

How did the protests change after a year since Maidan?

Results of monitoring of protests, repressions and concessions
in August-October, 2014

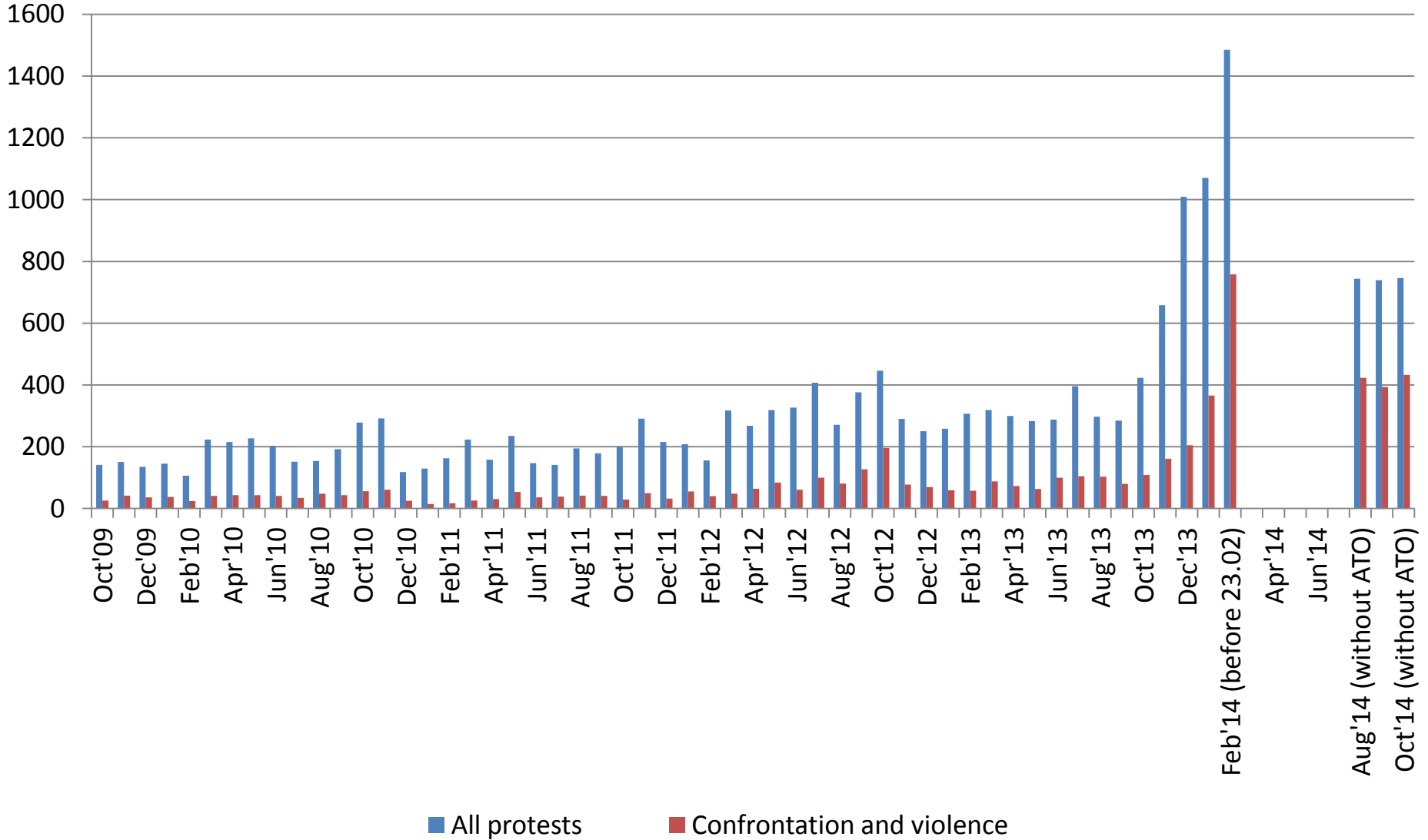
Prepared by Centre for Social and Labor Research
Supported by [International Renaissance Foundation](#) and
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Summary

The report presents the [systematic research of protests, repressions and concessions in Ukraine](#) in August-October 2014 on protest activity a year after Maidan. In August - October 2014 the number of protests was 2-3 times higher than in the year 2013 before Maidan. Number of protests increased in all regions except in Crimea. Most unexpected increase was seen in the Eastern region (not including the Donbass). The level of violence and confrontation during protests in the last three months is breaking all historical records (even without taking into account the fighting actions in the Anti-Terrorist Operation area), concentrating in the Eastern and Southern regions. In August and September the largest share of protests raised ideological issues, however, in October the protests were largely political - which was not typical for the protest activity in Ukraine before Maidan. At the same time, however, the absolute number of socio-economic protests did not decrease from the time before Maidan instead it is gradually increasing. Political parties, NGOs, trade unions are not able to join the high wave of protest activity. Herewith, the pro-government centrist as well as leading opposition parties drastically reduced their participation in the protests. The most notable political forces in the protests were the far right, while the 'Right Sector' was significantly more active than the 'Svoboda' party.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PROTESTS IN AUGUST-OCTOBER, 2014

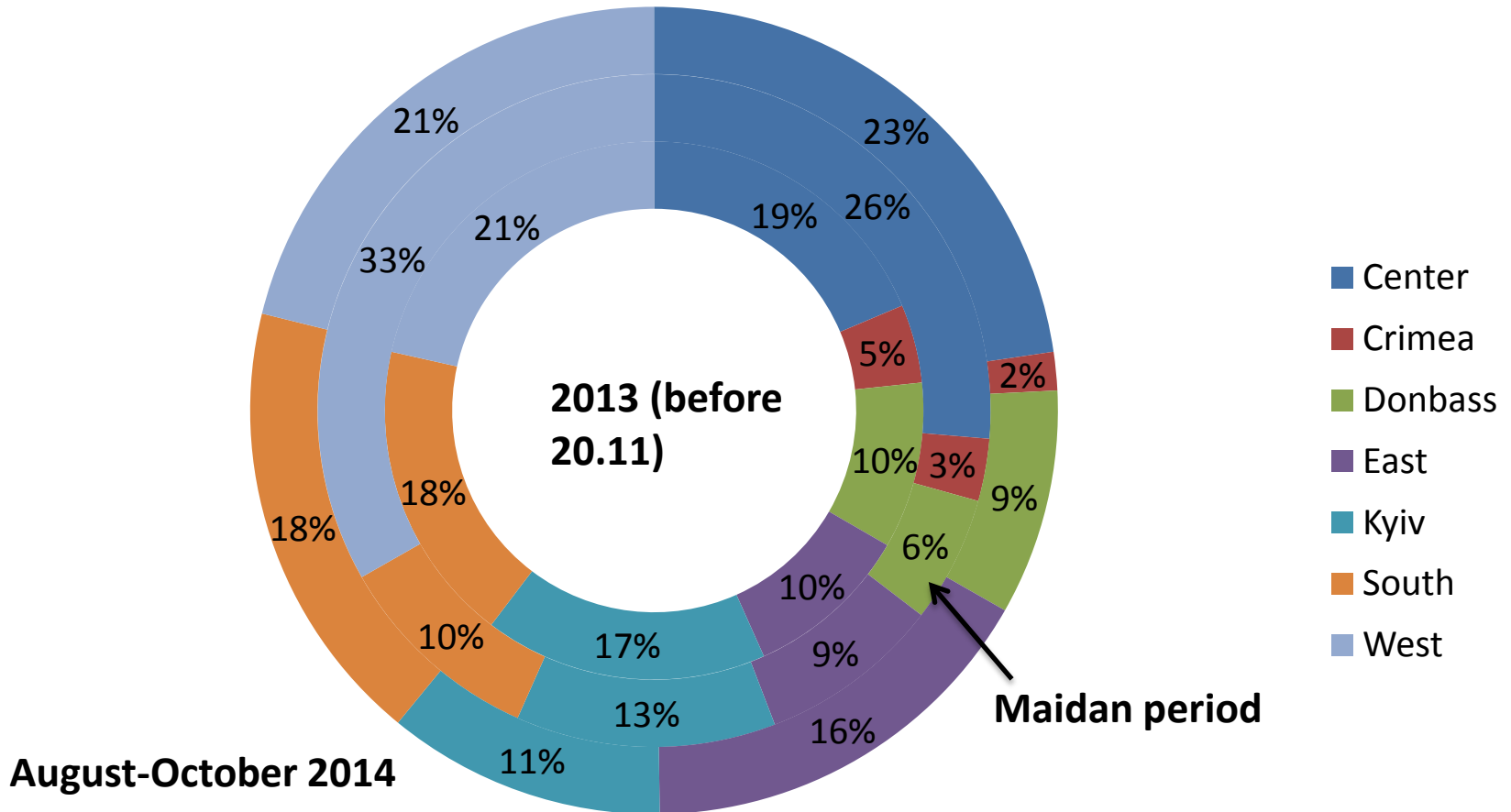
Number of protest events



The reported number of protesters

Number of protesters	2011		2012		2013 (before 20.11)		Maidan period (21.11.13-23.02.14)		August-October 2014	
<10	227	10%	471	13%	389	11%	352	9%	203	9%
<100	789	35%	1152	32%	1 560	46%	1064	27%	527	24%
<1000	414	18%	460	13%	520	15%	854	22%	176	8%
<10000	66	3%	94	3%	103	3%	332	8%	37	2%
<100000	2	0%	4	0%	15	0%	29	1%	-	0%
>100000	-	0%	-	0%	-	0%	5	0%	-	0%
Unknown	779	34%	1455	40%	841	25%	1313	33%	1286	58%
Total	2277	100%	3636	100%	3 428	100%	3949	100%	2229	100%

Regional distribution of protests*

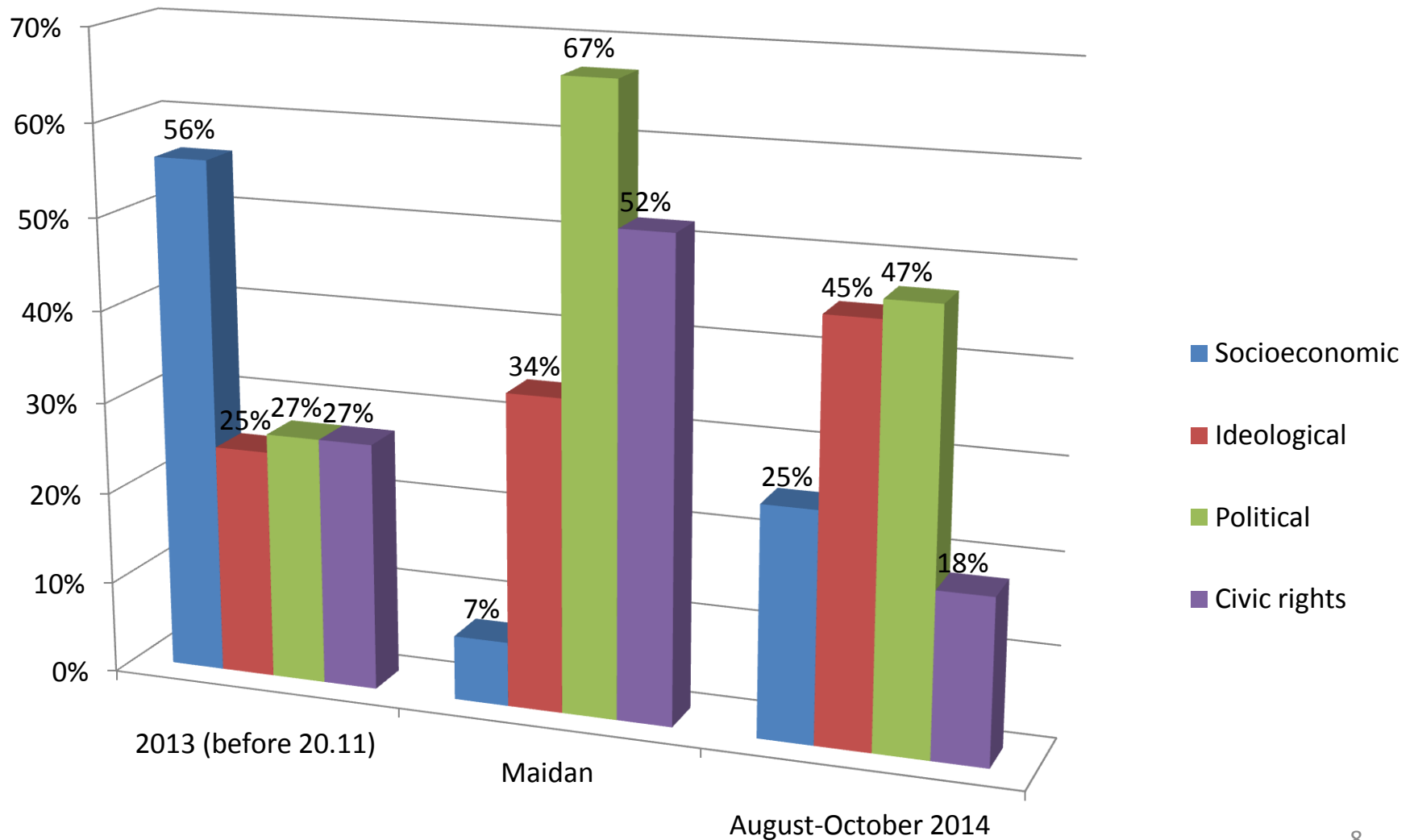


* The “nationwide” events (i.e., those that were impossible to locate in a particular settlement) are not included into the regional distribution

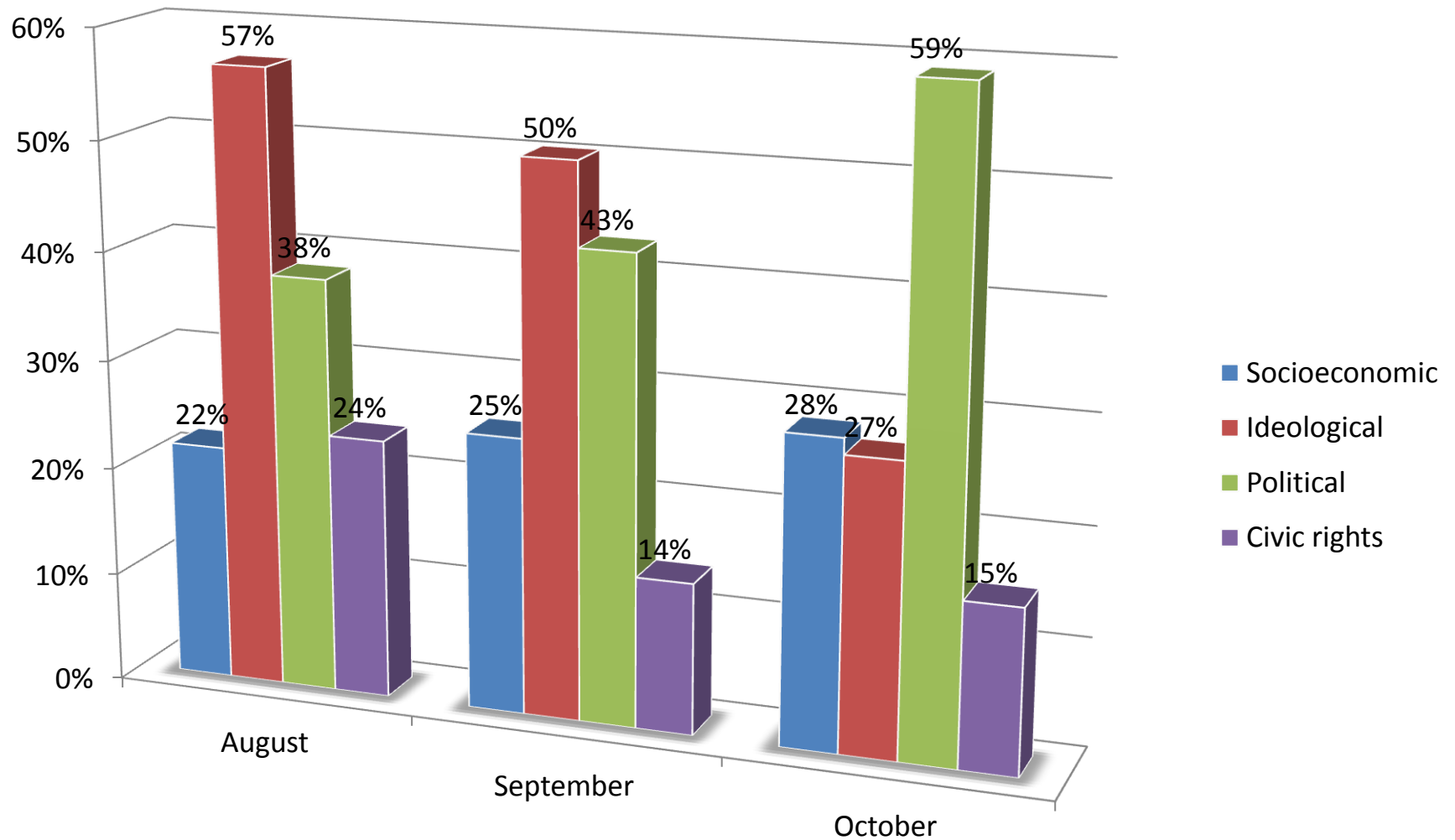
TOP-10 cities with the highest number of protests

2013 (before 20.11)		Maidan period (21.11.13-23.02.14)		August-October 2014	
Kyiv	582	Kyiv	492	Kyiv	247
Odesa	274	Lviv	219	Odesa	171
Mykolaiv	179	Odesa	154	Kharkiv	116
Lviv	158	Lutsk	134	Mykolaiv	91
Kharkiv	126	Rivne	131	Lviv	76
Donetsk	113	Ivano-Frankivsk	123	Zaporizhzhia	62
Kherson	93	Ternopil	110	Kherson	61
Ternopil	83	Mykolaiv	104	Chernivtsi	51
Luhansk	83	Kharkiv	102	Dnipropetrovsk	50
Ivano-Frankivsk	77	Vinnytsya	99	Cherkasy	49

Protest issues



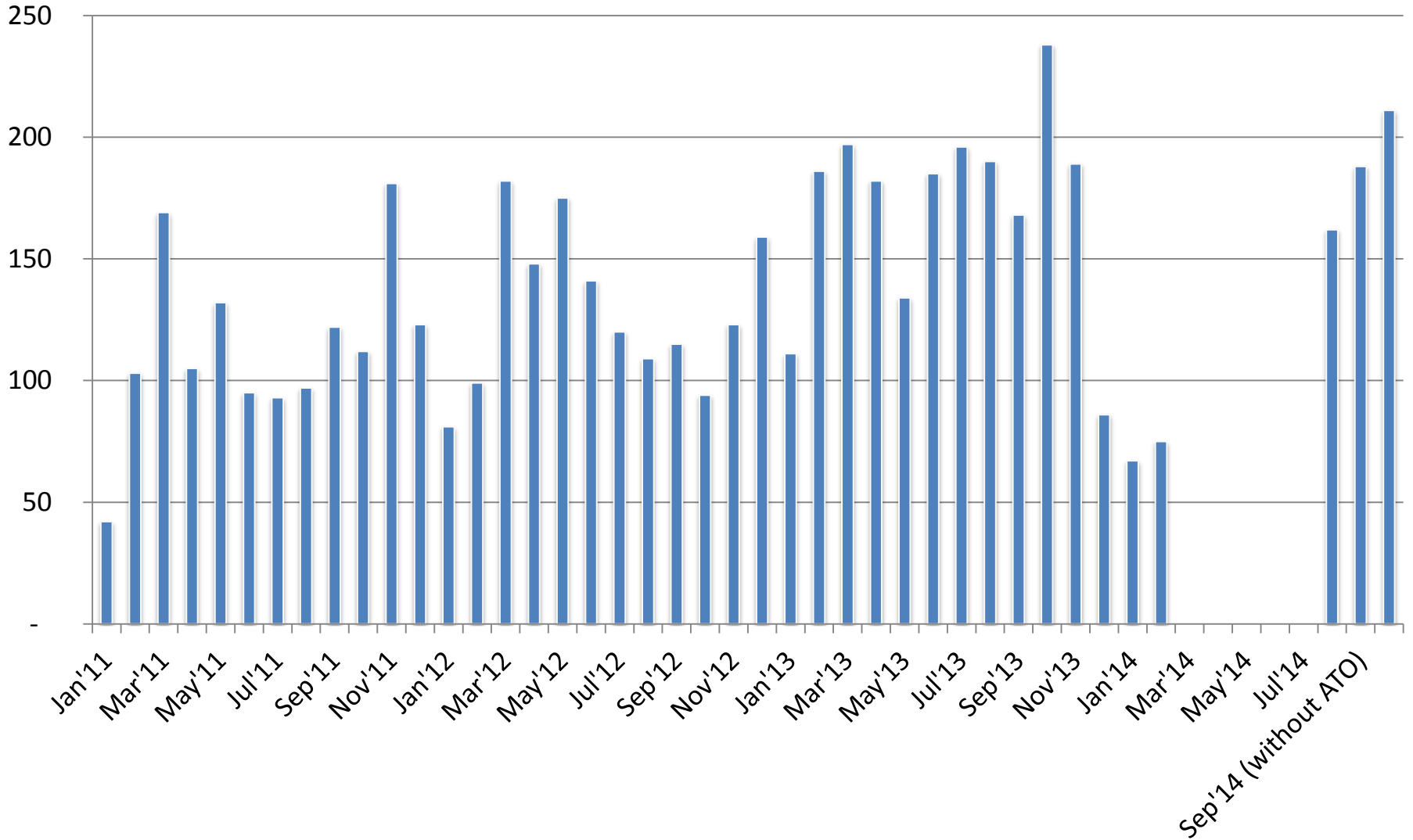
Protest issues in August-October, 2014



TOP-10 most frequent protest issues (Ukraine in general, number of events)

2013 (before 20.11)		Maidan period (21.11.13-23.02.14)		August-October 2014	
Development projects	349	Against government	1579	For united Ukraine	464
Civic liberties	314	Police abuse	1493	Electoral	329
Illegal actions of officials	312	EU	883	Lustration	278
Public utilities	280	Civic liberties	616	Against government	202
Police abuse	264	Against Party of Regions	522	For federalization/separation	191
Ukrainian nationalism	213	Against local authorities	282	Against Russian intervention	171
Environment	203	Ukrainian nationalism	183	Corruption	151
Against government	175	Anti-Communism	172	Ukrainian nationalism	151
Wage arrears	153	For government	151	Against Party of Regions	127
Neofascism	139	Against Yanukovich	139	Anti-Communism	103

Number of socioeconomic protests monthly



TOP-10 most common socioeconomic issues (Ukraine in general, number of events)

2013 (before 20.11)		Maidan period (21.11.13-23.02.14)		August-October 2014	
Development projects	349	Development projects	39	Development projects	86
Public utilities	280	Wage arrears	38	Army provision	75
Environment	203	General demands for welfare	29	Public utilities	74
Wage arrears	153	Public utilities	26	Small business rights	42
Small business rights	138	Education	19	Land conflicts	38
Land conflicts	124	Labor rights	18	Against employer	33
Closure of enterprises	108	Land conflicts	17	Wage arrears	30
Labor rights	107	Regulation of traffic	15	Public transportation	26
Right to housing	104	Environment	13	Social payments	25
Healthcare	95	Public transport	12	Labor rights	24

Protest tactics

	2013 (before 20.11)		Maidan period (21.11.13-23.02.14)		August-October 2014	
	Number of events	Percentage	Number of events	Percentage	Number of events	Percentage
Conventional	2 504	73%	2 546	64%	979	44%
Confron- tational	661	19%	905	23%	792	36%
Violent	263	8%	499	13%	458	21%
Total	3 428	100%	3 950	100%	2 229	100%

Violent activities during protests in August-October 2014 (number of events)*

	August	September	October	Total
Vandalism	37	26	38	101
Destroy of property	9	20	47	76
Beating	15	13	24	52
Attack	11	13	17	41
Harrasment	4	11	20	35
Arson	12	6	10	28
Kidnapping	12	7	7	26
Bomb	8	8	8	24
Shooting	5	7	10	22
Fight	6	10	6	22
Assault	8	1	1	10
Robbery	3	3	4	10
Murder	1	4		5
Heavy weapon use	2	1		3
Gunfight		1	1	2
Taking hostages	1			1
Total	134	131	193	458

* Note: the calculation excludes the combat actions in the Donbass

Protest tactics in August-October, 2014 by regions*

Region	Conventional	Confrontational	Violent	Total
Center	232	206	64	502
Crimea	17	12	5	34
Donbass	46	54	100	200
East	164	87	115	366
Kyiv	149	58	40	247
South	167	132	98	397
West	204	232	32	468
Total	979	781	454	2214

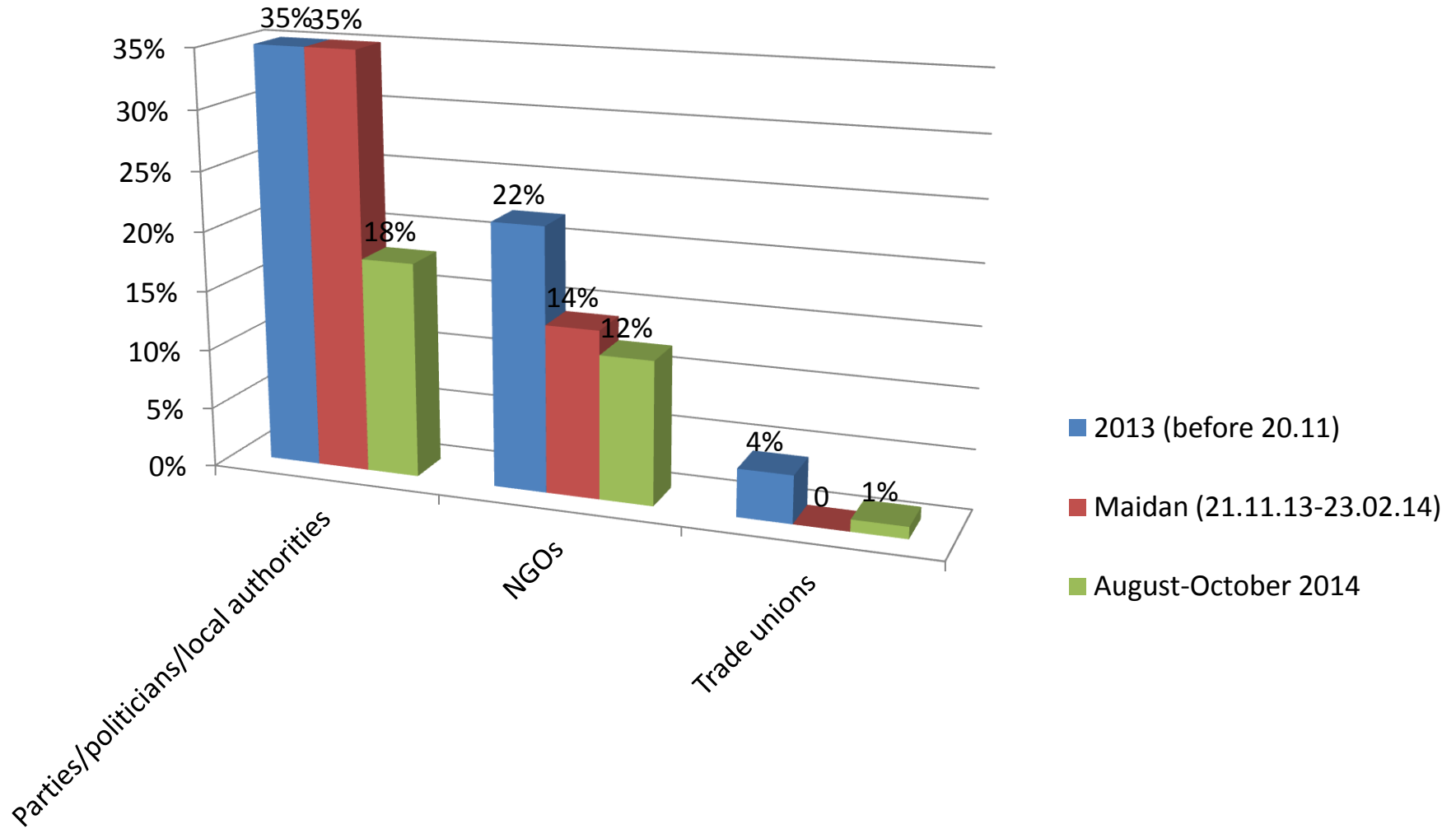
* The “nationwide” events (i.e., those that were impossible to locate in a particular settlement) are not included into the regional distribution

Protest tactics by issues August-October, 2014

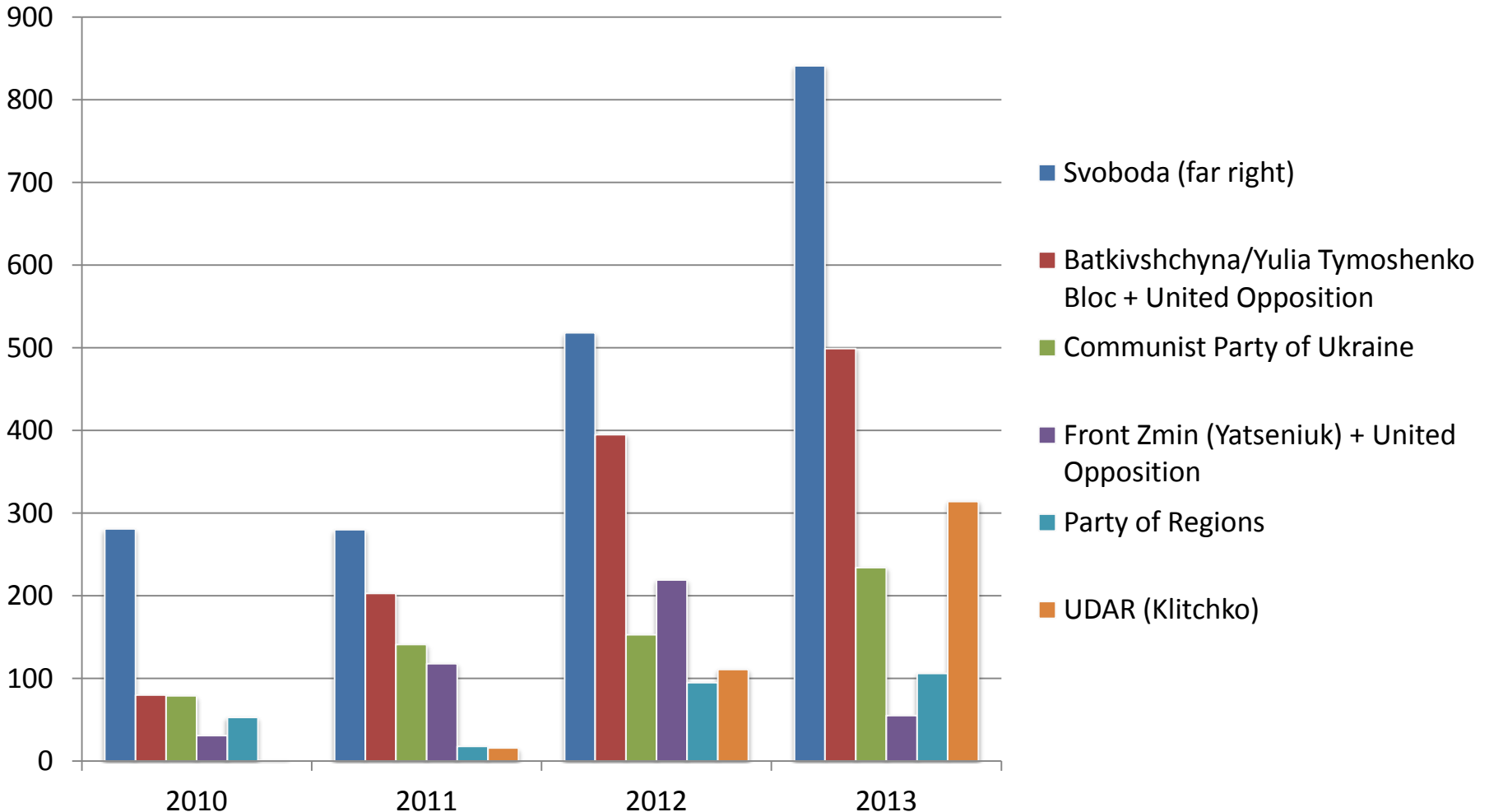
	Socioeconomic		Ideological		Political		Civic rights	
	Number of events	%	Number of events	%	Number of events	%	Number of events	%
Conventional	360	64%	352	35%	423	41%	263	67%
Confrontational	171	30%	390	39%	324	31%	94	24%
Violent	30	5%	252	25%	293	28%	37	9%
Total	561	100%	994	100%	1040	100%	394	100%

PARTICIPATION OF PARTIES AND FAR RIGHT IN PROTESTS

The reported participation in protests (% from all protests)

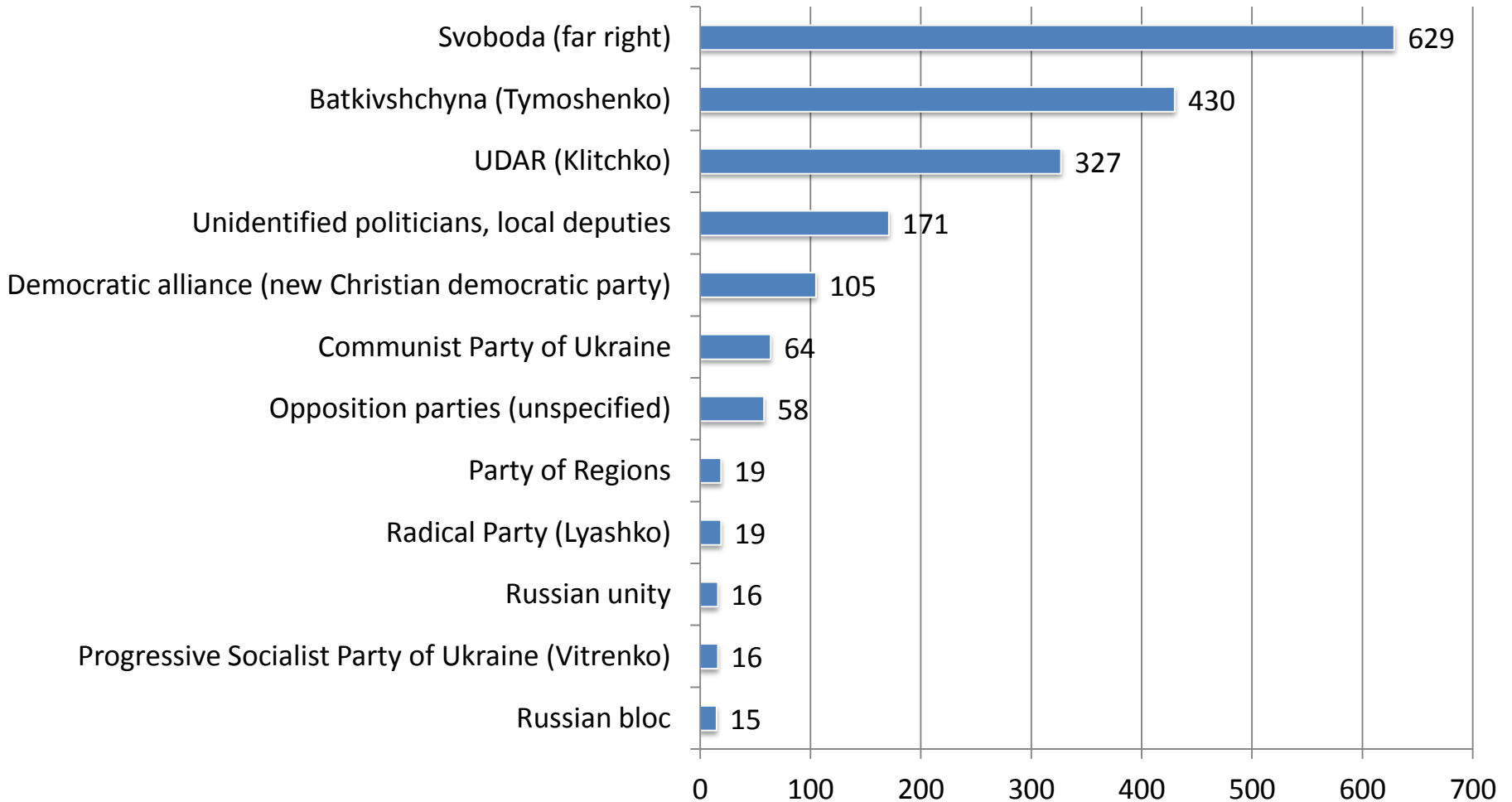


The parliamentary parties participation in the protests (number of events)



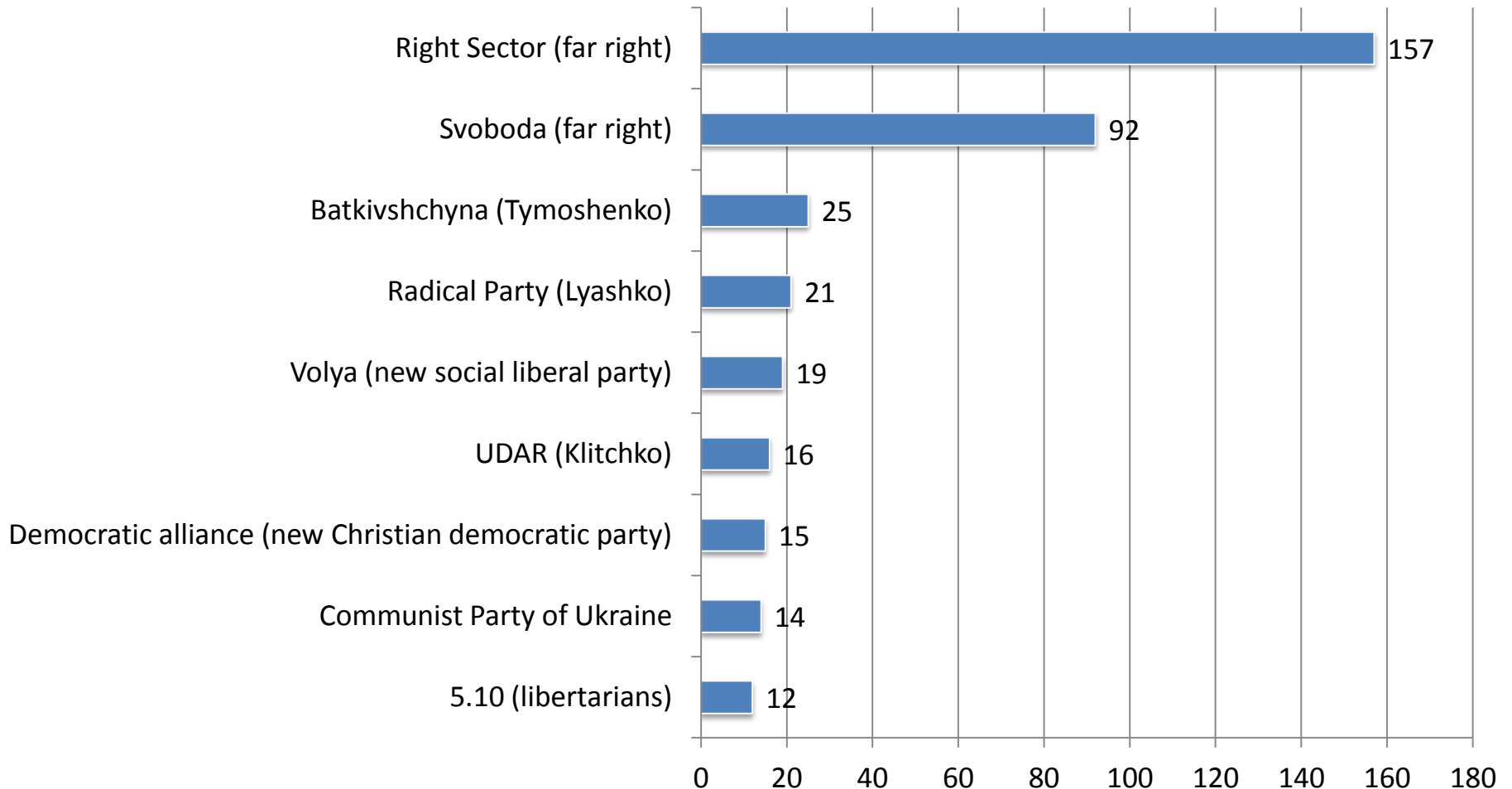
* Protests with participation of the United opposition (almost exclusively in 2012) were added to the protests with participation of both Batkivshchyna/Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc and Front Zmin

The participation of parties in protests during Maidan period (number of events)



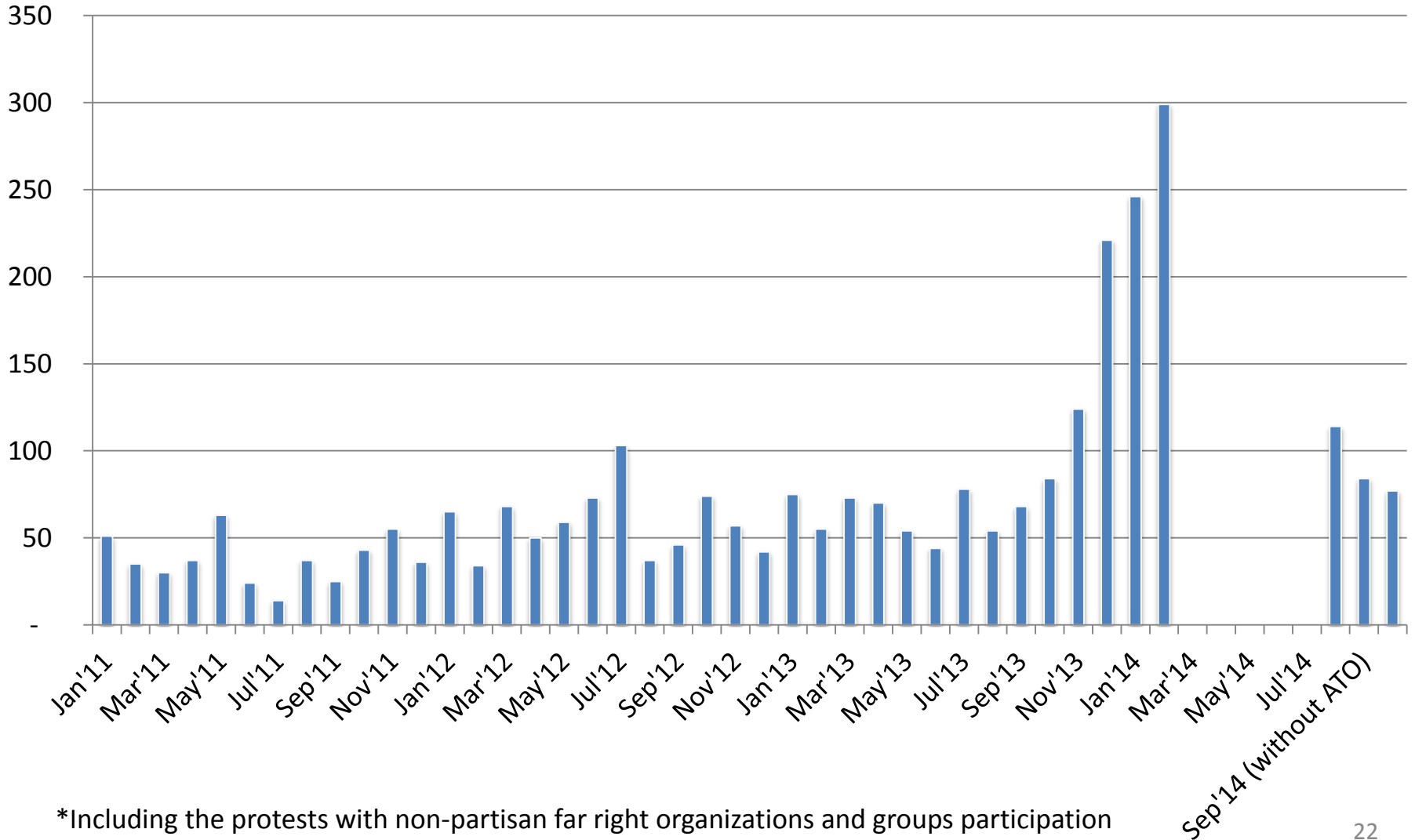
*Only the parties reported in at least 10 protests are included

The participation of parties in the protests in August-October, 2014 (number of events)



*Only the parties reported in at least 10 protests are included

Number of protests with the far right participation



*Including the protests with non-partisan far right organizations and groups participation

Issues of the protests with participation of parties/politicians

Issues	2013 before Maidan		Maidan period (21.11.13-23.02.14)		August-October 2014	
	Number of protests	Percentage	Number of protests	Percentage	Number of protests	Percentage
Socioeconomic	449	38%	58	4%	66	16%
Ideological	469	39%	567	41%	174	42%
Political	564	47%	1 066	78%	255	62%
Civic rights	365	31%	774	56%	95	23%
	1 188	100%	1 370	100%	412	100%

Tactics of protests with participation of parties/politicians

	2013 before Maidan		Maidan period (21.11.13-23.02.14)		August-October 2014	
Tactics	Number of protests	Percentage	Number of protests	Percentage	Number of protests	Percentage
Conventional	994	84%	1 084	79%	216	52%
Confrontational	128	11%	217	16%	159	39%
Violent	66	6%	69	5%	37	9%
	1 188	100%	1 370	100%	412	100%

METHODOLOGY AND EVENTS TYPOLOGY

Coding methodology and events typology

Monitoring sources

In 2013-2014 protests, repressions and concessions has been coded based on the monitoring of daily news from more than 190 national, regional and activist websites. The full description of the project methodology, coding scheme and the list of monitoring sources are available here: <http://cslr.org.ua/protesti/> as well as the databases of coded events and full-text reports for 2013.

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 to 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 and a note on the date

The regions of Ukraine are defined as follows:

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

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

Donbass: Donetska, Luhanska;

East: Kharkivska,, Dnipropetrovska, Zaporizka oblasts;

Kyiv: the city of Kyiv;

South: Odeska, Mykolaivska, Khersonska oblasts;

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

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 note on the data

Data of 2014 do not include combat actions in Anti-terrorist operation area.

Background information and contacts

Center for Social and Labor Research was created in 2013 as an independent non-profit centre for the analysis of socioeconomic problems, collective protests, labor relations and conflicts. From August 2014 it includes the team that has been monitoring protests, repressions and concessions at the Centre for Society Research since 2009, but had to leave it because of the fundamental differences in the vision on further development of this organization.

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