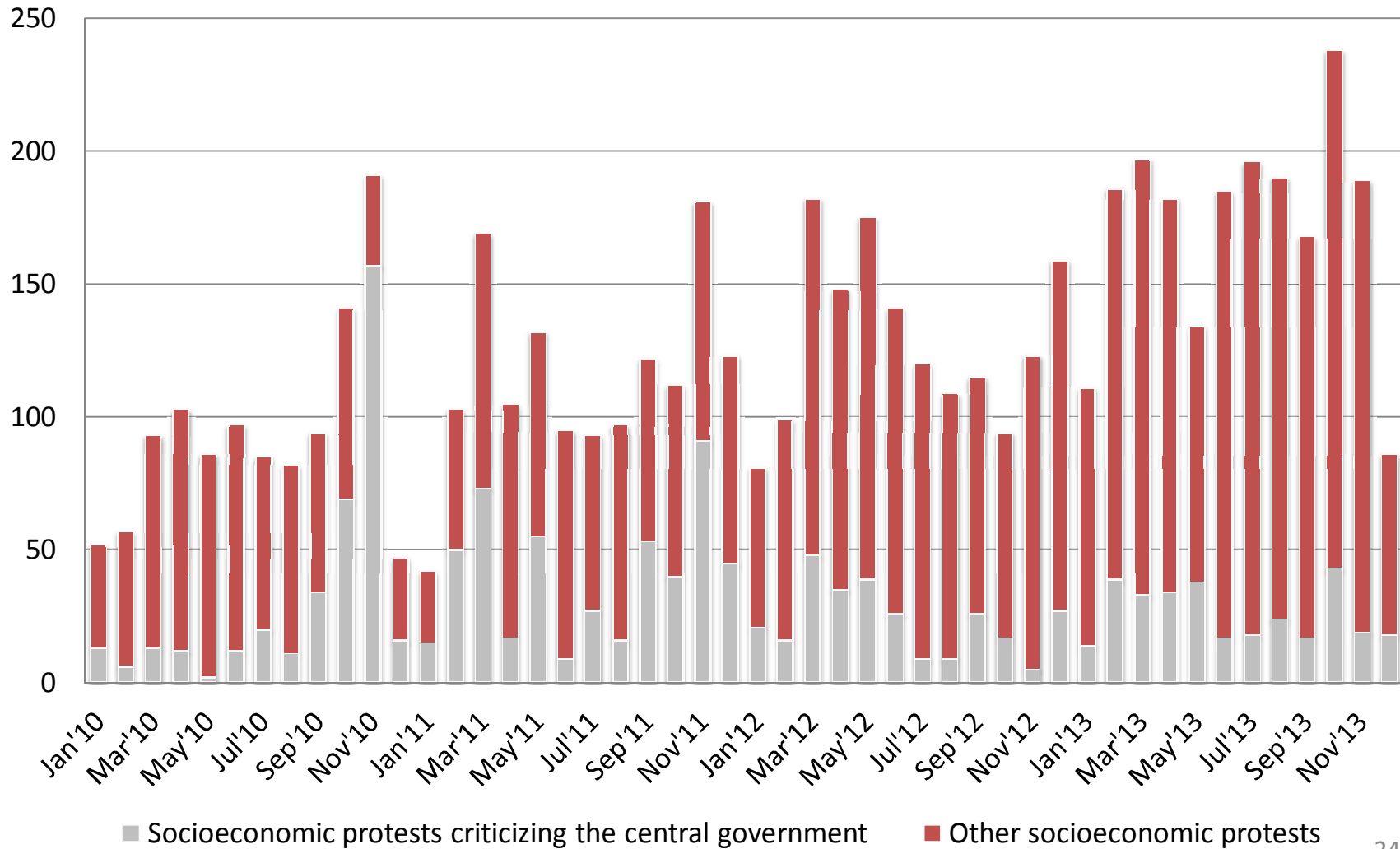
Combining socioeconomic and political issues, 2011-2013



Participation of political parties in socioeconomic protests, 2010-2013

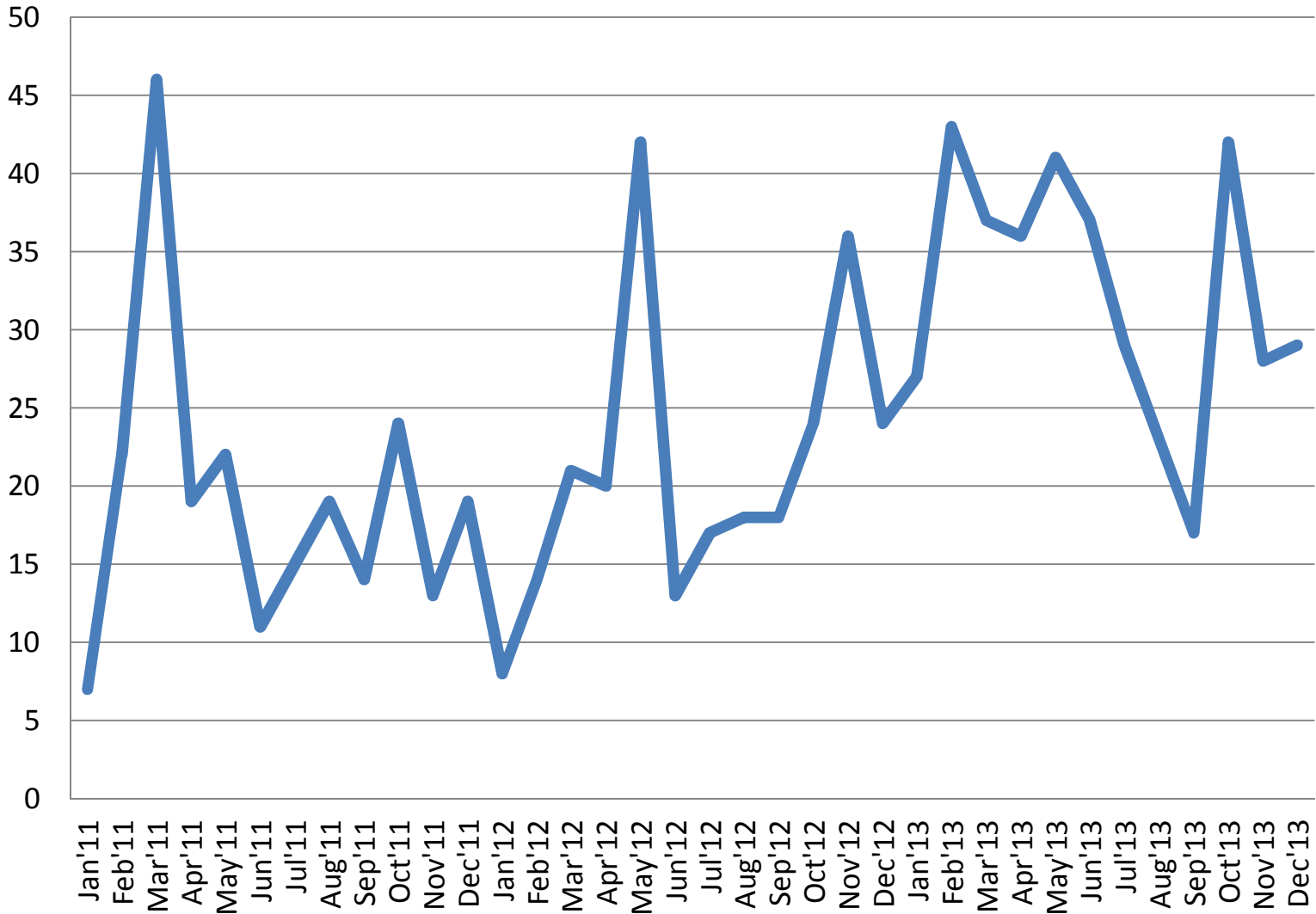


Socioeconomic protests criticizing central government authorities, 2010-2013



PROTESTS IN DEFENSE OF LABOR RIGHTS

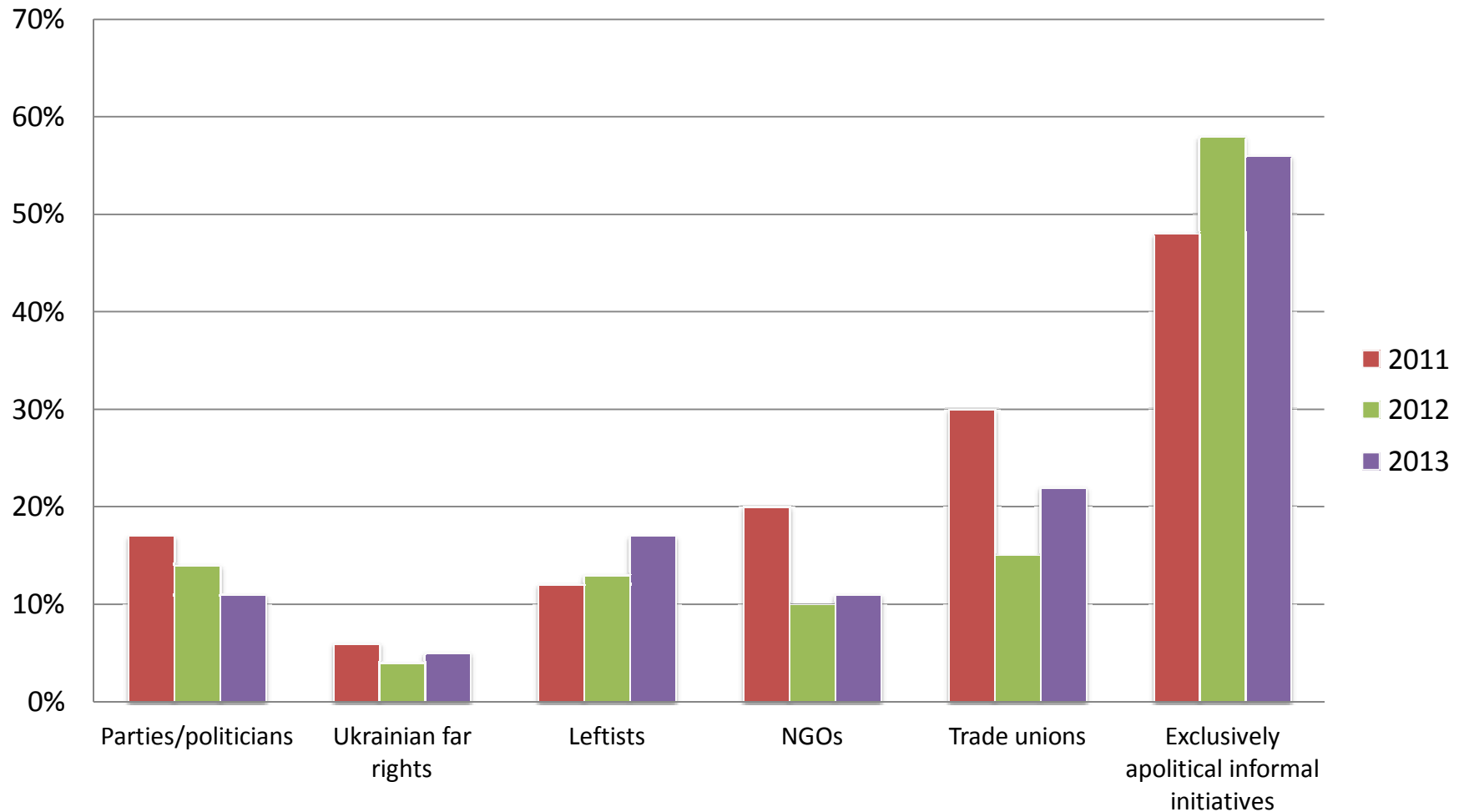
The number of protests in defense of labor rights



The issues of the protests in defense of labor rights

Issues	Specific topics	2011	2012	2013
Socioeconomic	Unpaid wages	35%	47%	45%
	Labor rights	34%	28%	30%
	Closing enterprises	15%	13%	19%
	Hostile takeover (raids)	7%	7%	11%
	Unemployment	N.A.	N.A.	9%
	For or against administration	N.A.	7%	9%
	Education	13%	2%	5%
	Public health	3%	2%	4%
	Insufficient funding	5%	10%	4%
	Wage increase	16%	6%	4%
Political	Other	32%	18%	24%
	Against central government, local authorities and its representatives	9%	4%	11%
	Other	0%	2%	1%
Civic rights		7%	5%	11%
Ideological		7%	2%	8%
N		231	255	389

Participants of protests in defense of labor rights



PROTEST PARTICIPANTS, TACTICS AND TARGETS

Participants of protests in 2013

	Socioeconomic	Ideological	Political	Civic rights	In all protests
Parties/politicians	23%	48%	55%	41%	36%
NGOs	16%	25%	18%	19%	19%
Exclusively apolitical informal initiatives	52%	26%	26%	38%	39%
Groups of unknowns	1%	7%	5%	1%	4%
Ukrainian far rights	11%	30%	32%	27%	21%
Russian nationalists	1%	5%	3%	1%	2%
N	2062	1740	1727	1644	4822
All protests	43%	36%	36%	34%	

Tactics by the protest issues in 2013

	Socioeconomic	Ideological	Political	Civic rights	All protests
Conventional	71%	80%	79%	82%	75%
Confrontational	24%	11%	14%	16%	18%
Violent	4%	9%	7%	3%	7%
N	2062	1740	1727	1644	4822

Protest tactics

	2010		2011		2012		2013	
Conventional	1807	78%	1865	82%	2632	72%	3619	75%
Confrontational	343	15%	321	14%	652	18%	877	18%
Violent	155	7%	91	4%	352	10%	326	7%
Total	2305	100%	2277	100%	3636	100%	4822	100%

Target-addressees in 2013

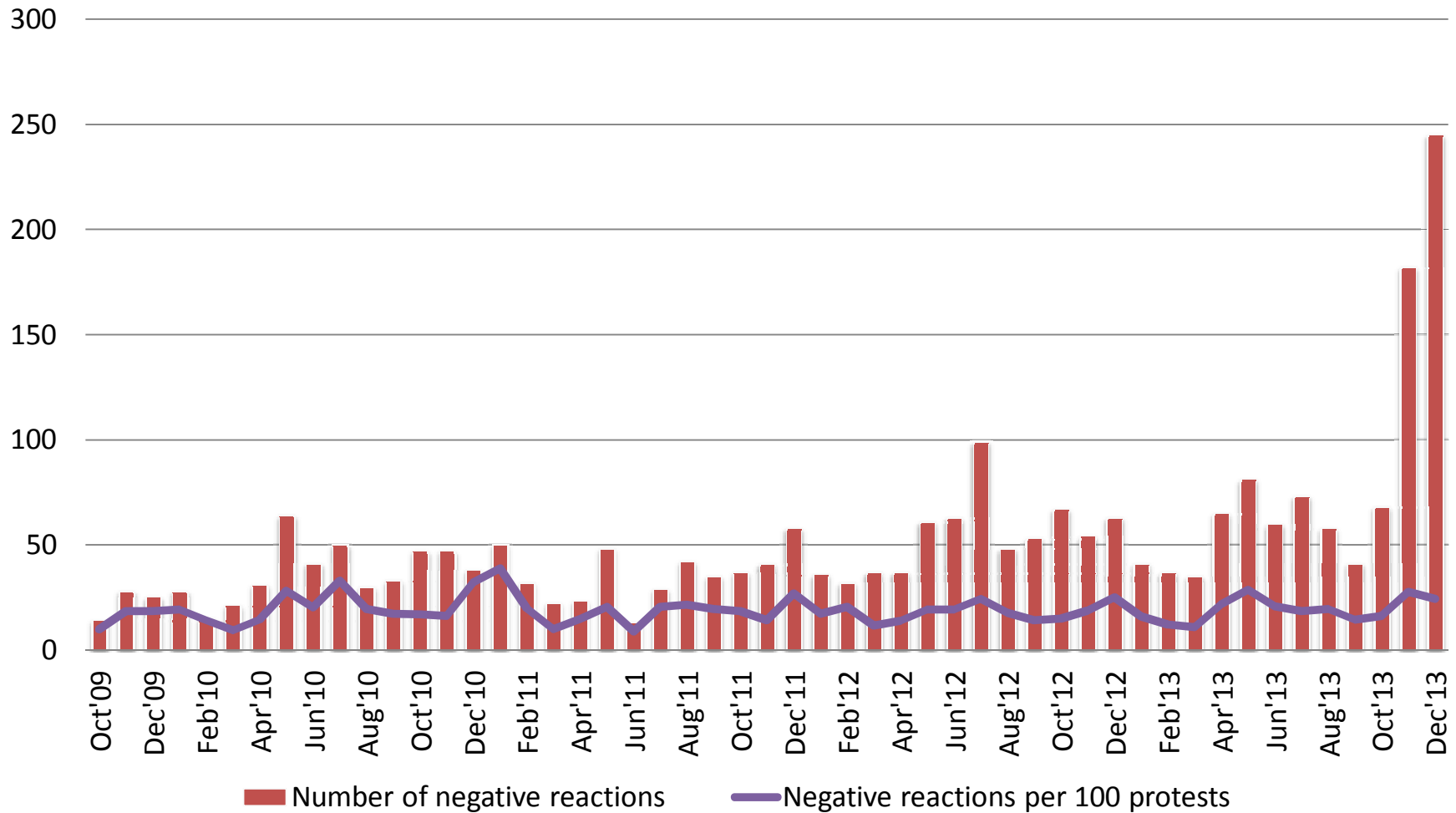
	Socioeconomic		Ideological		Political		Civic rights		All protests	
Central government	319	36%	451	51%	347	39%	252	28%	893	19%
Local authorities	1070	73%	262	18%	381	26%	377	26%	1471	31%
Private enterprises	260	96%	11	4%	12	4%	19	7%	270	6%
State/municipal enterprises	134	94%	5	3%	9	6%	29	20%	143	3%
Law enforcement	180	31%	55	9%	164	28%	465	80%	580	12%
Courts	67	34%	19	10%	43	22%	131	67%	196	4%
All protests	2062	43%	1740	36%	1727	36%	1644	34%	4822	

Targets criticized in 2013

	Socioeconomic		Ideological		Political		Civic rights		All protests	
Central government	314	22%	819	58%	896	63%	691	49%	1421	29%
Local authorities	822	76%	155	14%	321	30%	297	27%	1084	22%
Private enterprises	735	95%	40	5%	53	7%	75	10%	775	16%
State/municipal enterprises	192	93%	9	4%	14	7%	48	23%	206	4%
Law enforcement	131	17%	193	24%	327	41%	727	92%	791	16%
Courts	35	23%	11	7%	35	23%	117	79%	149	3%
Parties/politicians	96	16%	284	47%	513	86%	135	23%	599	12%
All protests	2062	43%	1740	36%	1727	36%	1644	34%	4822	

NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE REACTIONS TO THE PROTESTS

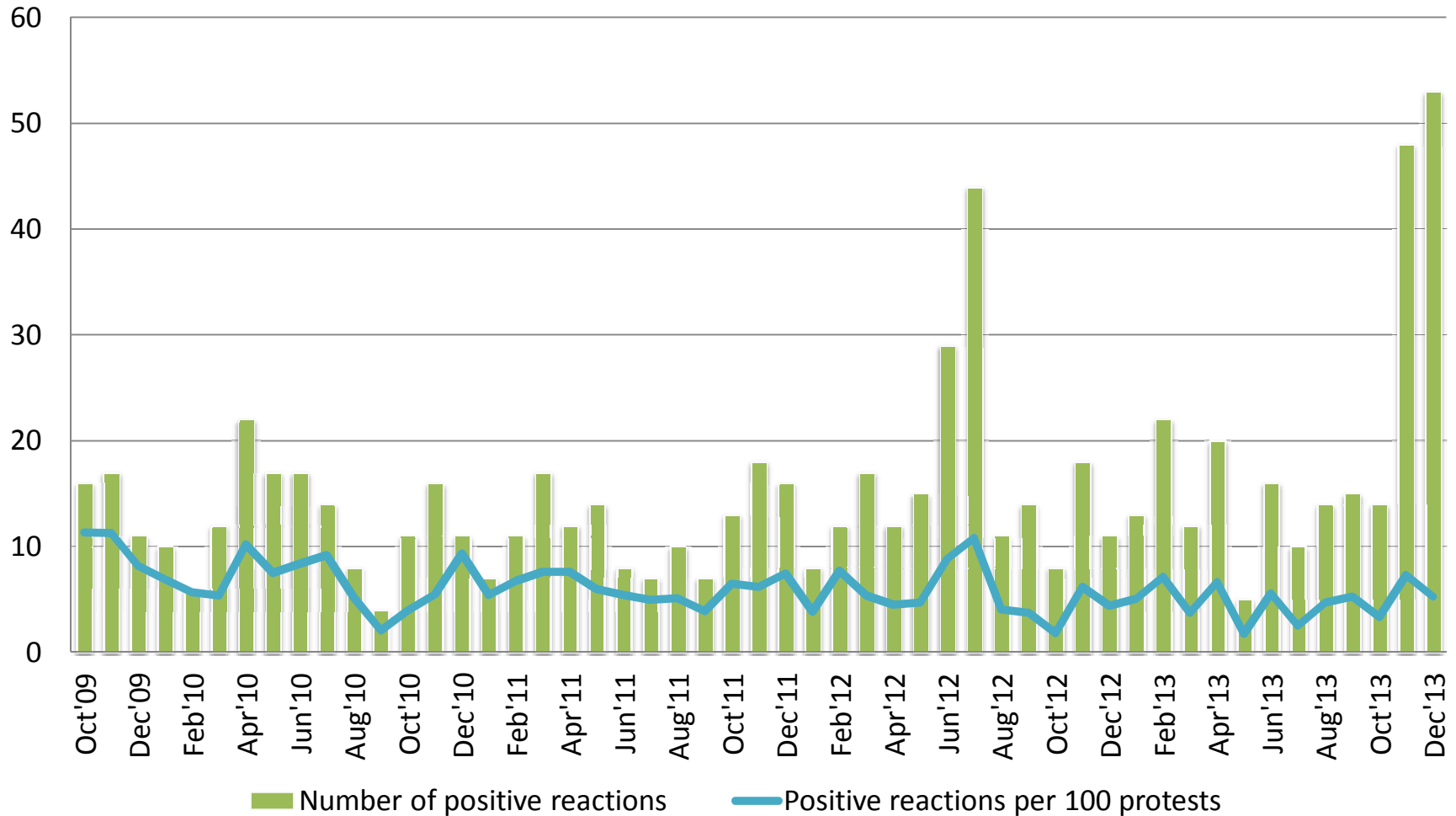
Negative reactions to the protests October 2009 – December 2013



Negative reactions to the protests by protest issues

	Negative reactions			Negative reactions per 100 protests		
	2011	2012	2013	2011	2012	2013
Socioeconomic	188	227	236	14	15	11
Ideological	162	165	471	29	19	27
Political	116	237	488	21	19	28
Civic rights	48	96	368	12	16	22
	430	650	986	19	18	20

Positive reactions to the protests October 2009 – December 2013



Positive reactions to the protests by protest issues

	Positive reactions			Positive reactions per 100 protests		
	2011	2012	2013	2011	2012	2013
Socioeconomic	116	134	148	8	9	7
Ideological	19	37	53	3	4	3
Political	4	12	40	1	1	2
Civic rights	7	31	71	2	5	4
	138	199	242	6	5	5

CODING METHODOLOGY AND EVENTS TYPOLOGY

Coding methodology

Monitoring sources

In 2013 the Center for Society Research team coded protests, repressions and concessions based on the monitoring of daily news of more than 190 national, regional and activist websites (more than 100 in 2010, more than 150 in 2011, more than 180 in 2012).

The full description of the project methodology, coding scheme and the list of monitoring sources is available on the Centre for Society Research website, as well as the databases of coded events and full-text reports (<http://www.cedos.org.ua/protests>).

General principles of coding

The basic unit of coding – *protest event* – is defined by the following criteria:

- 1) the presence of political or social demands or criticism;
- 2) it should be an action (i.e. it is not purely verbal) of public character;
- 3) it is made by a group of people or one person that are not part of the central government;
- 4) the settlement on the territory of Ukraine where the event took place and at least the approximate date of the event (up to a month) are known.

In addition to the protests the following types of events are included in the database:

- Positive reactions to the events (concessions) – practical actions aimed to fully or partially satisfy the demands of the protestors. Promises to satisfy the demands are not included, but official orders, decrees, commands aimed to satisfy protestor's demands, regardless of whether they were eventually completed or not are included.
- Negative reactions to the protests (repressions) – practical actions aimed to prevent or to suppress protest actions, pressure on the protestors, both physical and legal, by the state or non-government organizations-objects of a protest.
- Other repressions (systematic coding started from July 28, 2014) – practical actions of the government or private companies aimed to prevent or suppress critical or opposing sociopolitical activity which does not fit the definition of the protest event.

Every event is coded separately, even if it is connected to the previous one except for some extremely similar typical sequences of events. Only those events are coded which *have already happened* according to mass media reports. However, *unsuccessful attempts of protest events* which were prevented by law-enforcement bodies are coded. The protest activities which were canceled by protestors because of a court order are not included into the database. A multi-day event is considered to be a single event regardless of its duration.

Events typology

The regions of Ukraine are defined as follows:

Center: Zhytomyrska, Kyivska, Chernihivska, Sumska, Vinnytska, Cherkaska, Kirovohradska, Poltavska oblasts;

Crimea: Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol;

East: Kharkivska, Donetska, Luhanska, Dnipropetrovska, Zaporizka oblasts;

Kyiv: the city of Kyiv;

South: Odeska, Mykolaivska, Khersonska oblasts;

West: Volynska, Rivnenska, Lvivska, Ternopilska, Ivano-Frankivska, Chernivetska, Zakarpatska.

By the **issue** we divide the events (protests, repressions and concessions) into:

political – protests against or for certain politicians / political parties or the government as a whole, including protests during election campaigns supporting a particular candidate;

ideological – historic and ideological problems, mainly connected to the regional division in Ukraine: Ukrainian and Russian nationalisms, treatment of the USSR, OUN-UPA and other problems related to the World War II, matters of location of the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol, conflicts related to the schism in Ukrainian Orthodox Church, etc;

socioeconomic – protests around socioeconomic matters; more often conflicts around development projects, workers' protests (primarily due to unpaid wages), housing rights (such as protests against eviction from dormitories), environmental problems, public utilities, public transport, public health, education and others;

civic rights – protection of civic rights and freedoms (particularly, freedom of speech), protests against police abuse, illegal actions of public servants, corruption etc.

Starting from 2011 we coded up to three protest issues for each event, so the sum can exceed 100%.

Protests in defense of labor rights are defined as protests in defense of labor rights and protests of working collectives in defense of their own interests. They do not include protests of working collectives that act just in defense of an owner or the head of an enterprise.

Events typology: continued

By the **tactics** we divide protests into three categories:

conventional – well-known and commonly accepted forms of protest that do not impose direct pressure on the protest targets, such as pickets, rallies, demonstrations, performances, etc.;

confrontational - protest actions involving direct pressure on the goals of a protest ('direct action') but not yet causing any direct damage for people or property, such as blocking roads, strikes, hunger strikes, etc.;

violent – protest actions with causing (or threat of causing) of direct damage to people or property, such as beating or vandalism.

A target-addressee usually includes a public authority, an enterprise, an institution, an organization etc., that protestors appeal or address to with the demands to support their interests. **A target-criticized** is a public authority, an enterprise, an institution, an organization etc. which are the direct objects of discontent. The target-addressee and the target-criticized can be the same body or organization.

When compared with the data from 2010 it should be considered that the protest targets were not yet divided into targets-addressees and targets-criticized, and that only one central issue of the events was coded instead of three as it is now.