DETERMINANTS OF THE PROTEST MOODS IN UKRAINE

by

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Thesis Supervisor: _____ Professor Elena Besedina

Approved by _____
                        Head of the KSE Defense Committee, Professor Irwin Collier

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Date _____

Kyiv School of Economics

Abstract

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The paper investigates the connection between the protest moods in Ukraine and economic, political, right, sociological and psychological factors that could influent them. Previous protests studies in Ukraine were less empirical and were not supported by regression models. The economic motivation lies in the different economic issues that Ukraine experiences and their influence on the protest moods in the country. I use data for more than 25 000 people interviewed from the Survey "Thoughts, ratings and life conditions of Ukraine population" conducted by Institute of Sociology NAS of Ukraine. The regression analysis shows that the psychological factor is the most significant for the protest moods in Ukraine. People who believe that they could change the country and the people who are less tolerant to encroach on legitimate rights are more likely to protest in Ukraine.

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INTRODUCTION

Ukraine is one of the biggest countries in Europe with advantageous geopolitical allocation, one of the most fertile lands in the world and very hard-working people. Despite this, the Ukrainian economy ranks at the end of all world charts, living standard of Ukrainians is one of the lowest in Europe, Ukrainian courts are corrupted and unjust. No wonder that over the last 22 years of Ukraine independence there have been two global revolutions. So Ukraine has a lot of problems in politics, economy and human rights, the problems to be solved as soon as possible. But the purpose of my study is the specific factors that influent protest moods in Ukraine and made tolerant people of this country to participate in two revolutions.

Over the period since independence the protest rate was rather low in Ukraine – no more than 40 percent (In 2013 protest rate was the smallest 30 percent). However, over the last 10 years Ukraine has gone through two major revolutions. Our country has lots of economic, rights, justice, political issues to be solved. So it is interesting for me to find out the exact reasons for 2 revolutions in Ukraine. I will include such factors, as education, unemployment, level of satisfy, assessment of economic situation in the country, assessment of political situation in the country, trust in government and others to understand the way how the protest moods in Ukraine are formed.

So what is the protest? Protest is the way of strengthening and defense of victim`s interests and views. In this case victim – the injured party, which incurs different kinds of loses. The protests could be expressed as by word, as well as by

physical collective action. Deny, disagreement, opposition, fight, confrontation – all these are the kind of protest.

The new common features of the recent (2000-2014) protest movement have appeared:

- Peculiarities of the each protest campaign are defined by the political, socio-economic, cultural situation, in each country and by the specific stage of development of the society.
- Decentralized nature of protest movements – there were no explicit leaders of the protests. (Janytskyj, 2012).
- The character of the actions is unpolitical and emphasize on the joining of efforts of different social groups to succeed in the protest movements (Hestanov, 2012).
- There were political and ideological ambivalence – absence of accurate requirements to the way of solving protesters` problems
- Increasing role of the communication systems – especially social networks (Martynov, 2012).
- Absence of total changes and social transformations.
- Prevailing peaceful character of protest movements.

Reduce of the social tensions in Ukraine could be explained by the stable economic growth until the end of 2008, when Ukraine felt the impact of the global economic crisis. Exactly form that time the protest activity began to increase. What is interesting – the attempts to organize the overall Ukrainian protest movements, which was held by trade unions, or opposition forces were not crowed with success.

It is important to notice the main features of Ukrainian protests:

- Short-timing

- Unorganized – there were no clear requirements by protesters

- Intervention of different political forces not to solve the problem, but just to increase their popularity

- De facto the opposition forces exploited the protesters to achieve their own goals(Movchan, 2005-2011)[1]

However my hypothesis is that the economic situation in the country – is not the main driver of Ukrainian revolutions, the main drivers was political one as well as rights violation – all years of Ukrainian independence, Ukrainians try to get rid of soviet legacy and become the European country.

Defining the indicator of participation in the protest is quite hard in Ukraine. The analytical center Cedos – one of the most modern centers that have analyzed protests in Ukraine has protests` history data only from October 2009, this data does not cover the Orange revolution and the crisis 2008, which are significant events in Ukrainian history. That is why I find the Survey "Thoughts, ratings and life conditions of Ukraine population" conducted by Institute of Sociology NAS of Ukraine, which contains data for more than 25 000 people since 1998 and has a question about willingness to participate in the protest. To study the protest protests in Ukraine I build the model based on this question and characterize it as the protest moods of Ukrainians also I add people`s assessment of economic, political, legal situation in the country, as possible reasons to protest. Also I pay attention to the individual attitudes toward such issues: life standard in Ukraine, the level of life satisfaction, trust to the media, etc. I believe such approach will help me to study the protest moods in Ukraine more multifaceted.

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[1] http://naub.oa.edu.ua/2012/movchan-d-dynamika-sotsialnoji-napruhy-v-ukrajini-2005-2011-rr/

The results of estimation shows that in spite of the economic, political and legal issues influent the protest moods, the most significant impact on the willingness to participate in the protest are brought by psychological factors, as a belief that person can change something in the country and personal absence of tolerance to the injustice.

The work is divided into the following parts: Chapter 2 gives a comprehensive review of the literature on the topic and Chapter 3 outlines theoretical and empirical framework of the research. Next, Chapter 4 describes the data used and Chapter 5 provides final estimation results. Conclusions and policy implications are presented in Chapter 6.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The first part of the literature review is focused on theoretical works of Ukrainian sociologists who studied the protest problems in Ukraine. Then I examine the foreign empirical literature and try to find the determinants of the protests, protest rates, or protest moods in other countries.

The Ukraine protests` phenomena have been studied from the beginning of independence of Ukraine. Because of hard times in the national economy, unstable policy and corruption legacy from the USSR there were lots of reasons for different types of protests. In Ukraine protests were analyzed by such researchers as Bekeshkina (1993) – For the first time in Ukraine, authors tried to make the forecast of readiness to the conflict under transitional socio-economic situation; Holovaha (1999) studied the social protest as the mass and spontaneous movement that influences the government policy; Pan`kova (2005) studied the personal protest behavior in Ukraine. But almost all of them undertook their studies without empirical models – the most frequent questions, which were studied – what kinds of protests are more common in Ukraine, in what regions, what are the main reasons for demonstrations, which tools the government used to solve or prevent the problems, who are the main participants of manifestations. But all these numerous studies lack the econometric analysis, except maybe some studies as work by Reznik (2009), where the author tried with logit model to understand the main factors of the protests in Ukraine. The hypotheses that author checked were the next: "The protest moods are mostly depended on social split that was caused by historical progress" and "The protests are mostly cause by political and sociological

reasons". However, author found the lack of other factors in his model, especially economic factor that could describe the crisis influence on the protests moods in Ukraine. In my thesis I will fill this gap.

In the USA "the condition of protest behavior" studied by (Esinger, 1972). He considered two, basic for the protest analysis, questions. The first one deals with making explicit the theoretical linkage between elements in the political environment and political behavior. The other one is an attempt to define protests technically and differentiate them from political violence. The effort is made necessary by the fact that violence and protest are not treated in the literature as distinct forms of behavior (but rather as similar acts at different points on a continuum of aggressiveness). In Ukraine, for instance, only 3percents of whole protests are regarded as violent.

Ortiz (2013) goes further and finds that protests are more prevalent in high-income countries, while violent riots are more frequent in low-income countries. This finding contradicts Ukrainian statistics (Ukraine is a low-income country but reports only 3 percent violent manifestations from all protests).

Ortiz (2013) looks into the major factors driving world protests; who are protesters, what protest methods they use, and who they are opposed to; achievements and repression of social movements in the short term; the main policy demands of world demonstrators.

Roland (1995) studies the impact of coercion on protest that is probably the heart of any theory of protest. The study shows that the protesters are adapting to coercion, changing tactics of protests.

Ralser (1996) studies rebellions in Iran using Poission regression model and finds that "repression had a short-term negative effect and a long-term positive effect on overall levels of protest via repression's influence on spatial diffusion."

Also she studies the influence of "Critical Events" in Iran, such as Qum demonstration, Abadan and new Prime Minister, Black Friday on protest activities. Author`s important finding is that the repression actions of the government further escalate the conflict, which was observed in Ukraine during the EuroMaidan in 2013-2014.

Hall (1986) identifies ambiguous role of education in protest determination: on the one hand, education reduces support for the use of violence by either protesters or authorities; but on the other hand education increases opposition to government repression". In my thesis I intend to investigate the dependence of education on the protest level in Ukraine.

Mendes (2006) studies relationships between political minority status, democratic experience and political protest potential. He found that "being in political minority heightens citizens` political protest potential". We have neither data on the minority status in Ukraine, nor data which would measure the democratic experience. But it might be possible to estimate at least the democratic experience to understand the dependence of the protest rate in Ukraine on this experience. Also Mendes has the methodology how to estimate the dependence of protest potential on ideology (left-right), unemployment, age, education, GNP per capita, economic growth (percentage change in GDP) and finally – age of democracy (in years), which I will succeed.

Brayden (2007) studies protests related to the rights and relationship between protest and policy change. He hypothesizes that "protestors compete for attention among lawmakers at the agenda-settings stage." Brayden studies another side of protests – protests related to the rights. He found that "protest, issue legitimacy and issue competition account for variation in the number of congressional hearings granted to rights issue"

Protests happen for different reasons. Thus Schussman (2005) estimates the relative impact of the factors that affect the likelihood of protest participation. He found that one of the strongest predictor for participation in protests is "being asked to protest", which means that people rather will go to protest if their friends (relatives, colleges), which already participate the protest ask them to do so. Probability of protest participation is also affected by individual characteristics such, as political interest and organizational ties, skin color, marital status, whether a person has children, whether a person is a student, family income, reads daily newspaper and watches daily news TV, or interested in politics.

From article by Dagaev (2014) I took the methodology for estimation of media influence on the protest rate and methodology for education, marital status, children and employment as the opportunity cost for the participation in the portests. By trying to link the Ukrainian revolution to the "Arab Spring" he found that "combination of availability of information, military capacity of the incumbent and his radicalization, together with the opportunity costs of participation in a protest, are likely to result in the formation of new government that is also vulnerable to popular protests" (Dagaev, 2014). Author found that access to the social networks is in significant relation with protests. He explain that fact by great advantage in coordination and manipulations that social networks give.

Summarizing, protest moods in Ukraine are not thoroughly empirically studied. A lot of studies investigate the probable reasons of protests, protest behavior, but mostly - theoretically, single studies investigate the factors, that determine the protest moods, but only using sociological and political factors. The proposed thesis will fill this gap by studying the many-sided reasons for protesting, described by Ukrainian researchers by using the regressions analysis.

METHODOLOGY

To study the determinants of the likelihood of the protest participation we use the following econometric model:

$$\text{Protest} = \alpha_i + \beta_i \, \text{Ec}_i + \gamma_i \, \text{Pol}_i + \delta_i \, \text{Right}_i + \zeta_i \, \text{Soc}_i + \eta_i Psych_i + \tau_i \text{Year}_i + \theta_i \text{Region}_i + \upsilon_i$$

The dependent variable *Protest* is willingness to participate in the protest.

In order to study which factors influence the protest rate in Ukraine – economic, political, rights-related, sociological, or psychological – we use survey questions to construct our explanatory variables.

The economic factor, which might affect willingness to protest, includes categorical variables constructed from the questions about assessment of current economic situation in Ukraine, employment, education and self-assessment of living standards of the household.

The political factor group consists of such variables as trust in government (which includes – trust in the President, trust in Verhovna Rada, trust in the Cabinet of Ministers, trust in police), perception of the political situation in Ukraine.

The right factor is represented by trust in courts and perceiving freedom of speech.

Level of satisfaction, sex, age, trust to the media and using of internet combine the sociological factor in my model.

The psychological factor is represented by tolerance to encroach on person`s legitimate rights and personal belief that protest can change something in the country.

One of the most important reasons of protests is the trust and disillusionment in the political and economic system in the country (Ortiz, 2013). Naturally I expect such factors as estimation of economic situation, estimation of political situation, trust in government and trust in courts to be negatively correlated with willingness to participate in protests.

Also, we cannot neglect the influence of freedom of speech on the potential participation in protests. More freedom of speech – more news and information about current economic and political situation, failures of the governments will come to the people. The correlation of the freedom of speech on the participation in the protests is expected to be positive.

It should be mentioned that the main drawback of this dataset is lack of independent variables which provide more information about individuals` "right" motive of protest – only the trust in courts (but the data are missing for a lot of years for this variable) and feeling of personal possibility to defend the own rights was taken for the analysis.

Sociological factors include the level of tolerance, which means that people could endure all sorts of financial difficulties in the country for the sake of order, peace and tranquility, trust in media, the level of the general satisfaction, usage of the internet.

It is well known that Ukrainians are very patient with the government and can tolerate a lot of problems. I expect the more tolerant people are – the less they want to go on the manifestations. (Makeev)[2]

The "Internet" variable, which includes personal usage and personal needs for internet, is very crucial as protests nowadays are organized through social networks and other platforms. Hence, one of the most important conditions for protest to be held is the information availability (Dagaev, 2014). So, I expect that the access to internet will have some positive effect on participating in the protests.

The employment status we can be considered as the opportunity costs of the protest. Because of participation in the protests often leads to the skipping of the working day, which is more typical for unemployed, pensioners, students, we expect these social stratums participating in protest more probable than employed.. (Dagaev, 2014)

The set of control variables includes respondent`s characteristics such as age, gender, marital status, education level, employment status. Education is also found to be important diver of the protests. Education increases commitment to civil liberties and knowledge of protest`s grievances (Hall, 2014). So I expect the variable for education to influence positively on participation in the protests.

Other demographic and social characteristics such as marital status, income, and age, defined as "biographical availability" by Schussman (2014) are also important determinants of protest moods. This biographical availability could be also defined as the lack of personal limitations, which may increase the costs and risks associated with participating in the movement, such as full-time

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[2] http://dialogs.org.ua/ru/dialog/page2-74.html

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employment, marriage and family responsibility (McAdam, 1986, p. 70). Young people are more risky and are less concerned by careers paths so that is more likely for them to be involved in protests. Married people are also supposed not to be involved in protests because of great responsibility for their families and also they have additional life events, which could decrease the probability to participate in the protest (Schussman, 2014). That is why, I expect the negative influence between marital status, level of satisfy of own life, the life standard of the family, age and the protest rate.

In addition, to control for macroeconomic and other time-varying factors and events (e.g. two Ukrainian revolutions 2004 and 2013-2014) I include year dummies in the analysis. As discussed above, there is a notable regional variation in protest moods, and hence I include region dummy in my model as well.

Hesitating nature of Ukrainians supposed to be reflected in uncertainty – to participate, or not to participate in the protest. So it will be logic to assume that the majority of votes will be somewhere at the middle between 0 and 1 (stay at home, or to protest). That is why distribution of the participation of protest will correspond to the Gaussian distribution. To be more precise with the estimation we adjust the mean of participation distribution to the left (citizens of Ukraine are characterized as passive ones). So, for our purposes probit model is the best. Empirical results also show absence of significant difference in the estimates of marginal effects of probit and logit (Table 4). So further I will use probit in my thesis.

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DATA DESCRIPTION

For my analysis I use data from the Survey "Thoughts, ratings and life conditions of Ukraine population" conducted by Institute of Sociology NAS of Ukraine. This survey was conducted in 26 Ukrainian regions during the period of 1998-2014 and includes responses from around 25,000 individuals overall with the set of individuals valuing from year to year. The general purpose of this survey is to study people`s attitude to the developments in social and political life in Ukraine. The survey was conducted in the form of an interview using a broad set of questions that asked about attitude to politicians, state of the economy to government, legal system, life standards, medical standards, discrimination in the country; health condition, psychological condition, life conditions, employment conditions, interests, world views, etc. The choice of the variables for my analysis was based on the existing studies, hence only the variables that are the most appropriate to characterize the thoughts about policy, economics, rights, sociology, psychology are used. The questions used for analysis are presented in Table 1.

 The key variable in my analysis is willingness to participate in the protest. It is a binary variable, which show willingness of the interviewee to join the protest which is equal to 1, if respondent is willing to participate in the protest and 0 – if is willing not to participate in the protest).

The summary statistics shows that citizens of Ukraine estimate the economic situation in the country as bad (2.32 out of 10). I tried to compare this social estimation with the real economic situation in the country. I took GDP

(constant 2005 US$) from The World Bank database as the measure of economic situation in the country. We can see from Figures 1-2, that till 2006 respondents` assessment and real GDP are highly correlated. Respondents` assessments peak at 2005 – the year right after Orange Revolution. After this year real GDP and respondents` assessments have begun to diverge. This could be explained by the fact, that in 2005 people were inspired by the victory in the Maidan and they expected significant future economy growth. The Ukrainian government failed to meet expectations people`s expectations, which led to significant decline in the estimation of economic situation in the 2006 year.

The respondents also view the political situation as oppressive (average score during the entire period ranged from 3 to 4, where 4 is defined as "critical situation"). From Figure 3 we can observe that social estimation of political situation is rather stable and negative. The most striking result is that majority of Ukrainians do not think they could change unfairness (only around 10 percent think they could). However almost 40 percent of citizens are ready to participate in protests, despite the very large tolerance threshold (46 percent of Ukrainians think that "A bad corn promise is better than a good lawsuit" and are frightened of results of great changes). The trust in the government can be described as "rather not trust than trust", opposite situation with media and press – people "rather trust than not" them. What is interesting – that self-estimated life standards in Ukraine are pretty low (3.3 from 10), but the level of overall satisfaction is quite medium (2.5 from 5). The average age of interviewees is 45.5 years, almost 2/3 of the respondents are married. Employment distribution – 45 percent of interviewees are employees at different establishments, 28.4 percent are pensioners, 4.5 percent are entrepreneurs, 4 percent are students, 0.2 percent - farmers, and 17.7 percent are people with other activities (detailed description can be found in Table 1).

The set of control variables includes respondent`s characteristics such as age, gender, marital status, education level, employment status. Proportion of males and females in the sample is the same as in the whole Ukraine – 55 percent of women and 45 percent of men. There are 3 children per 2 families on average. And an average respondent has Secondary education. For more details, see Table 2.

Preliminary data analysis shows that before two revolutions the protest level achieved its local minimum – 36,7 percent of all Ukrainians were ready to protest in 2004 (Orange revolution was at the end of 2004), 29,5 percent of all Ukrainians were ready to protest in 2013 (Euromaidan was in the end of 2013). These levels are - quite low, comparable to the mean of 40 percent (Graph1).

Also there is large regional variation in the protest moods (Figure 5). The most protest-oriented regions are: Ivanofrankivs`ka (57,8%), Ternopil`ska (52,6%), and Lvivs`ka (47,3%). The lowest protest rates are found in Zaporiz`ka (34%), Volyns`ka (34,1%).

The disadvantage and simultaneously advantage of my variables is that they express the moods of people. The main disadvantage is biasness of the moods, the main advantage is that this data is not falsified for somebody purpose, which actually could be done in Ukraine.

EMPIRICAL RESULTS

First I estimate the benchmark model with the main variables, which affect participation in the protests. I checked my model with robustness test (robust(vce)) – the standard errors have changed insignificantly (Table 5). In further tables I will report already robusted models. Empirical results show the same relations as were expected and described in Methodology (Table 5). More negative assessment of economic (higher values of the variable are associated with better economic conditions) and political (higher values of the variable are associated with worse policy) situation are found to be significantly related to higher likelihood to participate in protest. The highest influence in this model has political situation – increasing people estimation by 1 (out of 4) point (political situation becomes worse) increases the probability to participate in protest by 10 percent. Economic situation has much less power on protests – decreasing in economic estimation by 1 point (out of 10) brings only 1.7 percent increasing in probability of protest participation. Calculations confirm the intuition behind the model: if the economic and political situation gets worse – more people are willing to protest. The coefficient on the estimation of the life satisfaction is interpreted as follows: 1 point higher the life satisfaction is – 3.4 percent less probability is to participate in the protest.

Level of life satisfaction, logically, has also negative impact on participation in the protests. However, life standard has not significant impact on the protest level in Ukraine. The coefficients of the variable age confirm the theory of the opportunity costs (McAdam, 1986) of the participation in the protests, while estimate for coefficient in marital status is not consistent with this theory. One

additional year of life decreases the probability of participation in the protests by 0.1 percent, while married people are more likely (by almost 4 percent) to protest. As were predicted – education also influences the protest rate but the effect is rather small: one additional level of education increases the probability to protest only by 1.23 percent. I also find that women on average are almost 9 percent less likely to participate in the protests

Even though there are more than 25 000 people in the entire dataset, the sample used in the analysis includes slightly more than 14 500 observations. It is explained by the fact that many respondents were quite undetermined and hesitating. People often choose "can not decide" or "indifferent" in many questions of the surveys. Such observations cannot be used in the analysis and hence are omitted. Extending benchmark model with more variables leads to a decreased number of observations used.

Thus in extended model I added people assessment of whether they can influence government decisions, if they accept government actions that oppress their rights (pressure). Also, I considered the variable how tolerant Ukrainians are (standing, equals to 0 means to keep peace at any cost, equals to 1 – to protest). In addition I studied such factors of influence, as trust in media, courts, government; assessment of the free speech in the country and usage of the Internet.

Assessment of economic situation, education and one type of employed people become less significant in extended model (Now, the hypothesis that these variables equals to zero, can not be rejected at 0,01 p-level). To investigate whether this occurs because of sample decreasing (from more than 14 000 to 5 300), or because of new variables undertake this significance I fix the sample for the extended model and run the basic model for this sample (Table 7). I find that the significance levels for the sample out of 5 300 respondents are the same

as for the sample out of 14 000 respondents. That means that not reduce in observations declines the significant levels for education, assessment of economic situation and employment, but the new variables (Internet, free speech, trust in government, etc.)

Column (2) of Table 6 reports the results for the extended model. Despite of all expectations – trust in courts, trust in media, usage of Internet, age, assessment of free speech in Ukraine do not seem to affect protest mood. Trust in government is significant, but has unexpected sign – more trust, more protests. So, another two factors turn out to be significantly related to the protest participation rate. Thus, people feeling that they have the ability to change something are more likely to participate in protests: participation in protest increases by 30.6 percent. Also probability to participate in the protest for people who are inclined to be less tolerant (standing is higher) goes up by 40,7 percent.

Also it is interesting that only one type of employment is significant – pensioners. The model shows that pensioners are likely not to participate in protests with probability 7,1 percent.

C h a p t e r   6

CONCLUSIONS

In my thesis I investigated main reasons and factors that influence the protest rate in Ukraine. I find that economic, political, psychological, and sociological factors have great influence on protest rate in Ukraine. Due to the lack of data on rights protection motive for protests this factor was presented just by trust in courts, which turn out to be insignificant. Study shows that the most significant factors are psychological facts, represented by feeling of ability to change the situation in the country and level of tolerance of the person. Together they increase probability to participate in the protests by almost 71 percent. Sociological factors (level of satisfaction, sex, marital status) are the second in terms of influence, with cumulative effect of more than 12 percent. Economic factors (citizens` estimation of overall economic situation in the country, employment and education) cumulatively change the protest moods by 9,2 percent. And on the last place – the single political factor - Negative assessment of the overall political situation in the country by respondents' increases probability to participate in the protest by almost 7.5 percent. Unfortunately, the legal factor, such as trust in courts and freedom of speech are not significant in my model, but this does not mean, that legal factor does not influent protest moods in Ukraine. For the couple few years a lot of protests against political victimizations have taken place (Tymoshenko, Pavlichenko, different protesters and others), as well as we have had a lot of attacks against the journalists (Gongadze, Chornovol and others), which are signs that Ukraine has problems with justice and freedom of speech. The problem could be that I had to take another variables to define legal factor of

protests moods. Ortiz (2013) defined rights protests as sum of next type of protests: Ethnic/Indigenous/ Racial Justice, rights to the Commons (digital, land, cultural, atmospheric), Labor, Women, Freedom of Speech protests. As for Ukraine – it is hard to find the data for these types of protests for such a long period as 16 years.

So, my hypothesis that political and rights factors are the most crucial violates. That means that not political issues will cause the "Third Maidan", but rather economic stagnation and the nation, which becomes less tolerant to injustice and more self-confident.

The government actions that could cool protest moods in Ukraine could be next: improvement and stabilization of the political situation in the country, improving the economic situation, by increasing the GDP growth and overall increasing the life satisfaction level.

Table 1. Variables and corresponding questions from the survey.

Var	Question	Answers:
econsit	How do you estimate the current economic situation in Ukraine?	0 - very bad; 10 - very good
polsit	How would you estimate the political situation in Ukraine?	1 - favourable; 4 - critical
fspeech	Can people freely express their political views today?	1 - yes; 0 - no
pressure	If the government of Ukraine adopted a decision which suppresses your legal rights and interests, could you do something against this decision?	1 - yes; 0 - no
partprotest	If these meetings, demonstrations take place, will you personally participate or not?	1 - yes; 0 - no
methodprotest	In case of your rights and interests violation, which measures and methods to uphold your rights do you suppose as the most effective?	14 variants
standing	What do you think is better - to endure all sorts of financial difficulties in the country for the sake of order, peace and tranquility, or in the case of a significant deterioration in living conditions go out to protest?	1 - to protest; 0 - to keep peace at any cost
courttrust	What is your level of trust in courts?	1 - do not trust at all; 5 - absolutely trust
prestrust	What is your level of trust to the President?	1 - do not trust at all; 5 - absolutely trust
radatrust	What is your level of trust in Verkhovna Rada?	1 - do not trust at all; 5 - absolutely trust
mintrust	What is your level of trust in cabinet of the ministry?	1 - do not trust at all; 5 - absolutely trust

Table 1 - Continued

| Var	Question	Answers:
mediatrust	What is your level of trust to the media?	1 - do not trust at all; 5 - absolutely trust
policetrust	What is your level of trust in Police?	1 - do not trust at all; 5 - absolutely trust
statisf	How much do you satisfy your life in general?	1 - do not satisfied at all; 5 - absolutely satisfied
sex	What is your sex?	1 - male; 2 - female
livestand	Please estimate, the material living standards of your family	0 - the lowest; 10 - the highest
child	How many children up to 18 years old do you have?	
employment	Typ of your occupation (job) now?	1.worker; 2.enterpreneur 3.farmer 4. student 5. pensioner 0. unemployed
internet	Do you use the Internet?	1 - yes; 0 - no
region	In what region do you live?	26 regions
age	What is your age?	
marital	What is your marital status?	0 - not married; 1 - married
edu	What is you education?	1 - Primary education; 2 - Lower secondary education; 3 - Secondary education; 4 - Incomplete higher education; 5 - Higher education;
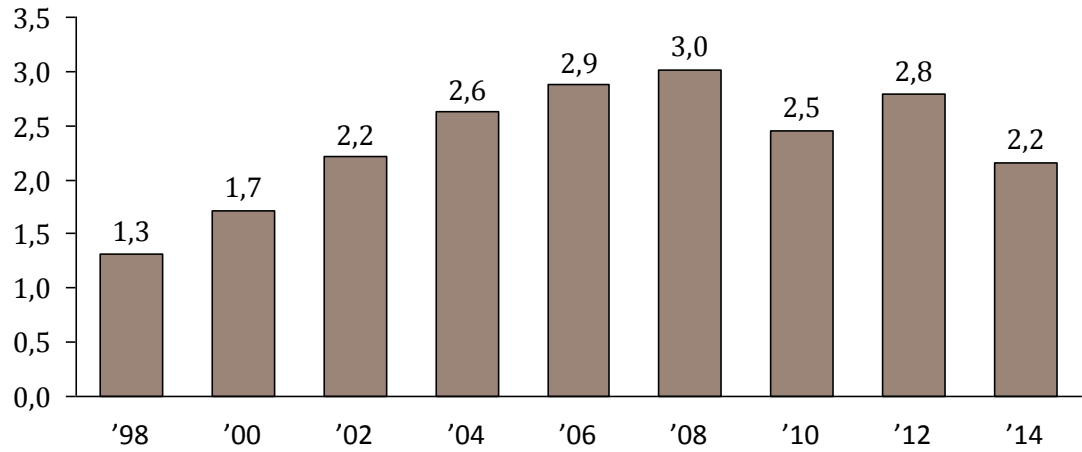
FIGURE 1. Respondents` assessment of economic situation (from 1 to 10)
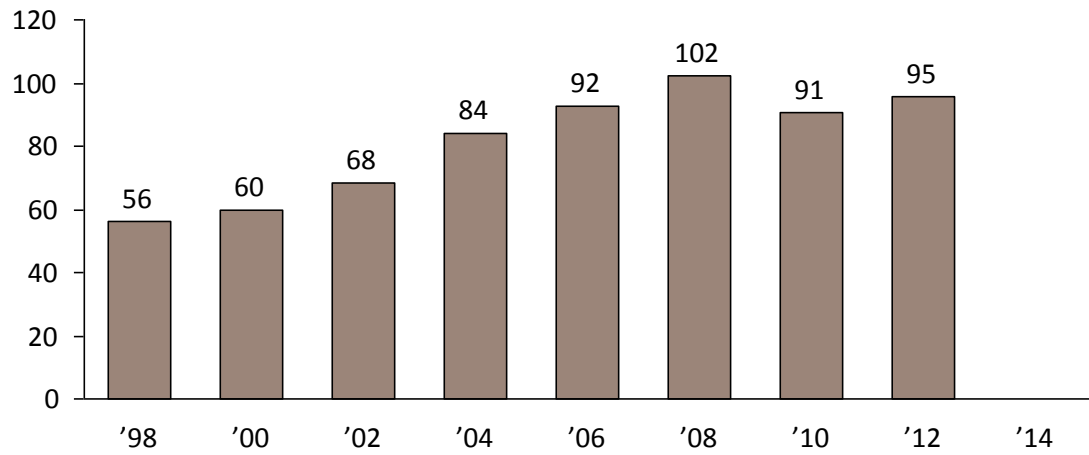
FIGURE 2. GDP, billion $ (constant $2005), World Bank data
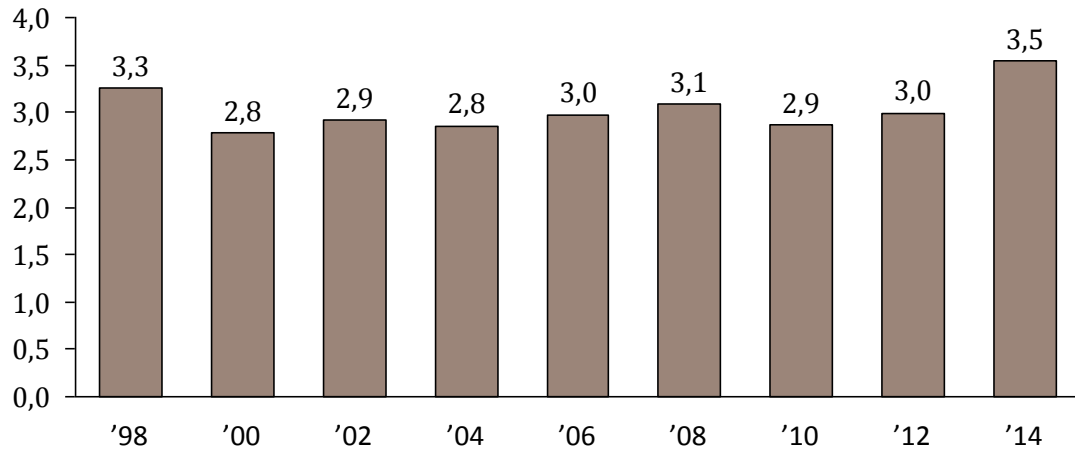
FIGURE 3. Respondents` assessment of political situation (from 4 to 1)
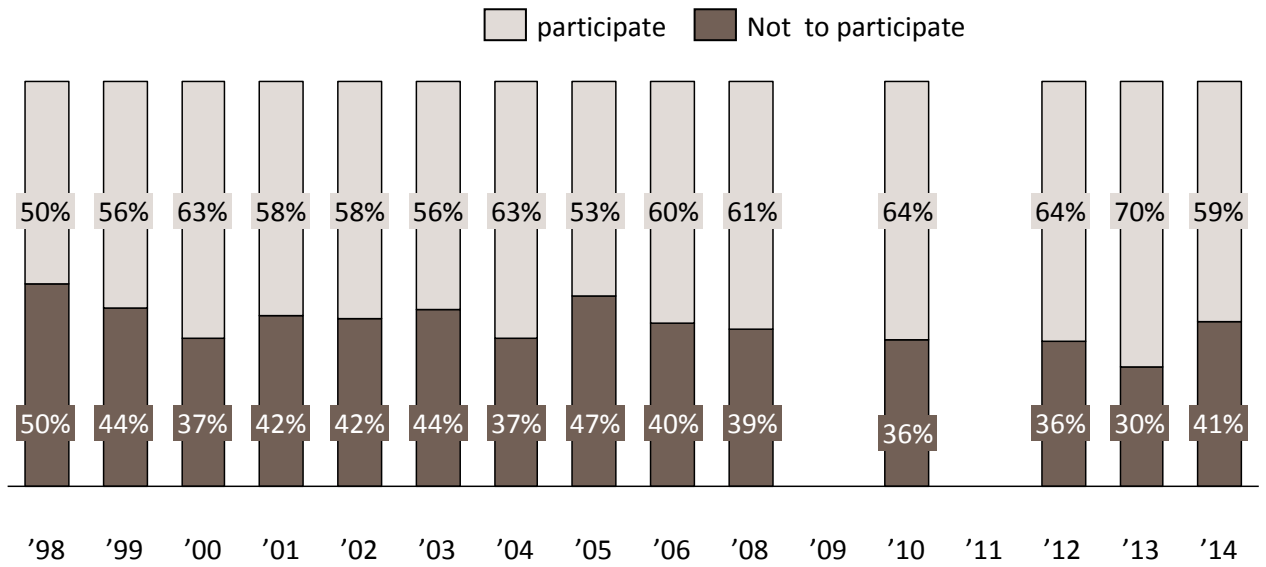
FIGURE 4. Willingness to participate in the protest
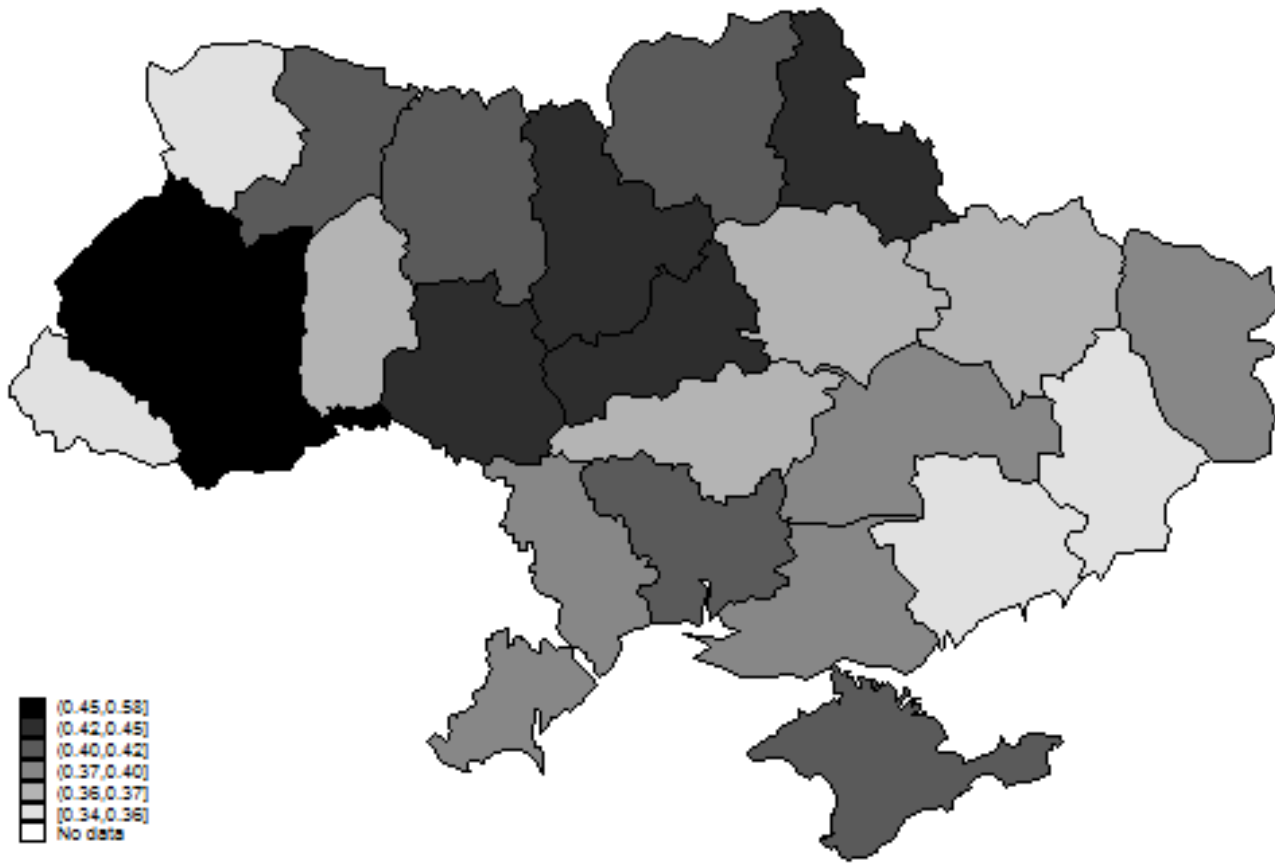
FIGURE 5. Protest moods across the regions of Ukraine (probability to participate in the protest)

Table 2. Regions in Ukraine

Code	region
1	Vinnyts`ka
2	Volyns`ka
3	Dnipropetrovs`ka
4	Donets`ka
5	Zhytomyrs`ka
6	Zakarpats`ka
7	Zaporizhs`ka
8	Ivano-Frankovs`ka
9	Kyivs`ka (without Kyiv)
10	Kyiv
11	Kyryvograds`ka
12	Crimea
13	Lugans`ka
14	Lvivs`ka
15	Mykolaevs`ka
16	Odess`ka
17	Poltavs`ka
18	Rivnens`ka
19	Sums`ka
20	Ternopils`ka
21	Kharkivs`ka
22	Khersons`ka
23	Khmelnits`ka
24	Cherkass`ka
25	Chernihivs`ka
26	Chernivets`ka

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics

| Table 3 | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
VARIABLES	N	mean	min	max
econsit	23,393	2.320	0	10
polsit	22,970	3.016	1	4
pressure	16,518	0.0942	0	1
mediatrust	25,140	2.895	1	5
courttrust	17,959	2.261	1	5
satisf	25,195	2.569	1	5
livestand	25,131	3.306	0	10
sex	25,223	1.553	1	2
age	25,227	45.57	18	97
marital	25,123	0.641	0	1
edu	25,189	2.905	1	8
govtrust	25,233	0.467	0	1
internet	25,233	0.178	0	1
standing	18,618	0.546	0	1
fspeech	18,893	0.391	0	1
Workers	23,838	0.452	0	1
Entrepreneurs	23,838	0.0454	0	1
Farmers	23,838	0.00197	0	1
Students	23,838	0.0401	0	1
Pensioner	23,838	0.284	0	1

Table 4. Logit, Probit comparison

Table 4 VARIABLES	(1) Probit coeff	(2) Logit coeff
econsit	-0.0446***	-0.0737***
	(0.00655)	(0.0108)
polsit	0.257***	0.423***
	(0.0174)	(0.0287)
satisf	-0.0855***	-0.140***
	(0.0110)	(0.0180)
livestand	-0.000450	-0.000767
	(0.00760)	(0.0124)
employment	-0.0303***	-0.0498***
	(0.00698)	(0.0114)
sex	-0.229***	-0.372***
	(0.0218)	(0.0355)
age	-0.00264***	-0.00419***
	(0.000832)	(0.00136)
marital	0.102***	0.166***
	(0.0234)	(0.0381)
edu	0.0320***	0.0518***
	(0.00783)	(0.0127)
Constant	-4.606	-12.55
	(116.9)	(479.7)
Observations	14,686	14,686
Region FE	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 5. Model Robustness check

Table 5 VARIABLES	(1) Basic model	(2) Robust model
econsit	-0.0174***	-0.0174***
	(0.00255)	(0.00261)
polsit	0.100***	0.100***
	(0.00675)	(0.00688)
satisf	-0.0340***	-0.0340***
	(0.00431)	(0.00432)
livestand	-0.000731	-0.000731
	(0.00298)	(0.00302)
sex	-0.0874***	-0.0874***
	(0.00856)	(0.00857)
age	-0.000320	-0.000320
	(0.000381)	(0.000380)
marital	0.0433***	0.0433***
	(0.00912)	(0.00913)
edu	0.0123***	0.0123***
	(0.00305)	(0.00304)
Workers	-0.00250	-0.00250
	(0.0118)	(0.0118)
Entrepreneurs	-0.0209	-0.0209
	(0.0218)	(0.0217)
Farmers	0.00721	0.00721
	(0.0969)	(0.0974)
Students	0.0346	0.0346
	(0.0252)	(0.0256)
Pensioners	-0.0766***	-0.0766***
	(0.0159)	(0.0160)
Observations	14,686	14,686
Employment FE	YES	YES
Region FE	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 6. Extended model analysis

Table 6 VARIABLES	(1) Basic model	(2) Extend model
econsit	-0.0174***	-0.0121**
	(0.00261)	(0.00479)
polsit	0.100***	0.0750***
	(0.00688)	(0.0128)
satisf	-0.0340***	-0.0219***
	(0.00432)	(0.00775)
livestand	-0.000731	0.00514
	(0.00302)	(0.00582)
sex	-0.0874***	-0.0458***
	(0.00857)	(0.0155)
age	-0.000320	8.41e-05
	(0.000380)	(0.000701)
marital	0.0433***	0.0557***
	(0.00913)	(0.0166)
edu	0.0123***	0.0117**
	(0.00304)	(0.00526)
fspeech		-0.00729
		(0.0175)
pressure		0.306***
		(0.0229)
standing		0.407***
		(0.0133)
mediatrust		0.00953
		(0.00774)
courttrust		-0.00514
		(0.00898)
govtrust		0.0808***
		(0.0186)
internet		-0.0281
		(0.0231)
Workers	-0.00250	-0.0299
	(0.0118)	(0.0223)
Entrepreneurs	-0.0209	0.00171
	(0.0217)	(0.0416)
Farmers	0.00721	0.160
	(0.0974)	(0.199)
Students	0.0346	-0.00739
	(0.0256)	(0.0480)

Table 6 - Continued

VARIABLES	Basic model	Extend model
Pensioners	-0.0766***	-0.0710**
	(0.0160)	(0.0286)
Observations	14,686	5,293
Employment FE	YES	YES
Region FE	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7. Different samples analysis

Table 7 VARIABLES	(1) Basic model	(2) Sample model
econsit	-0.0174***	-0.0215***
	(0.00261)	(0.00434)
polsit	0.100***	0.0996***
	(0.00688)	(0.0118)
satisf	-0.0340***	-0.0321***
	(0.00432)	(0.00716)
livestand	-0.000731	0.00583
	(0.00302)	(0.00539)
sex	-0.0874***	-0.0870***
	(0.00857)	(0.0145)
age	-0.000320	-0.000814
	(0.000380)	(0.000648)
marital	0.0433***	0.0531***
	(0.00913)	(0.0155)
edu	0.0123***	0.0166***
	(0.00304)	(0.00485)
Workers	-0.00250	-0.0229
	(0.0118)	(0.0207)
Entrepreneurs	-0.0209	0.0168
	(0.0217)	(0.0374)
Farmers	0.00721	0.0565
	(0.0974)	(0.193)
Students	0.0346	0.0431
	(0.0256)	(0.0459)
Pensioners	-0.0766***	-0.0879***
	(0.0160)	(0.0270)
Observations	14,686	5,293
Employment FE	YES	YES
Region FE	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

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